

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,
AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF ROME," ETC.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY M. M. RIPLEY,

TRANSLATOR OF DURUY'S "HISTORY OF ROME," GUIZOT'S "HISTORY OF ENGLAND," ETC.

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.

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Akropolis of Athens, interior (restoration) ¹	<i>Between pages 378, 379</i>
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¹ This view is taken from the highest ground of the Akropolis, within the walls, showing the main façade of the Parthenon at the left, the Erechtheion at the right, and between them the Sacred Road, bordered with numerous monuments, ex-votos, etc.; on lower ground stands the great statue of Athene Promachos; behind her the Propylaia; and in the distance is "the sea and Salamis." — MARCEL LAMBERT.

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¹ This archaic statue of Athene was discovered, with several others of the same type, in excavations made on the Akropolis in 1886. These varied replicas have much in common with discoveries made some years ago in Delos. In both cases there seemed to have been a deposit made of mutilated statues, buried in a common grave, like dead bodies from a battle-field: in both cases they are votive statues, reproducing with certain differences a common type of great antiquity, fixed by religious tradition and repeated by the Greek sculptors even when they were capable of greatly improving it. At Athens as at Delos, these statues of women — Artemis at Delos, Athene upon the Akropolis — are broken off below the knee; it is evident that they were violently thrown down from their pedestals, and then hastily buried in order to clear the ground. At first sight we are inclined to attribute to Christianity these acts of vandalism; but this is probably an error, and the offenders were of much earlier date. It is well known that Xerxes destroyed the ancient Parthenon, and spent his fury upon all the buildings which at that time covered the Akropolis. When the Athenians recovered their citadel, they did not attempt to restore the ancient edifices, but constructed new ones on the site of the old. Finding these statues broken, they no doubt judged them worthless, and quickly put them under ground near where they lay.

The type of these statues of Athene, which must all have been made between 510 and 480 B. C., may be briefly indicated as follows: A slender figure enclosed in a narrow and sleeveless tunic, over which is a drapery in regular folds, hooked together on the shoulder; one arm extends downward to raise the tunic, the other is advanced at right angles to the body. The head — generally wearing a diadem, under which are symmetrical curls — has on each side three or four long tresses reaching nearly to the waist. There is also a kind of inner tunic covering the throat in small wavy folds which resemble the tresses of hair. A curious feature of these statues is that they are painted in colors durable enough to have resisted the dampness of the ground for twenty-four hundred years. The very delicate ornamentation is finely represented in this picture.

The heads present that type which it has been agreed to call the Aiginetan, because it was found for the first time on sculptures of the pediment of the Temple of Aigina, doubtless posterior by fifteen or twenty years to the statues exhumed on the Akropolis. It is characterized by high cheek-bones, a strong rounded chin, the mouth very near the nose; its corners drawn up in an almost foolish smile, and by the singular modelling of the eyes, rising at the exterior angles. These details give the face a curious blending of disdain and goodwill. The careless observer would probably say that there is something Egyptian in this cast of features. There is a suggestion of the art of Egypt in the stiffness of the pose and the almost childish regularity of the drapery; but this *Aiginetic smile* is an essentially Greek invention. "This," says Heuzey, "is a pure affectation, — one of those conventional methods by which artists seek to add to human beauty. I see in it mainly an attempt at expression, kindred to the great original effort of the Greek schools to give animation to the face. The artist, having lifted the corners of the mouth in an evident smile, observed that the equilibrium of the features is thus destroyed and, obeying a simple law of parallelism, raises also the corners of the eyes, seeking to make them smile also with the lips. Oriental etiquette imposed on the faces of kings and gods an impassible tranquillity. In the free life of the Greek cities, both gods and rulers wish to appear amiable and seek popularity. Thus is explained the so-called Asiatic tradition."

The great resemblance between these figures of Athene and those of the Artemis found at Delos and the

Aphrodite at Cyprus seems to prove that Greek art in its early period had only a very few plastic conceptions, which represented in different lands very different divinities. With time and improved skill there came a specialization, — each divinity received a particular form, was conformed to a type created by the genius of some one sculptor, and was never again confused with any other. Thus Pheidias fixed the types of Zeus and Athene; Lysippos, that of Herakles; Praxiteles, those of Hermes and Aphrodite.

² This restoration of the Akropolis, by Marcel Lambert, represents it as it was in the time of Perikles. "The view of the west aspect shows us the temples in their respective positions, the different levels on which they stood, their orientation and their dimensions, as well as, also, the principal sculptures and decorative paintings which adorned them. This plate also gives an idea of the approaches to the rock and the principal buildings at its base, especially on the south, in the time of Perikles.

"There will be noticed, first, nearly in the middle of the picture, the sole entrance to the Akropolis, on the western side; this is, in fact, the only accessible side of the rock, which is perpendicular everywhere else. Walls extend all around the crest, and enclose the sacred ground. This entrance to the Akropolis was marked by one of the most interesting monuments of Greek art, — the Propylaea, the work of Mnesikles (see page 102 of this volume). Flanked by two bastions of unequal size and advanced beyond the main edifice, the Propylaea had five gates; of these the central and most important one gave passage to the Sacred Road, which traversed the building itself. Upon the bastion at the right stood the small Ionic temple of the Wingless Victory (see page 98 of this volume); and upon the bastion at the left, an edifice which is called the Pinakotheka, an annex of the Propylaea designed as a picture gallery.

"The Sacred Road, by which the Panathenaic procession went up to the Akropolis, began in the town below; it may still be traced upon the rock by its striae and marks of footprints of men and animals. It was bordered by numerous small monuments, ex-votos, shrines, funeral tablets, and the like; and this was the case more particularly inside the walls. Outside a specially noteworthy building was the temple of Demeter Chloë, below the bastion on the right, traces of its side being still discernible on the rock.

"Passing through the Propylaea, the Sacred Road inclines to the right, passing by the Ionic temple of Artemis Brauronia and the Doric temple of Athene Ergane; these temples are seen above the walls on the right. The road then continued past the wall enclosing the Parthenon (north side) on the right, and that of the Erechtheion (south side) on the left, and came out on the great plateau where rose, to the east, the Parthenon in all the splendor of its exquisite proportions, adorned with its immortal sculptures and its decorative paintings, bringing out yet more strongly its great architectural outlines. This magnificent building, the work of Iktinos (see page 88 *et seq.*), contained the treasury and numerous works of art; the Athene Parthenos of Pheidias stood within in the *naos*, which was surrounded on three sides by a richly decorated portico.

"The Panathenaic procession then pursued its way along the eastern and northern walls, turning at last to the left and descending to another plateau slightly lower, on which stood the Ionic building, somewhat complex in its architecture, but of great elegance, called the Erechtheion (see pages 78 and 92).

"This building contained, on the upper level, eastward, the temple of Athene Polias, where stood the ancient statue of Athene which had escaped the Persian destruction and for which the *peplos* was embroidered; on the south, the Pandroseion, a graceful tribune adorned with six famous caryatides; on the lower ground, towards the north, a portico of great elegance, serving as an entrance to the temple of Pandrosos, a sort of open *naos* in which stood the sacred olive-tree; and, lastly, on the west a separate space, communicating with the *spheristra*, — a place appropriated to the *Errhephorai*, or priestesses of the Poliac Athene.

"Quite at the left and on the walls themselves, near the northern portico and the *spheristra*, was the dwelling of these priestesses.

"The Sacred Road then turned again towards the Propylaea and passed the great statue of Athene Promachos. This was an early work of Pheidias and of archaic style. With her shield the lofty figure (seventy-five feet in height) seemed to protect the Akropolis and the city beneath, and the crest of her helmet was visible far out at sea.

"The city itself extended all around the rock, especially to the east and north, and towards the west as far as the hills of the Pnyx and Areiopagos, visible in the foreground. On the south the Akropolis formed a richly decorated terrace, whence the view extended to a great distance.

"At its base on this side were grouped numerous buildings, among others the Odeion of Perikles, — an edifice of circular form; then, extensive porticos adorned with paintings; more remote, the temple of Asklepios; lastly, towards the southeastern point, the great theatre of Dionysos" (Marcel Lambert).

³ The most famous of all the classic works in ivory were the two colossal statues of Pheidias, the Olympian Zeus, and the Athene of the Parthenon. A restoration of the statue of Athene, made by an eminent French sculptor, Pierre Charles Simart, by order of the late Duc de Luynes, and exhibited in the Exposition of 1855, is represented here. The restoration is very inferior in size to the original work, being only about nine feet in height; but this was sufficient to bring out clearly all the details of the great classic statue. The antique was composed entirely of ivory and gold of two colors, and Simart represented the original effect by the use of ivory, gilded silver, and gilded bronze. For the attitude and expression of the figure the sculptor followed the famous cameo of Aspasios belonging to the Museum of Vienna; for the Victory and the symbolic serpent Erechthonos, the numerous types of Greek coins; and the carvings on the shield are reproduced from the description given by Pausanias.

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HISTORY OF GREECE.

FOURTH PERIOD.

SUPREMACY OF ATHENS (479-431 B. C.).

GROWTH OF LITERATURE AND THE ARTS.

(Continued.)

CHAPTER XX.

ATHENIAN LITERATURE OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B. C.

I. — THE THEATRE OF DIONYSOS.

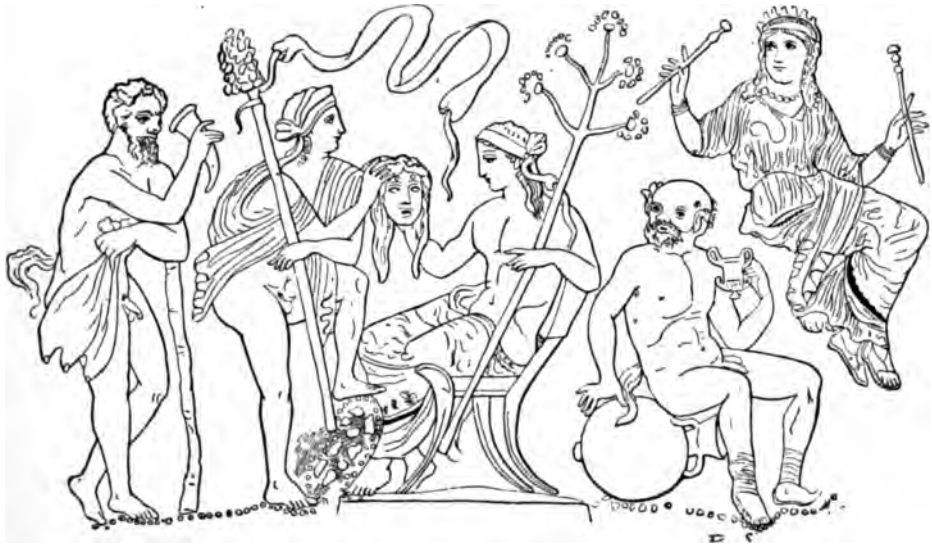
BEFORE the Median wars the Spartans were considered good judges of art, although they scorned to be themselves either artists or poets. This is the testimony of Aristotle,¹ but it is somewhat unfounded. Not so in the case of Athens: the victories of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataia, in which she gained so much renown, gave an impulse to her genius, and the fifth century before our era, the epoch of the happiest development of the human mind, owed its chief splendor to the masterpieces inspired by Pallas-Athene.² This period is often called "the age of Perikles." The great organizer of Athenian policy was in no way really connected with the works of Aischylos and Sophokles, Aristophanes and Thucydides. But Athens had much to do with them; if she was not the mother of all the famous men of the time, she at

¹ *Polit.*, viii. 4. Οἱ Λάκωνες . . . οὐ μανθάνοντες ὁμῶς δύναται κρίνειν ὀρθῶς, ὡς φασὶ, τὰ χρηστὰ καὶ τὰ μὴ χρηστὰ τῶν μελῶν.

² From the time of the Median war, says Aristotle (*Polit.*, viii. 10), the Athenians, stimulated by their great military successes, devoted themselves to the study of the arts and sciences.

least gave them all a home, and their minds gained inspiration by contact with hers.

In our examination of the famous masterpieces of thought and art which belong to this epoch we shall give, as is just, the first rank to dramatic poetry, which was the most splendid flower of Athenian genius. But since this is a work of history, and not of archæology, our study will be a rapid review; and upon this



DIONYSOS INSTITUTING TRAGEDY.¹

stage we shall bring forward only the great figures of the three or four poets who have left their rivals in a shadow from which the most patient erudition has not been able to draw them out. Nor shall we here speak of the arrangements of the Greek theatre,² of the literary merits of the great tragic poets, or of the language in which they wrote, —

“ *Ce langage sonore, aux douceurs souveraines,
Le plus beau qui soit né sur des lèvres humaines.*”

These details are to be found elsewhere. It will suffice to remind the reader that comedy and tragedy were reputed of divine origin.

¹ Vase-painting from the Museum of Munich (from the *Archdol. Zeitung*, 1855, pl. 83). Dionysos, seated, and holding in his hand a long branch of giant-fennel, is giving a tragic mask to a man who stands before him and holds in the left hand a thyrsos, from which floats a fillet. Behind the god are a nymph and a silenos, and behind the man is a satyr.

² Otfried Müller's chapter xxii. is entitled, *De l'organisation matérielle du théâtre grec.*

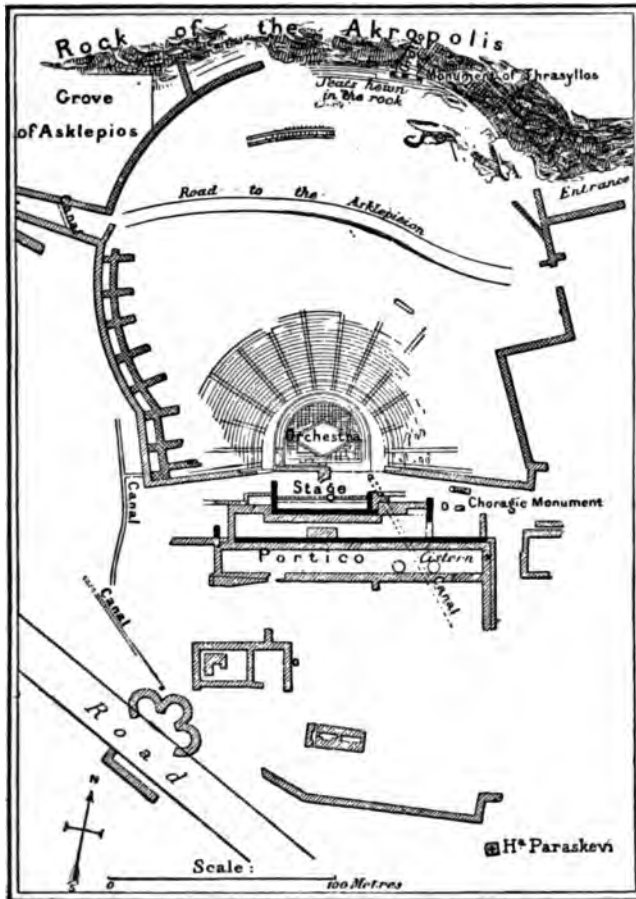


REMAINS OF THE THEATRE OF DIONYSOS AT ATHENS (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH).





Both originated in the dithyramb (*διθύραμβος*) of Dionysos, — by turns a merry song celebrating the gift of the vine and the license of intoxication, and a funeral chant in memory of the sufferings of the god slain by the Titans, his descent into the kingdom of



PLAN OF THE THEATRE OF ATHENS.

Hades, and subsequent return to earth.¹ This funeral dirge, applied to the old legends which were the poetic patrimony of Greece, became the tragic chant of the drama. Without speaking of their precursors, of whose works only shapless fragments remain, we shall inquire what opinions the masters of the drama shared

¹ The Athenian theatre, of which a portion is yet standing (see p. 3), was called the theatre of Dionysos, and the actors were called the god's artists. The Louvre has an inscription (No. 584 of Clarac's Catalogue) relative to a musical corporation of "artists of Dionysos," in honor of the *choregos* and *agonothetos*.

with their contemporaries, or endeavored to impress upon them. This examination is the more appropriate in a political history for the reason that no theatre was ever more national than that of Athens. The moral life of the city, its gods and heroes, its ideas and beliefs, its fears and hopes, are all there.¹ The works of the Greek poets are an historic document as well as a chapter in history, for they show us the soul of the people. Does not Aristotle himself say, in an epigram at once of dangerous and deep significance: "There is more truth in poetry than in history"?

II. — AISCHYLOS.

THE first in date of those great poets who in the fifth century B. C. fired the minds of men by giving them a lofty ideal, was Aischylos, whose tragedies have the two characteristics of great works, — grandeur and simplicity. We know also that the poet was a brave soldier, a good citizen, and a believer in the gods.² Hence his drama is profoundly moved by patriotic and religious enthusiasm.



AISCHYLOS.³

Genius — which is intellect, or certain faculties of the intellect, carried to the highest power — is a gift of Nature; it can never be acquired by labor, but it may be made possible and then developed by circumstances of origin and environment. Aischylos, born in 525 B. C. at Eleusis, of Eupatrid race, was contemporary with the two who brought to a brilliant close the cycle of elegiac and lyric poetry, — the Boiotian Pindar, "singer of Olympic victories,"⁴ and Simonides of Keos, his rival, who by his moral sentences deserved to be placed among the company of philosophers, and by his complaisance towards the rich and great deserved to be

¹ In respect to the religious character of these theatrical representations, which occurred at fixed times at the Lenaia, or winter Dionysia, and at the great Dionysia, which were in summer, see Vol. II. p. 373.

² Frequent mention has already been made of Aischylos, and passages have been quoted from his works (Vol. I. pp. 309, 322, 337, 354, 358, 375, 387, 397; Vol. II. pp. 110, 215, etc.).

³ Bust in profile. Engraved jacinth of the *Cabinet de France*, 16 millim. by 13. *Catalogue*, No. 2,035.

⁴ Horace, *Odes*, IV. ii.

denied admittance there.¹ Aischylos had then only to listen, and voices of the glorious Muses would awake mighty echoes in his own soul. The first impressions of his youth gave also a special

AISCHYLOS.²

direction to his thought and an austere gravity to his character. The son of an Eleusinian priest, himself initiated into the Mysteries,³ and trained, it would seem, in the devout methods of the Pythagorean school,⁴ he had that constant pre-occupation with

¹ Plato reproaches him (in the *Protagoras*, xxxi.) with having sold his praises to tyrants and powerful men who did not deserve them. The word "sold" is not in the text, but it is clearly in the mind of the writer. Aristophanes, in his *Peace*, accuses him more distinctly of venality.

² Marble bust in the Museum of the Capitol, from the *Monumenti dell' Instit.*, vol. v. pl. 4. Cf. the engraved stone of p. 6, and, on a later page, another stone, on which is represented the death of Aischylos.

³ Aristophanes, in *The Frogs*, represents him as saying: "O Demeter, thou who hast nourished my soul, make me worthy of thy Mysteries!"

⁴ Cicero, *Tusc.*, ii. 10.

divine things which made of him, in a time when scepticism was beginning, not, indeed, the most orthodox, but the most religious, of Greek poets. From the extraordinary events in the midst of which



MELPOMENE, THE MUSE OF TRAGEDY.¹

life placed him, his mind received a strong impulse, and his second religion (perhaps his first) was love of Greece and of Athens. His brave deeds at Marathon, off the Artemision, and at Salamis² attest this, and, better still, his dramas, — *The Persians* and *The Eumenides*: one, the triumphal chant of Greeks victorious over

¹ Marble statue in the Vatican (from a photograph).

² Pausanias, i. 14, 5.

the great Oriental empire;¹ the other a laudation of Athens, of her spirit of justice, and of her institutions.

At twenty-five Aischylos made his first public appearance in the competition for the Dionysiac festivals; he was defeated by Choirilos and Pratinas, and it was not until 484 B. C. that he obtained his first triumph, which was followed by many others.² It is said that his defeat by Sophokles in 468 B. C. and an accusation of impiety for revelations of the Eleusinian Mysteries,³ with

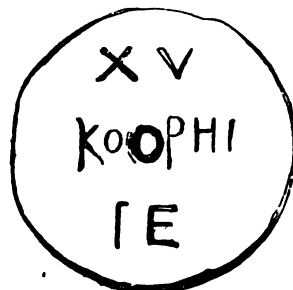


NEMESIS.³



DYNAMIS.⁴

which he was falsely charged, decided him to withdraw into Sicily, whither he again went repeatedly, invited by Hiero of Syracuse, "who wields the righteous sceptre on the island of many flocks." Speaking thus, Pindar forgot the tyrant's cruelties; but that great poet had not a heart as noble as his genius.



KORA, UPON A THEATRICAL TESSERA.⁶

He had praised the treachery of Thebes, standing aloof in the Median wars, and he celebrated the profits of that shameful peace while

¹ See Vol. II. pp. 467 *et seq.*

² At the Dionysiac competition it was required to present a trilogy, — three dramatic pieces, — followed by a satyric drama.

³ Nemesis, standing, to the left, holding a cornucopia and a pair of scales; at her feet a wheel and a serpent. Legend: AMACTPIANQN. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Amastris in Paphlagonia, with the effigy of the elder Faustina.)

⁴ Dynamis (Force or Power), standing, to the left, holding in the right hand a helmet, and in the left a shield on which is her name. ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ: she rests the shield against a pillar. Reverse of a bronze coin, minted at Alexandria in Egypt, with the effigy of Lucius Verus. In the field the date LE.

⁵ Aristotle, *Nikomachean Ethics*, iii. 1, 17. In respect to his visits to Sicily, he seems to have been invited thither by Hiero about 478 B. C., and to have returned thither after the performance of the *Orestes* in 458. Dates relative to these voyages are, however, uncertain.

⁶ From the *Monumenti dell' Instit. di corrisp. archeol.*, vol. iv. pl. 52, No. 7. This tessera of bone, which corresponds to our theatre-ticket, was found in Herculaneum: it bears on the face the number XV. IE, and the inscription Κόρη. The number is that of the section (*kerkides*) of the theatre or amphitheatre, or perhaps that of the entrance; the word Κόρη doubtless

Leonidas was dying at Thermopylai, and the Athenians were fighting upon the sea of Salamis.¹ We cannot, therefore, wonder that "at the hospitable table of Hiero, adorned with the flower of music," the outcries of the sufferers did not reach his ear. We are



THEATRICAL TESSERA.³

not told that Aischylos was a flatterer of the tyrant, but it is impossible not to wish that he, like Sophokles, had never quitted Athens.²

Aischylos himself said of his dramas that they were but fragments from the great banquet of Homer, and he

spoke truly.⁴ His tragedies which are truly epic fragments, have a gloomy splendor and a mysterious majesty. Destiny, a formidable goddess, moves through them, silent, invisible, followed by Nemesis, the divine envy, which suffers no human greatness to overpass the limit that she has fixed; and these two fill the soul of the spectator with keen emotions and superstitious terrors. The struggle against this power, which binds man with countless bonds that the strongest cannot always break,⁵ arouses proud courage and haughty scorn, giving the characters of the poets a

means "near the statue of Kora." The theatres were decorated, we know, with statues of the gods, and by reference to these statues, sections were designated.

¹ Polybios, iv. 31, 5.

² At Syracuse, Aischylos perhaps saw Epicharmos. If they met, the Sicilian poet must have delighted the Athenian by his lofty mind, but could not fail to displease him by his satires upon the gods. Epicharmos had all the audacity of Aristophanes, and must have greatly scandalized the devout Pindar.

³ Tessera of bone, found in Herculaneum, from the *Monumenti*, vol. iv. pl. 52, No. 1. It bears on the face the number XII, ΙΒ, and the inscription ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ, which doubtless designates that part of the theatre where stood the statue of Aischylos; on the reverse is a building, perhaps the stage of a theatre.

⁴ Aischylos was the author of seventy dramas, of which sixty-three have fallen into that abyss wherein so many masterpieces have perished. The seven which remain to us are: *The Persians*, performed in 476 B. C.; *The Suppliants*, about 461; *The Oresteia* (*Agamemnon*, *The Libation-Pourers*, *The Eumenides*) in 458; *The Seven Against Thebes*; the *Prometheus Bound*.

⁵ The Destiny of the Greeks, the Fate of the Romans, which, as the ideas of justice grew more clear, became the Providence of the Christian faith, are now only the resulting whole of influences of time, place, education, and heredity, from which the mind, armed with knowledge and a resolute will, can enfranchise itself, or at least whose effects it can materially diminish. There is, therefore, progress in the direction of moral liberty, which with time and with increase in human intelligence enlarges its sphere of action.

superhuman grandeur. How magnificent the scene between the messengers of Zeus and Prometheus, the hero who by his courage against opposing fate and by his hatred of injustice represented a humanity in which the Athens of Marathon and of Salamis recognized itself! The conception is so broad that later generations have been able to see in the Titan the figure of Horace's



THE MURDER OF AIGISTHOS BY ORESTES.¹

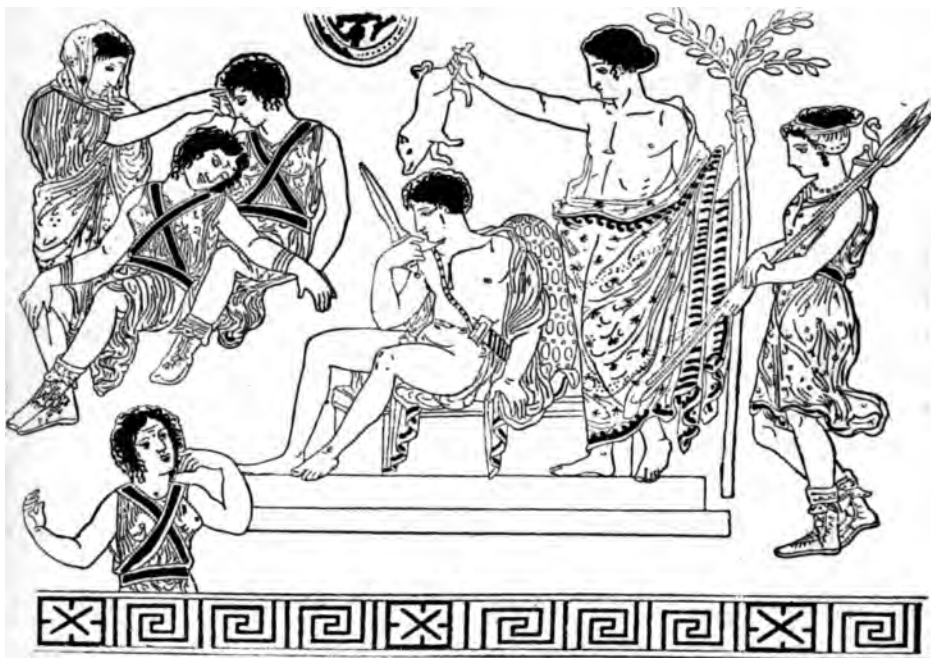
“*Integer vitæ, scelerisque purus,*” undaunted though the world should be wrecked around him; of the Redeemer of the world ransoming humanity by his sufferings;² of Herakles, destroyer of monsters, liberator of the oppressed, who on the Caucasos breaks the chains of Prometheus, and later shall break the chains from the human mind.³ Surely, also to the Titan belong that remote posterity who in later days have dared to say, in the words of their great ancestor, “Zeus shall die also.” With this heaven-defying utterance stands completed the character of him who sought

¹ Vase-painting (from Gerhard, *Etruskische und Volcentische Vasenbilder*, pl. 24). The vase is in the Museum of Berlin: A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung*, No. 2,184. Orestes (ORESTES) has seized Aigisthos (AIGISTHOS) by the head and transpierced him with a sword; behind the murderer advances Klytaimnestra (KLYTAIMNESTRA) and threatens him with a double-headed axe. Elektra (EV[ε]KTRA), standing behind Aigisthos, seems to urge on her brother.

² By Tertullian and other Christian Fathers, Prometheus is regarded as a figure of Christ.

³ The Stoics regarded Herakles as the moral divinity by whose aid humanity is victorious over its evil passions.

to defend the rights of the human will against the envy of the gods. But the devout Aischylos could not stop here. He believed in Fate, and also in the power of Zeus. The Ocean-Nymphs, who



ORESTES IN SHELTER AT DELPHI, AND PROTECTED BY APOLLO.¹

visit his captive, essay to calm the bitter anger of Prometheus and silence his prophetic threats; "Wisdom is theirs who Adrasteia² worship;" and earlier in the drama the poet writes:—

"Never shall counsels vain
Of mortal men break through
The harmony of Zeus."³

¹ Vase-painting (from the *Monumenti*, vol. iv. pl. 48). The painter takes his idea from the tragedy of Aischylos. "Nay, I'll not fail thee, but, as close at hand, will guard thee to the end," Apollo says to Orestes (lines 64-65 of *The Eumenides*). The painter represents Orestes seated on the altar of Apollo: the god, standing beside him, holds over his head a pig,—the expiatory victim. Behind Apollo stands Artemis. "Thou seest these fierce ones captive taken," Apollo says (line 67): these are the Eumenides, who have fallen asleep. Then appears the shade of Klytaimnestra, to awaken the terrible goddesses and incite them to vengeance, showing her wounds, reminding them how often she has honored them with sacrifices (lines 93 *et seq.*). This also the painter has represented; behind the sleeping Eumenides is the shade of Klytaimnestra, wrapped in a veil, and pointing with her finger to the parricide. One of the Furies awakes, at the feet of Orestes, and turns towards him. "Wake, wake!" she cries; "rise, shake off sleep! Our prey is gone!" (*Eumenides*, 135-36, 143.)

² A surname of Nemesis, from the verb *διδράσκειν*, "the goddess whom none can escape."

³ Lines 957 and 561-563 [Dr. Plumptre's English translation].

Accordingly we must suppose that the violent and jealous tyrant of the *Prometheus Bound* was transformed in the *Prometheus*



ATHENE'S VOTE.

Delivered into a peaceful and forgiving deity.¹ The world came again under a benevolent rule, that of the saving god, Ζεὺς σωτήρ,



THE ABSOLUTION OF ORESTES. (FIGURES ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE VASE.)²

and the poet sought to conciliate the two contradictory ideas on which Greece had lived,—moral liberty, and the inexorable sway of Fate.

¹ Only fragments of this drama remain.

² Corsini Vase (silver). From A. Michaelis, *Das Corsinische Silbergefäss*, pl. i. 1 and 2. Athene deposits in the urn her vote (ψήφος Ἀθηνῶν) which is to absolve Orestes; behind the

The *Oresteia*, the greatest poetic work of Greece after the *Iliad*, has a different character. It is the most tragic of the trilogies of the Greek theatre; at one of its scenes the whole audience was moved, and women fainted. But it is also the most moral, for it is a magnificent setting forth of the doctrine of expiation; that is to say, of redemption from sin or involuntary crime, and hence the triumph of true justice. The trilogy relates the catastrophes that follow one another in the dreadful family of the Atreidai, over whom, since a first crime, hovers incessantly Alastor, the demon of divine vengeance. Agamemnon, son of Atreus and nephew of Thyestes, sacrifices his daughter to secure victory; Klytaimnestra, to be undisturbed in her adulterous union with Aigisthos, murders her husband; Orestes kills his mother and the sharer of her crime. The Chorus, at the close of the *Libation-Pourers*, bewails these disasters:—

“ Here, then, upon this palace of our kings
A third storm blows again. . . .
Where will it end? Where will it cease at last,
The mighty Ate dread
Lulled into slumber deep?”¹

By the intervention of the Delphian Apollo, lover of justice, and of the maiden Athene, who knows how to discover the true motives of human action, the fatal goddess is for a moment disarmed. Then the gloomy sky brightens, and the moral tone is less severe. Before the tribunal of the Areiopagos, just now founded by Athene, the Erinyes bring their charge against him whom Zeus has made the impious instrument of a righteous sentence; Apollo pleads for him, and Orestes, by the intervention of Athene, receives pardon, while at the same time his parricidal act remains a crime. “We are dishonored,” the Erinyes cry; but no,—it was a law of humanity which took the place of the old

table stands one of the Erinyes, holding a torch. The person seated behind Athene has not been clearly identified; it is perhaps Orestes, seated on the stone of crime (*λίθος ὑβρεως*); or it may be an accuser. It would seem more appropriate to regard as Orestes the figure at the right, in the representation of the other side of the vase; his head leaning on his hand, he awaits sadly the result of the vote. Behind him, Elektra and Pylades turn anxiously towards the goddess.

¹ *The Libation-Pourers*, 1052-53, 1062-64 [Dr. Plumptre's English translation]. In Euripides, the dying Hippolytos cries: “O crimes of my race! their fatal results pursue me. But why do they fall upon me, who am not guilty?” (*Hippol.*, 1379).

harsh *lex talionis*, and the ethical idea of expiation by suffering and prayer is victorious over fatality. The chain which bound murder to murder is broken, the heredity of crime abolished, and the judgment of the gods gives place to that of men,—inexorable justice yields to equity. Morality is released from religion, conscience appears, and reason will soon find in it rules of conduct no longer dependent upon a dogma held by the intellect, or upon the interests of the sacerdotal class. The Furies are enraged: “Ah, ah! ye younger gods, ye have ridden down the laws of ancient days, and robbed us of our prey!” They threaten the Athenians with vengeance. But Pallas appeases them; she promises them in Attika a temple, festivals, a cult of extraordinary splendor. Upon this the Erinyes are soothed, they lay aside their wrath, and assume a new aspect, becoming Eumenides (the Gracious Ones), and promising enduring protection to the city of Athene.¹ To the earlier curses succeeds a hymn of peace and love, and the reconciled divinities invoke blessings upon the land of the Athenians. Then a procession is formed to lead “the great and jealous ones” to the half-subterranean temple which Athene has prepared for them. Torches are lighted, priests lead victims for the sacrifice, and Athene herself walks at the head of the procession. Behind her are the priestesses who guard her sacred image, the old men of the Areiopagos carrying green branches, matrons in long purple garments, and young girls, “flowers of the land of Theseus.” The march is accompanied by singing, and the last who leave the stage repeat as they go: “Shout, shout ye to our songs.” And the audience disperses, each

AN ERINYES IN STAGE DRESS.²

¹ This transformation was a stage-effect, and not a radical change in the character of the Erinyes. In lines 300–310 of *The Eumenides*, the goddesses give a noble and worthy explanation of their power as guardians of justice and avengers of the slain.

² From a vase-painting, published by Millin, *Monuments inédits*, vol. i. pl. 26.

man's mind filled with the noble sentiments to which the poet has given utterance in his splendid drama.

The drama of Aischylos is always a lesson in morals, and sometimes in politics. In *The Suppliants* we have a panegyric of the antique virtue which made hospitality a religious duty, — a compliment to the Argives of the time, to induce them to remain faithful to the Athenian alliance,¹ and a threat against the Persians in Egypt, whom Kimon was about to attack. In the *Seven against Thebes*, where Aristeides is



AMPHIARAOS.²

represented under the aspect of the sage Amphiaraios, the poet shows the intrepid chief whose courage is not shaken by the greatest dangers; in *The Persians* he teaches patriotism; in *Agamemnon* the punishment of marital infidelity; in the *Eumenides* equity as represented by the Areiopagos, which at that moment the popular faction were attacking. He believes in Destiny, but also in justice, and makes no attempt to explain the inexplicable problem. His free intellect resists, while admitting it, the enervating doctrine of fatalism: —



ENGRAVED CORNELIAN³

“ There lives an old saw, framed in ancient days,
 In memories of men, that high estate
 Full-grown brings forth its young, nor childless dies,
 But that from good success
 Springs to the race a woe insatiable.
 But I, apart from all,
 Hold this my creed alone:
 For impious act it is that offspring breeds,
 Like to their parent stock:
 For still in every house
 That loves the right, their fate for evermore
 Rejoiceth in an issue fair and good.”⁴

¹ In this drama, of about 458 B. C., Orestes again swears to an eternal alliance between Athens and Argos.

² Laurelled head of Amphiaraios, right profile. Reverse: ΑΜΦΙΑΡΑΟΣ; serpent around a club. (Bronze coin of Oropos. Collection of the Bank of England, in the British Museum.)

³ Four warriors fighting to obtain the body of Patrokles, who has just been fatally wounded, and sinks to the ground, covering himself with his shield (*Cabinet de France*, No. 1,817 of the *Catalogue*; 15 millim. by 25).

⁴ *Agamemnon*, 750 *et seq.* [Dr. Plumptre's English translation, p. 210.]

And he explains how this prosperity can be acquired by moderation in desires, in fortune, and in pride. The prudent man, he says, "a part, from well-poised sling, shall sacrifice; then the whole house sinks not."¹ It is the "Not too much" of the Delphic inscription, so important for disarming the envy of the gods;

SCENE OF TRAGEDY.²

and this is the moral idea in every drama of Aischylos. He, however, desires a more active virtue. His Erinyes say: "Honor thy parents; throw not down with impious foot the altar of justice, and make the stranger welcome at thy hearth." Elsewhere he admonishes: "Whatever thou dost of evil, an eye beholds it." These are biblical precepts.

¹ *Agamemnon*, 1008 [English translation, p. 220.]

² Mural painting of Pompeii, in the Museum of Palermo; from a photograph. Two personages, in cothurni of different heights, are represented conversing. The one holding a stick is doubtless the inferior.

But listen to Aristophanes relating the dispute which arose in the infernal regions between Aischylos and Euripides, in presence of Dionysos, the god of the drama and arbiter in the quarrel. The poet of lofty thoughts and noble style is angry at being obliged to compete with "the word-making, polished tongue . . . against which

ARES.¹

he will send forth bolt-fastened words, tearing them up, like planks, with gigantic breath."²

Aischylos. Answer me: for what ought we to admire a poet?

Euripides. For cleverness and instruction; and because we make the people in the cities better.

Aischylos. Observe, then, what sort of men you originally received from me, noble and tall fellows, not loungers in the markets nor rogues, as they are

¹ Relief in the eastern frieze of the Parthenon; from a cast. Cf. A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, atlas, pl. xiv., No. 27. It is uncertain whether this figure represents the god of war; it was long supposed that the stick on which he supports the left leg was a lance; so that the name of Triptolemos is more appropriate, especially as the divinity immediately preceding him is Demeter.

² Allusion is made by Aristophanes to the emphasis, the sonorous style, and the gigantic images which Aischylos often uses. Horace (*Ars Poet.*, 97) also speaks of his "sesquipedalian words."

now, nor villains, but breathing of spears and lances and white-crested helmets, and casques and greaves and sevenfold courage.

Dionysos. And how did you teach them to be so noble-minded?

Aischylos. By having composed a drama full of martial spirit.

Dionysos. Of what kind?

Aischylos. *The Seven against Thebes.* Every man that saw it would long to be a warrior. Then I composed *The Persians* after this, and taught men to desire always to conquer their adversaries, having embellished a most noble achievement. This it behooves poets to do; and behold how useful they have been from of old! Orpheus made known to us mystic rites, and to abstain from slaughter; Mousaios, thorough cures of diseases and oracles; Hesiod, the cultivation of the earth, the season for fruits and tillage; and by what did the divine Homer obtain honor and glory except this, that he taught what was useful, the marshalling of an army, brave deeds, and the equipment of heroes, from whom my mind copied and represented the many brave deeds of Patrokluses and Teukers, that I might inspire the citizen to raise himself to these, whenever he should hear the trumpet. But I introduced no unchaste Phaidras, nor have I ever represented on the stage any woman in love."¹

Aristophanes might have given another example of the martial ardor and glowing patriotism of the poet, in the drama of *The Persians*, represented at Athens within eight years after the battle of Salamis. Here the spectators beheld Queen Atossa in tears, Xerxes with torn garments, the Persian chiefs lamenting, and the great Oriental empire in humiliation.²

This drama is the central piece of a trilogy, of which the rest is lost. It is conjectured that the first of the three related the capture of the Golden Fleece by the Argonauts on the remotest shore of the Euxine, and the third the defeat of the Carthaginians by the Sicilian Greeks in the western Mediterranean. The



COIN OF GELA IN SICILY.³

¹ Aristophanes, *The Frogs*. All the pleasantry is omitted which gives this play its comic character, as it would here be out of place.

² See this scene, Vol. II. pp. 469-471.

³ In retrograde legend: ΓΕΛΑΙΟΝ. Woman driving a quadriga; over the horses a Victory hovers, holding a wreath. Reverse: ΣΟΣΙΠΟΛΙΣ. Fore-part of a bull, with bearded human head (the river Gelas personified). Before him a woman, standing, places a wreath upon his head. (Tetradrachm of the Coll. Lucien de Hirsch.)

trilogy thus was a laudation of Hellas, victorious over Asiatic and African barbarism; and we may imagine the rapturous applause which broke forth in Athens and Syracuse when the poet showed "the Persian's majesty and might utterly destroyed."

When words like these were heard upon the Athenian stage, the theatre had become a training-school for the soldiers of Kimon



DEATH OF AISCHYLOS.²

and Perikles, whom Thucydides had in mind when he said: "Men, not walls, make a city's strength."¹ But the devout poet, while exalting his nation's pride, was mindful to show to all men, above the trophies of the war of independence, divine justice, which had destroyed the insolent prosperity of the Great King, — a lesson in morals and moderation, following a pæan of victory.

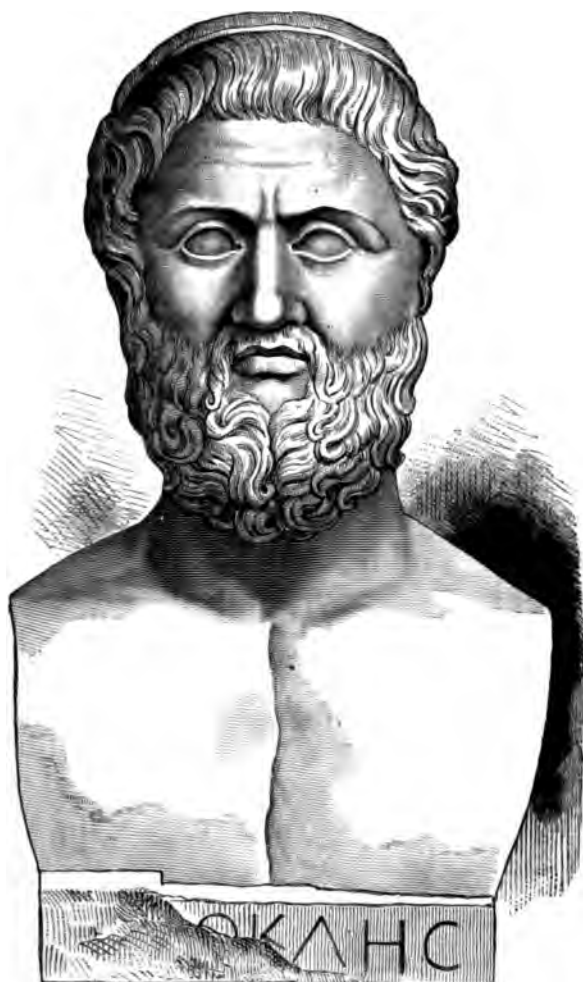
Aischylos died in Sicily (455 B. C.). "On his death-bed," says Pausanias (I. xiv.), "he remembered none of his other exploits, though he was so remarkable as a dramatist, and had fought both at Artemision and at Salamis; and he wrote, in the poem he then composed, his own name and the name of his city, and said that he had as witnesses of his prowess the grove at Marathon and the Persians who landed there." Athens did not ratify the voluntary exile of her great poet. In the following century the orator Lykourgos, as manager of the public revenues, erected to him a statue of brass, as well as to Sophokles and Euripides; and a decree was passed that a copy of their works, made at the public expense, should be preserved in the archives of the State, and that no change should be made in the text when these dramas were performed on the stage.

¹ Thucydides, vii. 77. It may be permitted me to say that I had in mind this sentence of Thucydides when, twenty-four years ago, I gave the University of Paris as its pass-word: *Faisons des hommes*. And men are made only by an intimate association with those great minds whom utilitarians of our day are ready to proscribe, — as if it were not the most precious of all utilities to have men; that is to say, lofty intellects and noble hearts!

² Engraved stone of the former Cabinet Stosch (from Visconti, *Iconografia greca*, iii. 8). Valerius Maximus (ix. 12, 2) and other authors relate the legend which the artist represents: an eagle, holding a tortoise in his claws, let it drop on the poet's bald head, mistaking it for a stone. The aged Aischylos is represented with a cup in his hand, — probably without special significance, although a biographer of the poet, Chamailcon, has asserted that Aischylos was in a state of intoxication when he composed his dramas (Plutarch, *Banquet*, vii. 10). The authenticity of this stone may be doubted.

III. — SOPHOKLES.

SOPHOKLES was almost of the same age with Perikles, his birth having occurred in 498 B. C., or, more probably, 495; he was a con-



SOPHOKLES.¹

temporary also of Aischylos, older than himself by thirty years, of Euripides, fifteen years his junior, and of Herodotos, his intimate friend, whom he celebrated in a poem.² At the age of sixteen

¹ Marble bust in the Vatican (from the *Mus. Pio. Cl.*, vol. vi. pl. 27).

² The father of Sophokles followed a handicraft, or possibly superintended the work of his slaves, but was nevertheless a Eupatrid, since Sophokles appears to have been a priest

he was chosen, on account of his beauty, to lead the chorus of youths who danced around the trophy which the Athenians had erected in Salamis in honor of their victory over the Persians, and his life was prolonged till 406 B. C., which gave him almost ninety years, — a less number, however, than that of the tragedies he composed. He therefore saw all the great period of Athens, and the beginning of her decline; but he had not the grief of living to hear the fatal name of Aigos-Potamos.

In the competition for the Great Dionysia of 468 B. C., Aischylos and Sophokles were rivals. At the moment when the archon-eponymos, whose duty it was to draw by lot the names of the judges, one for each tribe, was about to fulfil this function, Kimon and the nine generals who were his colleagues, returning from a successful campaign, entered the theatre of Dionysos to make the accustomed libations. The archon detained them at the altar, and caused them to take oath as judges; upon which they gave the second prize to the older poet, and the first to his young rival. This was for Sophokles, then twenty-seven years of age, a victory doubly memorable, since he triumphed over a poet perhaps really his superior, and did so by the vote of a victorious general.¹

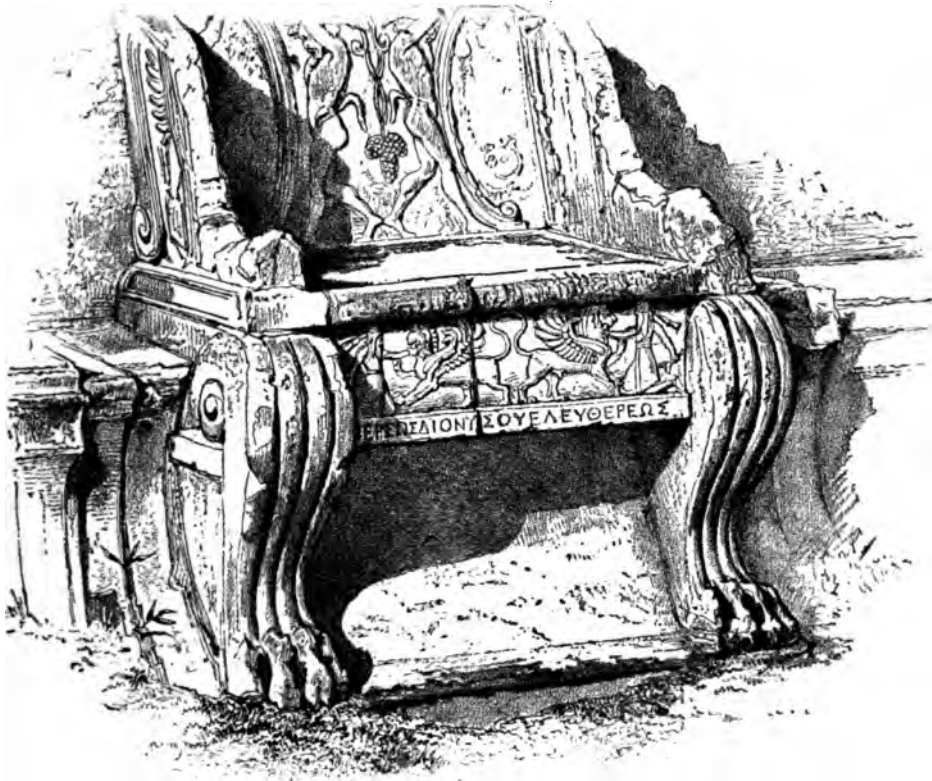
Both Aischylos and Euripides in their later years withdrew from Athens to the court of a foreign king;² Sophokles never left the city which he praised in his *Triptolemos* as the centre of Hellenic civilization, and in the *Oidipous at Kolonos* as the asylum where those who had suffered great disasters could seek an inviolable asylum. He held important offices in the State, and in 440 B. C. was, with Perikles, among the ten *strategoi* sent against the Samians, then in revolt. We may wonder that Athens thus associated a poet with her great statesman in the charge of a military expedition; but war and poetry go together, and glowing words are as useful as skilful tactics. Sparta once made Tyrtaios a general, and Sophokles had at that time recently excited the admiration of the Athenians by his tragedy of *Antigone*, in which

to the hero Alkon, that son of Erechtheus whose skill as an archer was such that he slew with an arrow, without wounding his son, a serpent which had surrounded the child with its folds (Valerius Flaccus, i. 399–401. Cf. Hirschfeld. *Hermes*, viii. 356).

¹ Plutarch, *Kimon*, 8.

² Simonides, Pindar, Plato, and many others did the same.

he had depicted the most noble attitude of the human mind; namely, the spirit of self-sacrifice carried to its last height in obedience to moral law.¹ In appointing Sophokles *strategos*, the Athenians felt, no doubt, that they gave their soldiers a leader



SEAT OF THE PRIEST OF DIONYSOS, IN THE THEATRE OF ATHENS.²

capable of raising their courage to the highest point, while as regarded military strategy, that might safely be left to Perikles, and Sophokles was not the man to dispute the command with him. Ion, the Chian poet who saw Sophokles on this expedition,

¹ Cf. Vol. I. pp. 223, 412, and later in this volume, p. 37.

² From a photograph and a cast in the Sorbonne. The chair of the priest of Dionysos Eleuthereos (Ἱερέως Διονύσου Ἐλευθερέως, *Corp. inscr. Att.*, iii. 240) was directly opposite the stage. It had the place of honor, and is also more richly ornamented than any other; on the back are two satyrs, of archaic style, bearing a heavy bunch of grapes; on the edge, above the inscription, are two Arimaspoi fighting with dragons; and on each of the two sides is represented Agon, the genius of the cock-fights which took place within the enclosure of the theatre. The chair and its inscription are of the imperial epoch, — probably the reign of Hadrian, who restored and embellished the theatre of Dionysos. A legend represents the village of Eleutheria, in Attika, as the birthplace of Dionysos.

tells us that he took his office of general somewhat sportively, and Plutarch makes nearly the same assertion, referring to a second military appointment which Sophokles received, in 415 B. C. But we have no reason to suppose that these anecdotes, called out by the contrast between the poet's triumphant lyre and the modest sword of the general, are more authentic than so many others in which the Greek mind took delight. His appointment in 413, as one of the ten *πρόβουλοι* (committee of public safety) whom their office placed above the general assembly,¹ would prove at least, if it were certain, the persistent confidence of the people; and we might say that while Aischylos ended his career by a partisan's voluntary exile, Sophokles remained the citizen who is faithful to his country, without regard to the persons who for the time are its rulers. He died in 406 B. C.,—the same year in which Euripides ended his life. It is said that in his later years his son Iophon sought to have him restricted from legal action as to his property, as being of enfeebled mind. In reply the old poet read aloud to his judges the description of Attika in the wonderful chorus of the *Oidipous at Kolonos*, as yet unfinished, and heard by them for the first time.²

¹ In respect to these magistrates, see Thucydides, viii. 1, and later in this work, Chap. XXVI. It is not certain that the *proboulos* Sophokles whom Aristotle mentions (*Rhet.*, iii. 8) was the old poet, and that he was the *strategos* of 415 is equally doubtful; at that date Sophokles was eighty years of age.

² ["Of all the land far famed for goodly steeds,
Thou comest, O stranger, to the noblest spot,
Colonos, glistening bright,
Where evermore, in thickets freshly green,
The clear-voiced nightingale
Still haunts, and pours her song,
By purpling ivy hid,
And the thick leafage sacred to the god,
With all its myriad fruits,
By mortal's foot untouched,
By sun's hot ray unscathed,
Sheltered from every blast;
There wanders Dionysos evermore,
In full, wild revelry,
And waits upon the nymphs who nursed his youth.

"And there, beneath the gentle dews of heaven,
The fair narcissus with its clustered bells
Blooms ever, day by day,
Of old the wreath of mightiest goddesses;
And crocus, golden-eyed;
And still unslumbering flow
Kephisos' wandering streams;

Simmiias of Thebes composed for the poet this epitaph: "Upon the grave of Sophokles, O ivy, creep softly! Cover it in silence with thy verdant branches. Let the rose bloom there, and the vine cling about it, to honor the poet of wise and tuneful thoughts, trained by the Muses and the Graces."¹

In the works that remain to us we see that Aischylos and

They fail not from their spring, but evermore
 Swift-rushing into birth,
 Over the plain they sweep,
 The land of broad, full breast,
 With clear and stainless wave:
 Nor do the Muses in their minstrel choirs,
 Hold it in slight esteem,
 Nor Aphrodite with her golden reins.

"And in it grows a marvel such as ne'er
 On Asia's soil I heard,
 Nor the great Dorian isle from Pelops named —
 A plant self-sown, that knows
 No touch of withering age,
 Terror of hostile swords,
 Which here on this our ground
 Its high perfection gains, —
 The gray-green foliage of the olive-tree,
 Rearing a goodly race:
 And nevermore shall man,
 Or young, or bowed with years,
 Give forth the fierce command
 And lay it low in dust.
 For lo! the eye of Zeus,
 Zeus of our olive-groves,
 That sees eternally,
 Casteth its glance thereon,
 And she, Athena, with the clear gray eyes.

"And yet another praise is mine to sing,
 Gift of the mighty god
 To this our city, Mother of us all,
 Her greatest, noblest boast,
 Famed for her goodly steeds,
 Famed for her bounding colts,
 Famed for her sparkling sea.
 Poseidon, son of Kronos, lord and king,
 To thee this boast we owe,
 For first in these our streets
 Thou to the untamed horse
 Didst use the conquering bit:
 And here the well-shaped oar,
 By skilled hands deftly plied,
 Still leapeth through the sea,
 Following in wondrous guise
 The fair Nereids, with their hundred feet."

Oidipous at Kolonos. Dr. Plumptre's English translation, pp. 84-86.]

¹ Jacobs, *Anthol. Graeca*, i. 100.

Sophokles shared between them the most tragic legends of Greece: one sings of the dramas of Argos and the house of the Atreidai; the other of the Theban tragedies and the family of Labdakos. But there are many differences between them. Sophokles was still a believer in the Greek religion, for his biographer, an ancient



THE HILLOCK OF COLONNOS AND THE OLIVE-GROVE.¹

writer whose name is unknown, calls him *θεοφιλής*, “the friend of the gods,” and believed that he received revelations from above. Still he dares to state the case against the Olympians:

“For now they set at nought
The worn-out oracles
That Laios heard of old,
And King Apollo’s wonted worship flags,
And all to wreck is gone
The homage due to God.”²

These are words of the chorus in *Oidipous the King*; and in a general view of the drama of Sophokles we recognize that there

¹ From a photograph. The hillock is at the left, and is surmounted by two funereal columns, that of O. Müller and that of C. Lenormant, both of whom died in Greece. Behind the olive-grove at the left is Mount Aigaleos, one of the spurs of Mount Parnes.

² *Oidipous the King*, 905-910. [Dr. Plumptre’s English translation, p. 34.]

is less place assigned to the gods, and more to men, so that the distance between the spectators and the actors is manifestly lessened. He introduces upon the scene a third actor, thus giving more liberty to the poet, more vivacity to the action, and, while raising the number of the chorus from twelve to fifteen, he diminishes its importance and the lyric character it had had under his predecessors, and concentrates the interest much more closely upon the development of character in the personages of the drama. Aischylos makes one poem of the three parts of the trilogy, which hampers, while it strengthens him; but Sophokles divides them clearly. In the latter's work nothing recalls to us the *Oresteia*, in which the tragic story of a whole race is unrolled, causing an impression of religious awe by the continuity of the blows struck at one family. The two poets, however, deal with the same question, that of sovereign justice, — Aischylos, with more sombre grandeur; Sophokles, with as high thought, but more flexible; and with each the drama ends in the restoration of the victim of Destiny. Was Oidipous justly condemned for crimes which he had committed innocently, — unaware that, in defending his life against an unknown stranger, he kills his father; that in becoming the husband of Iokaste he marries his own mother, and is at once his children's father and their brother? This problem of the higher philosophy has come down through the ages; the spectators in the theatre of Dionysos discussed it, and so did the best minds of the age of Louis XIV.; and the Athenian poets sought its solution on the side of humanity, putting conscience and its rights above the crude fact and the chastisements that followed it. What then must have been this Athenian people, to whom such high feasts of the mind were offered!

In the dramatic conception of the two poets there is another difference, which announces near and important changes. Sophokles in *Oidipous the King* shows love, while not daring to make it speak, and he gives to women a place which Aischylos never assigned them. Heroes enough had been celebrated by the epic Muse and upon the lyre of Pindar. Into their company Sophokles introduces Antigone, who equals them in courage, and surpasses them in devotion.

To Sophokles are ascribed a hundred and thirty dramas, or, by a lower estimate, a hundred and thirteen, of which twenty received

the wreath, and not one fell below the second place.¹ Of all this work there remain nine hundred and fifty-six fragments, all very short, and seven complete tragedies, of which two, the *Aias* and the *Maidens of Trachis*, are interesting only to scholars. The rage of the son of Telamon, and Deïaneira's jealousy are subjects for all time. As poetry, these dramas are beautiful or terrible; but there is nothing in them peculiar, and hence nothing of which history takes account. We may remark the share assigned by Sophokles to human passions on this stage, which Aischylos had peopled with gods and heroes. When Aias recognizes the sad results of his anger, he bends under the shame of his misconduct and acknowledges—he who has braved the thunderbolt of Zeus—that it is a man's duty to submit to gods and to kings.

“The strongest things
That fright the soul, still yield to sovereignty.
Winters with all their snow-drifts still withdraw
For summer with its fruits; and night's dark orb

¹ [“When we remember that the number which he wrote was not less than one hundred and thirteen, and that a large number of these were received with as much applause and as much success as those which are still extant, we are struck with wonder at the immense fertility which was united with such consummate art. Difficult as it is to compare writers who differ, as has been said, generically; daring as it may be to attempt to dethrone one whom so many ages have recognized as king,—it seems but the natural conclusion of what has been said to assign to Sophocles a higher place in the history of Greek literature than even to Homer himself. If he has not the glory of being the first great poet, his greatness is of a higher type. He is the representative poet of a more advanced and cultivated age, and shows greater sympathy with the thoughts and questionings of such an age, with its hopes and fears, its problems and its strivings. In his estimate of human excellence there is a less exclusive admiration of the mere brute courage which passes into ferocity, and which even in Homer's noblest heroes is accompanied by acts of savage cruelty, and he thinks more of reverence, wisdom, skill in rule, filial devotion, faithfulness, and honor. . . . In what bears on the growth and history of the society in which he lived, he is not content, as Homer was, with making his characters the mouthpieces of the commonplace declamation of kings and chiefs against the advancing freedom of the people, or caricaturing demagogues, as in the portraiture of Thersites, but aims, in the spirit of a wise conservatism, at bringing into permanent harmony the two principles of order and of progress,—reverence for the past, and freedom and hopefulness for the future. In his estimate of the higher and more mysterious truths which enter into man's life and thoughts, he stands on a far higher elevation. The work of Homer was to immortalize the poorest and coarsest forms of the popular mythology, with scarcely a thought of anything beyond them or above them. . . . The work of Sophocles, following, though with calmer tread and clearer vision and serener speech, in the steps of Æschylos, was the task, finding the mythology of Homer in possession of the mind of the people, to turn it, as far as it could be turned, into an instrument of moral education, and to lead men upwards to the eternal laws of God and the thought of his righteous order.” (Biographical Essay prefixed to Dr. Plumptre's English translation of the Tragedies of Sophocles.) — Ed.]

NOTE.—The marble statue represented on the opposite page was found at Terracina, and is now in the Museum of the Lateran. (From a photograph.)



SOPHOKLES.



Moves on, that day may kindle up its fires,—
 Day, with its chariot drawn by whitest steeds;
 And blast of dreadest winds will lull to rest
 The groaning ocean; and all-conquering sleep
 Now binds, now frees, and does not hold for aye
 Whom once it seized. And shall not we too learn
 Our lesson of true wisdom?"¹

Here we have the most audacious of rebels teaching the people submission to established laws. But the indomitable character of Aias quickly recovers itself. He has shed impure blood; his honor demands an expiation. To give it, he is about to fall upon Hektor's sword; and the gentle appeals of Tekmessa, his wife, cannot turn him from his fatal decision:—

"Pity, O king, thy boy, and think if he,
 Deprived of childhood's nurture, live bereaved,
 Beneath unfriendly guardians, what sore grief
 Thou, in thy death, dost give to him and me.
 . . . Yea, think of me too. Still the good man feels,
 Or ought to feel, the memory of delight,
 For gracious favors still do favors win;
 But if a man forget the good received,
 His soul no more wears stamp of gentle birth."²

The subject of the *Maidens of Trachis* is the death and apotheosis of Herakles. This drama would have little interest without the part of Deianeira, the hero's devoted wife, who commiserates the captives, even when she finds among them a rival. She does not harshly blame young Iole, but accuses the god of love,—

"For he reigns high, supreme above the gods.
 And sways them as he will; (yea, sways my soul,
 And why not then another's, like to me?)
 So, should I blame my husband for his fate
 In catching this disease, I should indeed
 Have lost my reason; or if I should blame
 This woman, guilty of no shameful deed,
 Or wrong against me . . .
 Lo! I pitied her
 When first I saw her, for her beauty's sake;
 For it, I knew, had wrecked her life's fond hope."³

¹ *Aias* [Dr. Plumptre's English translation, p. 312].

² [*Ibid.*, p. 307].

³ *The Maidens of Trachis* [Dr. Plumptre's English translation, pp. 255, 256].

But a few beautiful lines do not make this drama admirable, for its faults are so great that even the authenticity of it as a work of Sophokles has been called in question.



AIAS.¹

The *Elektra*, inferior in the conception of character to the drama of Aischylos which bears the same title, is superior in style to that work. But this second Elektra is too masculine; she towers above Orestes in her hatred and imprecations.² The son dares not curse his mother, although he by no means forgives her. But Elektra hates, despises, and is ready to kill Klytaimnestra. She is thus more tragic, while less lovable. Speaking of Orestes, she says to her mother :

“ Full oft hast thou
Charged me with rearing him to come at last
A minister of vengeance ; and I own,
Had I but strength, be sure of this, 't were done.”³

At the moment of the murder, Elektra encourages Orestes. “ Strike her yet again,” she cries, “ if thou hast strength for it.” And when Orestes is about to attack Aigisthos, she once more urges him on :

“ Give him no leave to speak,
By all the gods, my brother, nor to spin
His long discourse. When men are plunged in ills,
What gain can one who stands condemned to die
Reap from delay? No, slay him out of hand,
And, having slain him, cast him forth, to find
Fit burial at their hands from whom 't is meet
That he should have it, far away from view.”

¹ The despair of Aias, son of Telamon. The hero Aias is seated on a rock; his helmet is at his feet; he supports his head with his left hand, and with his right draws the sword with which he is about to kill himself. (Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France*. White jasper, 13 millim. by 12. No. 1,819 of the *Catalogue*.)

² *Elektra* [Dr. Plumptre's English translation, p. 203].

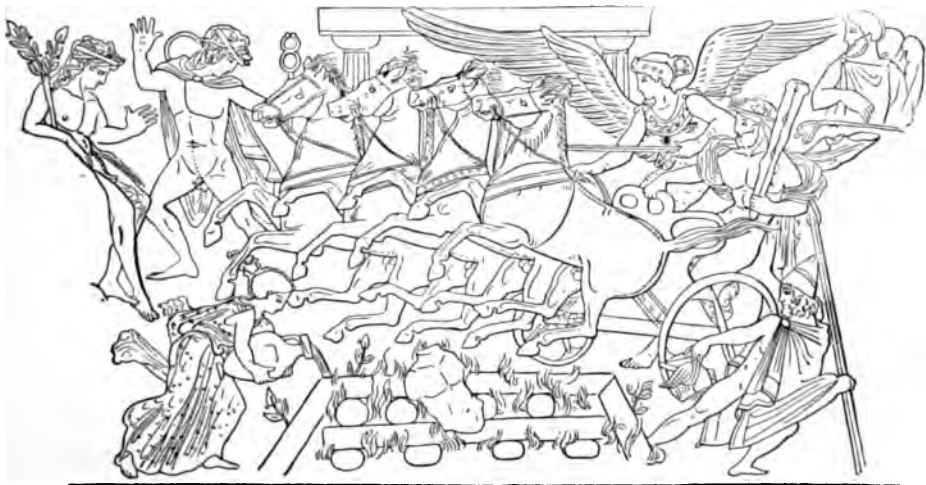
³ The father's relations to the child appeared to the Greeks much more close than the mother's, — which they singularly underrated. Aischylos (*Eumenides*, 628) expresses this popular feeling by the mouth of Apollo: —

[“ The mother is not parent of the child
That is called hers, but nurse of embryo sown.
He that begets is parent; she, as stranger,
For stranger rears the scion.”

Dr. Plumptre's English translation, p. 322.]

This belief diminishes the odium of Elektra's hatred of the mother who had caused her father's death.

Here the gentle poet goes too far. But let us look at his true masterpieces. His *Philoktetes* and *Oidipous at Kolonos*, which were written extremely late in life, show that old age had no disastrous effect upon this noble intellect, and that till the very end he preserved the serenity of his genius, the fertility of his mind, and that gracefulness of style which gave him the name of the Attic bee. From a subject apparently sterile, a dramatic incident admitting but a few characters, he develops a tragedy which moves the soul to its very depths. Such is the *Philoktetes*, a work simple yet touching, nude like some beautiful antique statue. Three characters

EOS.¹THE APOTHEOSIS OF HERAKLES.²

suffice for the action; but above them hover two ideas which, for the spectators, are always present: the one patriotic,—the

¹ Eos, standing, wearing a long peplos, drives two horses at a gallop. A long veil floats around the head of the goddess. (Cameo of the collection of Baron Roger; earlier, of the Louis Fould Collection. Sardonyx of three layers, 36 millim. by 54. Chabouillet, *Catalogue de la Coll. Louis Fould*, No. 904.)

² Vase-painting, from Milani, *Il mito di Filottete*, pl. i. 3. In the lower part of the scene, on the funeral-pile, is still burning part of the body of Herakles. At the left a nymph pours water upon the flames; this would seem to be a personification of the Dyrras, which overflowed

necessity of making an end of this ten years war against the Barbarians of Asia, by giving Troy to the Greeks; the other



ORESTES AND ELEKTRA.¹

religious, — the duty of obedience to the gods. The oracles had said that Troy could be taken only by the arrows of Herakles;

its banks to bring succor to Herakles (Herodotos, vii. 198, 3); at the right, Philoktetes is making his escape, carrying the quiver which the hero has given him. Above, the artist represents the apotheosis of the son of Zeus and Alkmene: he is standing upon a chariot drawn by four horses, and driven by the goddess of victory; in the left hand he holds his club, and has a laurel-wreath on his head. The chariot, guided by Hermes, whom we recognize by his caduceus, passes through the portals of Olympos and advances towards Apollo, who is seated at the left and holds an olive-branch in his hand. The figure at the right is perhaps Mount Oite personified.

¹ Marble group in the Museum of Naples; from a cast. Elektra, tenderly leaning upon her brother, from whom she has been so long separated, listens to him attentively. For other representations of the brother and sister discussing their plans of vengeance, see Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, pp. 683 *et seq.*

the Greeks send Odysseus to take them away from Philoktetes, in whose possession they are. Punished with an incurable wound for having violated an oath, Philoktetes had been abandoned in a desert island because of the intolerable odor of the wound. The astute king of Ithaka justifies his reputation; he lies and deceives with no more scruple than was usual in a nation which



THE MURDER OF AIGISTHOS.¹

made Hermes the god of lying, and considered a skilful fraud as meritorious as a gallant deed. In contrast with this ancestor of Themistokles and of Lysandros, the poet places Neoptolemos, son of Achilleus, a man who, as of heroic race, refuses to share in this duplicity. Odysseus argues with him, —

“ I know, O boy, thy nature is not apt
 To speak such things, nor evil guile devise ;
 But sweet it is to gain the conqueror’s prize ;
 Therefore be bold. Hereafter, once again
 We will appear in sight of all as just.”

¹ Bas-relief discovered at Aricia : from the *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1849, pl. xi. 1. (This should be compared with the vase-painting represented above, p. 11.) Orestes, a dagger in his hand, has just struck Aegisthos, who has fallen to the ground, mortally wounded. The murderer seems to wish to escape from his mother, who lays her hand on his shoulder in entreaty. Behind Klytëmnestras stands Elektra; and, at the right and left, two women-servants lift their hands to heaven in horror at the act which has just been committed.

But the other rejoins, —

“ The things, O son of Lartios, which I grieve
To hear in words, those same I hate to do.
I was not born to act with evil arts,
Nor I myself, nor, as they say, my sire. . . .
And yet, being sent thy colleague, I am loth
To get the name of traitor ; but I wish,
O king, to miss my mark in acting well,
Rather than conquer, acting evilly.”

Neoptolemos yields, however, seduced by the glory that is promised him if he brings back to the Greek camp the arrows of Herakles, and obtains them fraudulently. Soon, however, overcome with shame, he restores them to Philoktetes, who, persistent in his hatred of the Atreidai, refuses to quit his island. Herakles then descends from heaven and induces his old comrade to fulfil the oracles. In giving up his weapons to the son of Achilleus, Philoktetes gives also counsel, —



PHILOKTETES.¹

“ Receive thou them, but first adore the Power
Whose name is Jealousy, that they may prove
To thee less full of trouble than they were
To me, and him who owned them ere I owned.”

That is to say, do not take too much pride in your success ; the gods are not pleased when human fortunes rise too high.²

Two things create the strong interest of this drama, — the opposition in the characters of Odysseus and Neoptolemos, representing the two sides of the Greek race ; and the lamentations of the unfortunate man deprived of the weapons which secured his livelihood. His prayers recall those of Priam kneeling to Achilleus ; and his physical and mental sufferings, which Sophokles takes a cruel pleasure in depicting, are more humanly pathetic, and to us

¹ Head of the nymph Lamia, on the obverse. Reverse : AAMI[EQN]. Philoktetes, seated on a rock, his right hand raised to his head, with his left leaning on the rock ; in the field, his bow and arrows. Bronze coin of Lamia. (British Museum.)

² The belief in the jealousy of the gods, of which Hesiod speaks (see Vol. I. pp. 362 *et seq.* ; and above, p. 10), was still very vital in the fifth century B. C. We find it even in Euripides (*Iphigeneia in Tauris*, 390, and in many other of his dramas) ; but with Thucydides it has disappeared.

more touching, than the majestic and divine tortures of the Prometheus.

It would seem that the *Oidipous Tyrannos*, the *Oidipous at Kolonos*, and the *Antigone*, form a trilogy like the *Oresteia* of Aischylos. The events are consecutive in these

AMETHYST.¹

dramas, but the dates of their representation are different. Oidipous was reigning at Thebes, happy and respected, when a terrible pest, extending through the city, makes known the anger of the gods; and here

AGATE.²

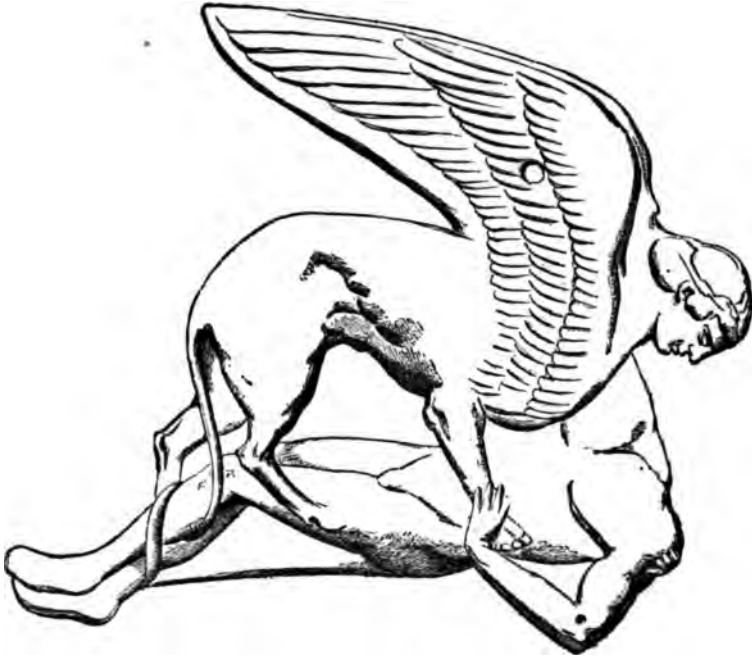
again the innocent suffer instead of the guilty. It is the ancient law,—a people suffer for their ruler. But misfortune approaches him. The news of the death of his supposed father, the king of Corinth, produces complications which bring to light the involuntary crimes committed by Oidipous. He plucks out his eyes, clothes himself in rags, and having wandered as a beggar through many lands, led by his daughter Antigone, he comes to die near Athens in the grove of the Eumenides. His two sons, who dispute for the throne, kill each other in single combat. Their uncle Kreon, becoming king, decrees that Polyneikes, as a traitor to his country, shall have no funeral rites. Antigone dares to violate this impious decree, and is buried alive by Kreon. The web is simple; but with what superb embroideries and tragic pictures the poet has adorned it!

Sophokles believes in the necessity of expiation by suffering as the foundation of his system of ethics, in purification by pain, as fire refines metal, freeing it from dross; and he lights up with pure radiance the gloomy majesty of the ancient legends. He strikes that note of sadness which is one of the elements of poetry as a contrast to its brilliant joyousness. "Happiest beyond compare," says the Chorus in *Oidipous at Kolonos*, "never to taste of life! Happiest in order next, being born, with quickest

¹ The monster is seated on a rock. Oidipous stands before her; he holds a staff, and his left hand is raised to his forehead. (*Cabinet de France*, 15 millim. by 13. No. 1,807 of the *Catalogue*.)

² Philoktetes, seated, a helmet on his head and half nude; his quiver is before him; he leans his head upon his right hand. (Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France*. Veined agate, 18 millim. by 13; No. 1,823 of the *Catalogue*.)

speed thither again to turn from whence we came!"¹ But at the side of the old man whom Destiny has pursued since his birth, the poet places the daughter, who piously sustains her father's faltering steps and guides him to deliverance. In the presence of Kreon, violating the sacred law of funeral rites, he shows Antigone protesting, in the name of conscience, against all tyrannies, whether of earth or heaven; and of the murderer of



THE THEBAN SPHINX.²

his father, the husband of his mother, the exiled king, the blind old man whom all repulse, the great criminal in human judgment, but the innocent victim according to eternal justice, he makes a hero and the protecting genius of the city of Athene.

The *Oidipous Tyrannos* is the masterpiece of Sophokles. I shall speak only of the progress of ideas which it marks in giving a moral character to Fate, which was unknown to the early faith; of its picture of human activities, not, as formerly, in war, but in

¹ Verses 1,215 *et seq.*

² Plaque in terra-cotta, discovered, it is said, in Melos, and now in Athens; from Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, pl. xxx. No. 125. The sphinx holds with her claws a man whom she has thrown upon the ground.

peace, substituting the heroes of the mind for the heroes of the Homeric contests; lastly, of its triumphant proclamation of the rights of conscience, which has traversed the centuries, invoked by all the victims of unjust laws.

When Destiny strikes an innocent man, it is, to the mind of Sophokles, because he had among his ancestors a criminal.¹ The



ANTIGONE AND KREON.²

chastisement implies the offence; but the justice of the god is slow in coming to the individual, as that of history comes tardily to nations; the law of hereditary expiation explains this injustice by the solidarity of the generations. Thus the fierce divinity of

¹ This Oidipous pleads against Kreon who reviles him and threatens him with punishment:—

[" O shameless soul! on which, think'st thou, thy scorn
Will fall most heavily, my age or thine?
Who with thy lips dost tell the goodly tale,
Of murders, incests, sad calamities,
Which I, poor wretch, against my will endured;
For thus it pleased the gods, incensed, perhaps,
Against my father's house for guilt of old.
For, as regards my life, thou could'st not find
One spot of guilt, in recompense for which
I sinned these sins against myself and mine."]

Oidipous at Kolonos, Dr. Plumtre's English translation pp. 95-96.]

Klytaimnestra, in the *Agamemnon* of Aischylos, makes the same plea. See above, p. 16.

² Vase-painting from the *Monum. dell' Instit.*, vol. x. pl. 27 (*Annali*, 1876, pp. 176 *et seq.*). At the left of a highly decorated edifice, under which stands Herakles (ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ), is Antigone (ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ). Her hands are bound behind her back, and a keeper, armed with two lances, accompanies her. Behind them is Haimon (ΑΙΜΩΝ), her betrothed; overcome with grief, he supports his head with his right hand. Herakles is speaking to Kreon (ΚΡΑΩΝ), who, standing at the right, leans upon his sceptre; behind the king is a youth, holding a *phiale*, and an aged woman. Above is seated Ismene (ΙΣΜΗΝΗ). All these persons seem to be listening to

the earlier days is justified in his seeming caprices by an old belief which still remains a half-fact, both of science and history, — the son inherits the father's fault. But that which is new in this harsh, early world, is that the rights of innocence are at last recognized; when Oidipous has completed the expiation for



RELIEF ON AN ETRUSCAN URN.¹

the sins of his race, thunder is heard in the sky, a great voice cries: "Come, Oidipous! why dost thou linger?" and he vanishes from sight. But it is an apotheosis; he is received into heaven.

This transformation of the old dogma of Fatality is completed by a laudation of the human mind. While Kreon withdraws, the Chorus, remaining alone with the audience, relates the victories

Herakles, who is asking pardon for Antigone and Haimon. According to a legend which Euripides seems to have followed in his tragedy of *Antigone*, Haimon, instead of executing his father's orders and putting the young girl to death, saved her life, and from their union was born a son, Maion, who, after he had grown to be a youth, was recognized by Kreon. The old king, not listening to the entreaty of Herakles, condemned Haimon, who took his own life and that of Antigone. The painter has here followed the legend; perhaps the youth accompanying Kreon is Maion. The same scene is painted on a vase in the Museum of Berlin (Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, No. 3,240). See J. Vogel, *Scenen Euripideischer Tragödien in Griechischen Vasengemälden*, Leipzig (1886), pp. 47 *et seq.*

¹ From Gori, *Mus. etrusc. Volt.*, vol. i. pl. 142. The scene represents Oidipous about to be deprived of sight by the servants of his father. Oidipous kneels in the centre of the group, held down by two servants, while a third, with a dagger, is about to destroy his sight. Kreon, at the left, looks on calmly at the punishment which he has ordered, while behind him his wife, Eurydike, is supported by a maid-servant. At the right Iokaste and her two children express their horror and grief, and behind Iokaste is another maid-servant. In the tragedy of Sophokles, the reader will remember that Oidipous himself destroys his sight; the sculptor follows the version which Euripides adopts in his *Oidipous* (Schol. of Euripides, *The Phœnician Women*, 61).

man has gained over Nature, and hence over the gods, notwithstanding their jealousy: —

“ Many the forms of life,
Wondrous and strange to see,
But nought than man appears
More wondrous and more strange.
He, with the wintry gales,
O'er the white foaming sea,
'Mid wild waves surging round,
Wendeth his way across
Earth, of all gods from ancient days the first,
Unworn and undecayed,
He, with his ploughs that travel o'er and o'er,
Furrowing with horse and mule,
Wears ever year by year.

The thoughtless tribe of birds,
The beasts that roam the fields,
The brood in sea-depths born,
He takes them all in nets
Knotted in snaring mesh,
Man, wonderful in skill.
And, by his subtle arts
He holds in sway the beasts
That roam the fields, or tread the mountain's height ;
And brings the binding yoke
Upon the neck of horse with shaggy mane,
Or bull on mountain crest,
Untamable in strength.

And speech, and thought as swift as wind,
And tempered mood for higher life of states,
These he has learnt, and how to flee
Or the clear cold of frost unkind,
Or darts of storm and shower,
Man all-providing. Unprovided, he
Meeteth no chance the coming days may bring ;
Only from Hades, still
He fails to find escape,
Though skill of art may teach him how to flee
From depths of fell disease incurable.”¹

¹ *Antigone* [Dr. Plumptre's English translation, pp. 141-142.]

We are habituated to language like this, and it no longer surprises us. But what an effect words like these must have produced upon spectators whose imaginations were still full of the legend of Prometheus, which Aischylos had related to them in his daring verse! At last the Titan has conquered; fire and the arts which he has given to men have made them masters of the world, and the two great poets of Greece unite in celebrating humanity enfranchised, not from the Nemesis which punishes pride, but from that which gratifies the envious jealousy of the Olympians.

These are grand thoughts; and yet there are words of Antigone which go higher and farther, for they have been repeated by the persecuted of all ages, and in the end will destroy persecution. No poet among the ancients has created so pure a type as this daughter of Oidipous, heroic, and yet most womanly, who persists even unto death in her filial and sisterly devotion, and walks proudly to her fearful death, still lamenting her lost youth and the unknown joys of living. To the tyrant who asks of her an impious act, she opposes the custom of antiquity and the law of Nature which makes it her duty to refuse obedience. This is not at all a disobedience of the law of the State; it is the fulfilment of an imperative duty imposed by family religion. Her brother is dead; at least he must not lose the other life, that of the tomb. Kreon says to her: "Knewest thou the edicts which forbade these things?" "I knew them," she replies. "Could I fail? Full clear were they." "And thou didst dare to disobey these laws?" Then follows her magnificent utterance:—

“Yes; for it was not Zeus who gave them forth,
 Nor Justice, dwelling with the gods below,
 Who traced these laws for all the sons of men;
 Nor did I deem thy edicts strong enough,
 That thou, a mortal man, should'st overpass
 The unwritten laws of God that know not change.
 They are not of to-day nor yesterday,¹
 But live forever, nor can man assign
 When first they sprang to being. Not through fear
 Of any man's resolve was I prepared
 Before the gods to bear the penalty
 Of sinning against these. That I should die
 I knew (how should I not?), though thy decree

Had never spoken. And, before my time
 If I shall die, I reckon this a gain;
 For whoso lives, as I, in many woes,
 How can it be but he shall gain by death?
 And so for me to bear this doom of thine
 Has nothing painful. But, if I had left
 My mother's son unburied on his death,
 In that I should have suffered; but in this
 I suffer not."¹

And she flings at Kreon this last noble word: "My nature leads
 to sharing love, not hate."²

Sophokles is of the family of Pheidias and Vergil, of Raphael and Racine; his genius is characterized by pure beauty; and the age to which he belongs was in truth the first spring-time of humanity (*primavera della gioventù*).

IV. — EURIPIDES.

SOPHOKLES, the scion of a noble race, honored by his fellow-citizens, dying full of years and glory, was a fortunate man, being of those who by ability and moderation in life command prosperity. Euripides, whose parents, according to Aristophanes, were an inn-keeper and a seller of herbs (480 B. C.),³ had the hard life and the jealous temper of the parvenu whose success is never equal to his desires; in his household, quarrels and separations, and never a smile upon his saddened face;⁴ in the theatre, rare applause, sometimes outbreaks,⁵ and out of more than ninety

¹ This same re-affirmation of "laws set on high, whose birth Olympos boasts," is found in the *Oidipous Tyrannos*, lines 863, 864.

² *Antigone* [Dr. Plumptre's English translation pp. 145-147].

³ The testimony of Aristophanes might be doubted, but it is confirmed by other authors, although some have denied it. Among the auditors of Aristophanes so many must have known the family of the poet that it is difficult to believe the satirist lied repeatedly on this point, — in *The Acharnians*, 454; *The Thesmophoriazousai*, 456, 910; *The Knights*, 19; *The Frogs*, 839: all, except the last, represented during the lifetime of Euripides.

⁴ A poet quoted by Aulus Gellius (*Attic Nights*, xv. 20) calls him *στρυφνός*, "the morose," and *μισογάλος*, "hater of joy."

⁵ He puts into the mouth of Hekabe words like these: "This is in order to conform to the tradition that we have as to the gods;" and again, "Let us pray to Zeus, whatever he may be, — a necessity of Nature, or the mind of man" (*Hekabe*, 794, and *The Trojan Women*, 893).

dramas represented on the stage, only four successful ones;¹ for an adversary, Aristophanes; for his death, to be torn to pieces by dogs;² and, last outrage of fate or of falsehood, near his tomb in Macedon flowed a poisonous spring.³ However, Euripides is a great poet, and speaks for the people more truly than any other of the Greek tragic authors.

Though he was separated by only a few years from his two predecessors, more than a century seems to lie between them and him. "I have represented men as they ought to be," Sophokles said; "Euripides represents them as they are." If we compare Euripides with Aischylos, the difference is even more striking. All the stage, gods and men, is on a lower plane. Instead of ruling the scene, the divine personages are only machines either for the prologue or for the *dénoûment*. The dramatic performance being a religious festival, the poet is obliged to show to the people the old idols; but he himself has no faith in them, and many of the spectators are quick to understand when he says that there prevails as great confusion in divine things as in human. In the tragedies of Sophokles and Aischylos the battle is against Destiny, and the oracles are divine utterances. Human passions are the motives in the plays of Euripides, and the sentences of the gods have no weight. The entire religious or epic past of Greece perishes in his dramas. The gods who were behind the victims of Aphrodite or Apollo disappear; Helen is but an adulteress, Menelaos a sot, Orestes a vulgar assassin.⁴ The action no longer goes on between heaven and earth; it is in the human heart,—and we place it there now. From this strife, of which the mind is the theatre, Euripides draws powerful effects; but, like ourselves again, he is too ready to address the eye, and employs commonplace methods,—he shows decrepit old men who drag themselves painfully upon the stage and utter plaintive outcries; other men in rags, beaten down by illness, misfortune, and all the miseries of life: if they are kings, he degrades them from

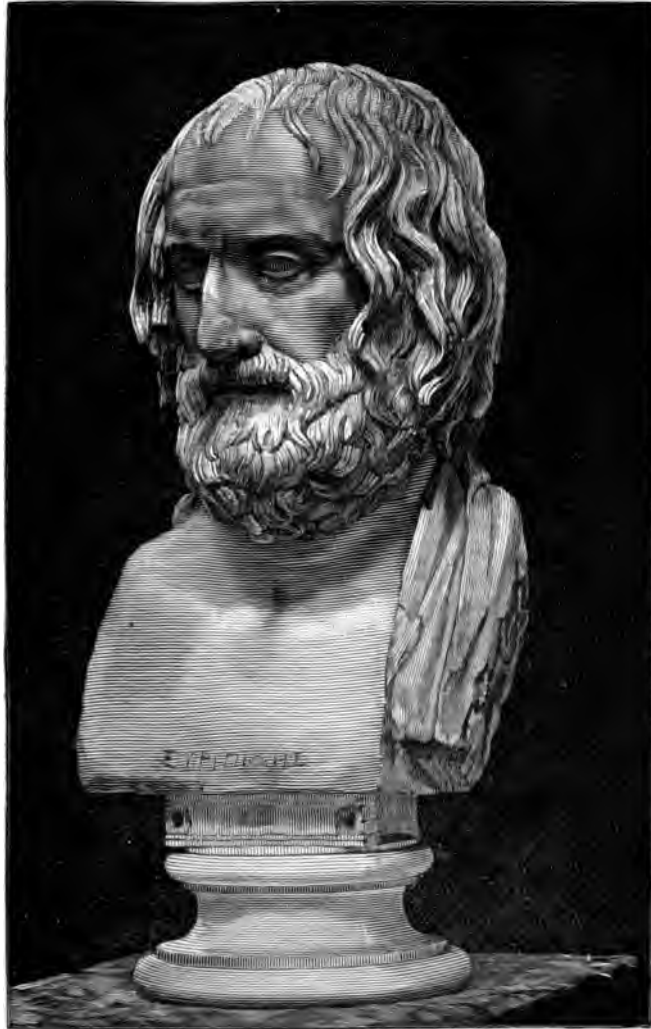
¹ Five were crowned; but *The Bacchantes* only after his death.

² The Wallachian shepherds on the frontiers of Macedon still keep, to guard their flocks, enormous dogs, which would easily kill a solitary traveller.

³ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxi. 19.

⁴ See in Seneca, *Letter CXV.*, to what a rôle he reduces the hero Bellerophon. The spectators were so indignant that they were ready to drive actors and author out of the theatre.

their station, and by all these means excites pity or terror. For this reason Aristotle declares him the most tragic of poets;¹ but he is also the most enervating, because he often was only the



EURIPIDES.²

painter of human weaknesses, while his predecessors were the painters of heroism. Aristophanes calls him “the corrupter of cities and the enemy of the gods,” — a double accusation, which

¹ *Poetics*, 13; but the philosopher condemns, as savoring of the art of the costumer rather than of the poet, the effects of vulgar pathos in which Euripides delighted (*Ibid.*, 18).

² Bust of Euripides (ΕΥΡΩΠΙΔΗΣ) in the Museum of Naples (from a photograph).

would lie more truly against the author of the *Lysistrata* and *The Birds*.¹

Whence comes this difference? Between Marathon and Aigospotamoi a moral evolution took place. In the latter part of the century Athens possessed no longer the sentiments and beliefs which had made her so simple and grand during the Median wars.



THE APOTHEOSIS OF HERAKLES (CARICATURE).²

Two words then were enough for her,—the gods, the country. But the gods die, like men; and the idea of country, by being too widely extended, may be lost. In the Agora, in the Kerameikos, and in the gardens of the hero Akademos, topics were introduced which were no longer those which Miltiades and Kynaigeiros had discussed. There was talk of art and science and philosophy: of an art which represented old divinities in new forms; of science, which destroyed the old gods by explaining them; of philosophy,

¹ Aristophanes further reproaches him with having changed the character of the drama. "making it lean on one side, and fat on the other, by songs and dances" (*Frogs*, 941, 1,200–1,247, and 1,350).

² Painting on a vase of Kyrenaika, in the Louvre (cf. G. Perrot, *Monum. publ. par l'Assoc. pour l'encour. des étud. grecq.*, 1876, pl. 3). On a chariot drawn by four centaurs and guided by a satyr who has a long torch in each hand, stands Herakles, the club on his shoulder, the goddess of Victory, Nike, herself drives this grotesque team. There can be no doubt as to the intention of the painter: he wished to make a caricature, and drew material from the comic drama. His work is perfectly successful. Cf. the Apotheosis of Herakles on a vase represented earlier, p. 33.

which overthrew received doctrines and taught a man to be a citizen of the world; there was, finally, the training of the Sophists, who, with all the audacity of the intellect and all the resources of language, taught men to formulate ideas in such a way that anything might be believed at will. In the souls of Aischylos and Sophokles resounded the echoes of Salamis and the thousand



HERAKLES RAGING.¹

voices of religious legend. Euripides hears "prayers of a new kind;" he sees unknown gods arrive, or rather the god who will dethrone the others; and he banter the old Olympians upon their disreputable amours. He scoffs at their miracles, — at Leda's swan, at Apollo, who turned out of his route not to behold the banquet of Atreus: tales made up, he says, to frighten men, and enrich

¹ Vase-painting, from the *Monum. dell' Instit.*, vol. viii. pl. 10. The painting is signed by Asteas (ΑΣΣΤΕΑΣ ΕΓΡΑΦΕ). Herakles (ΗΕΡΑΚΛΗΣ), raging, runs to the left towards the pile which he has himself lighted, and on which he has heaped up a confused mass of furniture, vases, and baskets; he is about to throw upon it his son, whom he holds in his arms. The child vainly implores him, as in the tragedy of Euripides (lines 988 *et seq.*). The alarmed mother, Megare (ΜΕΓΑΡΗ), flees, but looks back towards her son, and has reached the half-opened door. Above, under a portico of which one of the columns is visible, Alkmene (ΑΛΚΜΗΝΗ) and Iolaos (ΙΟΛΑΟΣ) look on in terror at this frightful scene, and the goddess of Madness (ΜΑΝΙΑ) contemplates her work, and even seems appalled at sight of the act which she has inspired.

the temples, which have not room within their walls for the divine wealth. It is no longer Apollo who commands Orestes to kill Klytaimnestra, — some evil demon impersonates the god; it is not the Erinyes who pursue him, but his own spiritual terrors. Herakles is far from sure of his paternal descent;¹ and when Theseus relates to him the very unedifying adventures of Zeus, the hero, moral but narrow-minded, rejoins, “If the gods are adulterers, they are not gods.” To conclude, a character in a lost drama exclaims: “Zeus! who is Zeus? I know by hearsay only.”² Thus wither and fall the graceful flowers which legend had sown along the gay road in which the Greeks had for so many centuries walked!

Before Euripides all was divine and heroic; with him everything becomes human, and the horizon grows narrow. At the same



SARDONYX.³

time, while vision has a shorter range, it has grown clearer. Sophistry has done its evil work. We find its influence even in the poet's masterpieces, — when he declaims instead of being pathetic, and by cold sentences impairs the force of his most touching appeals; when his characters argue a case where the outcry of passion should burst forth; or when, in subtle argumentation pleading on alternate sides, dare to say at last: “The tongue has sworn, but not the mind.”⁴ Quintilian counsels the reading of Euripides for persons intending the practice of law. This recommendation would not conciliate poets, if his dramas had no other merits. But extreme subtlety of thought stimulates the mind, and a patient analysis of feeling helps accuracy of observation. Hence the dramas of Euripides have been a mine of wealth to his successors; a rich harvest can be reaped there of those beautiful moral sentences in which Greek

¹ The author of the *Πειρίθους*, Euripides or Kritias, makes Herakles say, in relating the story of his birth: *ὡς λέλεκται τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπο* (Eurip., ed. Didot, vol. ii. p. 764, Fragment, 595).

² *Zeus οὐ γὰρ οἶδα πλὴν λόγῳ* (*Ibid.*, Fragment, 485).

³ A muse leading an old man in a philosopher's cloak to a young woman seated on a rock; behind the young woman, a hermes. (Cameo of the *Cabinet de France*; sardonyx in two layers, 20 millim. in height and the same in breadth. Chabouillet, *Catalogue*, etc., No. 18.) Visconti regards this beautiful cameo as a representation of Melpomene and Euripides before the Palaistra (Visconti, *Iconogr. grecque*, i. 82).

⁴ *Hippol.*, 607. In the *Phœnician Women*, 504, 545; 10, 1,051 *et seq.*, he says, like the Sophists, that all is permissible, even crime, in order to succeed.



EURIPIDES.

Marble statue in the Vatican (*Braccio nuovo*); from a photograph.



literature abounds, which are like good seed sown in the human soul.¹

On the other hand, while the old mythology was to him only a material for poetry, while he spoke of the Olympians with the scepticism of Protagoras, while divination, sacrifices, and the examining of entrails seemed to him folly, it must be remembered that Euripides had that lofty idea of a Divine Being which was then beginning to dawn in the noblest minds. He believed in the Logos, or Reason, of Herakleitos, which is the principle of all things; in the Soul of Anaxagoras, omniscient and omnipotent; and he addresses

ZEUS.²

to this Supreme God the beautiful apostrophe: "To Thee, self-existent, and creator of all which the ethereal current surrounds; to Thee, who art alternately clothed in light and in the darkness of night, while the innumerable multitude of the stars lead around Thee their eternal choruses!"³ This also: "O Sovereign Master, under whatever name Thou wilt be called, Zeus or Hades, to Thee I offer these libations and these cakes of pure flour! Thou, among the gods of heaven, dost wield the sceptre of Zeus, and as Hades, thou rulest the gloomy realm."⁵ Send the light of the mind to mortals who desire to know whence comes evil, and who is he among the blessed gods whom they must persuade, to find an end to their woes."⁶ With this we find a moral revolution. Words like these, on the one side negative, on the other affirmative, once spoken, are never lost.

HADES.⁴

¹ Havet, *Le Christianisme et ses origines*, i. 109 et seq.

² Cameo, in agate-onyx of two layers, in the *Cabinet de France* (15 millim. in height, 12 in breadth. No. 3 of the *Catalogue*.)

³ Euripides, fragment, 593. But is this fragment by Euripides or by Kritias? On this question see the Euripides of Didot, ii. 763.

⁴ Hades seated on his throne, the *modios* on his head, the eagle on his left hand. At his right Kerberos. (Cameo of the *Cabinet de France*. Sardonyx of three layers, height, 36 millim., breadth, 22. *Catalogue*, No. 88.)

⁵ Plato, in his *Kratylas*, says that to avoid speaking the dreaded name of Hades, this word was applied to designate the kingdom of the underworld, whose gloomy king was then called Ploutos, god of wealth, because of the precious metals underground.

⁶ Euripides, fragment, 967.

But Euripides was not the man to drink the hemlock of Sokrates. With the Sophist's facility in supporting the most

diverse theses, in changing his residence he changed his doctrines also. The court of the Macedonian Archelaos, where he passed the last years of his life, had not yet arrived at philosophic scepticism. In the tragedy of the *Bacchantes* which he composed there, and whose representation at Athens did not occur till after his death, he lauds the popular religion, and condemns the temerities of reason. "In the presence of the gods," says Teiresias, "do not assume to be wise. Nothing can avail against the traditions we have received from our fathers, not even the words of wise men who believe that they have found out knowledge."¹

In the general history of the Attic stage we can fix two periods, — the first, that of the Mysteries, or religious drama; second, that of the drama of human life. To the latter Euripides belongs: he is the founder of the mod-

ern stage, in bringing upon the scene, under the old names, the men of his time, with the passions of human nature in all ages. A



APHRODITE.²

¹ *Bacchantes*, 200 et seq.

² Greek mirror in bronze, of the Coll. Castellani (*Catalogue*, No. 265, pl. 6). A statue of Aphrodite forms the foot of the mirror; above her head an eros hovers at each side.

characteristic trait of his drama is the place that he gives to women and to love,—the key-note of all our modern plays. His Phaidra, victim of Aphrodite, is the ancestress of all whom Eros agitates, delights, or tortures.¹ He owed to his two wives much of the sadness of his life, and he avenged himself upon them in his dramas by such severity against their sex that he was called

SILVER COIN.²

“the Misogynist;”³ and yet many of his heroines have remained immortal types of devotion and self-sacrifice. Polyxene accepts death to escape from servitude, from the insults of her master, from the shame “of a couch once desired by kings.”⁴ Many have done the same. But Makaria “goes from life by the most glorious path,” offering to die to deliver Athens; Evadne refuses to survive her husband; Alkestis dies to save hers; and Iphigeneia is willing to perish for the salvation of Greece.⁵ She is at first alarmed, and implores her father not to yield to the urgency of Kalchas, demanding her death:—

“O my father, I have no other skill than my tears; I lay the branch of a suppliant at thy feet, and I press against thy knees the body which my mother bore to thee; do not make me die before my time. The light of day is so sweet! Send me not to the dark regions underground. I am the first who ever called thee father, the first whom thou didst call thy daughter. Seated upon thy knees I have given thee caresses, and received them from thee. Thou hast said to me: ‘O my child, I shall see thee some day happy at the fireside of a powerful husband.’ And I, hanging about thy neck, touching thy beard as I do now, answered thee: ‘O my father, may I some day be able to offer thee the affectionate hospitality of my house, in return for the benefits with which thou hast surrounded my childhood.’”

Racine has imitated this appeal in verses solemn and harmonious; but how much more simple and graceful are those of

¹ The lines 198 *et seq.* are descriptive of a pathological case.

² Coin of Archelaos, king of Macedon. Diademed head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: in an incused square, a horse and the legend APXEΛAΩ.

³ “The enemy of women.” To his mind a woman’s chief merit is to keep silence and remain quiet in the house (*Herak.*, 476). Hermione counsels the husband to let no women visit his house; by their evil speech they will corrupt his wife (*Androm.*, 944).

⁴ Λίχη . . . τυράννων πρόσθεν ἡξιωμένα (*Hekabe*, 365, 366).

Euripides!¹ André Chénier, himself a Greek in character, had the Greek lines in mind when he wrote his *Jeune Captive*, who, like Iphigeneia, said:—

“*Je ne veux pas mourir encore!*”

But when the daughter of Agamemnon knows that the oracle demands her death, that Greece may conquer, her soul revives;



SACRIFICE OF IPHIGENEIA.²

enthusiasm seizes her, exalts her, and she is eager to meet the knife of the priest. “Thousands of men are armed,” she cries, “to avenge the land; and shall one woman’s life be an obstacle to them? I give myself to Greece. Sacrifice me, and let the city

¹ This is also the feeling of Patin (*Les Tragiques grecs*, lii. 35). See Vol. I. p. 244, a fragment from *Iphigeneia in Tauris*.

² Vase-painting (from Raoul-Rochette, *Monum. inéd. d’antiquité figurée*, pl. 26 b). In the centre is an altar, behind which stands Kalchas. The priest has his knife lifted to slay the victim, who stands resigned, looking down at the altar; but behind Iphigeneia appears the fawn, upon which the knife will fall. Artemis, who saves Iphigeneia, stands above and behind her, in her hunting-dress. On the left is seated Apollo, and in the foreground is a servant of Kalchas, followed by a woman. (See Vogel, *Scenen Euripideischer Tragödien in griechischen Vasengemälden*, p. 116.)

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a fragment of a painting on a large amphora in the Museum of Naples (from the *Monum. dell’ Instit.* vol. iii. pl. 31. Cf. Heydemann, *Die Vasensammlungen des Museo Nazionale zu Neapel*, No. 3,240). In the centre is the divinity who presides over the festival and to whom is consecrated the place where occurs the last rehearsal of the satyric chorus; namely, Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ). He lies upon a couch, and Ariadne sits



ACTORS, CHORUS, AND MUSICIANS BEFORE THE REPRESENTATION OF A SATYRIC DRAMA.



of Priam be destroyed. Its ruins shall make my name memorable. This is my marriage; this, my victory!" In reading these words we forgive Euripides that he wrote; "The woman is the most shameless of animals."¹

Euripides had a regard for Sophokles, or at least he makes no malicious allusions to him; but Aischylos he does not love. This we can readily understand, and Aristophanes will make him pay dear for this injustice. As regards political affairs, we find very little reference to them in the dramas of Euripides, with the exception of a few allusions to the jealousy between Athens and Sparta.

It is clear, however, that he loves neither the Eupatrids nor the popular orators, and that government by the multitude seems to him "a terrible scourge." Like Aristotle, he attributes wisdom to the middle class, which does not always have it; and while he often speaks in praise of patriotism, in *Ion* he shows us the first of those recluses who, unmindful of their civic duties, content themselves, as priests of some god, in the tranquil idleness of the temple. He goes so far as to represent the just man as having the whole earth for his country, "like the eagle, having all the regions of the air for his flight."² Where art thou, soldier of Marathon?³

beside him. At the left is seated the Muse, holding a mask in her left hand; a youthful winged Himeros (ΙΜΕΡΟΣ) holds out to her a wreath. At the right of this group are Silenos and Herakles; at the left an unknown hero and three actors, each having his mask in his hand. Below are two musicians and the master of the chorus, — a player on the kithara (ΧΑΡΙΝΟΣ) and a player on the double-flute, the celebrated Pronomos; the chorus-master (χοροδιδάσκαλος) is named ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ: he is seated, and holds a roll in his hand. Behind him is a lyre. All the other figures are *choreutai*, dressed as satyrs. One is dancing the *sikinnis*; all the others are talking.

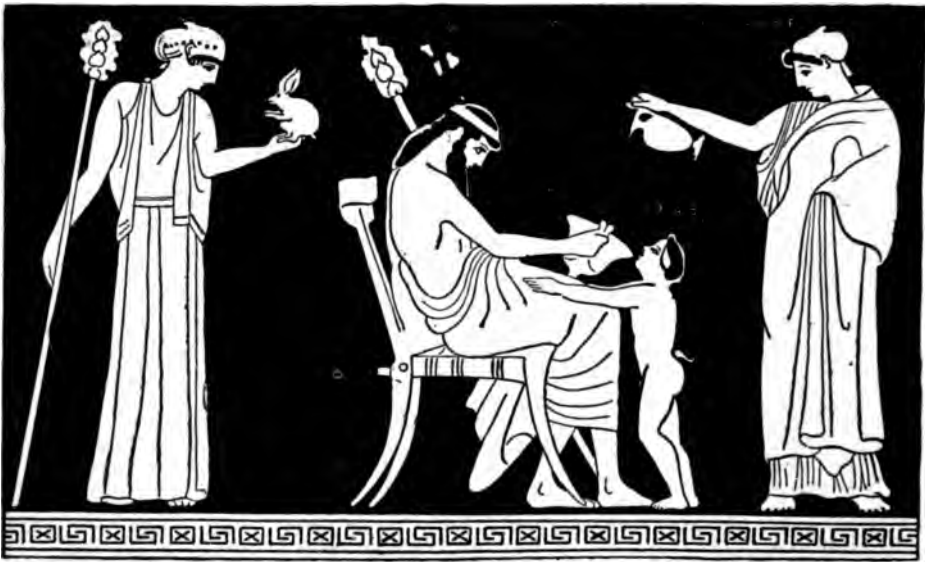
¹ Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 569, and the *Festivals of Demeter*, 386–432.

² We have seen (p. 18) Aristophanes represent Aischylos as attacking those who, avoiding burdens, refused to fulfil their civic duties. Anaxagoras refused public office, and Sokrates boasts, in his *Apology*, of having avoided all except those which fell by lot. This withdrawal is the beginning of the destruction of the former state and the early patriotism.

³ We have of Euripides eighteen tragedies, 1,086 fragments, and a satyric drama, *The Cyclops*. In the Alexandrian canon of classic authors, two other tragic authors are mentioned, — Ion and Achaïos; but there remain of their works only shapeless *debris*. For other writers of this period see Ottf. Müller's *History of Greek Literature*, chapter xxvi.

V. — ARISTOPHANES.

BETWEEN Racine and Corneille stands Molière: in like manner Aristophanes has been placed with the great tragic authors of Athens; but he remains their inferior, because mind alone is not enough to bring a man to the highest rank.¹ The historian, to



DIONYSOS, KOMOS, AND TRAGEDY.²

whom he reveals a multitude of customs, should read everything he has written, and the scholar should do the same; yet both must often close their eyes to his befouling indecency. In speaking of his works as satyric dramas, we must bear in mind that

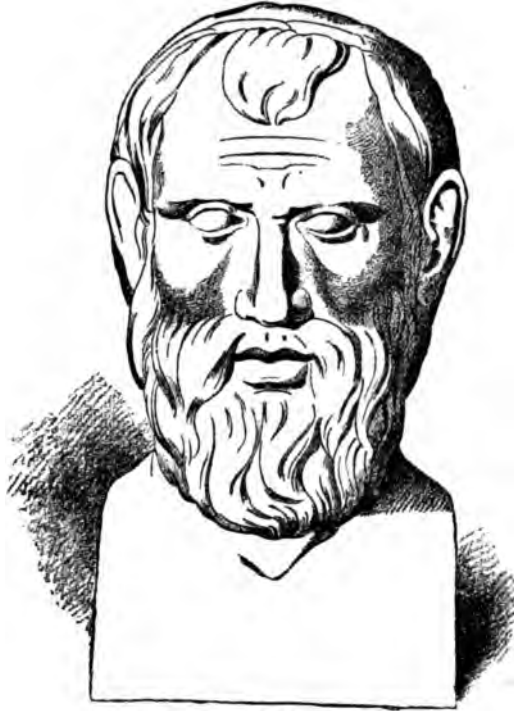
¹ The life of Aristophanes lasted from 452 B. C. (?) to 380. His first drama was represented under an assumed name in 427, as he was not at that time thirty years old, — the age at which a poet could obtain a chorus legally. See the parabasis of *The Clouds*.

² Vase-painting (from Gerhard, *Auserles. Vasenbild.*, pl. 56). Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ), seated, holds the thyrsos in his left hand, and in the right a kantharos, which he inclines to the young Komos (ΚΟΜΟΣ), who, leaning with both arms on the knees of the god, is about to drink, while Ariadne (ΑΡΙΑΔΝΗ), standing behind, fills the vessel. Behind Dionysos is Tragedy (ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΙΑ). In the right hand she holds the thyrsos, and in the left a hare, which she is perhaps about to present to the boy Komos.

they are altogether different from satires as we understand that term. The shapeless creatures who compose the train of Dionysos, where the divine and the human sink back to the bestial, are in many cases the authors of his inspiration. Compared to the great author of Athenian comedies, Rabelais himself is pure, and the Karagheuz of Stamboul and Cairo is almost outdone.

Comedy, born amid the Dionysiac festivals, together with her noble sister Tragedy, was in the hands of Aristophanes a weapon to be used mainly against philosophy and science, against the bravest generals, the most eloquent orators, and the wisest man. This great scoffer ridiculed all save himself.

The rôle of moralist and social reformer has been assigned him; he filled that of public entertainer only, and holds it yet. That in his satires we find infinite wit, a wonderful raciness, important truths, and pictures of the most graceful poetry, no one will deny; also it should be granted him that many abuses had grown up in Athens and in her empire. Before the spectacle of her power, the Athenian people were so elated with pride as to forget in domestic affairs all wisdom, and in foreign affairs all prudence. "Our allies," the poet said, "are only slaves who turn the mill." At the same time this must not be taken literally. There was justice in the State still, for on one



ARISTOPHANES.¹

¹ Marble bust (from the *Monum. dell' Inst.*, vol. v. pl. 55). This bust bears no inscription, but it is double, and on the other side is the head of Menander, which is well known. We have already said that it was customary to bring together in this way two great poets, philosophers, or historians. Thus Herodotos and Thucydides are united in a double bust in the Museum of Naples (see later, p. 88). Welcker therefore has good reason to give the name of Aristophanes to the one represented here (*Annali*, 1853, pp. 250 *et seq.*).

occasion Kleon was condemned to restore five talents;¹ and there remained good sense in men's minds, for *The Knights*, a cutting satire on the demagogues of the time, obtained the first prize, and was represented in the Dionysiac theatre at the Lenæan festival. Twice accused by the all-powerful demagogue, the poet was twice acquitted. In his fierce war against the new Athens, Aristophanes calumniates her people,² as he also slandered Sokrates and Perikles, Pheidias and Euripides, and even Kleon, who did not always deserve to be treated as a rascal. In *The Knights*, old Demos impersonates the populace,—an irascible, deaf old man, who is the prey of sycophants and charlatans. He has two faithful servants, Nikias and Demosthenes; but a wicked slave, Kleon, makes mischief in the house.

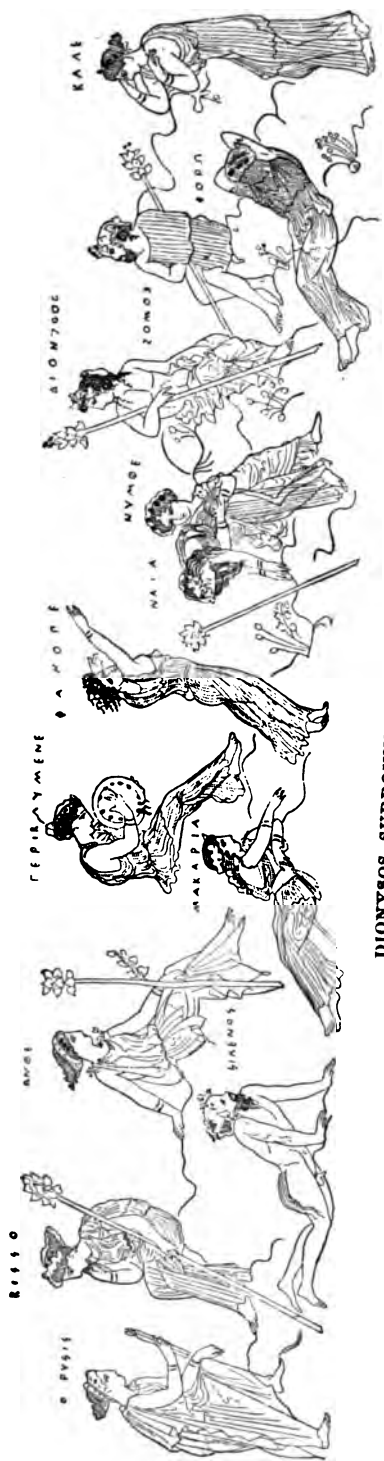
“This flatterer, knowing his master's humor, fawns upon him, caresses him, and binds him with leathern thongs, saying to him: ‘O Demos, you have done enough in deciding one case;³ go now to the bath, take a morsel, drink, eat, take the three obols. Permit me to serve up supper to you.’ Then, having snatched up what any of us may have prepared, he makes a present of it to our master. Not long ago, when I had kneaded a Spartan cake at Pylos, he somehow circumvented me most knavishly, and filched it away, and served up himself what had been made ready by me. Us he drives away, and suffers no other person to wait on our master,

¹ *Acharn.*, 6. This fact has been much discussed. See A. Martin, *Les cavaliers Athéniens*, p. 460–468.

² In his *Life of Perikles*, 23, Plutarch speaks of historians whose testimony was worth no more than that of the comic poets, — a remark which those would do well to remember who, in all ages, ask from comedy more than it is able to give.

³ It is in *The Wasps* that Aristophanes has especially shown the people-judge, of which Racine has made his Perrin Dandin; and there are still people who think that the most faithful portrait of the Athenians is this ridiculous character, although Thucydides has long ago said (i. 77) what we ought to think in respect to the φιλοδίκια of Athens.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a painting on an *aryballos* discovered in Athens, now in the Museum of Berlin (Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, No. 2,471), from A. Dumont and Chaplain, *Les Céramiques de la Grèce propre*, pl. 12, 13. The scene is laid upon an undulating ground, covered with grass and flowers. Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ) is surrounded by his followers: beardless, his head crowned with ivy, his right hand resting against his thyrsos, the god is seated towards the right, and looks back at the nymph Phanope (ΦΑΝΟΠΕ), who is the central figure of the group. Phanope is dancing to the sound of a *tympanon*, beaten by Periklymene (ΠΕΡΙΚΛΥΜΕΝΗ), seated at the left, while in the foreground Nymphé (ΝΥΜΦΗ) supports in her arms her companion, Naia (ΝΑΙΑ), exhausted by the dance and by bacchic excitement. At the right and left are grouped spectators; on the right the satyr Komos (ΚΟΜΟΣ) and the nymphs Choro (ΧΟΡΩ) and Kale (ΚΑΛΕ); on the left, the nymphs Makaria (ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ) and Antheia (ΑΝΘΕΙΑ), and a Silenos (ΣΙΛΕΝΟΣ). Still another group is formed by two nymphs conversing at the left, Kisso (ΚΙΣΣΟ) and Chrysis (ΧΡΥΣΙΣ); the latter is standing and holds a double-flute. All these figures, like Dionysos, wear ivy-wreaths.



DIONYSOS SURROUNDED BY HIS TRAIN.



but, with a leather fan when at supper, stands and drives away the orators. He recites oracles, deceiving the old man; he accuses the household, and then we are scourged."

No poet had ever greater liberty, and none ever used it so fully. Instead of appreciating the attitude of his audience, who good-naturedly suffered this banter, we have been too apt to take it seriously, and regard the caricature as a portrait. The real Demos was no more the Demos of *The Knights* than was the Sokrates of Plato the Sokrates of Aristophanes. The easy good man who catches the meaning of every word and allusion is no dotard, for he protects the poet who makes him laugh against Kleon's anger, and, on the other hand, Kleon who serves



THE DEMOS.¹



BRONZE COIN.³

him, against the poet's attacks. He allows the one to go on writing masterpieces, and sends the other to die for him bravely before Amphipolis.²

Again, listen to this dialogue between Demosthenes and the sausage-maker, whom the oracles call to govern Athens, and whom the conservative party puts in opposition to Kleon:—

Demosthenes. Art thou of respectable birth?

The Sausage-maker. By the gods, no! I am of the lowest class.

Demosthenes. Fortunate man! how well things are situated for you.

¹ ΙΕΡΟΙ ΔΗΜΟΙ. Laurelled head of the Demos, right profile. (Bronze coin of Tralles in Lydia.) But it is clear that this Demos, like the second on this page, is not that of Athens.

² A decree of 440 B. C. forbade representing a citizen upon the stage; but it quickly fell into desuetude. That of Syrakosios, in 414, had no great efficacy, since in the same year Phrynichos complained violently of the poet. The people evidently found these personalities amusing. Machiavelli said sagaciously, three hundred years ago: "One can always speak ill of the people without danger, even where it reigns; but," he adds, "*dei principi si parla sempre con mille timori e mille rispetti*" (*Discorsi supra Tito Livio*, book iv. chapter lviii.). The people, being every one, is, in fact, no one.

³ The personification of the people. ΔΕΜΟΙ· ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ. Youthful head of Demos, right profile. Reverse: ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ· ΜΑΚΕ(δόνου) ΙΠΠΟΥΡΙΟΣ. The river Hippourios, seated to the left, holding a water-plant and a cornucopia; at his side an urn, out of which flows water. (Bronze coin of Blaundos, in Lydia, a city which claimed to be founded by a colony of Macedonians.)

The Sausage-maker. But I have not the least learning, except to know my letters, and that not very well.

Demosthenes. Oh! that may do you some harm if you partly know your letters. The State¹ requires for its ruler neither a learned nor an honest man. It wants a blockhead and a rascal."²



A SHOEMAKER.³

The dialogue continues for some time in this key, when Kleon enters, who cries, according to the custom of demagogues in power: "Woe to you who are always conspiring against the people!"⁴ Whereupon the chorus replies by calling him a villain and a public robber.

"*Kleon.* O veteran heliasts, brotherhood of the triobolon whom I protect, assist me! Conspirators attack me.

The Chorus. And it is with justice; thou devourest the public revenues.

¹ The text is ἡ δημαγωγία, which is wrongly translated by most Greek scholars "demagogy."

² *The Knights*, lines 185-193. See later, the portrait of Δῆμος.

³ Painting on the bottom of a cup, now in the British Museum; from Jahn, *Berichte der kön. sächs. Gesells.*, 1867, pl. iv. No. 5. The shoemaker (σκυροποιός) is at work on his small table; with his left hand laid flat, he holds in place a long piece of leather which he is cutting into strips with a tool called *ροπέβς*. On the wall hang a similar instrument, a shoe already made, a last, a hammer, a piece of leather, and another object which cannot be distinguished.

⁴ Aristotle explains these conspiracies of the rich in his *Politics*, book v. chap. v.: *Of the Causes of Revolution peculiar to Democratic Governments.*

Kleon. I acknowledge it, I am a robber.¹

The Chorus. O scoundrel, O impudent brawler! Thou hast undermined our city like a furious torrent; and, posted on a high rock, thou keepest watch for the arrival of the tributes as a fisherman watches for the tunny-fish."²

Kratinos and Eupolis had taken equal license; these satires are in a democracy the penalty of power, and the wise man bears them with equanimity. Kleon had no right to be called a wise man, and yet I seem to see him, seated in the theatre of Dionysos in his magistrate's marble stall, receiving all these insults with impassive face. However, in the matter of malicious acts they were quite even with each other: Kleon had repeatedly endeavored to deprive the poet, by sentence of law, of his civic rights;⁴ and Aristophanes took pleasure in reminding twenty thousand spectators that his enemy had been compelled to pay back money which he had stolen.⁵



TRIOBOLON.³

The comedy of *The Knights* was played four years after the death of Perikles; the evil was not at this time very serious, but in *The Wasps*, represented in 423 B. C., appears more conspicuous one of the democratic maladies,—the fear of treason. Says one of his characters:—

“Everything with you is tyranny and conspirators, whether the accuser's charge be great or small, the name of which I have not heard, not even for these fifty years; but now it is cheaper by far than salted fish, so that now the name of it is much talked of in the market-place. If a man buy anchovies instead of sprats, forthwith the seller of sprats cries: ‘This fellow seems to be buying relishes for his tyranny!’ And if any one ask for a leek, as a sauce for his anchovies, the woman that sells herbs, winking with one eye, says: ‘Tell me, you ask for a leek: is it for a tyranny, or do you think that Athens brings you tribute of sauce?’”

¹ It is said that no workman was willing to make the mask for the part of Kleon, and no actor would assume the rôle, so that Aristophanes himself was obliged to take it.

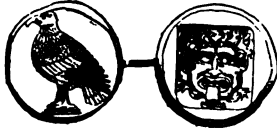
² The Greek is of untranslatable brevity: τοὺς φόρους θυννοσκοπῶν (313).

³ Head of the Amarynthian Artemis, right profile. Reverse: ΕΡΕΤΡΙΑ. Ox's head, ornamented with fillets; under it, ΦΑΝΙΑΣ, a magistrate's name. (Coin of Eretria in Eubœia.)

⁴ Kleon accused him of making the Athenians a laughing-stock to strangers, because his comedy, *The Babylonians*, was performed in the spring, at a time when the city was filled with the allies coming to bring the tribute of the islands.

⁵ *Acharnians*, 6. Plato says in *The Symposium* that the Athenian theatre could contain more than three times ten thousand spectators; but this cannot be taken literally. [See Introduction to first volume, p. 16. — Ed.]

We pass over a few years, and come to the time when the *Ploutos* was played, first in 408 B. C., and again, after being partly re-written, in 388. In this comedy we find



DRACHMA.¹

reference to one of the crying evils of the time,—the informer's trade. Under a firm and vigilant government, accusers had been restrained by the law, which imposed upon them a fine of a thousand drachmas when they failed to obtain at least one fifth of the votes. With magistrates more eager to be popular than to be just, the *sykophantai*² became numerous.

Chremylos. Are you a husbandman ?

The Sykophantes. Do you suppose me to be so mad ?

Chremylos. Or a merchant ?

The Sykophantes. Yes, I pretend to be, upon occasion.

Chremylos. Well, then, did you learn any trade ?

The Sykophantes. No, by Zeus !

Chremylos. How, then, or by what do you live, if you do nothing ?

The Sykophantes. I am manager of all public and private affairs.

Chremylos. You ? Wherefore ?

The Sykophantes. I please to do so."

Nor has the poet any more respect for the law ; witness the worthy man who, in the *Women's Senate*, is scoffed at because he believes that every good citizen owes obedience to the decrees of the people.³ Later we shall find that the Sophists speak in nearly the same manner.

¹ Eagle, standing to the left. Reverse : AB. Gorgon's head, front face, with tongue out, and hair formed of bristling serpents. (Drachma of Abydos. Imhoof-Blumer, *Choix de monnaies grecques*, pl. ix. fig. 106.)

² ["At an early period in Attic history a law was made prohibiting the exportation of figs. Whether it was made in a time of dearth, or through the foolish policy of preserving to the natives the most valuable of their productions, we cannot say. It appears, however, that the law continued in force long after the cause of its enactment, or the general belief of its utility, had ceased to exist ; and Attic fig-growers exported their fruit, in spite of prohibitions and penalties. To inform against a man for so doing was considered harsh and vexatious ; as all people are apt to think that obsolete statutes may be infringed with impunity. Hence the term *συκοφαντείν*, which originally signified 'to lay an information against another for exporting figs,' came to be applied to all ill-natured, malicious, groundless, and vexatious accusations. . . . *Sykophantes*, in the time of Aristophanes and Demosthenes, designated a person of a peculiar class, not capable of being described by any single word in our language, but well understood and appreciated by an Athenian. He had not much in common with our *sykophant*, but was a happy combination of the common *barrator*, *informer*, *pettifogger*, *busybody*, *rogue*, *liar*, and *slanderer*" (Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 1,079). — Ed.]

³ Sophokles had already showed, in his *Aias*, the most daring of Homer's heroes confess-

While making due allowance for the exaggerations of the poet, we recognize in these satiric pictures a groundwork of truth. Aristophanes, who outlived the beginning of the Peloponnesian war by more than fifty years, did in truth see develop, in the



SCENE OF COMEDY: XANTHIUS, CHEIRON, AND NYMPHS.¹

midst of the splendid democracy of Perikles, the faults peculiar to popular government when beneath it there is a turbulent crowd that it can neither rule nor guide. There were now two populations in the city, — the old Athenians, among whom there was yet an aristocratic remnant too feeble to command, but strong

ing that men ought to submit to laws which come from the gods, — that is, from Nature, — or from men.

¹ Vase-painting (from a photograph and the *Élite des Monum. céramograph.*, vol. ii. pl. 94). This painting has not been satisfactorily explained: two persons, one of whom bears the name [Xα]ΘΙΑΣ, are trying to drag and to push Cheiron (ΧΙΡΩΝ) up some steps to a platform at the left. Two nymphs, at the right (ΝΥ[μφ]ΑΙ), are witnesses of the scene, as also is a third person, whose name is entirely unknown. Cf. Heydemann, *Jahrbuch des Kaiserl. d. Instit.*, i. 287.

enough to assist in restraining; and the populace, which commerce and war had brought together in Peiræus. This latter, a restless crowd, envious and famished, wished to live on spoils taken from the enemy, exactions from the allies, and fines and confiscations from the rich. Meeting in the Agora, these two



TESSERÆ GIVING A RIGHT TO THE THEORIKON.¹

populations became one, and the second, increased by the poor of the city, was predominant. This population made laws and exercised administrative and judicial functions, and it was not exacting as to the merits of its leaders; from Perikles it had fallen to Kleon, from Kleon to Hyperbolos, and from him to Syrakosios; and every attractive speaker who flattered it became quickly a man of importance. These demagogues did not so much lead the crowd as allow themselves to be led by it, justifying to its eyes, by plausible arguments, all its passions of the moment.² Hence inconsiderate decisions, levity in affairs of the greatest moment, and a relaxing of the obligations of the State, which authorized sometimes arbitrary measures on the part of magistrates, and injustice in the tribunals.³ More and more the public wealth was regarded as common property which ought to be divided among the citizens in the form of the triobolon, of more frequent gratuitous distributions, and of constantly increased expenditures for their festivals and amusements. It is easy to see how this abuse should excite the poet's keenest satire; the people laughed, and we laugh also, but not without a recognition of the exaggerated character of the picture.

With less indulgence, however, we regard the war that he

¹ Lead tesseræ (from the *Monum. dell' Instit.*, vol. viii. pl. 52, Nos. 717, 721, 720). The first and second are decorated with comic masks, the third with a tragic mask. These tesseræ were distributed in the demoi to the citizens present, who exchanged them at Athens for the two obols of the *theorikon*. See Benndorf, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des attischen Theaters*, pp. 605 *et seq.*

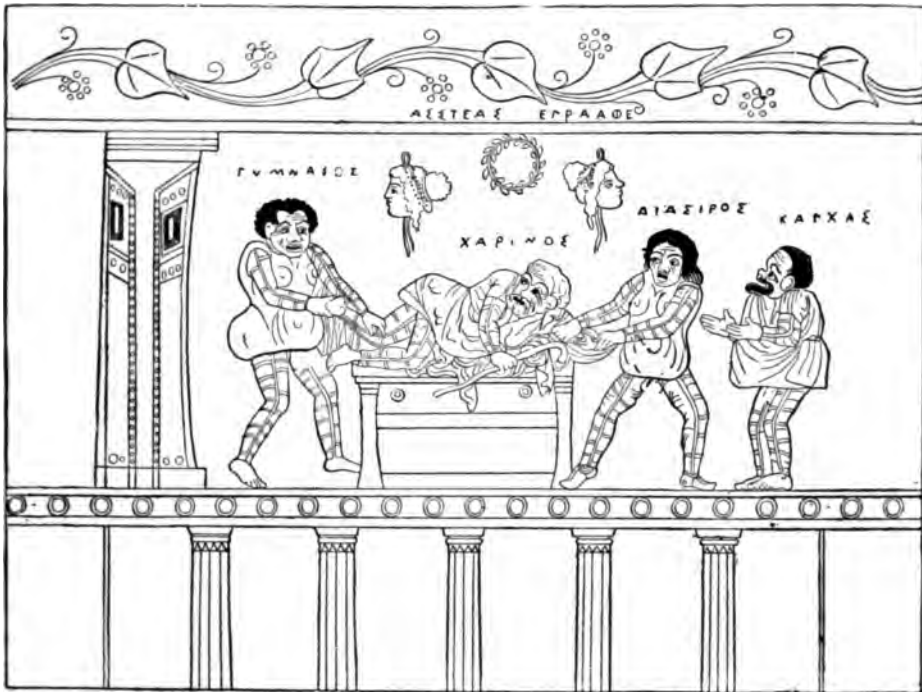
² Thucydides (iv. 21) says of Kleon: ἀνὴρ δημαγωγὸς . . . ὃν καὶ τῷ πλήθει πιθανώτατος.

³ We have seen that Aristotle did not believe that the judges were venal before 409 B. C.; but in his *Politics* (v. 5) he represents the democracy as occupied everywhere in ruining the rich by sentences involving confiscations; and Aristophanes (*The Wasps*, 659) mentions confiscations as one of the sources of the public revenue.

declared upon the religious institutions of his country ; for while in the first case he attacks faults and evils that could be found also under other governments, in the other he undermined the very foundations of the State. He was too much the child of his time not to feel its influence. The surrounding air affects him ; and this extreme conservative, this lover of the old time, is the boldest of free-thinkers in the present. He demands a return to ancient manners, and labors to destroy what still remains of them. A thing like this



APOLLO.¹



SCENE OF COMEDY.²

is not without parallel ; but we have a right to reproach the poet for this contradiction.

One faith was still dear to the Greeks, even in frivolous Athens, — the faith in oracles. Aristophanes ridicules this, and roughly

¹ Apollo, standing, leaning on a tripod and holding an olive-branch ; in the field, the inscription ΧΡΗΣΜΟΔΟΤΩΝ (he who utters an oracle). (Engraved stone in the Collection de Luyne of the *Cabinet de France*.)

² Vase-painting, from Millingen, *Peintures de vases grecs tirées de diverses collections*, pl. 46 ; but the inscriptions are incorrectly read or incorrectly completed. This vase is now

handles prophets and soothsayers. A certain Boiotian Bakis, whose history is lost in the night of time and the mist of legends, was for that very reason the more honored. There was a collection



EX-VOTO TO A FOREIGN DIVINITY: KYBELE AND ATYS.¹

of his oracles, in which the decrees of fate were sought, as later the Romans sought them in their Sibylline books. Kleon, according to the poet, had provided himself with a good supply of them ;

in the Museum of Berlin, and we rectify the inscriptions from the *Catalogue (Beschreibung, No. 3,044)*. The vase is signed by the painter Assteas: 'Ασστείας ἔγραψε. The *proskenion* is supported by five low columns of the Doric order. The scene represents the interior of a house: at the left is a half-opened door; on the wall are hung a wreath and two masks of women. In the centre an old man (ΧΑΡΙΝΟΣ), identified by the color of his beard, is lying upon a large chest, perhaps containing his treasure, from which he is apparently reluctant to be separated. Two figures, at the right and left, grasp him by the arm and by the leg, as if to drag him off; one is Εὐμηστος, the other, Κώσιλος. A third (ΚΑΡΙΩΝ), doubtless the slave of Charinos, is present at the scene, but takes no part in it, except to manifest alarm. Cf. Heydemann, *Phlyakendarstellungen auf bemalten Vasen*, in the *Jahrbuch des Kaiserl. d. archäol. Instit.*, i. (1886) 282. P.

¹ Greek bas-relief of the Museum of the Marciana at Venice (Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien*, vol. v. p. 116, No. 297); from the *Monum. pub. par l'Ass. pour l'enc. des Ét. gr.*, 1881, pl. 2. Two women, entering the temple by a half-opened door, bring their offering to Kybele and Atys. The first worshipper, with right hand lifted, in sign of adoration, holds in

but while he is asleep Nikias has stolen them. The Paphlagonian has, however, still a chestful left, and the Sausage-seller has rooms full of them.

“*Demos*. What are they about ?

Kleon. About Athens, Pylos, you, me, — everything.

Demos (to the *Sausage-seller*). And what are yours about ?

The Sausage-seller. About Athens, lentil-broth, the Spartans, fresh mackerel ; about those who measure their barley unfairly in the market-place ; about you, about me.

Demos. Come, now, see that you read them to me, and that notable one about me with which I am delighted, that I shall become an eagle in the clouds.”

Then follows a grotesque parody of the responses which “resounded from the venerable tripods in the sanctuary of Apollo.” It is not at all favorable to the new gods which were making their way into Athens, — the Phrygian Sabazios, the Phœnician Adonis, the Thracian Artemis, Bendis, whose festival was extremely popular with the sailors of Peiraieus, Kotytto, another foreign goddess, also a Thracian ; and the poet was right, for these orgiastic cults were better suited to pleasure-loving Corinth than to the city protected by the chaste Athene.



DEMETER.¹

Even for the old Greek deities and their rites he has but little respect. The offering of sacrifices is at the foundation of all religions ; in the Greek cults it was also the communion of the worshipper with the god, and hence an act doubly sacred. By Aristophanes it is regarded as a banquet offered to needy divinities. “When the calendar is in a state of confusion,” he says, “Olympus goes hungry,² festivals are omitted, and there are fewer

the left a small cup ; the other, a servant, holds some undistinguishable object. Both are of lower stature than the two divinities. Kybele stands, wearing on her head the modios and a veil ; in one hand she holds the tympanon, in the other, a sceptre ; at her feet is a lion. Atys wears the Phrygian costume, and has a long mitre on his head, of which the ends fall on each side his face ; in the left hand he holds a crook.

¹ Bronze coin of Athens. Head of Demeter, crowned with wheat-ears and veiled, right profile. Reverse : Demeter, holding a torch and wheat-ears, standing on a car drawn by winged dragons. Legend : ΑΘΕ (Beulé, p. 289).

² *The Clouds*, 621 ; τῶν θεῶν ἀναστίαν.

victims sacrificed." He respects Demeter and Athene, upon whom in Athens no man could venture to lay irreverent hands; but Hermes is a *chevalier d'industrie*, protector of knaves; Herakles, a glutton who is always hungry; Dionysos, "the son of the wine-flask," a coward who is always thirsty. Ploutos and Poseidon do not escape, and the priest of Zeus would like "to send his god walking," who, says Ploutos, "is jealous of all worthy people."

In the Mysteries doctrines had been taught which lifted virtuous souls to the regions of light, the near presence of the gods,—to



HERAKLES ROBBED.¹

become themselves also beings incorruptible and imperishable: at them the poet mocks.² Shooting-stars, he says, are the rich returning from the banquet, lantern in hand; for there is carousing up there, and, as well as on earth, many resorts for pleasure.

Lastly, as if to leave nothing in the old faith which his irreverent fancy has not touched, he forms a cosmogony, a parody of Hesiod's, whose heroes are new gods, whom he puts in place of the Olympians, *The Birds* (414 B. C.). A recent law of the demagogue Syrakosios forbade dramatic poets to make allusion to men

¹ Vase-painting (from Panofka, *Musée Blacas*, pl. 26 B.). Herakles pursues, club in hand, a woman, who seems to have stolen from him an *oinochoe*. In his left hand he carries an enormous loaf; in the comedy of *The Frogs*, the voracious hero is accused by an inn-keeper of having stolen and devoured sixteen loaves of bread. (Cf. Heydemann, *Jahrbuch des Kaiserl. d. archäol. Instit.*, vol. i. (1886) pp. 294 *et seq.*)

² *Peace*, 827 *et seq.*

and things of the day. Aristophanes submitted; he no longer named men, but the gods suffered instead.

While occasionally a pious parabasis, like those precautions which Voltaire employed against the Bastille, sufficed to save the poet from the charge of impiety (*ἀσεβεια*), it is not possible that this fashion of treating heavenly things could be without danger to the Olympians. They, meanwhile, as easy-going as Demos, did not at all avenge themselves by the hand of their priests and



HUMAN FIGURES WITH COCK'S HEADS.¹

of magistrates appointed to defend the cult. Religions of much greater severity have endured coarse buffooneries which amused the worshippers and gave offence to no one. This had long been the case with the Greeks, whom Homer had early accustomed to irreverence towards the gods.² With all his devotion, the worshipper took liberties, as a son might with his father, without respect or fear being thereby diminished. But this license, harmless in ages of faith, became singularly dangerous when religion ceased to be sure of itself, and serious-minded men shook it to its foundations by casting among the crowd ideas which make temples empty.

¹ Vase-painting (from Gerhard, *Trinkschalen und Gefasse*, pl. xxx. No. 1; A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, No. 1,830). Two figures, wrapped in cloaks, their heads entirely covered with masks in the form of a cock's head, follow a flute-player.

² See Vol. I. p. 320.

Then we have a right to ask the poet what he proposes to substitute for this which he seeks to overthrow. He lives in the midst of a people renowned for their abstemiousness, and he preaches gluttony; his wisdom consists in gaming, in drinking, in tranquilly eating a roast hare or an eel from Lake Kopais, while other men go into battle; courage is folly, and the brave Lamachos, who returns wounded from the field, was an ass. And then what dense sensuality, what trivialities and repulsive coarseness, though sometimes set in pure gold! *Lysistrata*, or "the Women's Strike," the vilest of all his comedies, has choruses worthy of Aischylos.

Excuse may be offered for him in considering the impure rites which Greece had received from Oriental countries, and the cult



SILENOS ON HIS ASS.²

of Dionysos, — that impersonation of Nature, intoxicated with her own exuberance of life, who delighted in free manifestations of life and pleasure.¹ Doubtless modesty in ancient times was not what it is to-day; the old naturalism had left, in the most

solemn festivals, strange emblems, at which neither women nor young girls were shocked;³ and Aristophanes had to deal with an audience at once very refined and extremely coarse, delighting in the purest poetry and the grossest jokes, and long habituated to be served after its own taste. But at a certain stage of civilization the poet is no longer obliged to follow the crowd and ask inspiration from it; he should himself take the lead. Aristophanes with his genius had the power of attracting his audience to other

¹ It must be said, in apology for Athens, that even the severe Dorian race took licenses no less great at their *phallophoreia*, in Sikyon, Megara, Tarentum, where festivals were more numerous than working-days, and of which one of the speakers in Plato's *Laws* says: "I have seen a whole city in a state of intoxication at the Dionysia." In the tombs of Myrina has been found a *φαλλός*, with a ring, worn as an amulet (*Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, March, 1885, p. 170).

² Silenos, seated on his ass, and holding a kantharos in his right hand; before the ass, a vine-stock, on which is seated a crow; under it, a dog. Reverse: ΜΕΝΔΑΙΟΝ. Vine-branch loaded with grapes. The whole in an incused square. (Tetradrachm of Mende, Macedonia.)

³ Aristotle (*Politics*, viii. 4) considers it desirable that boys should not be allowed to attend representations of the satyric drama; but this is a recommendation to some future law-maker, and not an appeal to any law already existing.

scenes, and he too often drags them down to the worst of their lower instincts.¹

The history of literature has only admiration for him, beguiled by his brilliant wit and his incomparable grace.² But since the



DIONYSOS ON A JOURNEY.³

poet assumed a political rôle, he becomes amenable to another tribunal. The question is not decided in the theatre, it must be brought into the Agora. I mean to say that in judging the poet

¹ Ancient society has suffered in its reputation from the disreputable places where Aristophanes represents it as living. A very learned man, Letronne, in his *Lettre à Fr. Jacobs sur la rareté des peintures licencieuses dans l'antiquité*, reproaches the priest with having overstated the number of immoral representations in painting. He shows that, with a few exceptions, licentious pictures in Herculaneum and Pompeii were found only in places where little interest in art could be looked for.

² To this remark an exception should be made in the case of a learned book recently published, *La Comédie grecque*, by M. Denis, dean of the faculty of letters at Caen. I regret that this work reaches me too late for me to avail myself of it; but I am happy to find myself in accord with the author as to the character of the Aristophanesque drama.

³ Stamped plaque of terra-cotta, in antique style, in the Museum of Berlin (from the *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1875, pl. xv. No. 2). Dionysos, half-asleep, holding in one hand his empty kantharos, and leaning with the other upon his thyrsos, travels slowly, riding on a mule led by a boy. A satyr, standing at the side of the god, supports him with both arms. Thus Dionysos went from hamlet to hamlet (*κωμηδών*).

we need to understand the constitution of Athens and the true nature of the Athenian government; the interests and passions of the opposing parties; the necessities of a city, mistress of a maritime empire, filled with traders, artisans, sailors, and upon which its antecedents as well as its present situation imposed an extremely democratic system. Upon all this there have long prevailed many errors, which modern criticism has begun to dissipate. These discussions would here be out of place. They have received attention elsewhere; it is enough to say, in the present chapter, that Aristophanes, while in advance of many of his fellow-citizens upon certain questions, is behind them by a century upon others.

What useful influence has this man exerted upon public affairs — this poet, who saw only evil, or what he regarded as such, and



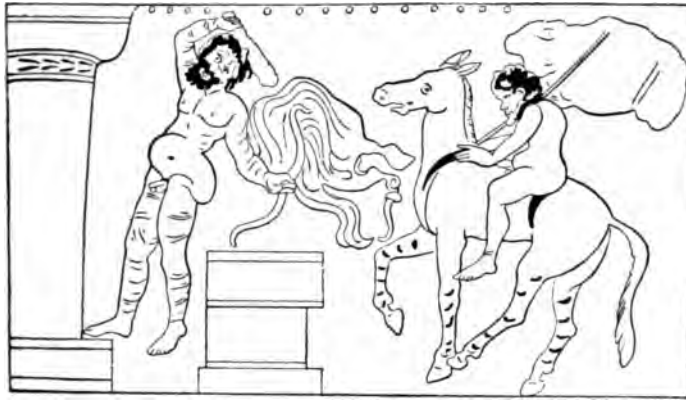
BRONZE FROG.¹

could indicate no other remedy than a return to the past, — as if it were possible for peoples, any more than it is for rivers, to turn back upon their own course! Doubtless, in the eyes of those to whom the present is displeasing, the past assumes a poetic lustre, as the mountain whose summit is irradiated by the setting sun when its base is already in darkness. But the past of Athens had undergone the common lot, — it was dead; and new conditions of existence had supervened. Aristophanes condemns them, not understanding or not being willing to understand them.

He cared not to know, but only to laugh. Now praise is wearisome: caricature amuses; he decided upon it, and gained applause by turning all things into ridicule, even what was good, and by representing the most trivial circumstances as causes of the most important events. "For three women of the town," he says, "Greece is in a blaze." To this explanation of the causes of a most terrible war, the austere and truthful introduction of Thucy-

¹ Bronze frog, from the Peloponnesos (very probably from Corinth), now in the Museum of Berlin, from the *Jahrbuch des Kaiserl. d'archäol. Instit.*, vol. i. (1886) p. 48. The inscription, which is a dedication, should read thus: "Ἀμῶν Σωνόσου Βοάσωνι (Amon, son of Sonoos, to Boason). This last word, according to Fränkel, is an epithet of Apollo, the god to whom Amon offers the frog.

dides makes reply, and the historian was himself one of the victims of this great strife. In reading it you will say that among the privileges of comedy is not included a right thus to pervert the history of a people whose career for a century and a half was the glorious one which opened at Marathon and ended at Chaironaia with the cry of Demosthenes: "No, no, Athenians, you did not hesitate to die for the safety of Greece!" Ah, wit is a charming thing, but it is sometimes dangerous!



FIRST SCENE OF THE FROGS OF ARISTOPHANES.¹

It is needless to add that the irascible poet was unsparing towards his rivals,—Eupolis, a poor writer, although he stole from his comrades in literature; Theognis, a man of snow, whose icy verse is like Thracian hoar-frost; Morsimos, who makes a sad mistake in having his plays represented in the spring,—a season to which they are not adapted; Meletos, whom Aristophanes recommends to visit Hades, and there consult the old masters; and "that crowd of young fellows who make tragedies by

¹ Vase-painting, from the *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1849, pl. iii. 1. The vase is in the Museum of Berlin (Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, No. 3,046). The first scene of *The Frogs* will be remembered: Dionysos, weary of the bad poets whose verses are heard at his festivals, has determined to bring back Euripides from the under-world. He first has to ascertain the way to the kingdom of Hades, and will question Herakles on this point. He is armed with a club and a bow, and escorted by his slave Xanthias, who, mounted on an ass, carries the baggage, goes to knock at the door of a temple of Herakles. This is the moment represented by the painter. Dionysos knocks loudly, "like a centaur" (*κενταυρικῶς*, *Frogs*, 38); behind him is Xanthias on his ass, carrying at the end of a stick (*ἀνάφορον*, *ibid.*, 8) the heavy bundle. This interpretation is not accepted by Heydemann, *Jahrbuch der Kaiserl. d. Institutes*, vol. i. (1886) p. 283, R.

thousands,—branches without sap, babblers who chatter like swallows.”¹ While he honors Aischylos, we have seen how he handles Euripides; and if he respects Sophokles, he accuses him of a shameful fault,—avidity of gain.² Perikles at least makes no other reproach to the graceful poet than that he is too ardent a worshipper of Aphrodite.

The poet has privileges; it is not right to ask him what is the use of his verses, for the most beautiful things are often the

most useless. At the same time, when he proposes to instruct his generation he is bound to strike a true note. Molière corrects with a laugh; the imitators of the Hôtel de Rambouillet perished as a result of the *Précieuses ridicules*, and *Tartufe* gave the death-blow to hypocritical devotion; but Aristophanes corrects neither person nor thing. The triobolon and the people-judge survived his sarcasms, for the reason that while the poet can destroy a fashion or a transient eccentricity of the mind, time alone unmakes the institutions which it has created.

Religions especially have great staying power; it would not be just to say that Aristophanes had really brought into discredit the re-

ligion of Athens: what he did was to aid the work of destruction which had already begun. To us the Hellenic gods, admirable subjects of poetry and art, live forever; and we easily console ourselves for the attacks that they have undergone, by



COCK WITH A WOMAN'S HEAD.³

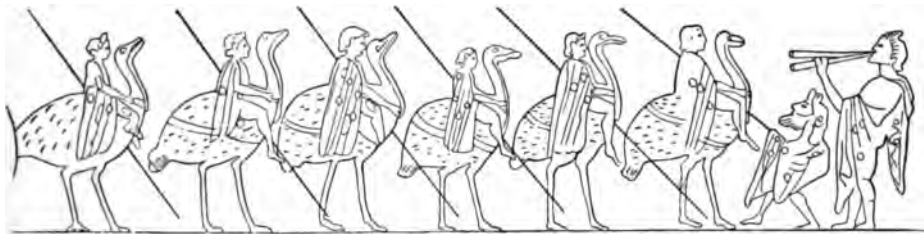
¹ *The Frogs*, 13-14, 89 et seq. Kratinos alone found favor with him. Aristophanes even goes so far as to propose, in the parabasis of *The Knights*, that Kratinos deserved to sit at the public table in the Prytaneion.

² *Peace*, 695-699.

³ Bronze from the ancient Castellani collection (in the *Catalogue*, No. 262). This bronze is of unknown origin. The woman's head has on it, like a helmet, the head of the bird, and the cock itself is perched upon a human skull.

the consideration that the destruction of polytheism broadened the moral conscience of humanity. But it ruined Greece; for those little States were so constituted that of them it was true, "*Morte la religion, morte la cité.*" And we could have wished a longer duration for the city of Perikles.

It is possible that we exaggerate the poet's importance. The Athenians loved to laugh; but they had only two theatrical representations in the year,—one in the spring, the other at the beginning of winter; and a piece was performed but once. It was copied, however, and under this form was spread abroad, though to no great distance, unless "the artists of Dionysos" carried it to cities who depended upon Athens for their dramatic



COMIC CHORUS MOUNTED ON OSTRICHES.¹

supplies. The comedies of Aristophanes are then an effect rather than a cause; and they mark a certain state of men's minds which they are not alone in creating.

We have left of the works of Aristophanes eleven plays out of the fifty-five that Suidas attributes to him,—his *Acharnians*, *Lysistrata*, and *Peace*, three arguments against war; *The Knights*, against Kleon; *The Clouds*, against Sokrates and the Sophists;² *The Festivals of Demeter* (*Thesmophoriazousai*) and *The Frogs*, against Euripides; *The Wasps*, against the people and its tribunals; *The Women's Senate* (*Ekklesiazousai*), to ridicule the Utopia which Plato was already developing, or would soon set forth, in the *Republic*, a community of wives and property; the *Ploutos*, a

¹ Vase-painting (from the *Bull. archeol. Napolitano*, new series, vol. v. (1857) pl. 7, No. 1). Mounted on ostriches and holding long wands, the choreutoi defile, to the sound of the double-flute, past a hunchbacked dwarf who wears a mask.

² It is noteworthy that Kratinos, at this time very aged, was in the competition of comedies victorious over Aristophanes. His drama of *The Bottle* was preferred to *The Clouds*. The ancients also placed Eupolis at the side of Aristophanes, whose contemporary he was.

protest against the blind distribution of wealth and an apology for labor, without which all prosperity disappears; lastly, *The Birds*, a charming fancy, satirizing both heaven and earth,—



SOKRATES.¹

men, whose acts are altogether foolish. and gods, who so badly govern the world.

Many of these comedies being connected with historic events or representing a certain state of men's minds, the quotations

¹ Marble bust found at Roma Vecchia, now in the Vatican, Museo Pio-Clem. (from a photograph). The inscription COKPATHC is engraved on the pedestal of the hermes.

which we might make from them would be more appropriate in other chapters.

Plato, the enemy of democracy, naturally had a great regard for the writer who attacked it so valiantly. In his *Banquet* he places Aristophanes at the side of Sokrates, although the poet was never reconciled to the philosopher; and when Dionysios of Syracuse wished to understand the Athenian government, Plato sent him *The Acharnians* and *The Knights*, which was on his part a new satire, and perhaps an act of infidelity towards his country. Finally, from Plato comes this eulogy, which surprises us: "The Graces, seeking an indestructible asylum, found the soul of Aristophanes."



COOK.¹

To save the reputation of the philosopher as a moralist, we must believe that in speaking thus he thought only of the numerous passages which, upon a background too often filthy, shine as sparkling sallies of good sense, as in the famous dispute between the just and the unjust, or as the soft light of pure poetry, the strophe, for example, in which the Clouds, images of metaphysical subtleties, are invoked by Sokrates.

"*Sokrates.* Come then, ye highly honored Clouds, whether ye are sitting upon the sacred snow-covered summits of Olympos, or in the gardens of Father Ocean form a sacred dance with the nymphs, or draw in golden pitchers the streams of the waters of the Nile, or inhabit the Maiotic Lake or the snowy rock of Mimas,—hearken to our prayer, and receive the sacrifice, and be propitious to the sacred rites."

And the chorus of Clouds reply, —

"Eternal Clouds! let us arise to view with our dewy, clear, bright nature, from loud-sounding Father Ocean to the wood-crowned summits of

¹ A terra-cotta from Tanagra, in the Museum of Berlin (from O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'art antique*). The figure holds in his left hand a pastry-board, and with the right hand turns upon a gridiron a cake which has disappeared.

the lofty mountains, in order that we may behold clearly the far-seen watch-towers, and the fruits, and the fostering, sacred earth, and the rushing sounds of the diviné rivers, and the roaring, loud-sounding sea; for the unwearied eye of Aither sparkles with glittering rays. Come, let us shake off the watery cloud from our immortal forms, and survey the earth with far-seeing eye."

Or again, in humbler strains this pastoral of Peace. The treaty has just been concluded. The armorers, the makers of helmets, crests, and shields are in despair,—for them it is ruin; but the husbandmen rejoice:—

"*Chorus.* I am delighted, I am delighted at being rid of helmet, and cheese and onions;¹ for I find no pleasure in battles but to continue



SCENE OF COMEDY: PARODY OF HERAKLES.²

drinking beside the fire with my dear companions, having kindled the dryest of the fire-wood which was sawn up in the summer, and roasting some chick-peas, and putting on the fire the esculent acorn. . . . For there is not anything more agreeable than to have the seed already sown, and the god to rain upon it, and some neighbor to say, 'Tell me, O Komarchides, what shall we do at this time of day?' I've a mind to drink, since the god acts so favorably. Come, wife, roast three choinixes of kidney-beans, and mix some wheat with them, and bring out some figs, and let Syra call Manes from the field; for it is in no wise possible to strip off the vine-leaves to-day, or to grub round the roots, since the

¹ The soldiers' rations.

² Vase-painting, from F. Wieseler, *Theatergebäude und Denkmäler des Bühnenwesens bei den Griechen und Römern*, pl. ix. No. 9. Herakles, armed with his club, brings to King Eurystheus the Kerkopes, whom he has shut up in wicker baskets; the king is seated at the right; he wears a crown, and holds his sceptre in the left hand. Concerning the Kerkopes, see Vol. II. pp. 184 and 185.

ground is wet. And let some one bring forth the thrush and the two chaffinches. And there were also quails and four pieces of hare, if the weasel did not carry off some of them in the evening. . . . When the grasshopper sings its sweet note, I take pleasure in examining the Lemnian vines if they are already ripe,—for their shoot bears early,—and in seeing the wild fig swell; and then when it is ripe, I eat it and taste it, and I exclaim, ‘O friendly Seasons!’”



DIONYSOS.¹

To conclude, it will not be uninteresting to know the opinion that Aristophanes had of himself, and wished others to have of him. In the parabasis of *Peace*, he enumerates the services which he claims to have rendered to the comic stage, and with the

¹ Bronze bust in the Museum of Naples (from a photograph). The bust has been called that of Plato the philosopher, and also that of Poseidon.

perseverance of hatred he boasts, three years after Kleon's death at Amphipolis, that he has "battled with the jagged-toothed monster."¹

"*Chorus.* Our poet says that he is worthy of great praise; for in the first place he alone of men made his rivals cease always scoffing at

DIONYSOS.²

rags; and he first drove off with contempt these representatives of Herakles, always baking food and always hungry, running away, cheating, and allowing themselves to be beaten; he too dismissed the slave, whom they were always introducing in tears, that his fellow-slaves might

CORNELIAN.³

jeer at him.⁴ . . . Having removed such low

buffooneries, he made our profession dignified, and elevated it, raising it with noble words and thoughts, not satirizing private men or women, but with the valor of Herakles attacking the great. And first of all I battle with the jagged-toothed monster himself,⁵ about whose head a hundred heads of flatterers were fawning. . . . At sight of such a monster I did not greatly fear; but fighting in defence of you and the islands, I always withstood him. On which account now it is reasonable that you should repay me the favor and be mindful of it."⁶

The spectators in the Dionysiac theatre, and since that day many Athenians who were not born in Athens, have given him the gratitude he claims. The historian must be more difficult to please; and yet, not to be accused of too great severity, I willingly quote a passage from *The Wasps*, wherein at least we find some worthy accents.

"*Chorus.* If any one of you, O spectators, wonders to see me laced up in the waist like a wasp, or questions what is the meaning of our sting, I will readily teach him. We are Athenians, alone rightfully of

¹ *Peace* was represented in 419 B. C., and Kleon met a soldier's death at Amphipolis in 422.

² Head crowned with vine-branches, the beard simulated by fly-wings. This figure has long been called Jupiter Muscarius. (Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France*. Nicolo, 14 millim. by 8. *Catalogue*, No. 1,625.)

³ Unknown poet or philosopher. Young man seated in a chair decorated with a griffin in relief, drawing or writing on a tablet; at his feet a panther, before him a column surmounted with a vase, and on the base of the column a youthful head carved in high relief. (11 millim. by 8. *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,899.)

⁴ His Herakles in the *Birds* is, however, very ridiculous.

⁵ Kleon.

⁶ See also the parabasis of *The Acharnians* and that of *The Clouds* and of *The Wasps*.

noble birth and of the native stock, a most manly race, and one which assisted this city most of all in battles, when the Barbarian came stifling the whole city with his smoke, and wasting it with fire, purposing to take away our nests by force. For we immediately ran out with spear and with buckler, and fought with them, having drunk sharp anger, man standing by man, biting his lip through rage; and by reason of the arrows it was not possible to see the sky. But nevertheless, the gods aiding us, we repulsed them about sunset; and they fled, stung in their jaws and eyebrows. So that among the Barbarians everywhere, nothing has a braver name than the Attic wasp."

Let us grant to Aristophanes the benefit of the extenuating circumstances that the Greeks claimed for the obscenities of the comic stage. "Dionysos," they said, "invented these utterances of a sportive Muse; he leads the merry train which hides censure under a graceful exterior, and a sting under a laugh. This intoxication teaches wisdom to the city."¹ But was it always wisdom which Aristophanes taught? At the same time, while it is true that none of his advice was followed, while he neither brought back peace nor drove demagogues away, he still delights us. He deserves, perhaps, the criticism of La Bruyere upon Rabelais; let us take but half of it, and say only: His comedies are "a most dainty dish."

DIONYSIAC FAUN.²

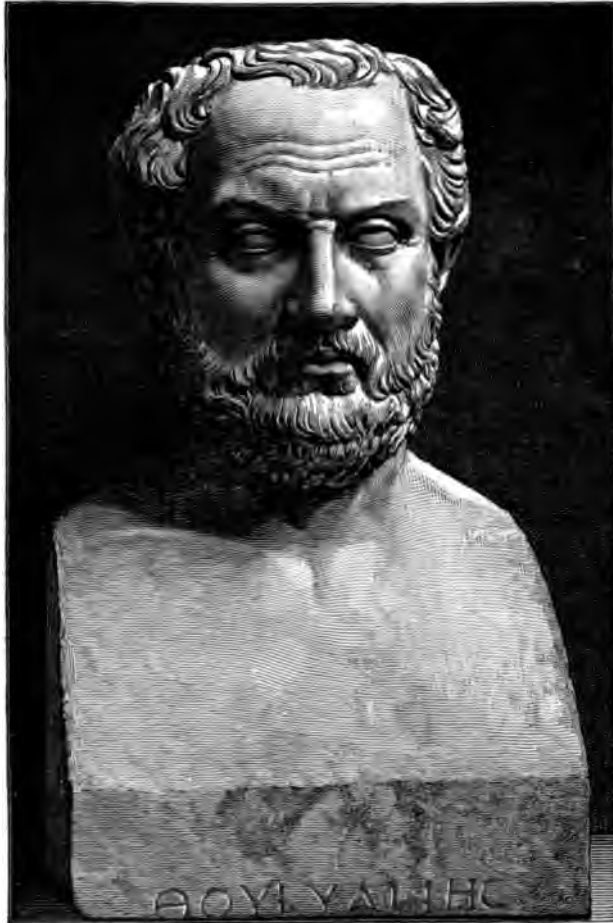
VI. — THUCYDIDES.

THE Athens of the fifth century had literary fame in every form: by Aischylos, Sophokles, and Euripides, that of lyric and dramatic poetry; by Aristophanes, that of comedy; by Perikles, that of eloquence; by Thucydides, that of history and serious prose; and by Sokrates that of philosophy.

¹ *Anthologie palatine*, xi. 32.

² The faun is playing on a pipe and holds a thyrsos; his body is partly covered with a fawn's skin. (Cameo on sardonyx of two layers, 46 millim. by 37. *Cabinet de France*, No. 77.)

Neither Perikles nor Sokrates wrote anything; but the former left a tradition of his incomparable eloquence, and the latter, by his conversation, trained pupils who gathered up his teaching, and originated the great philosophical movement which has



THUCYDIDES.¹

guided the world in the investigation of the laws of thought, of moral verities, and of the insoluble problems which are presented by metaphysics. Of Perikles we have already spoken, while detailing what Athens became in his hands; of Sokrates and his disciples we shall speak later, when the new direction taken by the human mind can be plainly discerned, after the Peloponne-

¹ Marble bust in the Museum of Naples (from a photograph.) The hermes is double, the other head being that of Herodotos. See p. 88.

sian war. As regards Thucydides, his work will be for a long time our guidé as to the facts we shall soon have to relate, and will be so always as to the spirit in which this history will be written.

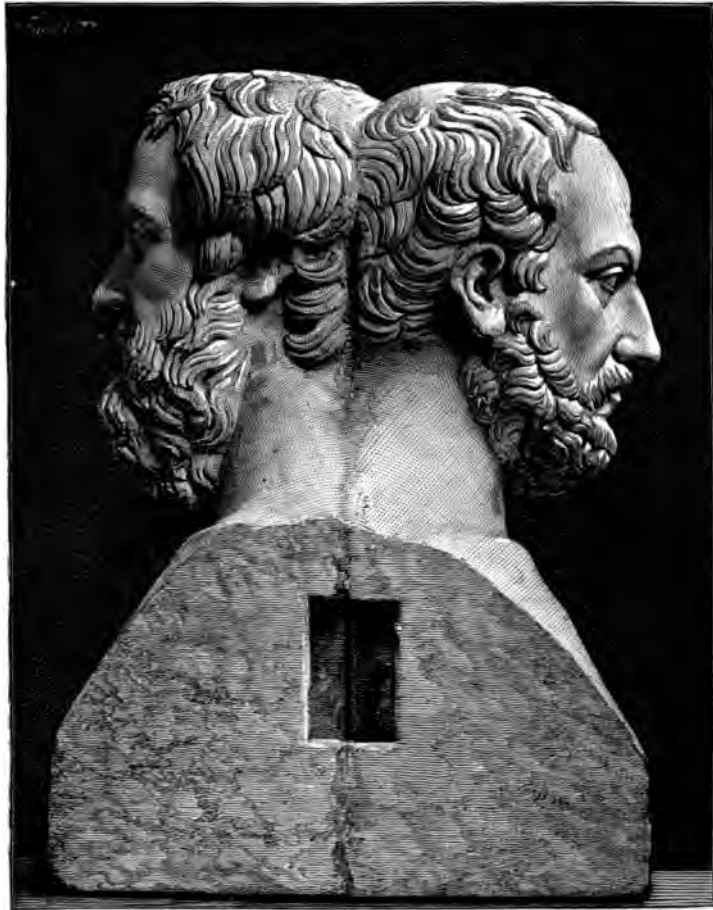
He was, ancient authors assert, a relative of Kimon, and it is conjectured that his mother was the granddaughter of Miltiades and the Thracian princess Hegesipyle; in the time of Plutarch his tomb was shown in Athens near the burial-place of the famous family of the Philaidai, descendants of the Telamonian Aias and Tekmessa. He was thirty-five or forty years of age when the Peloponnesian war began, and he lived several years after its close. He was then, on the breaking out of hostilities, in the full vigor of his mental powers, and he made it his work to study attentively the events of that struggle, "the greatest that ever happened among the Greeks, and some part of the Barbarians, and extending, as one may say, even to most nations of the world." "The Athenian Thucydides," he says in the first chapter of his work, "wrote the history of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians; having begun from its very outset, with the expectation that it would prove a great one, and more worthy of relation than all that had been before it, inferring this both from the fact that both sides were at the height of all kinds of preparation for it, as also because he saw the rest of Greece joining with the one side or the other, some immediately, and some intending so to do." We are assured that he employed all the means which his fortune gave him,¹ his birth, his numerous acquaintances, even his exile of twenty years, of which some were spent in the Peloponnesos, to collect the materials which enabled him to compose a trustworthy work, written, as he himself says, "as a possession forever."²

He makes a close scrutiny of events and men, and he then looks at them in their general characteristics, never lingering upon the details which delight the anecdote-mongers. He accompanies the personages of his history to the Agora, the council-chamber, and the

¹ He was proprietor or farmer of the gold-mines of Skaptê-Hylê, "the burned forest;" and the plane-tree was long shown under which he often sat to write his history.

² *Κρήμα ἐς αἰεὶ* (Thucyd., i. 22). Elsewhere (vi. 55) he shows extreme care and painstaking to obtain correct information as to a fact which was not part of his main work.

battlefield; he does not invade the seclusion of private life, for it is his opinion that men should be judged according to the counsels they give and the acts they perform, and that history is not concerned with more intimate details, except as they may have influ-



HERODOTOS AND THUCYDIDES.¹

enced their public career. His history is not at all entertaining, and we do not read it, as we read Herodotos, to be amused; it is a very serious work, the result of careful study. Written *sine ira, sine studio*, without anger, without partisanship, it deserves to be, for the experience which it gives, a school for statesmen.²

¹ Double bust in the Museum of Naples (from a photograph).

² Marcellinus, his biographer, says of him: *δεινός ἡθογφαφήσαι*.

Thucydides was the first to introduce speeches into history; as Homer places them in the epic, and the tragic poets in the drama, and as orators daily filled the Agora with them, so he continues the tradition. His work contains fifty-nine of them, not to mention those which are written indirectly. Where a modern writer would introduce explanations to facilitate a comprehension of facts, the ancient authors put into the mouths of their characters the reasons which induced them to such or such a course. In substance the procedure is the same, the difference being only in form. We have done well to abandon these harangues, which have a false air of authentic documents. But in the hands of so careful an observer as Thucydides, who studied facts and characters minutely, the method of introducing speeches which were never really made had advantages and but few drawbacks, since in these speeches there is sure to be a great amount of truth, and eloquence in addition to it. As to official acts, like treaties, we have the proof, at least in the agreement between Athens and Argos, that he copied them almost literally.

POSEIDON.¹

Between Sparta and Athens he established himself umpire, and his office is to render just decisions. Although his preferences are for an aristocracy, he knows that, disorderly ones excepted, all governments are good according to the time and the circumstances; that interest dictates the policy of a people, but also that ideas and feelings have their influence; and he made it his task to show how facts result from this triple action. He has been called an atheist;¹ but he never attacks the gods, as so many of his contemporaries have done: he feels merely that he has no need of them for his work. Instead of arbitrary acts, he finds general laws in the world. It would be no more just to say that Laplace denied the existence of a God in seeing only geometry in the stellar system.

¹ Poseidon, standing, to the right, fighting with the trident; behind, ΠΟΜ(Ποσ . . . in retrograde legend). The whole in a collar. Reverse: the same type in intaglio. Archaic silver coin of Poseidonia (Paestum), in Lucania.

² "ἄθεος ἡρέμα ἐνομίσθη (Marcellinus, *Life of Thucyd.*, § 22). Upon this question, see the *Thucydide* of Croiset, i. 32.

He renounces the old doctrine of Destiny, and believes in reason only: therein he marks the beginning of a new age of the world, which, unfortunately, did not last. Instead of resigning all things to the mysterious power of fatality, fortune, or the providence of the gods, he sought, with complete independence of thought, the human causes of events, and would have been ready to say with Anaxagoras: "Chance is an unintelligible cause, Destiny is an unmeaning word;" or, like Polybios: "To attribute the prosperity of the Achaian League to Fortune would be foolish and ridiculous. We must look for its cause, since without cause occurs nothing, either good or evil." Neither is he any more ready to recognize divine action in the natural phenomena which terrify the nations than in the events of the political world. For him, Nemesis is dead,¹ and it is no longer Poseidon who excites the sea and casts it upon Eubœia when part of that island disappears forever under the waves. The Spartans, about to invade Attika, are terrified, and retreat on hearing of this tidal wave. Thucydides explains it, as we should to-day, by a submarine earthquake.² In reference to a similar phenomenon, he writes, with scarcely concealed irony, that it "was said and thought to have been ominous."³ Charybdis, the devouring monster, falls from his rank, and is nothing more than the point of meeting, and on that account "naturally considered dangerous," of two great currents;⁴ and while the devout and stupid Nikias is alarmed at an eclipse of the moon to the degree of making a disastrous resolution, Thucydides observes, speaking of an eclipse of the sun, that this phenomenon took place at the new moon, "the only time at which it appears possible."⁵ This was plainly taking away from the gods the government of the world. He speaks neither of the goodness nor of the justice which have been made essential attributes of the divinity.

¹ By way of concession to the popular superstition, Perikles indeed says to the people that the pest is an evil sent from heaven, which must be supported with resignation; but he hastens to add that they must courageously resist the evils inflicted by their enemies (Thucydides, ii. 64).

² iii. 89.

³ ii. 8, 3, and 17, 2.

⁴ iv. 24.

⁵ ii. 28. A storm alarms the soldiers; he regards it as "produced simply by the season of the year" (vi. 70).

Theology has been wise in teaching this salutary belief; but in stating the fact that upon the earth there has always been an infinity of miseries and iniquities whose sum is diminished only by the progress of intelligence and morality among men, history is bound to consider it impious and blasphemous to attribute these misfortunes to the will of the *demiourgos*. He has made us intelligent and free; it rests with us to drive away these causes of wretchedness, and cause justice to prevail in their stead: such is the manly thought which underlies the work of Thucydides.

While he looks but little at heaven, however, he sees very clearly what takes place upon earth. It does not escape his notice that grievous changes are occurring in the Greek world, and that

MASKS.¹

a democracy, when guided by those who pay court to the multitude, "is incapable of maintaining dominion over others."² He sees that moral ideas have been overthrown by pestilence and war, and by the many vicissitudes which have brought nations and men by turns to power and to humiliation; that, in fine, but one divinity rules the world, Strength, and that the strong now takes all rights to himself,—even the right of violating justice and humanity. He is a moralist; but this every historian should be.

Thucydides is the father of a noble race: the Roman historians imitated him; he was the precursor of Polybios, of Machiavelli, of Montesquieu; and he remains the master of those modern writers who explain the affairs of this world by the folly or the wisdom of those who guide those affairs.

It would be fitting to give a place to Philosophy at the side of

¹ Marble masks, discovered at Pompeii (from the *Museo Borbonico*, vol. xi. pl. 42, Nos. 4, 5, 3). The two large masks are tragic; the small one a mask of comedy.

² iii. 37.

History, for they are sisters who, especially in Greece, ought never to be separated. But the conflict between popular beliefs and the ideas that were making their way under the influence of the philosophical schools was not seriously manifested until the middle and the close of the Peloponnesian war; of this conflict the death of Sokrates was the conspicuous token. It is at that moment that it will be appropriate to consider how this Athenian people, so gentle and so large-minded, came to treat a just man as a criminal, not for acts, but for words, and to defend by punishments its gods, which it had so often suffered to be scoffed at in the theatre.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ARTS AT ATHENS IN THE FIFTH CENTURY B. C.¹

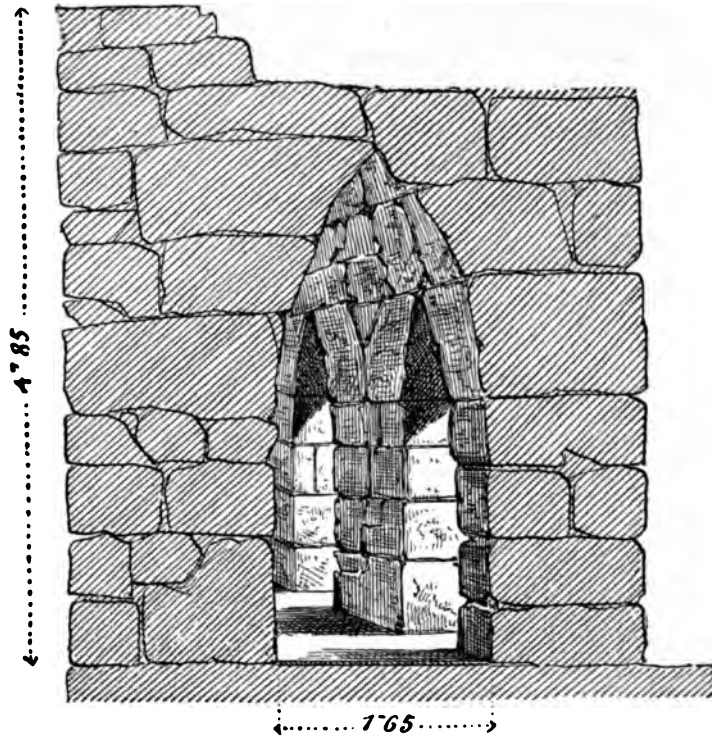
I. — ARCHITECTURE.

I HAVE seen the Colosseum and the Pyramids, the Baths of Caracalla and the tombs of the Khalifs; but Athens impresses me most, for the reason that in her architecture, as in her literature, all is due measure, exquisite proportion and harmony of parts with the whole; because the marvels of art mingle in this consecrated place with those of Nature and of history. From the summit of the rock which overlooks the spot which has long been believed to be, and doubtless was, the Athenian bema, I had before me the temple of Theseus; at the right that of the virgin goddess and the gigantic columns of the Olympieion,² to which the sun has given the golden hue of ripened corn; at the left the sea, which glittered, deep-blue as were its waves, receding towards Salamis, the rose-tinted island, and, more remote, the Akrokorinthos, with its formidable fortress. Under the colonnade of the Parthenon I saw pass the great men who were the most brilliant impersonation of human genius, and under the ruined roof of the temple I replaced the Pheidian Athene, goddess of intellect, who filled the cella with her divinity and Athens with her spirit. These stones are so beautiful because they have lived. The life that they sheltered has clung to them, and the memories that they evoke bring that life into being once more in our thoughts.

¹ For the bibliography of this subject see the *Manuel de Philologie classique* of S. Reinach, book iv. pp. 53-97.

² The columns of the Olympieion (see Vol. II. p. 9) are of the Roman period; they are of the Corinthian order.

The Greeks did not arrive by their first efforts at the architectural perfection which we admire upon the Akropolis. They



GALLERY OF TIRYNS.¹

had at first given their gods the mountain-tops for an abode, or the depths of primeval forests; but wishing to have them nearer,



SILVER COIN OF CROTONA.²

they made dwellings for the divinities, which were at first rustic and simple, and by degrees became more ornamented and attracted the other arts with religious ceremonials, attracted also poets celebrating the gods and the country, and philoso-

phers agitating the great problems of nature and the soul. The temple was thus the central point of Hellenic life.

¹ From Schliemann, *Tiryns*, p. 171. This gallery, pierced in the southern wall of the citadel, served as a passage for the defenders of the akropolis, Vol. I. p. 186.

² Column of the Ionic order, on which stands an eagle; legend, QPOT. Reverse: QPOT. Tripod: at the left a grain of barley; in the exergue, ME, initials of a magistrate's name.

But gods, like men, change with the passage of time. Before their divine majesty shone forth amid the marvels of art, they who were to become the great dwellers upon Olympos began as obscure and shapeless beings dwelling in the trunk of a tree, then in a miserable wooden shed, later in a dwelling of stone, and then in one of brass, like the Athene Chalkioikos of Sparta.¹ Only with the progress of civilization did their dwellings become larger and more lofty. The true temples, and the most ancient, — those of Corinth, Samos, and Metapontum, — date only from the seventh century B. C.

Neither the arch nor the dome was known to Greek architecture. At Tiryns and at Mykenai there are, it is true, forms which seem to be these; but the window-spaces and arcades are pointed at the top, only because the successive courses of masonry approach each other until they at last touch. This method is rude and barbaric, and it was early abandoned for the lintel and pediment.

All Greek temples are alike in the general plan of their construction;² at the same time the architectural combinations may be numerous, all differing in the nature of the materials employed and the ornamentation which decorates them,

DORIC COLUMN.³

¹ Pausanias mentions several of these buildings, the walls of which were lined with plates of brass; for example, the chamber in which Akrisios shut up Danaë (ii. 25, and x. 5), the treasury of Myron at Sikyon (iv. 9), and others. As to the employment of metals in ancient architecture, see *L'Architecture métallique antique*, by Ch. Normand, in the *Encyclopédie d'architecture* and the *Revue archéol.* of May and September, 1885. In respect to temples of wood, cave-temples, etc., see Chipiez, *Origines et formation des ordres grecs*, pp. 174-186.

² From the temple of Assos, Asia Minor. (From Saglio's *Dictionn.* fig. 1,752, article *Columna*, by C. Chipiez.)

³ There has, however, been recently discovered at Epidauros a circular building which was perhaps the Tholos of Polykletes (Paus., ii. 7), adorned with Doric columns on the outside, and Corinthian columns within. At Olympia has also been found a small circular temple, surrounded by eighteen Ionic columns, and supported inside by those of the Doric order. This was the Philippeion, in which Alexander placed the statues of Eurydike, Amyntas, Philip, Olympias, and himself, made by Leochares (Bötticher, *Olympia*, 1886). Circular temples were unknown to the ancient Greeks. It is possible that the Philippeion was an imitation of the Italian temples of Vesta. Was it surmounted by a cupola? The only Greek edifice now standing which has one is the very small monument of Lysikrates.

in the number of the columns and the breadth of the space between the columns, by which the proportions of the building are determined, and especially by the character peculiar to each of the three orders, the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. One member of the construction, namely, the column, with the portion of the entablature which it supports, determines this character.

The first temples worthy of the name were of the Doric order. Their walls were thick and solid, the columns low and stunted, without bases, like the post which had been the primitive support;¹ but with flutings, capital, and double pediment, extending itself under a broad façade, — like an eagle with wings displayed, to use Pindar's comparison.² The whole edifice, built of com-



BRONZE COIN.³

mon stone, is concealed, as in many Egyptian temples, under a coating of stucco, painted in brilliant colors. Fragments of these temples can be seen at Assos, on the coast of Asia; at Corinth, Delphi, and Aigina in Greece; at Syracuse, Agrigentum, and Selinous in Sicily; at Metapontum, and especially at Pæstum (Poseidonia), in Italy,⁴ where have been

found the grandest ruins of the ancient Doric order. The common character of these edifices, which are almost all of the seventh or sixth century B. C., was their solid, but heavy, thickset appearance.⁵ The columns are only four diameters in height, or at most four and two thirds; and when the stucco has fallen off, the poverty of the material became apparent. Even the temple of Olympia was built of a hard and porous tufa covered by the stucco with a brilliant robe. That of Aigina was also of stone, and not marble; but notwithstanding this, its ruins are beautiful.

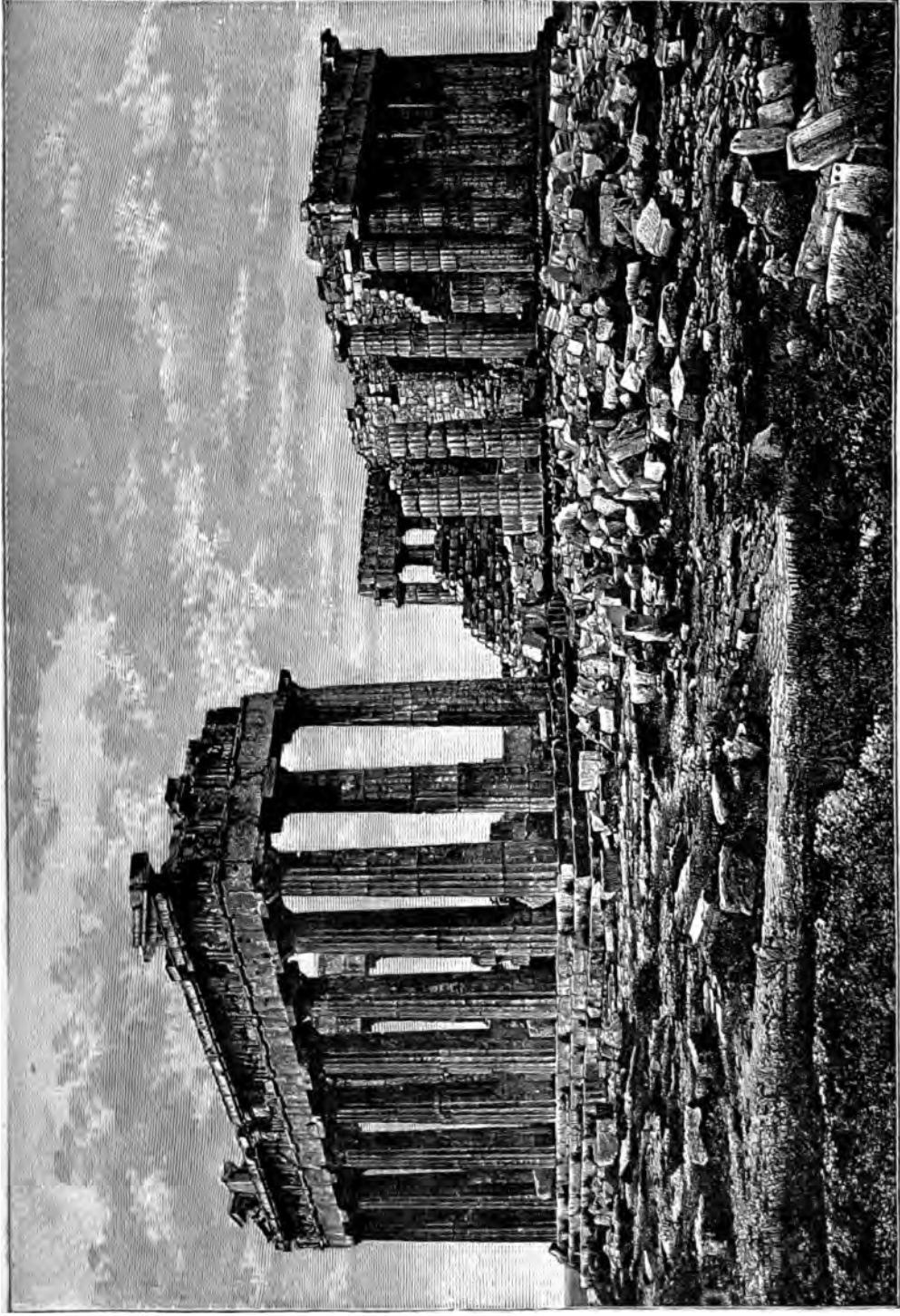
¹ Pausanias (v. 20, 6) saw such a post at Pisa, all worm-eaten and banded with iron, said to have been one of the columns in the palace of King Oinomaos.

² The fluting is entirely Greek; the East never employed it. As to the double pediment, Pindar (*Olymp.*, xiii. 29) attributes this invention to the Corinthians, who "added to the bridles of the steeds the means of guiding them, and placed the two-fold king of the birds on the temples of the gods."

³ Legend: C I COR (*Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus*). The temple of Poseidon, with stairs and tetrastyle portico; the pediment is adorned with three tritons, one on the summit, the others at each end, forming acroteria. Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of Geta.

⁴ See in Vol. II. p. 71, the ruins of the temple of Corinth, p. 145 those of Metapontum, and p. 147 the temple of Pæstum.

⁵ It has been usual to consider the temple of Corinth as contemporary with that of Aigina; but the difference in the two buildings must represent some separation in point of time.



THE PARTHENON.

From a photograph. The view is taken from the northeast.

It is in Athens that we must look for the Doric order in its severe elegance. Already in the temple of Aigina the column is more slender, — five and a third diameters; in the Theseion it is five and a half; in the Parthenon, six: and this is the proportion most satisfying to the eye. Of these three temples, the first, in which some archaic traces appear, is of the sixth century B. C.; the second, whose proportions are purer, of the first half of the fifth; the third is the architectural triumph of the time of Perikles.

The Parthenon, built entirely of Pentelikan marble, is not the largest of the Greek temples, but its execution is the most perfect, and by this it was the masterpiece of Hellenic art. A very minute detail will show the finish of the work; it was with the greatest difficulty, and using the hand as well as the eye, that I was able to discover the seams in the columns, so skilfully had these immense masses been placed. Even the masons were artists in Athens.¹



DORIC CAPITAL OF THE TEMPLE OF POSEIDON.²

The interior of the Parthenon was divided into two halls: the smaller, in the rear, the *opisthodomos*, contained the public treasure; the larger, the *cella* (*naos*), held the statue of the goddess, born motherless, of the intellect of the Ruler of the gods, — itself the soul, so to speak, of which the Parthenon was the outside envelope. Figures in high relief, almost twice the size of nature, adorned the two pediments of the temple.³ The frieze, which was 42 feet 8 inches in height around the *cella* and the *opisthodomos*, and 525 feet in length, represented the procession of the Great Panathenaia.

This edifice was completed in 435 B. C. It was mutilated, not by time nor by barbarians. The Parthenon was almost intact in

¹ The Parthenon was a peripteral temple; that is to say, surrounded with columns.

² At Paestum. From the *Dict. des Antiq. gr. et rom.*, fig. 1,753. See Vol. II. p. 145.

³ It is believed that the eastern pediment alone contained nineteen figures.

1687¹ A. D., when on the 27th of September, Morosini bombarded the citadel. One of the shells, setting fire to barrels of powder stored in the temple, blew up a portion of it; then the Venetian attempted to take down the statues from the pediment, and broke them. Lord Elgin, at the beginning of the present century, tore away the bas-reliefs of the frieze and the metopes: this was a further disaster. The Ilissos or the Kephisos, the Herakles or Theseus, the Charites, "goddesses of the spring," called by some the three Fates, by others Demeter, Kora, and Iris,² are still, mutilated as they are, the most precious fragments left us from antiquity. In 1812 other Englishmen carried away the frieze of the temple of Phigalia (Bassai), built by Iktinos.³ All these fragments of masterpieces were sold for money; and only under the damp and sombre sky of England can we now see the remnants of what was once the imperial mantle which Perikles prepared for Pallas Athene.⁴ To appreciate the incomparable splendor of the Parthenon, we must restore to it in our thought that which men have taken from it, then place it upon its rock, 150 feet above the level of the city, whence a wondrous panorama is unrolled before the eyes, and surround it with the other buildings of the Akropolis,—the Erechtheion, which displayed all the elegance of art, at the side of the severe grandeur of the principal temple;⁵ the bronze statue of Athene Promachos, "she who fights in the foremost rank," to whom the sculptor gave colossal stature, so that sailors coming in from the open sea were able to direct their course by the crest upon her helmet and the gold tip of her lance

¹ The Byzantines had cut a window in one of the pediments, and established a chapel in the edifice.

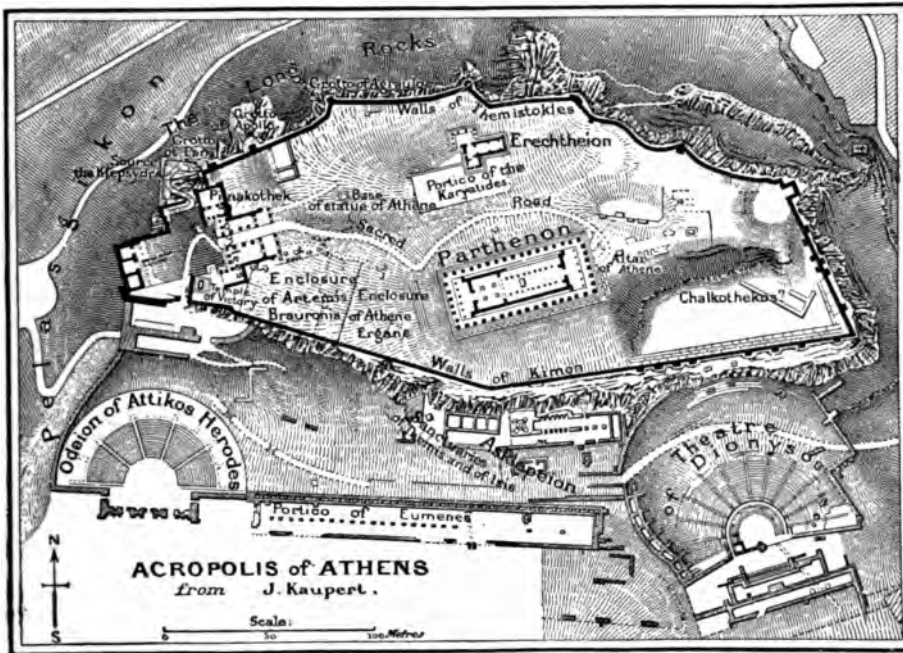
² Still other names have been given them,—Hestia, Aphrodite, and Peitho. The names are of little consequence. Our interest is in the severe and admirable elegance of these draperies.

³ This temple was finished in 431 B. C.

⁴ "The clothing of Athens in her imperial mantle by ornaments architectural and sculptural" (Grote, vi. 238).

⁵ In a *Mémoire explicatif et justificatif de la restauration de l'Erechthéion*, M. Tétaz will not admit for this charming building, which is of very small proportions, more than two divisions, although there are three porticos,—the temple of Athene Polias, containing an altar to Erechtheios, with the Palladion, or wooden statue of Pallas; and the Pandroseion, containing the sacred olive-tree and the well of salt water which Poseidon produced by a stroke of his trident on the rock. The roof of the southern portico was supported by six caryatides. This portico was restored by France in 1846.

(*maris stella*); lower, across the only side on which the rock is accessible, the admirable gateway of the Propylaia, and the temple of the Victory, forming one of its wings; but above, it should be seen bathed in the brilliant light of the eastern sky, in comparison with which our clearest noonday is but twilight.



PLAN OF THE AKROPOLIS AT ATHENS.

A minute observation of the Parthenon has shown how deep was the artistic feeling of the Greeks, and how skilfully they corrected geometry by good taste. In the entire building there is not an absolutely plane surface. As in the columns the perfection of their beauty is due to the *entasis*, the slightly swelling outline towards the middle of their height, of which the eye is not aware, so the whole edifice, colonnades and walls, is imperceptibly inclined inward, towards an invisible apex far up in the sky, and all the horizontal lines are convex. But how slight is the deflection! Just enough to let the eye and the light glance easily over the surfaces, and to give the building at once the grace of art and the solidity of strength; not enough for it to have, like the Egyptian temples, the heavy, crushed look of a truncated pyramid.

On the southern façade the rise of the curve is not quite five inches (123 mill.).¹



TEMPLE OF VICTORY.²

The Propylaia, a masterpiece of civic and military architecture, stood at the point by which alone the Akropolis was accessible; the building was, like the Parthenon, of the Doric order,

¹ See upon these questions: Penrose, *An Investigation of the Principles of Athenian Architecture*, where all these curves are given, almost to the thousandth part of an inch; Ch. Blanc, *Grammaire des arts du dessin*, p. 176; Beulé, *L'Acropole et l'architecture au siècle de Pisistrate*. Mr. John Pennithorne has collected all these observations and statements in a great work, entitled, *The Geometry and Optics of Ancient Architecture*, in folio, 1878, where architects will find a great mass of useful information. The author has visited Egypt, to compare the architecture of that country with the Greek, and establishes between the two a filiation, which, however, may not go so far as he supposes.

² This little temple is amphiprostyle-tetrastyle; that is to say, it has four columns on each façade. It is of the Ionic order. It was demolished in 1687 by the Turks, who employed its materials in the construction of a battery, but was restored in 1835-1836 by L. Ross, Schaubert, and Hansen. (From a photograph.)

NOTE. — On the opposite page is a view of the Akropolis, from a photograph. It represents the south-western aspect of the hill. At the right of the Parthenon rises Lykabettos, and behind it Pentelikos, — in form resembling the pediment of a building.



THE AKROPOLIS.



and so planned by its architect, Mnesikles, that it was a majestic gateway into the holy of holies of pagan Athens,¹ and also a strong defence. Epameinondas had the design of transporting the Propylaia to Thebes, to adorn the Kadmeia; six centuries later, Pausanias regarded this building as more admirable than the Parthenon, and Plutarch says of it: "These works have a sort of bloom of newness upon them that time cannot destroy; they are brilliant with youth, as if they were alive and had a soul."²

Athens had other buildings, of which we shall make only brief mention: the Anakeion, a temple of the Dioskouroi, where the sale of slaves was held; the Pantheon, a temple to all the gods, built by the Emperor Hadrian; the octagonal tower of the Winds, a building of little architectural merit, believed to have been erected in the first century B. C. Its eight sides face respectively the directions whence blow the eight winds recognized by the Athenians, and figures and names of these winds are sculptured on the frieze of the entablature. This tower is still standing, as well as the choragic monument built by the choregos Lysikrates in 334 B. C., on occasion of a victory, by a chorus of the tribe of Akamantis. On the south-eastern slope of the Akropolis may yet be seen remains of the theatre of Dionysos, and marble seats

¹ Beulé had the idea that he had discovered, in some steps of Roman construction, the ancient entrance to the Propylaia, but his conjecture is not now accepted. Cf. Bohn, *Die Propyläen auf der Akropolis*, with twenty-one plates. The author, who in 1882 made excavations on the Akropolis, does not believe it possible to trace the exact route which led to the citadel. The stairway of Pan, discovered in 1873 by E. Burnouf, whose fifty-one steps can now be easily ascended, was for pedestrians one of the entrances to the Akropolis. This stairway, which dates from the most ancient times, is represented on the coin, Vol. I. p. 143.

² *Life of Perikles*, 11. The Mouseion, a hill adjacent to the citadel, became a point to defence, often occupied by a Macedonian garrison. In the Pompeion, at the entrance into the city from the side of Phaleron, the ceremonial of the *Panegyries* was prepared; here were kept the sacred objects. The Kerameikos was partly outside the walls, where it served as a public cemetery, and partly within the city; in the latter portion it contained many temples and the principal agora. The Lykeion, the Akademeia, and the Kynosarges were three gymnasia, with groves and paths, outside the walls. Aristotle taught in the first, Plato in the second, and Antisthenes in the third. Hence the names of the two former schools of philosophy, and indeed of the third also, the Cynic. The Lykeion, on the banks of the Ilissos, was so called from Apollo, killer of wolves, to whom it was dedicated. A statue of the god adorned its principal entrance. There were pictures on the walls, and in the gardens noble avenues where Aristotle taught while walking, *περιπατῶν*; hence another name of his followers, — the Peripatetic school. The Academy, gardens consecrated to the hero Akademos, was in the outer Kerameikos, three quarters of a mile from the city walls. Here were olive-groves, plane-trees, and fountains. At the entrance were an altar and a statue of Eros. The Kynosarges was near the Lykeion.

beautifully carved. But the Stadion, on the southern bank of the Ilissos, one of the marvels of Athens according to Pausanias, has



CARYATID OF THE ERECHTHEION.¹

disappeared, and excavations made there have as yet brought to light nothing of importance. It dates from the time of the Athe-

¹ From a photograph and a cast. According to Vitruvius, the name is derived from Karyai, a city of the Peloponnesos whose inhabitants, men and women, were reduced to slavery for having favored the Persians. But this city was also noted for its slow, grave dances; and the beautiful attitudes of the young girls of Karyai, or the Karyatides, have more than

nian orator Lykourgos, who is said to have completed it about 350 B. C., and received embellishments from Atticus Herodes.¹

Attika also, like its capital, had monuments of victory, of patriotic pride, and of devout gratitude towards the gods, all built in the severe style whose principal models we have now considered. In the sacred city of Eleusis, opposite Salamis, was built a vast temple, capable of containing the multitude of the initiated on occasion of the Mysteries of Demeter. Rhamnous, which overlooks the plain of Marathon, built a sanctuary to Nemesis, the goddess of righteous vengeance;² and on the summit of Cape Sounion two temples consecrated to the tutelary divinities of Attika, Poseidon and Athene, signalled from afar to sailors coming from the islands or from the Asiatic coast, their approach to a land where the Persians had found their grave, and the Greeks, liberty. When, on occasion of sacred festivals, the people came in long procession to this promontory—now known as Cape Kolonnes³—they beheld extended at their feet this sea which had become their own; and they thanked with fervor the two divinities which had given their chiefs political sagacity, and their sailors favoring winds. Later, near these temples of the gods, Philosophy will take her seat, and it is a pleasure to believe that on Sounion were heard some of the dialogues of Plato.⁴

The school of Athens was known afar. The temple of Olympia was not the work of an Athenian, but the statue of Zeus

once furnished inspiration to sculptors. See O. Rayet, *Monum. de l'art antique*, Caryatid of the Erechtheion. Cf. the Caryatid of the Vatican, Vol. I. p. 489.

¹ These edifices, of different dates and very unequal merit, are indicated on the colored plan, Vol. I., facing p. 550, and the most important of them are represented in the course of this work. Thus, the theatre of Dionysos, p. 3; the seat of the priest in the same theatre, p. 23. Later will be found the Kerameikos, the Akademia, and a restoration of the Akropolis by a distinguished French architect.

² See Vol. II. p. 423, a restoration of this temple.

³ Fifteen of these columns are still standing (see Vol. II. p. 417). By land, the journey from Athens to Sounion is about thirty miles.

⁴ Aristotle (*Politics*, vii. 12) wished to have temples always built on hills. This was an old custom. Most of the Greek cities had grown up at the foot of some height which they afterwards crowned with a fortress, — their akropolis, where, in case of need, their gods, their treasures, and themselves could find shelter. In respect to Cape Sounion, it was the æsthetic sense of Athenians, revealing to them the imposing effect of these edifices in a spot like this, which gave the promontory its magnificent ornament. Also we may remember that the servants of these two temples would be useful sentries in time of war.

was made by Pheidias; and to Paionios of Mende and Alkamenos of Lemnos are attributed, though without certain proof, the sculptures of the two pediments which represent, on one the struggle between Pelops and Oinomaos, and on the other the quarrel between the Lapiths and the Centaurs at the marriage of Peirithoös.¹

Time, the Barbarians, and perhaps fire, destroyed this temple, and the Alpheios in its freshets covered with twenty-five or thirty feet of alluvion the plain of the Altis, which Pausanias had seen so beautiful. Until the *Expédition de Morée*, which brought a few fragments back to the Louvre, no man even knew the site whereon such magnificence had once stood.² The successful excavations of the German commission have brought to light a Victory by Paionios, a Hermes of Praxiteles, and other masterpieces.

The Ionic order also originated on the Asiatic coast, where the Doric had preceded it. It appeared there in all its grace in the sixth century B. C., when the temple of Ephesos was built.³ The Kretan Chersiphron and his son Metagenes began its construction, which continued, like that of our gothic cathedrals, with a slowness twice or thrice secular. Its columns, of which several were given by Cræsus, were eight diameters in height, with bases which the Doric columns lacked, and capitals with spirals which the ancients compared to the curls of a woman's hair. Of the Ionic temple of Samos, burned by the Persians, one column alone remains standing; according to the diameter of the base, this must be fifty-two and a half feet in height,—which would show the temple to have been a colossal edifice. Of the same order, but very small in their dimensions, were the Erechtheion and the temple of the Wingless Victory at Athens. The former contained the most ancient representation of Athene,—a statue of olive-

¹ This temple, whose construction was begun by Libon of Elis after the destruction of Pisa by the Eleians, was 69 feet high, 98 broad, and 230 long. Pheidias probably did not come into Elis until 436 B. C., and his brother, the painter Panainos, and the skilful sculptor Kolotes, his pupil, accompanied him. On his residence in Elis, see *Rev. Hist.*, December, 1884, p. 388.

² See Vol. II. p. 391, note 3.

³ See Vol. II. p. 194, and note 2.

NOTE.—On the opposite page is represented the Portico (*πρόστας*) of the Caryatides (from a photograph). It was called in classic authors the Portico of the Maidens (*Κόραι*). See Vol. II. p. 640, the general view of the Erechtheion.



THE ERECHTHEION (SOUTHERN PORCH)

wood, reputed to have fallen from heaven.¹ In the second was the Athene Nike, whom, to bind her forever to the fortunes of the city, the sculptor had represented without the usual wings of the goddess of Victory.

In the time of Perikles the Corinthian order had not as yet been invented; it dates, however, from a period but little later.² The story is that Kallimachos, seeing at Corinth, upon a child's tomb, a basket filled with toys, around which had grown the graceful leaves of an acanthus, made it the model of a Corinthian capital. The date of the architect's birth is not known; but since Iktinos, after the pest at Athens, and Skopas, in 396 B. C., built, one at Phigaleia, the other at Tegea, temples in whose ruins fragments of this new order have been found, it is certain that its invention must have followed closely upon the construction of the Propylaia.

There is, on the subject of Greek architecture, a question which has been decided only in our own time,—that of polychromy. Notwithstanding our very decided preference for the nude stone, we have been compelled to acknowledge that the Greeks had a different taste.

Light and color gratify the eye; but their *rôle* is not the same in countries where the sky is often only a shroud hung over the earth, and in those where this earth, vivified by the sun, sings with its thousand voices the poem of Nature. In the North a pallid light renders our buildings gloomy in their aspect; hence we do not hesitate to make them of materials which at first give them a dazzling whiteness. In the South they are lighted up too vividly, and the glitter of marble would pain the eyes, did not the sun itself burn the stone to a golden tint which relieves the sight. Color—valueless and even displeasing in statuary, where

SILVER COIN.³

¹ It is not known at what date the Erechtheion was begun; it does not seem to have been completed before the close of the Peloponnesian war. The same is perhaps true of the temple of the Wingless Victory.

² Vitruvius places in 440 B. C. the invention of Kallimachos.

³ Beardless head of Herakles covered with the lion's skin, right profile; under it a branch of laurel. Reverse: KROTANIATAN. Corinthian column between a club and a shield. Coin of Krotona.

the sole aim is to render form and contour with fidelity — furnishes, on the contrary, a very important means of animating these great flat surfaces, which in their nudity would be cold and lifeless. It does not seek to create, like polychromic statuary, a deceitful effect; color and ornamentation make no pretence, and are only an added charm when, the temple standing in its consecrated grove, the needed harmony is established between the work of art and that of Nature.

Egypt and Asia lavished color both in painting and in the use of enamelled pottery, with which Persian edifices are found to be covered.¹ The most ancient inhabitants of Hellas experienced this influence. Color is found on walls of dwelling-houses older than Homer by ten centuries, — such is the case at Tiryns, one of the capitals of the heroic time; and it was used on the prows of the earliest vessels which ventured upon the waves. This usage perpetuated itself in subsequent ages; but the Greeks, as was their practice in the whole domain of art, modified, according to the demands of a refined taste, the inheritance received from their ancestors and the nations which were their predecessors in civilization. Tints more or less strong covered the stone of the temple, even in the sculptures of the frieze, the metopes, and the pediment; terra-cottas — whose colors, mingled with the paste, were indestructible — decorated the higher parts of the building and enlivened the severity of the architecture. We must further distinguish the polychromy of Athens in the time of Perikles from that of other Hellenic countries. It is possible that in Sicily, Magna Græcia, and even Aigina,² where the materials which the artists employed were coarse,

¹ See, in *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane* of Madame Dieulafoy, the description of the colored materials which entered into the construction of the palace of Darius (p. 399), and, in the Louvre, the enamelled bricks brought home by M. Dieulafoy. The use of this kind of decoration had penetrated Asia Minor: in Lydia and Phrygia colored glazing has been found. The Indians of America, especially those of Yucatan, also employed color on their buildings (D. Charnay, *Comptes-rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres*, 1886).

² See Vol. II. p. 65, the restoration of the pediment of Aigina by Charles Garnier. Most of the sculptures exhumed at Olympia bear traces of polychromy, as do also the statues recently found near the Parthenon, which are anterior to Pheidias.

NOTE. — The temple represented on the opposite page (from a photograph), dedicated to Apollo the Helper (*ἑπικούπιος*), was built in the second half of the fifth century B. C. by Iktinos, the architect of the Parthenon at Athens. It was of the Doric order, but in the interior the columns of the *naos* were Ionic. (See Vol. II. p. 195, the Ionic capital from the temple of Bassai.)



TEMPLE OF APOLLO EPIKOURIOS IN BASSAI (PHIGALEIA).

the temples received brilliant coloring. But at Athens the beautiful Pentelikan marble employed certainly was not everywhere concealed under crude and glaring colors. The words of Plutarch, quoted above,¹ as to the freshness and youth of the buildings on the Akropolis, after six centuries had already passed over them, do not permit us to believe that these walls and columns had received more than a carefully limited color. In all countries women, those clever artists, take care to ornament their heads; and they are right in doing so,—it is their *place d'armes*, so to speak, whence the chief attack is made. On the same principle Iktinos employed all the resources at his command in decorating the upper portions of the Parthenon,—ornaments of gilded bronze attached to the draperies of the figures, encrusted enamels and splendid sculpture along the whole extent of the frieze. Still further, on festivals, garlands and fillets were attached to it, so that the temple had, as it were, a wreath of flowers and foliage upon its diadem of precious stones.²

I have already mentioned the great architects of this period. Iktinos built the Parthenon, the temple of Apollo Epikourios in the Arkadian city of Phigaleia, and the immense edifice in which were celebrated the Mysteries of Eleusis. Kallikrates was his assistant in the Parthenon; Mnesikles, the architect of the Propylaia, was believed to have received from Athene, as a recompense for this masterpiece, a miraculous cure. Koroibos began the

¹ Page 105.

² In the right wing of the Propylaia was discovered, in 1836, an inscription of the expenditure made for the building. There is frequent mention of encaustic painting, *ἐγκαυστικά*, and we can see in the Museum of the Akropolis fragments still covered with remains of the old coloring,—green, blue, and red. M. Beulé distinguishes three epochs: "First, the contours are indicated by a deeply cut line, which alone is painted red. The groove retained the color, which at that time there was not the skill to fix upon the smooth marble by the aid of fire and wax; this was the first epoch. Later, in the times of Kimon and of Perikles, on the temples of Theseus and of the Victory, as well as on the Parthenon and the Propylaia, a light design was sketched with a tool, and coats of color, applied in encaustic, filled what lay within the lines: this was the second epoch. Lastly, the ornaments were sculptured before being painted, and detached themselves in relief from a background of one color: this was the principle in the Erechtheion and later edifices. Thence it was but a step to the architecture of the Roman epoch, which carved the ornaments without painting them" (*L'Acropole*, ii. 12). Later Beulé says (ii. 59): "In the Parthenon the triglyphs were blue; the ground of the metopes, red; the mutules, blue; and the band which separates them red. The gutters were gilded." The excavations of Fr. Lenormant at Eleusis in 1860 have also brought to light many fragments which leave no doubt of the employment of polychromy in the decoration of the temples in Attika.

temple of the Eleusinian Demeter, which Metagenes and Xenokles completed; Hippodamos was a builder of cities rather than of temples; he laid out Peiraieus, Thurion, and Rhodes, whose streets intersected at right angles. But he aspired also to regulate the State, which caused him to be roughly used by Aristotle.¹

In respect to these artists, history has preserved us no details; of most of them we do not even know the native land. For centuries their works continued to speak of them, but even the ruins of the edifices which they built have now perished; only the Parthenon yet rears proudly its shattered head above the desolation.²

In a gloomy dream, one of our great poets has seen Europe perish, and Paris disappear. Twenty-five centuries earlier, Thucydides had a truer but less poetic vision concerning Athens and Sparta. Comparing the sterility of the one with the fruitfulness of the other, he said:—

“If the city of the Spartans were laid desolate, and the temples and foundations of the public buildings left, I think that when a long time had passed by, posterity would have great disbelief of their power in proportion to their fame. And yet they occupy two out of the five divisions of the Peloponnesos, and take the lead of the whole of it and of their allies out of it in great numbers. Still, as the city is neither built closely nor has sumptuous temples and public buildings, but is built in villages, after the old fashion of Greece, it would have an inferior appearance. Whereas, if the Athenians were to suffer the same fate, I think their power would be conjectured, from the appearance of the city to the eye, to have been double what it is.”³

II. — SCULPTURE.⁴

ART is a natural instinct, which is found even among the lowest savages, which existed among the prehistoric inhabitants of Gaul, but which the most intelligent of all the animals do not

¹ *Politics*, ii. 6.

² See above, p. 97.

³ Thucydides, i. 10.

⁴ In respect to the sculptures of the Parthenon, see Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, 1871; De Laborde, *Athènes aux cinquième, seizième et dix-septième siècles* (1854), which reproduces the drawings of Carrey, made before the destruction caused by Morosini; and the recent works of Ronchaud and Collignon upon *Pheidias*.

in the slightest degree possess. This instinct is developed or is arrested, not, as has been said, according to race, but according to the social influences which a people experience from Nature, as it is sad and severe, or else favorable and cheerful, extinguishing or encouraging the creative imagination. These influences, acting for centuries, predisposed Hellas to change the paths on which art had entered in the East; and habits which were easily acclimated in Greece, but could never have sprung up on the banks of the Nile or of the Euphrates, favored this slow evolution.

Thanks to a good system of education, to long-continued gymnastic exercises,¹ and to life in the open air, often without clothing of any kind, and always without attire that would interfere with the harmonious development of the body, the Greeks became the most beautiful race under the sun. As they had continually before their eyes these *epheboi* so light in running, these wrestlers and athletes, who displayed so much masculine grace, the æsthetic sense developed in them with an energy which produced master-

GREEK EPHEBOS.²

¹ In his seventh book of the *Laws*, Plato says that gymnastics develop the beauty, proportion, and vigor of the body; and in the *Timaios* he insists upon the need of harmony between the soul and body. "That which is good," he says, "is beautiful, and there is no beauty without harmony. . . . There is but one way to preserve the health; namely, to exercise body and soul together: thus one imitates the harmony of the universe."

² Bronze statuette, formerly in the Collection Pourtalès, later in the Collection Gréau; now in the Louvre.

pieces when Nature gave genius to the sculptors. Religion further increased this tendency. Their gods having been conceived in the image of man, — a higher human race, as it were, — the Greek sculptor, as the religious feeling was ennobled and the taste made purer, had for his ideal in representing the Olympians human beauty raised to its highest degree. This beauty men regarded as a divine gift, and human beings received apotheosis from the mere circumstance of physical perfection.

CORNELIAN.¹

Herodotos has preserved to us a fact which is extremely Greek: Philip of Krotona, after his death, was worshipped as a hero because he was the most beautiful of the men of his time, and the old historian is of the same mind with the Egestians, who made this peculiar divinity. He questions not whether Xerxes possessed qualities of a kingly stamp. "Of so many myriads of men," he says, "not one of them for beauty and stature was more entitled than Xerxes himself to possess the sovereign power."² On one occasion, in a choregia where he had made, as usual, a great display, Nikias had assigned the part of the representative of Dionysos to a young slave, of such faultless beauty and so nobly attired that when he appeared the whole audience broke out in applause. Nikias enfranchised the youth at once, saying that it was sacrilege to retain in slavery one who had been saluted by the Athenians as the representative of a god.⁴ What Nikias did was really an act of concession to the people; it was the handsome epebos, and not the divinity, who had excited the admiration of the spectators.

GANYMEDES.³

¹ Sculptor chiselling a marble vase; he is represented partly nude, seated on the ground before the *diota* on which he is at work; he holds his mantle with the left hand, and with a chisel in the right hand makes the flutings in the vase; behind the *diota* is a tree. (Engraved cornelian of the *Cabinet de France*, 13 mill. by 16; *Catalogue*, No. 1,900.)

² Ganymedes seated, presenting a cup to the eagle of Zeus; behind Ganymedes, a tree. (Engraved cornelian of the *Cabinet de France*, 16 millim. by 21. Chabouillet, *Catalogue*, No. 1,490.)

³ Herodotos, v. 47; vii. 187. Many things impressed him at Plataia, among them this, — that the first Spartan who fell was the handsomest man of the Greeks (ix. 72). At Sparta and Lesbos, and among the Parrhasians, women took part in a public contest for the prize of beauty; and in Elis a similar competition took place among the men (*Athenseus*, xiii. 20).

⁴ Plutarch, *Nikias*, 3.

From her first day to her last, Greece had this feeling. Many a time, in the *Odyssey*, Odysseus and Telemachos are certain that they behold a god on meeting suddenly some tall and handsome man; and the cold, severe Aristotle says: "If there should be



A VICTORY CARRYING A WREATH.¹

born human beings like unto the statues of the gods, the rest of mankind would swear to them eternal obedience."² Simonides, without going so far, considers beauty the second of the four conditions necessary to happiness,³ and Isokrates says: "Virtue is so honored because it is moral beauty." Because he was the hand-

¹ Vase-painting, from O. Benndorf, *Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder*, pl. xlvi. 1. A Victory (NIKE) is flying over a lighted altar. She holds in her hands a wreath. Over the altar is the inscription: HIΠΠΩΝ ΚΑΛΟΣ, "Hippon is beautiful."

² *Politics*, i. 3, *ad fin.*

³ In Plato's *Gorgias*.

somest of the epheboi, Sophokles had the honor of leading the chorus which, after Salamis, chanted the hymn of victory;¹ and it is said that Pheidias engraved upon the finger of the Olympian Zeus: "Pantarkes is beautiful," — exposing himself to a charge of sacrilege. The Pheidian Zeus has perished, and we know not if any such inscription were cut on it; but a similar one we find on a painted vase, where a Victory is bringing a wreath to a handsome ephobos. The gods even were believed to appreciate this advantage, which gave many mortals the honor of their love. At Aigion Zeus would have his priests chosen from among youths who had gained the prize for beauty; on account of this merit Ganymedes was carried away to heaven that he might serve as the gods' cup-bearer,² and Apollo admitted into his temple the statue of Phryne, the most admired courtesan in Greece. It will be remembered that Hyperides saved the fair hetaira, when accused of a capital crime, by suddenly snatching from her, as she stood before her judges, the garment which veiled her beauty. Thus are explained the divine honors paid to Antinoös by the most Greek of Roman emperors; thus also we comprehend how this worship of beauty, of which the Greeks made a religion and Plato makes a theory,³ formed the artists of Greece, and in a degree her philosophers. Have we not words of Plato whence may be legitimately deduced the famous formula that the beautiful is the emanation of the good? The jurisconsults of the Roman empire were called the priests of justice; Pheidias and Polykletes may also be called the priests of beauty; and this trait suffices to mark the difference between the two civilizations. This Greek religion we still hold. Beauty is the perpetual aspiration of our

¹ The poet himself felt this charm, which later drew upon him the cutting censure of Perikles (Plutarch, *Perikles*, 11).

² See the curious chapter of Athenæus, xiii. 20.

³ In the *Banquet* and the *Phaidros*. See in Chapter XXX. of this work Plato's theory that all forms of terrestrial beauty are but the reflection of the divine thought. Aristotle, in his *Poetics* and in his *Politics*, contrasting Polygnotos with Pauson, says that the young should not be allowed to look at the uncomely pictures of the latter, but upon the beautiful works of the former. To Sokrates and Plato, and indeed to every noble-minded Greek, honorable affection between young men was an incitement to lofty thoughts and worthy acts.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a statue in Pentelikan marble, discovered at Athens in December, 1880 (from a photograph). It is an imitation of the work of Pheidias, made in the Roman epoch: it should be compared with the so-called Pallas Lenormant, Vol. II. p. 644. See Collignon, *Phidias*, pp. 26 *et seq.*, in the collection of *Artistes célèbres*, Paris, 1886.



ATHENE PARTHENOS.



souls, which seek it everywhere,—in the great spectacles of Nature as in the work of writers and of artists upon whom fame has placed its crown.

It is not necessary to enumerate here the works of the Greek sculptors. One may at any time admire in our museums those of them which time has spared, remembering that what we retain is almost nothing compared with what we have lost. It suffices to have shown, in the volumes of this work, some of these glorious fragments, for no description is comparable to a representation to the eye of the object itself.¹ But it will be permitted me to linger for a moment on two questions which come within the province of history, since they belong rather to the study of ideas than to that of technical methods.

Among the statues most praised by the ancients are some which astonish us by their colossal size, and others which offend our taste by the diversity of colors and materials employed. It is a general principle that a colossus requires finish neither in the figure itself nor in its details; and since at the distance where we must stand in order to see it, only its effect as a whole can be perceived, we have only half of the impression which a work of art should produce. But it would be very rash to accuse the greatest sculptors who have ever lived of having misapprehended in any respect the conditions of an art which they have carried to such a height. The makers of these colossi were Pheidias, Polykletes, Lysippos; and we are bound to believe that they had good reason for taking pleasure in works like these. It is in the religious feeling of the sculptor and of the public that this reason must be sought. The Greeks believed, with Homer, that the gods had a stature corresponding to their power; and until the latest days of Hellas, on funereal columns and in bas-reliefs where divinities appear, they have always a height superior to that of the human beings who attend them.² This is a characteristic by which they may be identified. The Egyptians pursued the same method in representing their gods and their Pharaohs, the Persians their kings.³

¹ In the two works, the *History of Rome*, and the *History of Greece*, representations will be found of all the most beautiful remains of ancient art.

² See Vol. I. p. 377, a bas-relief representing Theseus; Vol. II. p. 309, ex-voto to Demeter; and Vol. I. p. 341, the height which Homer gives the gods.

³ For Persian reliefs, where the kings are represented of superior height, see Vol. II. p. 396.

the Athenians the People or Senate personified;¹ and we do the same to express certain ideas, as in the case of the St. Borromeo of Lago Maggiore, and the Liberty Enlightening the World, of New York. Executed to be looked at from a distance, they are impressive by their bulk, and are the plastic expression of lofty ideas, — Holiness, the Country, Independence.



HEAD OF ATHENE.²

On the promontory or island where such a figure stands, between earth and heaven, it seems the Genius of the people which has erected it, — a conspicuous testimony of their gratitude, and a visible form in which is represented their inmost thought.

It is easy to believe that the martial Athene of Plataia, as tall as the Athene Promachos of the Akropolis,² must have produced a great effect, although it was only of gilded wood, with head, feet, and hands of marble.

The recollection of the day which had seen the definitive triumph of Greece over the great Oriental empire consecrated her thrice holy for the sons of the victors. But would she be so for us? The idea which transfigured her no longer existing, the art alone would remain; and to us this composite art is worthless. These monsters of wood or bronze or stone must have a heart, a soul, answering to the heart and soul of the artist and of his people, without which they are — like the colossi of Rhodes, of Nero, and of Munich — only an empty show, or at most a triumph of industry.

¹ See Vol. II. p. 628.

² See, Vol. I. p. 143, Athene Promachos on an Athenian coin representing the Akropolis.

³ Intaglio in red jasper, of the Cabinet of Vienna, from Stosch, *Pierres antiques gravées*, pl. 13. The intaglio bears the signature (in the genitive case) of the engraver Aspasio (ΑΧΙΑΣΙΟΥ). The gem of Aspasio gives us valuable details of the type of face and ornamentation of the helmet of the Athene Parthenos of Pheidias. See Colignon, *Pheidias*, pp. 28 *et seq.*

But the colossal statues of Pheidias, on the contrary, satisfaction being given to the religious faith, would have remained to all ages work of high art, because no detail in them was neglected. For ordinary colossi it is essential to seek, in sufficient remoteness, the exact point of view. Those of Pheidias, shut in by the walls of the sanctuary, escaped this necessity. Athene in her *naos*, Zeus in his temple, might be closely approached by their worshippers; accordingly art, taking on the aspect of religious obligation, did its utmost to furnish to the strictest piety, absolute perfection of detail even in the most inconsiderable accessories. Upon the thickness of Athene's sandals was engraved the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs, and the devout could see for themselves that the sculptor had omitted nothing that the design required.

Other cities, no less religious, but poorer than Athens, could not attain this perfection. Megara, a jealous rival, wished to have also a colossus, and to have it from the chisel of him who was the great master. But means were insufficient, and the god had only a head of gold and ivory, with a body of clay and plaster.

Colossal statuary was strictly devoted to the gods, and had its appropriate place in the temples or near them. The same is true, and for like reasons, of chryselephantine sculpture.

The most famous of these statues of gold and ivory, those which, by the descriptions of ancient writers, we know the best, were the Athene of the Parthenon and the Zeus of Olympia.

Forty-nine feet three inches¹ in height, including the pedestal, the Athene stood clothed in a tunic reaching to the sandals,—the dress of an Athenian maiden. In one hand she held a Victory,² in the other the spear around which was twined the serpent Erichthonios. A sphinx and griffins, emblems of intellect which penetrates and grasps the truth, surmounted her helmet, of which the visor bore eight horses springing forward at a gallop,—an image of the rapidity of divine thought.³ The draperies were of gold, the face, hands, and feet of ivory, the Medousa's head

¹ The statue itself was 39 feet 3 inches in height.

² This Victory was about six feet in height.

³ It has been thought that this group on the helmet would make it too heavy; but the proportions of the statue rendered necessary this decoration of the head.

upon the shield was of silver, and the eyes of the goddess were of precious stones. On the shield, placed on the ground beside her feet, were represented, on the outside, a battle between the Athenians and the Amazons;¹ and on the inside the strife between the gods and the giants. On the pedestal was the Birth of Pandora. This Athene was truly the maiden goddess, pure in body and soul. She holds the spear, and wears the formidable ægis. But these are weapons of the mind, not those of actual warfare; and her eyes explore the infinite, seeking to find the reasons of eternal things, the science of heaven and earth.²

ASKLEPIOS.³

How did this Athene perish, which Julian, in the fourth century of the Christian era, beheld? It has been usual to blame the Christians; but it was her gold that caused her destruction. So large an amount of precious metal could not escape pillage, whether at the hands of Northern invaders, of needy princes, or even of common robbers. The Parthenon had already been plundered in the time of Isokrates, and the Athene of Julian must have been merely a fragment.⁴

Pheidias was also invited to Olympia.⁵ The treasures accumulated in the temple from the offerings of entire Greece permitted him to make a work superior to the statue of the Parthenon. Upon a throne of cedar-wood, incrustated with gold, ivory, ebony, and precious stones, and adorned with bas-reliefs and paintings,

¹ The Louvre claims to possess a copy of the Wounded Amazon by Kresilas, a contemporary of Pheidias.

² To the kindness of Madame la Duchesse de Luynes is due the copy which has been made, in the Château de Dampierre, of the Pallas Athene executed by the sculptor Simart, by order of the late learned Duc de Luynes.

³ Asklepios standing, half-nude, leaning on his staff, about which a serpent is entwined. (Engraved cornelian, 32 mill. by 15. *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,490 of the *Catalogue*.)

⁴ We shall see later that in 296 B. C., Lachares took away all the ornaments of Athene that were removable, and the golden shields of the architrave (Pausanias, i. 25, 7). Another, earlier, had taken away the *Gorgoneion*, of gilded silver.

⁵ At what time? We do not know. We have already said (Vol. II. p. 663, n. 2) that, being accused at Athens, he took shelter with the Eleians. Philochoros, who relates this, adds that Pheidias was put to death by this people. But critics have corrected his text in a manner to make him say the contrary. History knows not how the great sculptor's life ended; the duty which was inherited by his descendants as guardians of the great statue would seem to imply that he died peaceably in Elis. He was born between 490 B. C. and 485; and it is probable his death occurred in the early years of the Peloponnesian war.

Zeus sat majestic. His luxuriant hair and beard were of gold; of gold and ivory was the Victory which he bore in his right hand as sign that his will was always triumphant; of gold, also, ornamented with various metals, the royal sceptre surmounted by an eagle, which he held in his left hand. On his head was the wreath of olive-leaves of the Olympic victors, but, as was fitting, that worn by the god was of gold, as were also his shoes and his mantle, which left bare his breast of ivory. The face had that masculine beauty which belonged to the father of men and gods; his tranquil gaze was indeed that of the All-powerful, whom no passion disturbs, and behind his wide brow might fitly reside the great intellect of the Creator of worlds. Placed at the back of the *naos*,



THE OLYMPIAN ZEUS.¹



THE OLYMPIAN ZEUS.²

at the point to which the prolongation of the architectural lines at once drew the spectator's gaze, the statue, probably about fifty feet in height, appeared even larger than it really was. "The more one looks at it," says Cicero, "the larger it seems to become;" and in truth if the seated figure had arisen, it would have broken through the roof of the temple. In this marvel of art there was at the same time such sovereign majesty and paternal benevolence that it seemed, says the cold Quintilian, to have added something to the public religion.³ Epiktetos considered it a misfortune to die without having offered one's prayers at Olympia.

The Olympian Zeus shared the fate of the Athene Parthenos: his riches were too great for times too barbaric, and beliefs too hostile.⁴ It is said that Theodosius caused the statue to be trans-

¹ Reverse of a tetradrachm of Alexander, struck at Mesembria. Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. In the field a helmet, mint-mark of Mesembria, and two other mint-marks.

² Legend: ΔΙΟΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΥ. Laurelled head of Zeus, left profile. Reverse: ΕΙΓΩΝΕΩΝ. Eagle standing on a thunderbolt. (Bronze coin of Hipponium in Bruttium. Collection of Imhoof-Blumer, at Winterthur.)

³ xii. 10. See also the enthusiasm of Cicero in his *Orator*, 2, and Epiktetos, *Dissert.*, i. 6, 23.

⁴ The ancient authors have not told us, as they did in the case of the Athene, how much

ported to Constantinople in 393 A. D., where it was destroyed a few years later by fire; but it probably was not respected so long as that. As early as the second century of our era Lucian banters the god,—“him the brave, him the exterminator of giants, who remained tranquilly seated while robbers shore away his curls of gold.”

Other cities besides Athens and Olympia had chryselephantine statues. Precious materials were employed for the Argive Here, the Asklepios of Epidauros, and many others. Was this only from vanity and ostentation? A nobler sentiment inspired this lavishness: it was a tradition from the earliest ages and remote countries in the depths of Asia. The sacred statues which the Greeks of the primitive periods could not make beautiful, they made rich by vestments, color, and ornaments.

ZEUS NIKEPHOROS.¹

On the shield of Achilles which Homer describes, Ares and Athene were of gold; and to gain the protection of Athene, Hektor advises his mother to lay the most precious woven stuff upon the knees of the goddess. In the fifth century the same thought remained.² The bare marble in its dazzling whiteness would have been incongruous with that brilliant ornamentation of the old statues, those veils embroidered in countless designs, those costly tapestries attached to the walls of the *naos*. Chryselephantine sculpture was therefore a necessity imposed by custom, religion, and art. In decorating the statues of their gods with such magnificence, the Greeks showed how great

ZEUS NIKEPHOROS.³

gold was employed on the statue of the Olympian Zeus. But the quantity must have been large, since each curl of his abundant hair weighed six *minai* = 7½ lb. (Lucian, *The Tragic Zeus*, 25.)

¹ Zeus Nikephoros (the Bringer of Victory) seated, and crowned by a Victory; the eagle is at his feet. (Engraved cornelian of the *Cabinet de France*. Height, 17 millim.; breadth, 13. No. 1,421 of the *Catalogue*.)

² . . . πέπλον δ', ὅστις τοι χαριέστατος ἢ δὲ μέγιστος (*Iliad.*, vi. 271).

³ Zeus seated on a throne at the left; with the left hand he leans on a long sceptre, and on the right hand he holds a small Victory, who is about to crown him; legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ; in the field, the letter Γ, a mint-mark. (Reverse of a tetradrachm of Antiochos I. Soter, king of Syria.) It is evident that the artists who engraved these coins, as well as the intaglio of the *Cabinet de France*, followed the type created by the genius of Pheidias. The same is true of the coins of Elis with a head of Zeus. See Vol. I. p. 142, and later, in this volume, p. 153.

was their devotion. They were not niggardly with the god; the greater the expense, and consequently the sacrifice, the more satisfied the god must be, and the surer his protection. Thus a hecatomb of a hundred bulls secured to him who offered it more of the divine favor than the sacrifice of one sheep. The Athenians therefore were ready to cover the Athene of the Parthenon with gold, forty talents in weight, at a cost equal to four or five million dollars of our money,¹ and the Olympian Zeus probably received even more; but such an offering was easily made by the Greeks of that time, for in the fifth century B. C. every form of display was reserved for the adornment of the public edifices, — for the honor, that is to say, of the gods and the city. The dwelling-houses were small; they were ill-built, and even more poorly decorated; and they were so because the citizen spent all his time out of doors, and came home to his house only to eat and to sleep there.

Still another idea led to this lavish adornment of the statues and temples of the gods.

We have seen² that the Greeks and Latins distinguished the *δαίμονιον*, or *numen* (the divine power), from the god, who was its incarnation. And as this immaterial power could be divided without being diminished, the belief was general that the god could be present by his *numen*, in each one of his poliac images, as the Roman Catholic Church believes in the Real Presence in the consecrated wafer at the same moment in a thousand different places. On a painted vase which represents the abduction of Europa, Zeus, armed with his sceptre, contemplates himself changed into a bull, bounding over the waves, and carrying upon his back the daughter of the tyrant Agenoë.³ The Christians long believed

¹ Thucydides, ii. 13. 40 talents of gold = 400 talents of silver. The value of the silver talent (\$1,179.75) should therefore be multiplied by 400 (= \$471,900), and this sum again by 10 or 12, to give approximatively its present value. See Vol. II. p. 608, n. 2.

² See Vol. I. p. 383. Their habit of thinking of a double existence of the dead, examples of which we have given (Vol. I. pp. 385 *et seq.*). — one, in the tomb which had received them, the other, in the kingdom of Hades, upon Olympos, or in the neighborhood of their former homes, made the ancients familiar with the idea of a division of the divine essence. The Egyptians, as well as the Greeks and Romans, believed in a division of the human soul, of which a part dwelt in the tomb, and was supported by the statue of the dead man. G. Maspero. *Histoire des âmes dans l'ancienne Égypte*, in the *Bull. de l'Assoc. scientif. de France*, No. 594, pp. 373-384. *Recueil*, i. 152, 599.

³ Vol. I. p. 353.

that the old gods, who, they believed, were demons, dwelt in their statues.¹ It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the Athenians regarded the Parthenon as the veritable dwelling-place of Pallas Athene, and the statue as her bodily form. At the approach of Xerxes, Athene was not the only one to flee away, — the Great Goddesses quitted Eleusis the night before the battle of Salamis; and in the winter Apollo abandoned Delos for the milder climate of the Hyperboreans.² Theseus was present at Marathon, to aid in the great Athenian victory, as the Theban Herakles went to Leuktra to fight against the enemies of his people, and under the

PALLAS.³

walls of Plataia the Spartans, before attacking the city, called away from it the divinities and heroes of the place, whose duty it was to act as its defenders. At the festival of the Anthesteria, the *basilissa* given as bride to Dionysos was led as such into his sanctuary, where all things were conducted with religious decorum. Not such was the case at Rome, in the decadence of polytheism, when the priests of Serapis persuaded a young and beautiful matron that the god desired her for his wife.

Every year the goddess Athene departed from her sanctuary, when, on the 24th of Thargelion (May–June), the ornaments were removed from her statue, that it might be thoroughly cleansed. Then appeared the rude fittings and the enormous beams which supported it. This skeleton of the goddess was quickly hidden under a veil; but the *numen* was no longer there. Accordingly, the day of the *plynteria*, or washing, was for the city a day of mourning, and all haste was made to complete the work between sunrise and sunset, that the goddess might be able to return into her favorite abode, and again extend her protection over the city. When Alkibiades came home to Athens after his great victories in the Hellespont, — two hundred galleys taken or destroyed, — the multitude was for a moment wild with delight. But he made his entrance into the city at the moment of the melancholy ceremony of the month of Thargelion; the absence of

¹ Cf. Fabricius, *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, pp. 669 *et seq.*

² See Vol. I. p. 159, and p. 332, *note*, of Vol. II.

³ Pallas Nikephoros standing; she holds in the right hand her spear, and in the left a statuette of Victory. (Height, 12 millim.; breadth, 10 millim. *Cabinet de France*, No. 1,516.)

the goddess appeared an omen of evil,—Athene had been unwilling that Alkibiades should approach her; his offerings to her and his services to Athens were alike rejected.¹ Manifestly, the gods dwelt at once in their temples and upon Olympos.

These religious ideas were common to all the Hellenes, and prevailed not in Greece only, but everywhere and in all ages. The poet who represents Napoleon holding his review of the dead was probably not aware that he copied the ancients. After the death of Alexander the Argyraspides offered him sacrifices, and set up his royal tent in their encampment. They believed that the warrior, now a god, dwelt there; that by night he went through the camp visiting his own soldiers, and that by day, on the march, he preceded their columns as an invisible genius.³ These ideas, which recur in all classic antiquity, explain how tradition, which demanded costly

ATHENE.²

¹ Plutarch, *Alkib.*, 42. The Abbé de Guasco, in a book published in 1768, entitled *De l'usage des Statues chez les Anciens*, says, p. 172 : "Imagine a people who believed in a divine and efficient virtue in the objects of its cult." See, in his chapter xv., a list of the numerous wonders that took place in the temples, the movement of eyes or head on the part of the statues attesting the indwelling divinity. The ancient authors often speak of statues chained to the spot. Pausanias, for instance, mentions at Sparta those of Aphrodite Morpho and of Enyalios. The Spartans, he says (iii. 15), think the same about this statue that the Athenians do about the Wingless Victory, believing that Enyalios will never leave Sparta, being chained, as the Victory will never take flight from Athens, because she has no wings with which to fly. At Orchomenos he saw the chained statue of Aktaion. Before being thus fettered, Aktaion as a spectre ravaged the land, he says (ix. 38). During the siege of Tyre by Alexander, the inhabitants put chains upon the statue of Baal-Melkart, lest the divinity should go over to the Macedonians. Egyptian statues also had life; they spoke and moved. The Pharaohs consulted them on affairs of State. See Maspero, *Notes sur quelques points de grammaire et d'histoire*, in the *Recueil*, i. 154-166.

² Reverse of a bronze coin of Athens of the second century B. C. Legend: ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ. The goddess standing, looking to the left; on the right hand she holds a Victory about to crown her; with the left hand she holds her spear and her shield, which rests upon the ground.

³ Diodorus, xviii. 61. Euripides speaks somewhere of these old fables "which confine the divine substance within the walls of a temple." We know that the Romans *evoked* [called forth] the gods of the cities they were besieging, promising them greater honors if they would come to Rome. Thus did Camillus at Veii, Fabius at Tarentum, etc. On this belief, see Cicero, *De Legibus*, ii. 2, and the oration of Lysias *Against Androkydes*. Rome had even a secret name for her tutelary genius, so that the enemy might not by brilliant offers persuade him to abandon his people. Even as late as the third century A. D. Dion Cassius (lix. 28) says, speaking of Caligula: "He wished to transform the statue of Olympian Jupiter into his own image, but could not succeed in doing this. The vessel constructed to transport the god was struck by lightning and destroyed; and every time the workmen approached the statue for the purpose of substituting the emperor's head for that of Jupiter, bursts of laughter were heard, which drove them away."

materials for the images of the gods, and devotion, which made these images the habitual residence of divinity, led artists to the creation of chryselephantine statuary. Lactantius regarded it with disapproval. These richly attired statues seemed to him great dolls, which might please a little girl.¹ We shall not be guilty of such blasphemy, but it cannot be denied that in this respect again the taste of the Greeks was not the same with ours; and attempts at restorations have not made converts of us. The reason of this is manifest, — we have not the same religious faith. In the Greece of Perikles the religious sentiment still dominates the æsthetic sense.²

Another conclusion may also be drawn from this study. The direction taken in the fifth century by sculpture shows that the national religion, notwithstanding the attacks that were beginning to be made upon it, was still thoroughly alive; and of this we shall have many proofs in the narratives about to follow.

Pheidias did not limit himself to representing the gods, that is, to the making of colossal statues; with his own hand, or more probably by the hand of those who wrought under his direction, he covered with less divine sculpture the frieze, the metopes, and the two pediments of the temple, whose figures, seen from below, appeared to be only of ordinary stature. Those which he carved upon the shield of Athene and upon the edges of her sandals were still less in size. The magnificent fragments which remain to us of the two pediments, — Demeter and Kora, Iris and the Kephisos, the Graces or the Fates, Herakles or Theseus, — are the work of his school, and, we may say, of his mind.³ Mutilated as they are,

¹ *De origine erroris*, ii. 5. The word "doll" is older than Lactantius, and seems to have sprung to the lips of some rival of Pheidias; for Isokrates, who was almost his contemporary, complaining that he was accused of keeping speeches for sale, adds: "It is as if a man should say of Pheidias that he was a maker of dolls (*κοροπλάθος*)" (*Antidosis*, 2, edit. Havet); that is to say, of figures cast by an artisan, instead of sculptured by an artist.

² The chryselephantine statues required very special care to prevent the ivory from cracking by excess of dryness, the gold from becoming tarnished, and the image from accumulating dust. (See Pausanias, ii. 27.) Accordingly, there were attached to the temple servitors whose duty it was to attend to the toilet of the god. At Olympia they were called *φαιδρονται*, "those who cleansed and rendered brilliant;" and the descendants of Pheidias held this office by hereditary succession. In the Parthenon they were called the *Πραξιεργίδαι*, the "workers."

³ The metopes, especially the battle between the Lapiths and Centaurs, and certain parts of the western pediment and of the frieze, still show archaic stiffness.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a group from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon. This fragment is now in the British Museum.



DEMETER AND KORA.

these marbles, like the statue of the Victory untying her sandal, are the equals, if not the superiors, of the most famous works of the Renaissance in their purity of style and in the calm serenity of the figures, whose limbs are not convulsed with violent action, nor their foreheads overburdened with thought, as is too often the case when sculpture seeks to rival painting. What mighty life in these divinities, tranquilly seated on the pediments, and



THE KEPHISSOS.¹

how calm, upon their fiery horses, are the horsemen in the Panathenaic procession! Later came the school of grace and sensuous delight, of which an Athenian, Praxiteles, was the master; later still, passion will agitate the marble: with that begins the decline of the sculptor's art. It is not adapted to the composition of a drama in stone, like the Farnese Bull.

It is to the eternal honor of Pheidias that he broke finally with the hieratic art, whose influence may still be recognized in the

¹ Marble from the western pediment of the Parthenon, and now in the British Museum (from a photograph).

beautiful statues of Aigina, with figures admirably studied but lifeless, and faces that wear, even in suffering and in death, the same



THE STRANGFORD SHIELD.¹

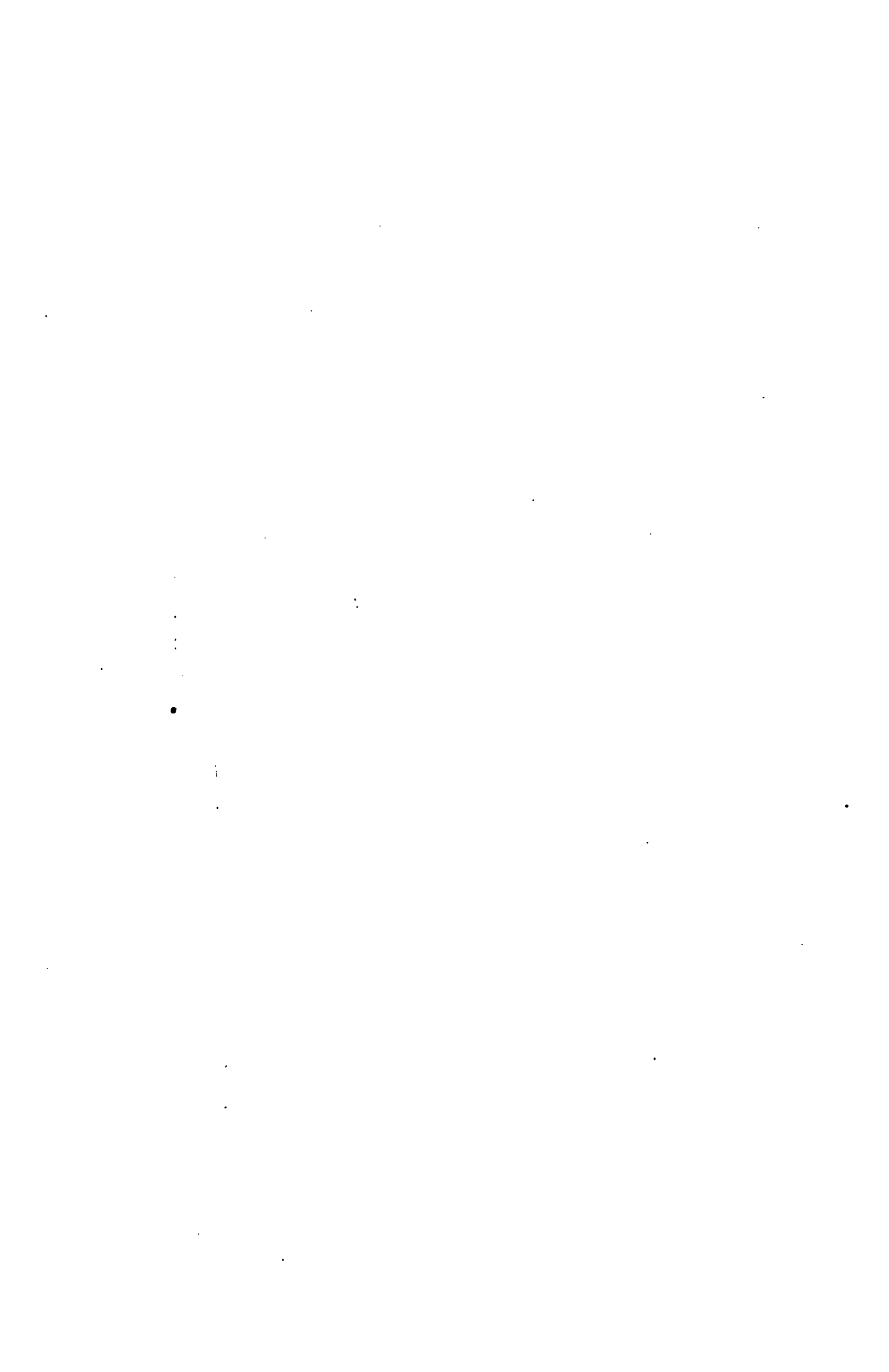
imbecile smile. The great sculptor sought beauty, which is the spiritual essence of things, whether it be the soul seen through the

¹ A marble which, at first in the Strangford Collection, has now been added to the British Museum (from a photograph). This has been recognized as a copy of the shield which Pheidias made for his Athene, and upon which he sculptured the battle between the Athenians and the Amazons. Plutarch (*Perikles*, 31) relates that Pheidias represented himself among the combatants "as a bald old man lifting a stone with both hands." This is the figure clad in an *exomis*, a working-man's tunic, directly under the Medousa's head, and of which we have earlier (Vol. II. p. 639) given an enlarged head. Pheidias, Plutarch tells us, also introduced a very beautiful likeness of Perikles. He was represented fighting, spear in hand, and the face partly concealed by the hand lifted in front of it, but so skilfully managed that on each side of the hand the likeness could be clearly seen. On the Strangford shield the figure of Perikles is just behind that of Pheidias.

NOTE. — On the opposite page are represented fragments from the eastern frieze of the Parthenon, immediately following those represented Vol. I. p. 511, from casts and from the originals. The seated divinities are in Athens; the first eight figures of the lower register are in the Louvre; all the rest are in London. (Cf. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 257, and pl. 14.) The gods, "invisible spectators, as in the epic poems, are present at the procession" (Beule,



PANATHENAIC PROCESSION.



body, or nature contemplated in its most harmonious unfolding ; and this ideal beauty he made visible without perceptible effort, — which is the supreme art, for only what is simple is grand.¹ One of those men who believe that art is the copy of nature asked Pheidias, it is said, whence he obtained the majestic figure of his Olympian Zeus. “In Homer,” he replied, and recited the lines, —

“ As thus he spake, the son of Saturn gave
The nod with his dark brows. The ambrosial curls
Upon the Sovereign One's immortal head
Were shaken, and with them the mighty Mount
Olympus trembled.”²

Notwithstanding this famous answer, which probably is purely a matter of legend, it is not in Homer that Zeus appeared to Pheidias. The sculptor has his work in his mind. No man sees it except himself ; in its execution the veils are withdrawn, and the image appears.³ But what formed this first image? Individual culture and the spirit of the time. That the Olympian Zeus was tranquil and serene, is due to the fact that the sculptor borrowed from the poet only the name of his Olympians and the feeling of their greatness, while himself receiving the strong imprint of the philosophy of the age of Perikles, which deprived the gods of their passions, and gave of the divine nature that idea which Anaxagoras and Sokrates were beginning to put forth ; namely, of calm in strength, of serenity in power, of intelligence in the government of the *Kosmos*. Aristotle writes: “The divinity moves all nature, and is itself unmoved.” The great sculptor had had the same

ii. 144 *et seq.*). Then follow men leaning upon staves ; they converse gravely ; another man seems to be giving instructions to the first young girls. The same group of three figures is repeated, and then comes the procession of maidens, carrying cups and *oinochoai* ; two of them carry together a heavy censer (*θυματήριον*)

¹ In the magnificent portrait which Perikles makes of the character of his fellow-countrymen he expresses well that sober and severe taste for grand and simple beauty which is the talent of Athenian artists : *φιλοκαλοῦμεν μετ' εὐτελείας* (Thucyd., ii. 40).

² [*Iliad*, translated by W. C. Bryant, lines 667-671.]

³ Cicero says, in the *Orator*, 2: “When Pheidias created his Zeus or his Athene, he took no model, but he had in his soul a lofty type of beauty, which was visible to his mental eye, and was reproduced by his hand.” Pheidias rarely worked in marble. Of the thirty statues ascribed to him, twenty-three are in bronze, seven in gold and ivory, three in marble. Polykletes also preferred for his statues bronze to marble. The brass-founders of Aigina were famous. Pheidias is the undisputed master in bas-relief, — a kind of sculpture altogether ideal and conventional, used by him instead of the high relief, and employed by the moderns (except J. Goujon) only in our day.

idea which the great philosopher expressed a century after his time. We must therefore ascribe to Pheidias, in addition to all his other gifts, a conception of divinity kindred to that held by the loftiest minds of his time. Their ancestors had made the gods in the image of man; these men now gave as the great moral rule a resemblance to the idealized god, *ὁμοίωσις τῷ θεῷ*, and Pheidias put in execution that formula. This union of the most finished art with the most lofty thought explains the harmonious grandeur



HEAD OF NIKE, OR VICTORY.¹

of this epoch which counted so many "makers," *ποιηταί*. The Romans were lovers of the useful, which brings in profit; the Greeks sought beauty, which delights: and theirs was the better choice.

usage lasted long, and is clearly testified to by Pliny and Quintilian. But the artists of the age of Perikles had a very refined taste, and would not have been willing to make their works objects of sensual curiosity, or figures which, while having the aspect of life, were, so to speak, only corpses stiffened by death.² For the statues

In speaking of the sculptured human figure, the question of polychromy again recurs. A statue of white marble is art spiritualized; a statue painted, like the saints in a village church, is coarse and sensual art. Among the ancient Greeks there certainly were statues painted in glaring colors of a single tint, for this

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¹ Marble from the western pediment of the Parthenon, in the Laborde Collection (from a photograph).

² At Munich I noticed, in a chapel of St. Peter's Church, peasants praying around a tomb. I was touched by the sight; but on approaching, I perceived that these figures were only painted stone. I turned away; instead of an act of devotion and affectionate remembrance, performed by the kindred of the dead, I had been observing only the trickery of a vulgar exhibition-room. All the mediæval statuary, down to the Renaissance, was polychrome. It was Michael Angelo who made the most vigorous attack upon this custom. See L. Courajod, *La Polychromie dans la statuaire du moyen âge et de la Renaissance* (*C. R. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 6 août. 1886).

of the gods which they wished to make splendid, they employed the most precious materials. For the heroes and for Olympic victors they used bronze and marble, covering the latter with a faint color, which rendered the stone more pleasing to the eye, and preserved it from the weather as by a kind of transparent gauze.¹

Plato testifies to this custom, which the sight of the chryselephantine statues must have encouraged; but he adds at the same time a piece of advice for the correction of whatever might be unseemly in this taste, carried to an extreme. "If we were painting a statue," he says, "and a critic should reproach us for not using more vivid colors, . . . we should reply to this objector, 'Do not think that it is proper to paint the eyes in so strong color that they would no longer be eyes;' and what I say of this part of the body is true of the rest."² Plato thought evidently that color should be used to bring out nature more clearly, but not to change it. In this, as in all other respects, it was important not to go beyond due moderation, — that pre-eminent quality of Greek genius; and we cannot doubt that sculptors obeyed, only in discreet measure, that taste for color which to this day prevails in all the lands of the sun.⁴

SARDONYX.³

III. — PAINTING, MUSIC, AND OTHER ARTS.

IF the description of the shield of Achilles in the *Iliad* is a work of the imagination, the detailed account which Pausanias gives of those of the Athene of the Parthenon and of the Olympian

¹ Pliny (xxxv. 11, 28) says that the painter Nikias aided Praxiteles in *statuis circum linendis*.

² Krater intended for the victor in the Olympic Games. The design upon this krater is a winged Victory driving a biga. On the foot are two sphinxes facing each other; under the handles, two masks. This vase, in the fineness of its execution, is one of the marvels of antique glyptics. Engraved sardonyx, of the Collection de Luynes, in the *Cabinet de France* (No. 95). Height, 17 millim.; breadth, 12 millim.

³ *Rep.*, iv., *initio*.

⁴ In respect to the taste of Southern races for color, see, among a thousand other testimonies, what Dr. Gustave Le Bon has recently said of the temples of Nepaul, "painted in intense red, and having their brick and copper roofs supported by thousands of gods and goddesses clothed in the most dazzling colors."

Zeus, after a minute study of each, shows that the school of Athens had brought to great perfection the art of chiselling metal and ivory, as well as that of working in stone, in casts, or in relief. It may be conjectured, however, that this skill was borrowed from the school of Argos, where bronze work was highly esteemed.

A corresponding skill in painting was never attained in Greece, although anecdotes more famous than truthful would seem to



DIONYSIAC BULL.¹

indicate otherwise. Modern painting appeals to the emotions: that of the ancients was rather sculptural, in this sense that it sacrificed color to drawing, and effects of light to form. It knew neither what we may call, in thinking of Rembrandt, the drama of light and shade, or, in thinking of the Venetian school, the harmonious accord of colors. Panainos, the brother of Pheidias, and Mikon, the painter of the temple of Theseus, decorated, with Polygnotos, the Poikile, or Painted Portico, with pictures which narrated to the Athenians the great deeds of their fathers.² In the Battle of Marathon, by Panainos, were represented Miltiades, Kallimachos, Kynaigeiros, even Datis and Artaphernes. Pheidias studied painting, as did another eminent sculptor, Michael Angelo; but he would paint no portrait but that of Perikles. Sikyon was the first Greek city that had a school of drawing. Athens, Miletos, and, later, Corinth, followed this example. We shall see in the next chapter



HEMI-DRACHMA.³

¹ The sacred bull has a garland of ivy around his flanks. He is rushing forward with lowered head, shaking his tail; under his feet is a thyrsos, ornamented with fillets. In the field above him is the signature of the engraver, Hyllos: ΥΛΛΟΥ. (Agate-chalcedony; height, 22 millim., breadth, 41 millim. *Catalogue, etc.*, No. 1,637. This engraved stone is one of the most famous in the French national collection.)

² We have already said (Vol. II. p. 533, n. 1) that the scene painted on the cup of Euphronios representing Amphitrite was perhaps suggested by one of the paintings of Mikon in the Theseion.

³ Laurelled head of Apollo, three-quarters front. Reverse: lion, to the left, with reverted head; above, a star. Legend: ΕΓ ΔΙΔΥΜΩΝ ΙΕΡΗ. This legend (*ἐκ Διδύμων ἱερῆ*) appears to signify that the coin was made from the ingots of metal preserved in the temple of Apollo at Didymos (Millingen, *Sylloge of Ancient Unedited Coins*, p. 70). Coin of Miletos.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a Victory untying her sandal. This is a fragment of the balustrade of the temple of Athene Nike (from a photograph). (See p. 102, remains of this temple.)



VICTORY UNTYING HER SANDAL.



that Greece had great painters, and that they were not Athenians by birth who held the pre-eminence in this art. It would be, moreover, rash to speak of Greek painting otherwise than according to the opinion of the ancients, for we have nothing left of it except painted vases, which are the work of artisans rather than of artists, and the mural decorations of Pompeii and Herculaneum, — too often executed hastily, and probably by cheaply paid workmen.¹ The Roman mosaics were also made by Greeks; but none of them, with the exception of the Battle of Issos, are of a high order of art.²

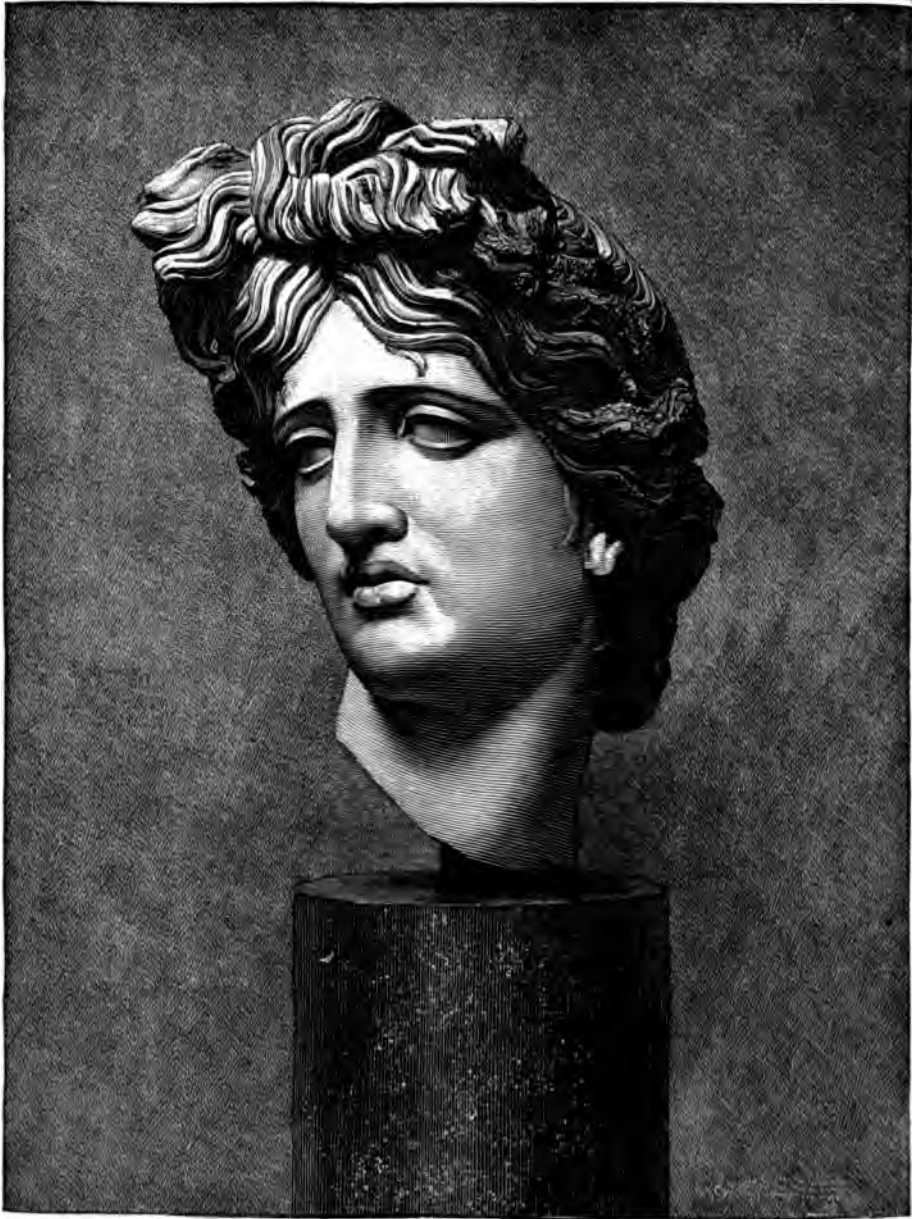
The Greeks had the merit of comprehending that the very highest intellectual culture is one of the conditions of greatness for the individual and for the State; and they neglected no means to attain this culture. To the study of poets and philosophers, which forms the mind,³ to gymnastic exercises, which develop agility and strength, they added in their plan of education music, which accustoms the soul to harmony, and dancing, which gives grace. These two secondary arts were at Sparta the principal arts; they also held a great place among the Athenians, though Athens never stamped them as her own in the way that she did architecture and statuary. Indispensable auxiliaries at festivals, sacrifices, and funerals, they lent their aid in the performance of the rites of religion. The marvellous effects of the lyre of Orpheus were in all men's memories, and this hero was the ideal type of martial valor. Achilles was represented celebrating his exploits upon the *kithara*;⁴ in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* there is no feast without its melodious singer. Until the latest days of Greece men believed in this beneficial effect of music. Polybios attributes the disasters of the Arkadians to their neglect of this art, which calms the passions and, teaching the rules of harmony, habituates

¹ See, for example, Vol. I. p. 342, the mural painting representing Poseidon and Apollo in the service of Laomedon, by one of these artists. In the *History of Rome* there are a number of paintings represented from Pompeii, Herculaneum, the Palatine, the tomb of the Statilii, etc.; some of these are graceful, but not one is the work of a master.

² In closing his account of Roman painting, Pliny says (xxxv. 2. 5, and 5, 29): "Idleness has destroyed the arts; no longer able to paint souls, men have forgotten how to paint bodies. . . . We have said enough of a dying art."

³ See Vol. II. p. 560, n. 2. the general meaning of the word *mousika*. Aristotle (*Polit.* viii. 7), using it in its restricted sense, complains that in his time music is regarded only as an accomplishment.

⁴ See, in Vol. I. p. 310, Achilles Kithareidos, from an engraved stone.

APOLLO.¹

men to respect the public peace.² The musician Damon, a friend of Perikles and of Sokrates, asserted that musical modes could not

¹ On the subject of ancient music see the learned work of Gevaërt, *Histoire et théorie de la musique dans l'antiquité*, and, in the *Histoire de la littérature grecque* of Otf. Müller, chap. xii., on the development of Greek music.

² Marble of the Pourtalès Collection; now in the British Museum. (From a photograph.)

be changed without unsettling the bases of morality and the laws of the state. Plato is of the same opinion, and Aristotle called music "the greatest delight of life." We know what importance was attributed to it by the Pythagorean school, who sought to hear the music of the celestial spheres revolving melodiously in the infinite spaces.

The poets also believed that nectar and ambrosia did not suffice to the Olympians, and that they needed divine harmonies to occupy the tedium of immortality.

"O golden lyre, possession by a common right of Apollo and the dark-haired Muses, . . . thou quenchest even the pointed thunderbolt of ever-flowing fire: and on the sceptre of Zeus sleeps the eagle, having on either side dropped his swift wing, the king of birds; and a black cloud over his beaked head, a cloud the sweet bar of his eyelids, thou hast shed, and he, slumbering, heaves his undulating back, overpowered by thy vibrations. For even violent Ares, having left behind the hard points of spears, soothes his heart with a trance, and thy weapons wound the minds even of the gods by the art of Apollo and the deep-zoned Muses."¹

Aristophanes says, in more vigorous phrase:—

"Thus the swans, exciting at the same time a mingled noise with their wings, chanted Apollo sitting on the banks along the river Hebros, and through the ethereal cloud the cry passed; and a breathless calm stilled the waves, and all Olympos resounded, and astonishment seized the kings, and the Olympian Graces and Muses shouted aloud the strain."²

Number, measure, harmony, are a need of the soul, and were especially a need of the Greek soul. But what would the old poets of Hellas think if they heard our concerts, in which certain persons assume to reveal to us "the absolute essence of things and the secret movements of the life of the universe"?³ Perhaps they would wonder that our music, expressive and passionate, no longer had that tranquil harmony which, in their opinion, calmed the agitations of gods and men and of universal nature.⁴

The Greeks understood dancing differently from ourselves, for they had number and measure in it, — which are in art a mani-

¹ Pindar, *Pythics*, i., *initio*.

² *The Birds*, v. 774 *et seq.*

³ It must be said that it is a German. Nohl, *Mosik*, pp. 17-18, who formulates this idea of musical æsthetics, from which, happily, French composers are still far distant.

⁴ "The Greeks," says Vitruvius (iii. 1 and vi. 2) "have so happily combined vivid imagination with reflective reason that they laid the laws of proportion upon their architects as well as upon their sculptors, upon their poets no less than upon their musicians."

festation of beauty, but exist no longer when grace is replaced by bewildering rapidity. In Greece dancing was a part of religious solemnities and of military training. "The ancients," says Plato, in the seventh book of *The Laws*, "have left us a number of beautiful dances." In the Dorian cities they were part of the most

BRONZE COIN.²

important rites in the cult of Apollo, and the gravest personages took part in them. Theseus, returning from Krete, danced, in the sacred island of Delos, the *geranos*, to celebrate his victory over the Minotaur;¹ and the Spartans, to recall every year their triumph over the people of Thyra, danced the *gymnopaedia* before the statues of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, singing, as they danced, verses of Alkman and of the Kretan Thaletas.³ The Dionysiac dances with *thyrsoi* and lighted torches were a mimic representation of the life of Dionysos.

Near Eleusis was the fountain of the Beautiful Dances, Kallichoros, where the initiated danced, singing the invocation to Iakchos:—

"Iakchos, O highly honored, come to thy pious votaries to dance through this meadow; shaking the full-fruited chaplet about your head abounding in myrtle, and with bold foot treading a measure possessing the largest share of the Graces, holy and sacred, the unrestrained mirth-loving act of worship."⁴

Plato in his treatise on *The Laws*⁵—which is a commentary, so to speak, on Athenian laws and customs—attaches extreme importance, even in respect to their moral education, upon the epheboi possessing "the art of choruses," which includes singing and dancing.

"The gods," he says, "touched with compassion for man, whom Nature condemns to labor, have provided for us intervals of repose by the succession of festivals in their honor. It is their will that the Muses, led by Apollo and accompanied by Dionysos, should celebrate these festivals with us. These divinities, presiding over our solemnities, give us a sense of order, measure, and harmony; and this sentiment, which under

¹ Plutarch, *Theseus*, 19. In the *γέρανος* were imitated the windings of the Labyrinth. See in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, vi. 1, the description of many warrior-dances.

² Theseus, covered with a lion's skin, and holding one of the horns of the Minotaur, who is sinking to the ground before him; legend: ΤΡΟΙΖΗΝΙΩΝ. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Troizen, with the effigy of Commodus.)

³ Pausanias, iii. 2, 7.

⁴ Aristophanes, *The Frogs*, lines 324 seq.

⁵ Book ii. ch. i.

their direction regulates our movements, teaches us to form, by our songs and dances, a chain which entwines and unites us."

Far from objecting to exercises which in other times serve only as amusement, the poet-philosopher regards them as necessary for the good order of cities and individuals.

That there were in Ionia and elsewhere effeminate dances, may easily be believed; but it was at Rome and at Constantinople that dancing assumed a lascivious character. At Sparta and Athens the Pyrrhic dance was a military exercise and a lesson in patriotism. The epheboi danced at the Greater and Lesser Panathenaia,¹ — imitating all the movements of a combat, attacking, defending, and avoiding arrows. And was not the heroic round of the Suliot women a remembrance of those



CORNELIAN.²



APOLLO.³

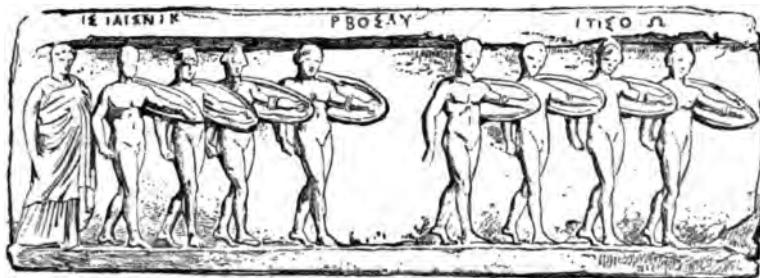
warlike dances? Taking refuge at the top of a mountain, to escape the yataghan or the harem of the Turks, they chanted their funeral hymn, and clasping each other's hands, danced upon the summit, which was surrounded by precipices. Each time the dancing group passed the steepest declivity the circle grew less, for one of the dancers had flung herself over the cliff; and so, one by one, they perished.

¹ They were called *πυρρικήοι* (Schol. to Aristophanes, *The Clouds*, v. 988).

² The satyr shakes with the right hand a thyrsos ornamented with fillets; his fawn-skin hangs on his left arm. (Engraved cornelian, of the Collection de Luynes, in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 68. Height, 18 millim.; breadth, 15 millim.)

³ Apollo, half nude, standing, holding the lyre and the plektron. (Agate in the *Cabinet de France*. Height, 25 millim.; breadth, 12 millim. *Catalogue*, No. 1,464.)

⁴ Bas-relief, discovered by Beulé on the Akropolis (from the *Acropole d'Athènes*, vol. ii. pl. 4). Eight young men, divided into two groups, advance towards the right; they are nude, armed with the shield, and helmeted. Behind them stands a figure, probably the *choregos*.



ARMED DANCE.⁴

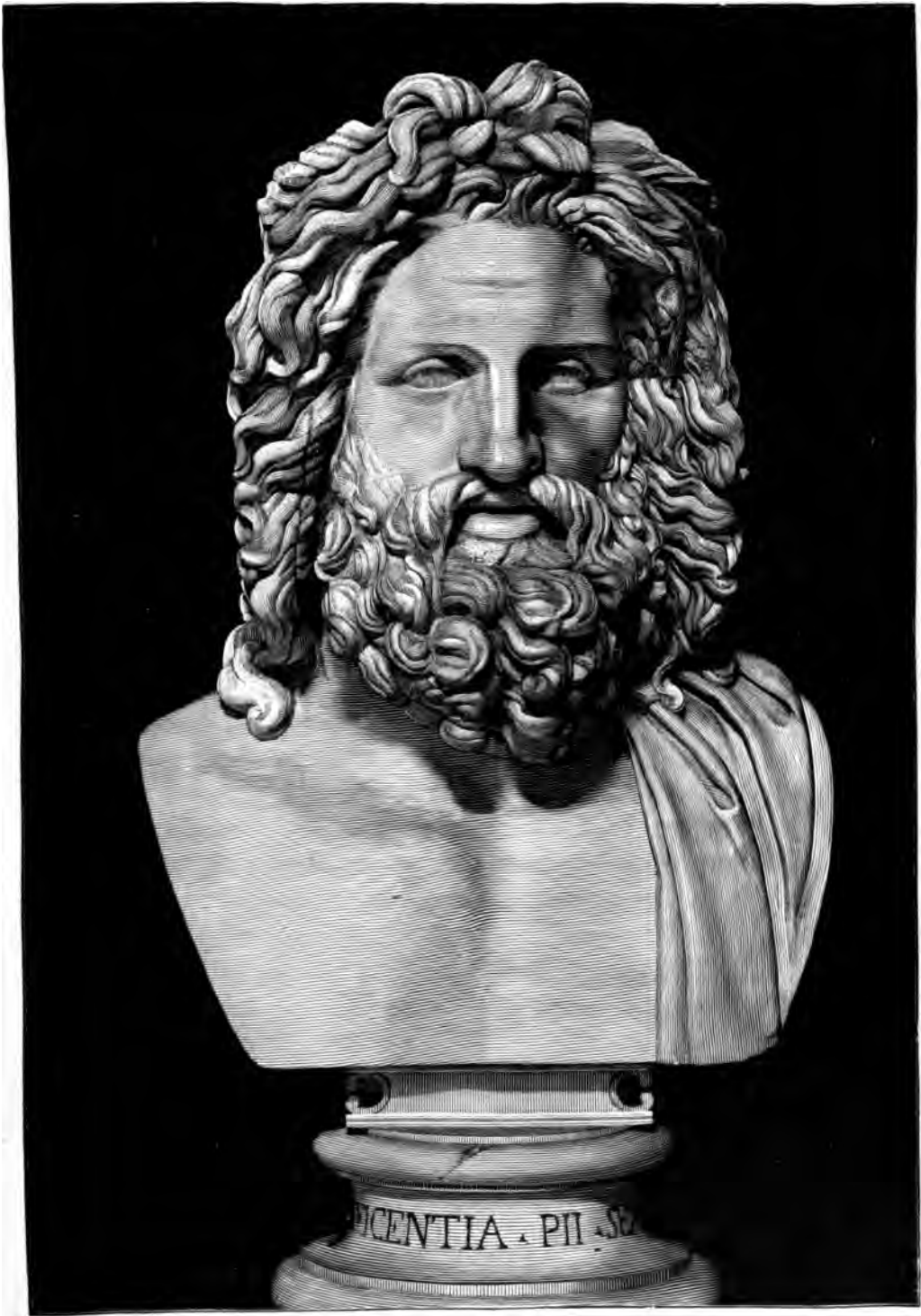
CHAPTER XXII.

GREEK LITERATURE AND ART IN THE FIFTH CENTURY B. C.

I. — THE PROGRESS OF INTELLECTUAL CULTURE IN THE WHOLE GREEK WORLD.

EVERY Greek nation of this age had not at its head a man like Perikles, whose name is appropriately given to the period now under consideration; but those who cultivated neither literature nor the arts at least comprehended them, and by their enthusiasm gave inspiration to artists and poets. At the Delphic and Olympic festivals, in presence of the most beautiful nature, upon a soil as it were impregnated with divinity and poetry, under that transparent sky which never weighed heavily upon men's souls, we behold winding along the shores of the Alpheios, or on the slopes of Parnassos, the *theoria* surrounding the consecrated victims, or some great concourse of people following the crowned poet, musician, or athlete. The crowd stands still to listen. Herodotos recites some chapter of his History; a rhapsodist, by public decree, chants the verses of Homer, of Hesiod, or Empedokles; some sculptor unveils a statue, or some painter a picture. For these festivals are the public exhibition of all forms of skill, of courage, and of talent. Strength and agility, the essential virtues of a military people, received their reward at these games; while beauty in all its manifestations, whether due to body or soul, the labor of the hands or the efforts of the mind, obtained sovereign empire. From the festivals every Greek carries home to his native city a taste for these beautiful objects which have been set before his

NOTE. — The illustration facing this page represents the Zeus of Otricoli. Marble bust found at Otricoli, and now in the Vatican. (From a photograph.)



ZEUS OF OTRICOLI.



eyes. Then the cities vie with each other in magnificence; architecture and sculpture multiply their works, which the Greeks, guided by their artistic instinct, almost always place in admirable positions.¹ Plataia asks from Pheidias a colossal statue of Athene and a statue of Zeus; Lemnos another Athene, known to antiquity as "the beautiful Lemnian;" Delphi an Artemis and an Apollo; Olympia that statue of Zeus which made visible the majesty of the ruler of the gods.² Delphi and Corinth



ZEUS.²

institute a competition in painting, where Panainos is defeated by Timagoras of Chalkis, who in a poem boasts of his victory, and where Polygnotos of Thasos obtains such a brilliant triumph



SATYR.⁴

that the Amphiktyons decree him rights of hospitality in all the cities of Greece. Sikyon, whose school of painting followed that of Athens, already had Polykletes, the successful rival of Pheidias, whom he perhaps surpassed in correctness of design; and of him the Argives asked a colossal statue of Here in gold and ivory, — a rival to the Athene Parthenos. The sculptor was successful, and it was thought that he as appropriately reproduced the noble and pure beauty of Here as Pheidias the imposing majesty of the ruler of the gods. Olympia boasts of its temple, Delphi of its sanctuary, whose pediment was sculp-

¹ Most of the promontories of Peloponnesos, Attika, Ionia, and the islands were marked by temples, trophies, and tombs. These monuments, surrounded by woods and rocks, seen under all effects of light, — now amid clouds and thunderstorms, now lighted up by the moon, now at sunset, now at dawn of day, — must have rendered the coasts of Greece incomparably beautiful; the land thus adorned must have looked to the sailor like Kybele, the ancient goddess, who, crowned with turrets and seated on the seashore, commanded Poseidon, her son, to spread out his waves at her feet. — CHATEAUBRIAND, *Itinéraire*, p. 182.

² Laurelled head of Zeus; right profile. Reverse: *FAΛΕΙΩΝ*. Eagle standing, to the right, on a capital of the Ionic order. (Didrachm of Elis, *in genere*.) See, Vol. I. p. 142, another coin of the same type.

³ The mask of the Olympian Zeus which we have (see p. 151, the Zeus of Otricoli) is perhaps a reduction from the original, or may be a copy of the Zeus of Lysippos.

⁴ Satyr standing, fastening a fillet about his head; he has around the hips a girdle of goat's hair, and his thyrsos stands on the ground, supported against his shoulder. The pose of the statue is suggestive of the *Diadoumenos* of Polykletes. (Intaglio on black jasper, of the Collection de Luynes, in the Cabinet of Medals, No. 72. Height, 17 millim.; breadth, 11 millim.)

- tured by two Athenians, — Praxias and Androsthene. Aigina, a sterile rock, had, however, five temples, in whose ruins have been found precious fragments. Epidauros had the most costly temple of antiquity, and Tegea the largest in the Peloponnesos.

NOTE.— On the opposite page are represented some of the principal types of Syracusan coins, from the origin of the coinage of Syracuse in the sixth century B. C. down to about the beginning of the third century. The collection is intended to show at a glance the gradual development of the monetary art in the city where that art seems to have attained and long kept a most remarkable superiority. The following is a brief description of these fine coins, with the approximative date of their mintage.

1. ς VRAKOΣION. Hero, nude, driving a biga, the horses stepping to the right. Reverse: incused square, divided into four compartments. In the centre, in an incused circular space, a small female head of archaic style, left profile. (Tetradrachm struck in the time of the oligarchy of the Geomori, the sixth century B. C.)

2. ΣVRAKOΣION, in retrograde legend. Woman's head (perhaps a Victory), wearing a laurel-wreath; around it four dolphins. Reverse: hero, in a tunic, driving a chariot with three horses stepping to the right. Above the horses a Victory flying, a fillet in her hands; in the exergue, a lion. Pentekontalitron of Gelon I. (485–478 B. C.)

3. ΣYPAKOΣION. Head of the nymph Arethousa, right profile, her hair covered with a *kekryphalos* of peculiar form; around, four dolphins. Reverse: bearded hero, in a tunic, driving a chariot with three horses stepping to the right. Above the horses a flying Victory, a fillet in her hands. (Tetradrachm struck during the democratic government which preceded the siege of Syracuse by the Athenians, 466–415 B. C.)

4. ΣYPAKOΣION. Head of Persephone, left profile, with a wreath of leaves of corn, and large ear-jewels; around, four dolphins. In the exergue, EYAINĒ, signature of Evainetes, the engraver of the die. Reverse: woman in a quadriga, the horses galloping to the left. She holds a long wand, with which she guides the horses. Above, a flying Victory, a fillet in her hands. In the exergue, a helmet, a cuirass, knemides, and a shield. (Pentekontalitron of the elder Dionysios or his immediate successors, 406–345 B. C.)

The names of engravers on the coins of Syracuse are as follows: Kimon, Evainetes, Euth . . . , Eukleides, Eumenes, Parmenides, Sosion, and Phrygillos. Beside the magnificent medalion signed by Evainetes we give that of Kimon, who was his contemporary and his worthy rival.

5. ΣYPAKOΣION. Head of Persephone, with small ear-jewels, left profile. The hair of the goddess is bound by a wide fillet, on which is the letter K, initial of KIMON, artist-engraver of the die. Around the head, four dolphins; in the exergue, the word KIMON. The reverse of this pentekontalitron of Kimon is the same with that of Evainetes.

6. Head of the nymph Arethousa, three quarters front, with dishevelled hair bound by a broad fillet, on which is the engraver's name, KIMON. Above the head, in very thin letters, APEΘOZA. In the field, three dolphins. Reverse: ΣYPAKOΣION. The nymph Arethousa in a quadriga, the horses galloping to the left; she turns her head, giving a front view of her face. Above the horses, a Victory, holding a fillet, seems advancing towards the nymphs, walking upon the heads of two of the horses. In the exergue, an ear of corn. (Tetradrachm signed by Kimon, and coined under the elder Dionysios or his successors, 406–345 B. C.)

7. ΣYPAKOΣION. Head of the nymph Arethousa, with large ear-jewels; before her EYAINĒ, signature of the artist-engraver. Reverse: young Herakles, kneeling to the right, strangling in his arms the Nemean lion. (Gold piece signed by Evainetes, and coined under the elder Dionysios or his successors, 406–345 B. C.)

8. ΣYPAKOΣION. Head of Pallas, three quarters front, with helmet having crest and quadruple aigrette. On the front of the helmet, in very small letters, EYKAEIDA, signature of Eukleidas, artist-engraver of the die. Reverse: ΣYPAKOΣION. Leukaspiis, armed with



COINS OF SYRACUSE.

Argos, punished for its isolation by mental sterility, gave no successor to the poetic and warlike Telesilla; at most there were a few Argive musicians, and one sculptor, Ageladas, who had the honor of training the three great sculptors of the time, Pheidias, Myron, and Polykletes of Sikyon, the heads of a new school, which, giving life to marble and bronze, began, so to speak, the secu-



TETRADRACHM.¹

larization of art. Corinth built temples to all the Olympian gods, and decorated them with magnificence; but she needed, in building them, the hand of foreign artists,—as if art, thus brought from abroad, was but a luxury in which her rich merchants took pleasure. We may not enter Sparta, for we are in search of genius, and there only strength is to be found, and a virtue too often theatrical. Were it not for Pindar, the Boiotian Thebes would have no attraction for us, and even her one poet Thebes suffered to go away from her and reside at the court of Hiero.

The islands and the colonies furnished also their contingent of great men: Herakleia had Zeuxis, Ephesos Parrhasios,—worthy rivals, who paid for the admiration of the Athenians, the latter by making an allegorical portrait of that people at once hot-headed and gentle, modest and arrogant, full of grandeur and full of weakness;² the former, by painting for Athens that Helen which the painter Timomachos of Byzantion contemplated for two hours

helmet, shield, spear, and lance, fighting, to the right; behind the hero an altar, and at his feet a ram's head. In the exergue, ΑΕΥΚΑΣΠΙΣ. (Drachma signed by Eukleides, and coined under the elder Dionysios or his successors, 406–345 B. C.)

9. ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Laurelled head of Apollo, left profile; behind, his bow. Reverse: ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ. Head of Artemis, right profile, the hair bound with a diadem; behind, the bow and quiver. (Coin of electrum, struck in the time of Timoleon and the democracy, between 344 and 317 B. C.)

10. ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head of Persephone, right profile, wearing a wreath formed of a stalk of corn. Reverse: ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ. Victory, standing to the right, erecting a trophy, above which she is driving a nail with a hammer. The trophy is formed of a helmet, a shield, a cuirass and knemides; in the field a monogram and the triquetra, the emblem of Sicily. (Tetradrachm of the reign of Agathokles, 310–307 B. C.)

¹ ΑΘΑΝΑ. Head of Pallas, right profile, helmet ornamented with a figure of the monster Skylla. Reverse: ΕΗΡΑΚΛΗΙΩΝ. Herakles, nude and beardless, struggling with the Nemean lion; in the field, his club; on the ground, the owl. (Coin of Herakleia in Lucania.)

² “Parrhasios,” says Pliny (xxxv. 69), “sought to represent this people, at once changeable, hasty, inconstant, merciful, compassionate, humble, and haughty.”

daily. The island of Kos produced a man of singularly vigorous mind, Hippokrates, known in history as "the father of medicine," and also famous as a philosopher. Polygnotos was a native of Thasos; but Knidos adopted him, causing him to paint for her upon the walls of the Lesche at Delphi the taking of Troy, and the descent of Odysseus into the underworld. In one of these islands, Melos, was found the Aphrodite (the Venus of Milo), the most beautiful statue in the Louvre, of broad and simple style, and so chaste in her nudity, so imposing, so noble: *vera patuit dea*.¹

Magna Græcia, of severer genius, was less rich in artists than in legislators and philosophers. She had had Zaleukos of Lokris, of whom we know little, Pythagoras and his famous institute, the school of Elea, whence came Zeno, the favorite disciple of Parmenides and one of the teachers of Perikles. In Sicily, Agrigentum and Syracuse were rivals: the former proudly repeated the verses of Empedokles, in which Aristotle recognized a genius like that of Homer; she called Zeuxis from his native country, and offered her most beautiful women as models, that of their combined loveliness he might compose the divine beauty of Here. At this time also she was making preparations to build her temple to Zeus, the most colossal building ever constructed by the Greeks.² Syracuse had not as yet her most illustrious citizens, Archimedes, Theokritos, and Moschos; but Hiero had already attracted to his brilliant court those poets whom wounded pride or an ambitious desire for royal favors had driven from their country. Simonides of Kos, Pindar, and Aischylos were there; and Epicharmos, philosopher and poet, had there put on the stage the first comedy.

Eastward of Greece, on the remote shore of the Euxine, at Sinope, shortly after the time of which we speak was born Diogenes the Cynic; at Abdera, on the Thracian coast, was still living Demokritos, of whom Cicero said: "It is from this great man's

¹ I do not hesitate to prefer this statue to the Apollo Belvedere, and to place it with the most beautiful remains of ancient art.

² That is, if we accept the correction made by Winckelmann (*Letters*, i. 282), which changes the 60 feet given by Diodoros (xiii. 82) as the width of the temple, into 160 feet. The first statement is manifestly too low, since the width would have been but one sixth of the length, whereas in the Parthenon and in the temple at Olympia it was about one third; but the second is perhaps too high, for this would have made the breadth half the length. The temple of the Olympian Zeus at Athens was 2,427 feet in circuit (Pausanias, i. 18, 6).

springs that Epicurus drew water for his little gardens.”¹ It is related of Demokritos that having spent his inheritance on travels in distant countries, he was about to incur public censure as a prodigal, when in his own defence he read aloud to the people his *Diakosmos*, a theory of the universe; and they at once decreed to repay to him all that he had lost in the search after knowledge. In the colonies intellectual life was very feeble; men were far more occupied with the rich cargoes that entered their ports than with the art and philosophy formerly so much loved. Herodotos departed from Halikarnassos, as Anaxagoras from Klazomenai, and Parrhasios from Ephesos.

II. — POETS AND HISTORIANS; PHILOSOPHERS AND PHYSICIANS.

AFTER this rapid review of the Hellenic world, we return to speak more at length of the few eminent men, that we may make their traits clearer, and show the part which belongs to them in the work of civilizing Hellas.

Outside of Athens, Greece had at the close of the sixth and during the fifth century before Christ five renowned poets and a historian, whose works we still read, — Simonides of Keos, Epicharmos of Kos, Empedokles of Agrigentum, Anakreon of Teos, the Boiotian Pindar, and Herodotos of Halikarnassos.

Of Simonides we have already spoken, — a poet who by the grace of his verses merits a place at the side of Pindar, whose religious convictions he also shares. “Zeus,” he says, “holds in his hand the end of all that is, and disposes of all things according to his will.” But history has nothing to ask of this great lyric poet, except his heroic epitaph on Leonidas.²

Epicharmos was of Dorian race both by the language and the sententious character of some of his verses; but he was not so by the character of his mind, since he was a very prolific comic poet, much applauded by the Syracusans, and admired of Horace, who

¹ *Vir magnus in primis, cujus fontibus Epicurus hortulos suos irrigavit (De Natura deorum, i. 43).*

² See also Vol. I. p. 204, an extract from his *Lament of Danaë*.

esteems him above Plautus. As he wrote at the court of Hiero, where he was in great favor, and as this king would not have tolerated the free speaking of Aristophanes, Epicharmos, not being able to attack kings, turned his ridicule upon men and gods. His comedies were character-pieces or else irreverent parodies of mythological legends.¹ It is well known that he invented, as a



DIONYSIAC PROCESSION; THE KOMASTAI OF EPICHARMOS.²

comic personage, the parasite, who made at Rome such a brilliant success; and we shall see later how he handled the Olympians. We have almost nothing of his works, and only on the painted vases of Magna Græcia do we find certain of his characters.³

¹ Epicharmos was born about 539 B. C.; his father was of the Asklepiad race. He was long a resident of Syracuse, where he met Aischylos, and seems to have died about 454 B. C., or possibly later. We have the names of 35 of his comedies, and 168 fragments, giving us in all only 319 lines. It has been common greatly to exaggerate the race-differences between the Dorians and the Ionians. The Spartan gravity belonged only to Sparta, where historic circumstances created it. It is well known that the Dorian Megara disputed with Athens the invention of comedy of the coarser sort.

² Vase-painting, from Millin, *Galerie mythologique*, 83, 336. Epicharmos is the author of a comedy entitled *The Komastai*, or *Hephaistos*, the subject being the return of Hephaistos to Olympos, guided by Dionysos. This scene is depicted by the painter on the vase represented above. Marsyas (ΜΑΡΣΥΑΣ) heads the band; he is crowned with ivy, and plays on the flute. A bacchante follows, holding in the left hand a kantharos, and in the right the double-thyrso; this is *Komodia* (ΚΟΜΩΔΙΑ), the personification of the *Komos*, or Dionysiac procession. Then follows with insecure step Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ), and after him Hephaistos (ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ). "The Komos, this Dionysiac procession," says Jules Girard, very justly, "is probably the figured tradition of representations which amused the spectators in Tarentum or in Syracuse. It seems credible that it closed the *Komastai* of Epicharmos" (*Études sur la poésie grecque*, p. 61).

³ In his comedy entitled *Hope*, or *Ploutos*, Epicharmos represents one of his characters as saying: "I dine with any person who wishes it, — he has only to invite me; and also with

Those who maintain that Epicharmos was also a philosopher represent him as belonging to the Pythagorean school. His only claim to this title is founded on a few grave sentences, of a kind always found in poetic works. Theokritos wrote on the bronze statue that Syracuse erected in honor of the old poet, "He said many things of practical utility, and left a store of wise precepts." Plato, forgetting what he had previously said as to the author of *The Clouds*,² calls Epicharmos "the master of comic poets."³



TETRADRACHM OF SELINOUS.¹

Empedokles of Agrigentum, who by certain sides of his nature is attached to the Pythagorean school and to that of Elis, was a great poet and a man of action.⁴ He gave constitutions to cities, drained pestilential marshes,⁵ barred the higher part of valleys to arrest dangerous winds, and knew remedies against death. Plato and Aristotle admired him, and Lucretius mentions him, — he was in fact a man of genius; but genius is sometimes akin to madness.

persons who do not wish it: there is no need of an invitation. At table I am full of wit; I make people laugh, and I praise the master of the house. If any man sees fit to contradict me, I overwhelm him with insults. Then, after eating and drinking plentifully, I go away; no slave goes with me bearing a lantern, but I walk alone, stumbling in the darkness. If I meet the watchman, I thank the gods that I escape with only a few cuts of the whip. I reach home tired out, and lie down to sleep on the floor without minding it, so stupid am I with the strong wine I have drunk." (Jules Girard, *Étude sur Épicharme*.) Before reaching Rome, the parasite passed through Athens, where we hear of him in Xenophon's *Banquet*.

¹ Legend: ΣΕΑΙΝ[ΟΣ]. The river Selinous personified as a young man, nude, standing, holding in one hand an olive-branch, in the other a patera from which he pours lustral water upon the altar of Asklepios. At the side of the altar a cock, symbol of Asklepios; behind Selinous, a branch of parsley, emblem of the city's name, and a bull for sacrifice. This scene alludes to the works of drainage which Empedokles had caused to be executed in the river's bed, and by which a pestilence had been stayed which was proving fatal to many of the inhabitants. Reverse: ΣΕΑΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΝ. Apollo and Artemis, drawing the bow, standing in a biga, the horses stepping to the left.

² See above, p. 81.

³ In the *Theaitetos*, ὁ ἄκρος [τῆς κωμῳδίας] expresses more than "the creator," especially as it is the same title which Plato applies to Homer in respect to tragedy.

⁴ He lived about 444 B. C. See Vol. II. p. 221, what is said of his teachings as to the nature of things.

⁵ Coins preserve the memory of this. One shows him upon the chariot of Apollo and arresting the hand of the god, who is about to discharge his fatal arrows. See *Annali dell' Instit. di corrisp. archeol.*, 1845, p. 265.

Empedokles believed himself a god, and caused others to think so, — which among the ancients was not a difficult matter if a man had wealth, genius, or power. “Friends,” he says at the beginning of his poem, *The Purifications*, “you who dwell in the higher part of the great city which the fair Akragas waters, you who are zealous doers of the right, I salute you! I who am not a man, but a god, I come to you bound with fillets and wreathed



THE RIVER AKRAGAS.¹

with flowers. When I enter flourishing cities, men and women fall down before me. All follow me, imploring favors. Some ask for oracles and the path that leads to happiness; others for powerful remedies to cure their maladies.”² He claimed to have

secrets which would arrest old age, occasion or control tempests, and bring the dead up from the under-world. He taught for some time at Athens, and read at the Olympic Games, amid enthusiastic acclamations, his poem, *The Purifications*.

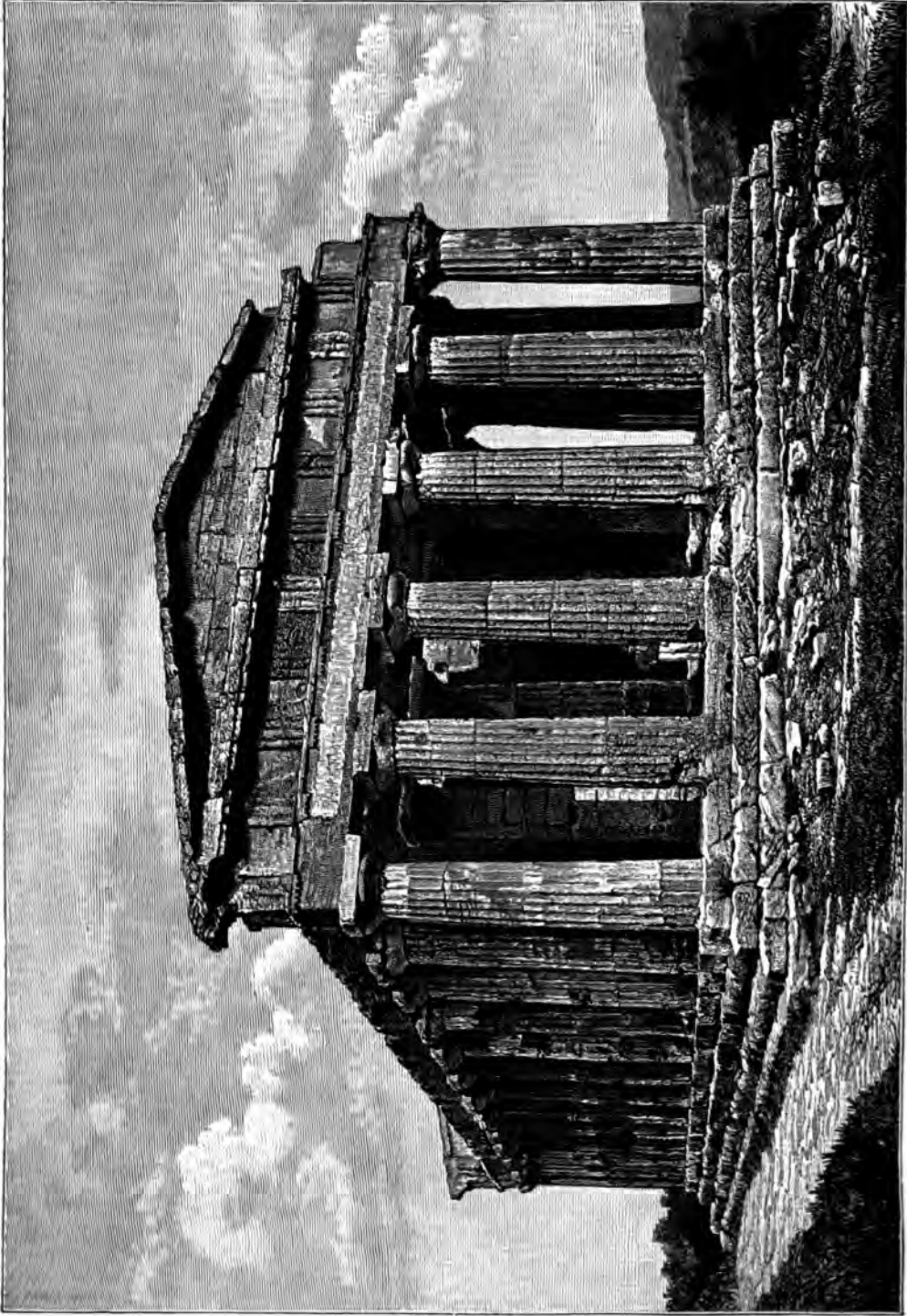
Notwithstanding these triumphs, there was in his soul an echo of the sadness of Hesiod. He believed in an original sinfulness, in a fall of man, who now expiates in the present life the faults of an earlier existence.³ “Sad race of mortals,” he says, at the beginning of his book, “unhappy race, out of what a discordant state have you come! As for me, I have fallen from a height of happiness into this world, and I groan at the sight of the earth inhabited by murder, envy, and other evils.” He believed in expiation through metempsychosis. For thirty thousand years the soul wandered from one body to another, and descended even into the vegetable kingdom, becoming the vital force of the plant, — a singular idea, but one which, reduced to being merely the expres-

¹ The genius of the river Akragas, horned and wearing a diadem, left profile; legend, ΑΚΡΑΓΑΣ. Reverse: an eagle standing on an Ionic column; in the field a crab and six balls, mark of the hemi-litron. (Bronze coin of Agrigentum.)

² Diogenes Laertius, viii. 62.

³ According to the legend, Zeus sent the deluge of Deukalion to punish human sins. See Vol. I. p. 192.

NOTE. — The illustration (from a photograph) on the opposite page represents the (so-called) Temple of Concord. This, as well as all the temples of Agrigentum, belongs to the transitional period of Greek architecture, which extends from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the fifth century B. C.



THE TEMPLE OF CONCORD AT AGRIGENTUM.



sion of a resemblance among the principal functions of life in organized nature, has had great popularity in our own day.¹ From this theory Empedokles drew the inference that all living things should be respected, since in even the humblest might be concealed the soul of a kinsman. These immortal souls, however, entered at last, after the practice of virtue, into immortal happiness.

Empedokles disappeared in some unknown way. The Agrigenines were not satisfied with this humble end, so unsuited to the brilliancy of his life and the marvels that had been attributed to him; and it was finally asserted that he had thrown himself into the crater of Ætna, either for the purpose of investigating the mystery of volcanic fires, or, by a sudden disappearance, to cause the belief that he had been snatched away into heaven. The rash investigator was never again seen, but his shoe was cast forth by the volcano.

His philosophic doctrines, in which natural science and theology are mingled, lack precision. To the question, whence arise the changes in the forms of matter, the separation of the four elements, the formation of the world, and all the phenomena of nature, he answered: From the sway of two contrary principles, Love and Discord, acting through myriads of good and of evil genii. Whence comes that alternate domination which drives, on the one side to absolute unity, on the other to absolute multiplicity? What renders inevitable birth and death, the union of parts into whole, and their later disintegration? One cause produces all these transformations, — Necessity. In reality, the supreme divinity of Empedokles is not Mind, as once he said, following Anaxagoras, but the old deity whom the poets worshipped, Destiny. To this ancient theology, however, Empedokles added the dualist conception of Good and Evil, of Pleasure and Pain, of the Just and the Unjust, — which, unconsciously or consciously, is found underlying all religions, and must so be found, since this dualism is in human nature and in the universal life which surrounds us.²

¹ This is the fundamental idea of the new physiological school. See Vol. II. p. 221.

² G. Bréton, *Essai sur la poésie philosophique en Grèce*, p. 224. In this connection the author quotes (p. 227) the following passage from the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle: "Man became aware that at the side of the good its opposite appeared also in nature; that at the side of order and beauty was disorder and ugliness; that evil seemed to triumph over good, the ugly over the beautiful. A philosopher introduced Amity and Discord, — opposite causes of these contrary effects; for if we push to their results the opinions of Empedokles, and take

Anakreon and Pindar concern only the history of literature. In speaking of the poet, Plato calls him, "a light thing, winged and sacred." Of these three epithets the first two are appropriate to the old man of Teos, who loved to have young Bathyllos near him, and to see the wine laugh in its golden cup;¹ but all three words apply to Pindar, who received from his companions divine honors, and was admired by Alexander as the equal of Homer. At the present day he attracts only men of scholarly tastes,² for his *Odes* have not, like the works of Pheidias, a beauty which is for all time; they please, but excite no emotion, and to understand them a profound knowledge of Greek life is necessary. We have already noted, as a matter with which history is concerned, that Pindar is still very religious, — while Epicharmos is so no longer, — and in respect to the future life holds still the ideas of Homer; namely, that the abode of the blessed welcomes only the victorious and the powerful.³

History was born in Ionia. European Greece, too much occupied with its legends, contented itself with the songs of its poets and the mighty dramas of Aischylos and Sophokles. But in the commercial cities of the Asiatic coast were heard the great blows struck by conquerors in Egypt and in Asia, and they awakened a curiosity in which self-interest was largely concerned. Kadmos of Miletos, in the sixth century, only related the history of the city's foundation; but his fellow-countryman Hekataios, who lived in the time when the Ionians were making ready to resist the power of Persia, was a great traveller. He prepared a *Tour of the World*, *περίοδος γῆς*, of which the two books were entitled, one, *Europe*, and the other, *Asia*; and he wrote the genealogies of some illustrious families, without accepting that element of the

account of his real ideas, and not of the manner in which he imperfectly expresses them, it will be seen that he makes Amity the principle of good, and Discord that of evil. So that if we were to say that Empedokles proclaimed, and that he was the first to proclaim, good and evil as principles, we should perhaps make no mistake, since in his system good in itself is the cause of all good things, and evil of all ills."

¹ Certain testimony, however, gives him quite a different character. Julian, in the *Misopogon*, speaks of the serious poetry of Anakreon. None of it is extant.

² See Villemain, *Essai sur le génie de Pindare et sur la poésie lyrique*; A. Croiset, *La poésie de Pindare et les lois du lyrisme grec*; J. Girard, *Étude sur Pindare*.

³ See Vol. I. p. 407. Traces of the influence of Pythagorean ideas and of Orphic precepts may, however, be discovered in his verses.

marvellous with which legend had enveloped certain names. Thus, for example, to him Kerberos was a serpent which infested Cape Tainaron. This dawning scepticism did not prevent him from believing himself a descendant of the gods.¹ As historian and geographer, Hekataios was the precursor of Herodotos, who far surpassed him.

Herodotos was a native of the Dorian city of Halikarnassos in Karia; but after his long journeyings he went to Athens. He loved the Athenians, and celebrated their exploits.

It is said that after the public reading of certain passages of his History at the festival of the Great Panathenaia, a decree of the people granted him ten talents. He has retained this popularity to our own

DRACHMA.²OBOLOS.³

times, for without him we should have of the great struggle between Greece and Asia only the sonorous echoes of Marathon and Thermopylai. His narratives are so much like an epic poem that the Greeks gave them the names of the Nine Muses. His attention is directed everywhere, even into the dark corners where domestic legends are concealed, so that he often unites romance with history; and this is the charm of his book. Like Pindar, he represents with an entirely new interest the ancient times when the gods and their oracles were respected, when the fatal divinity, the jealous Nemesis ruled, who without apparent reason, or for reasons which were not reasons, beat down the loftiest fortunes, brought royal races to naught, and subjugated peoples or set them free.⁴ By this charac-

¹ I content myself with mentioning the names of other "logographers," as Thucydides calls them: Pherekydes of Leros, Charon of Lampsakos, Xanthos of Sardis, who all preceded Herodotos, as the singers of the heroic epoch preceded Homer. Hellanikos of Mytilene lived later, for he mentions in his book the battle of Arginousai, 408 B. C.; although he may have been a contemporary of Thucydides, he was still only a chronicler, more interested in legends than in history.

² Head of the Sun, front face. Reverse: ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΣΟΣ . . . Helmeted head of Pallas, right profile. (Drachma of Halikarnassos.)

³ Head of Demeter Erinys, right profile, with disordered hair; before it, the letter Θ, mint-mark. Reverse: ΕΡΙΑΝ. The horse, Arion, stepping to the right. (Coin of Thelpousa in Arkadia.)

⁴ He says (i. 32): "The divinity is always jealous, and delights in confusion;" and from one end of his work to the other he takes pains to show the φθόνος τῶν θεῶν.

ter of his book, Herodotos resembles Bossuet. To bring these two names together appears singular: the great orator seems to have



ANAKREON.²

nothing in common with the charming narrator; but both believe in the government of the world by divine action. This it is which exalts empires and overthrows them. Kings and the great men of the world are, according to their view, in the hand of a Power, which to the Greek was Destiny, to Bossuet was Providence, and to philosophy is the expiation of errors, or the success won by sagacity and courage. And yet a dawning of the new spirit shows itself in the words of Herodotos when, speaking of the pestilence which proved so fatal to the Persian army, he attributed it to famine, and not to the anger of Apollo;¹ or when he explains the formation of the valley of Tempe by an earthquake, and not by a

blow from Poseidon's trident.³ He announces the new era that is drawing near, that of rational statesmanship, in the debate which he supposes among the murderers of the Magi on the advantages and the disadvantages of royalty, of oligarchy, and of a

¹ viii. 115.

² Statue in the Villa Borghese, discovered in the same place with that of the standing Anakreon (see Vol. II. p. 273), from the *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma*, 1884, pl. 2-3. Cf. pp. 33 *et seq.* We are enabled also to name the statue of the seated poet by comparison with the bust recently discovered in Cæsar's gardens. Cf. *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1884, pp. 151 *et seq.*

³ vii. 129.

democratic government.¹ He would be even of our own time if, after saying that success will follow reasonable conduct, and defeat that which is unreasonable, he had not added: "But in the case of those who do not determine on what is reasonable, the deity is not wont to favor human designs."² By these last words he is restored to that period of the world when the divine Nemesis reigned.

Thucydides and Herodotos are contemporaries, the former outliving the latter only by a few years;³ but in the character of their minds they belonged to different ages of Greece. The convenient explanations of the historian of Halikarnassos are not satisfactory to the manly intelligence of the historian of the Peloponnesian war, and that spirit which contents itself with superficial observation is scorned by Thucydides. Posterity, with greater justice, divides its gratitude between the two.

Anaxagoras, Demokritos, the Kretan Diogenes, and above all Sokrates, begin in the sixth century B. C. the great epoch of philosophy. I have already explained why I shall not at this time speak of the master of Plato;⁵ but it is proper to mention here two eminent men, Anaxagoras and Demokritos, who led the Greek mind into new paths.

Anaxagoras, born, about the year 500 B. C., at Klazomenai, lived



HERODOTOS.⁴

¹ iii. 80.

² viii. 60.

³ Herodotos died in 406 B. C., and Thucydides shortly after returning from exile, whence he was recalled, with others who had been banished, in 404.

⁴ Bust in the Museum of Naples (from a photograph).

⁵ See above, p. 86.

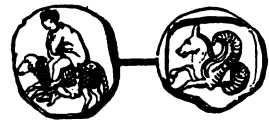
thirty years at Athens as an intimate friend of Perikles, who saved him in 431 from a charge of impiety, but could not prevent his being sent into exile. This philosopher taught that the sun was only a red-hot stone; and he had the same idea as to the stars.



TETRADRACHM OF KLAZOMENAI.¹

This was very disrespectful towards Apollo, Helios, and all the divinities whom popular religion confused with the heavenly bodies. The supernatural was struck as by a mortal blow, and until this time Greece had lived upon it. Anaxagoras foresaw the judgment and its consequences, and made his escape to Lampsakos, where he died about 428 B. C.

Like all the philosophers of the Ionian school, he sought an explanation of the material world; and the ancients called him the great physician, ὁ φυσικώτατος, which brought upon him Plato's contempt. Matter he believes is eternal, but variable in its elements. "Nothing is created," he said, "nothing is destroyed; that which is, mingles or separates, is united or is dissevered. Birth is a synthesis, death an analysis." A modern would speak in the same way. The force which imposes these modifications on matter is neither Destiny, which has too long reigned over men's beliefs, nor Chance,—a useful word to conceal ignorance; it is Mind. Empedokles, who was a poet, explains movement by the contrary action of two mythic powers, Love and Hatred. The atomists saw in the universe only mechanical effects produced by the weight of atoms; Anaxagoras taught the existence of an incorporeal force, ἀσώματος, immutable, thinking, and active; not the creator of matter, but its orderer. "All things were in confusion," he says; "Mind, the formative cause and principle of movement, Νοῦς ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, brought order into chaos." Matter receiving from it a rotary motion, the heavier portions met in the centre, the lighter on the circumference. For

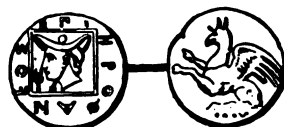


STATER OF LAMPSAKOS.²

¹ Head of Apollo, laurelled, three quarters front; in the field, the signature of the engraver of the die, ΘΕΟΔΩΤΟΣ ΕΓΓΡΑΦΕΙ. Reverse: swan, stepping to the left, with wings partly displayed; legend: ΚΛΑΖΟ and a magistrate's name, ΜΑΝΑΡΩΝΑΞ.

² Helle, seated on a ram, preparing to cross the Hellespont. Reverse: fore part of a winged horse, to the left. (Gold. Prokesch d'Osten, *Inedita meiner Sammlung*, pl. iv. fig. 8.)

this reason the earth is in the centre of the universe. Above are the waters, and then the air, whose clouds keep it in its place; higher still, last of all, fire, which has set in a blaze certain solid portions detached from the earth by the violence of its rotary movement, — that is to say, the sun and the stars. As to rain, winds, eclipses, and other natural phenomena, his ideas are not entirely unlike our own; and further is to be remarked a certain resemblance in theory between him and those modern thinkers who admit a uniformity of plan in the creation of beings belonging to the Organic Kingdom. The Mind of Anaxagoras, which is the soul of the world, *ψυχή τοῦ κόσμου*, is spread throughout everything, and forms the individual soul of man, the animal, and the plant. It is in all identical with itself, but it acts in them according as the organization of the body enclosing it makes possible. Thus man is superior to the animal because he has hands and a voice; the animal to the plant, as having more organs, and hence more functions. Deprived of its necessary instruments, Mind remains inactive, and individual souls, parts of the universal soul, die with the bodies which perish, or at least lose their spiritual individuality.

DRACHMA OF ABDERA.¹

The impression produced by this doctrine was very great. A century later Aristotle speaks of the philosopher of Klazomenai with admiration. "Whosoever affirmed Mind," he says, "as in animals so also in Nature, to be the cause of the system of the world and of the entire harmony of it, the same appeared, as it were, of sober temperament in comparison with the vain theorists of the earlier ages."²

But the Mind of Anaxagoras, which in order to organize the world had omniscience and reason, had no knowledge of goodness or justice. It was an intelligent natural force; it was not the personal God of conscience; the moral government of the world was not in its jurisdiction. However, the great builder of the kosmos was found, and a path opened by which humanity might

¹ ΕΠΙ ΗΡΟΦΑΝΕΟΣ. Head of Hermes, wearing the petasos, left profile; before it the caduceus. The field is outlined by a square. Reverse: griffin leaping to the left (Prokesch d'Osten, *Inedita meiner Sammlung*, pl. i. fig. 4).

² *Metaphysics*, i. ch. iii. [English translation by the Rev. John H. M'Mahon, p. 17.]

advance to the conception of the divine unity. It was the work of the Sokratic schools to give to the immaterial principle of Anaxagoras those attributes which the human reason conceives to make up the idea of Providence; but the efforts of Sokrates and Plato were not enough to anticipate the revelation which at a later day Saint Paul made to the Athenians of "the Unknown God."

The date of the birth of Demokritos is at some point between 494 and 460 B. C., — probably nearer the latter year than the former.



DIDRACHM OF ABDERA.¹

The date of his death is also uncertain, but he is said to have lived a hundred and nine years. He travelled much, from Egypt to Magna Græcia, where he studied the doctrines of the Eleatic and Pythagorean schools, whose principles he opposed. It is supposed that he also went

into Persia and Chaldæa to interrogate the Magi. This was a journey that the Greeks liked to represent their great men as making, it being thought that the source of all wisdom was in the East; and they also gave him Leukippos, as an instructor, although we cannot distinguish in the atomistic doctrine the part of the master and that of the pupil. It is maintained even that, as an obscure listener amid the crowd, he heard at Athens the teachings of Sokrates and Anaxagoras. We will not repeat here the anecdotes concerning the displeasure of his fellow-citizens of Abdera towards him when they believed him a spendthrift and a fool, nor their admiration of him after he had read in public his *Μέγας διάκοσμος*; and the smile that was often seen upon his lips seems to indicate only the scornful indifference of the philosopher for the vain pleasures or useless griefs of men. Tranquillity of soul was to him the sovereign good; he did not place his happiness in perishable advantages, like wealth, honors, and power. The wise man should be astonished or excited at nothing; and this philosophic indifference is in fact a part of wisdom. Demokritos says, "Respect thy reason, and ask from it nothing unworthy," — a noble sentiment, for all morality consists in two

¹ ΑΒΔΗΡΠΙΤΕΩΝ. Griffin seated to the left, with lifted paw. Reverse: ΕΠΙΜΟΛΙΤΑΓΟ- [ΠΕΩ]. A dancing-girl, turning to the left, wearing on her head a high *kalathos*.

words: self-respect, which keeps a man remote from every degrading act, and the conviction of duty, which requires all sacrifices that may be needful.



DEMOKRITOS.¹

The ancients attribute to Demokritos seventy-two works, which are lost, with the exception of a few fragments; and they liken him to Plato for brilliancy of style, and to the Stagyrte for scientific curiosity.

His atomic theory is especially that by which he is known. This is not the place to discuss that doctrine of "the indivisibles"

¹ Marble of the Museum of Naples (from a photograph). The name given to this bust is of doubtful authenticity.

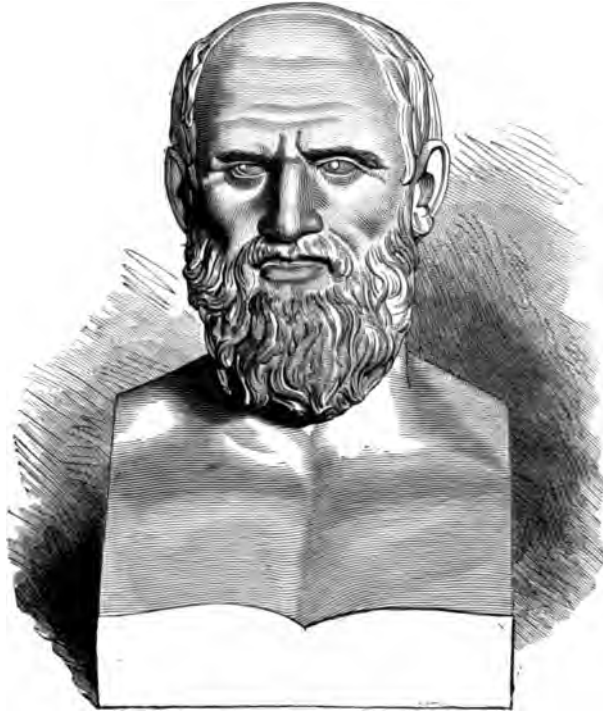
which, drawn by weight or motion, float eternally in infinite space; come in contact with one another, combine, and form the world, with the individuals which it contains; then separate, to make up other combinations; so that all is transformed, and nothing perishes. Life itself results from the meeting of more subtle atoms, which give to man his superiority. History, less habituated than philosophy to explore this darkness, contents itself with saying that the atomic theory, which admits of but one being, the body, and one force, weight, is a naturalistic doctrine, such as were those of the Ionians, of Herakleitos and Empedokles, who recognized no incorporeal existences; that Demokritos, denying the truth of the perception of the senses, prepared the way for the scepticism of Protagoras and of Pyrrho; that, in advising men to avoid all cares, and especially marriage, in order to attain happiness, his ethics were the precursor of those of Epikouros; that, finally, he took away from the human soul a support of which men had need, when he taught that the gods were a creation of the human mind alarmed at the convulsions of nature. But Demokritos was not the only offender; a similar reproach may be made against the whole ancient philosophy. From the day when Greece began to interrogate reason, the gods were in danger. It is the usual result. Imagination and sentiment had founded polytheism; science destroyed it.

The atomic theory is still honored by the scientific men of our time.¹ When they seek to ascertain into what elements matter is resolved, they can go on neither to the numerical unity of the Pythagoreans, nor to the pantheistic unity of the Eleatics; the atom supplies them with the physical unity necessary for their combinations. The philosophers, on their part, ask of this system how, from the material world, subject to the mechanical laws of movement, it is possible to pass into the world of thought where reigns free-will. But who has unveiled this secret?

By recognizing everywhere physical laws, Demokritos rendered the supernatural useless. However, he admits the existence of aerial genii, good and bad, but mortal, who were able to reveal the future, which supposes a divine government of the world. Did this contradiction arise from the fact that there subsisted in him a remnant of the popular belief in daimons, which he had not been

¹ See Vol. II. p. 221, note 2.

able to expel from his mind ; or was it an act of prudence in respect to the established religion, for the purpose of saving divination, so dear to all superstitious persons ? We must, in preference, admit that this great logician, who sought to find behind each idea a real object, clung to the doctrine of daimons to explain dreams and hallucinations as warnings given to the human mind by these beings

HIPPOKRATES.¹

of superior intelligence. We must also recognize in this philosopher a merit of a peculiar kind, — he was the inspirer of the great poem by Lucretius.

Diogenes of Apollonia in Krete, a contemporary of Demokritos, followed a very different path, which brought him near that of Anaxagoras. He regarded the universe as the product of an intelligent Principle which had vivified and ordered it ; but he dared not establish this rational and sentient Principle as a being distinct from the world of matter. This was, however, enough to

¹ Marble bust of the Villa Albani (from a photograph). The bust bears no inscription ; but the head of Hippokrates is represented on coins of Kos, and the resemblance is striking.

bring him into peril of his life among the believers in the old faith.

It is asserted that Diagoras of Melos was a freedman of Demokritos. He was a poet, and always a volatile person. At first a fervent worshipper of the gods, he later abandoned them, when they neglected to punish the perjuries of a friend who had deceived him. He ridiculed the mysteries of Samothrace, scoffed at those of Eleusis in Athens, and only by flight escaped the hemlock or the barathron.



BRONZE COIN.¹

As occurred in France a century and a half ago, there were seen advancing in the Greece of the last years of Perikles by all the routes of thought those bold miners who sapped temples. The popular religion long defended itself; for, with people as with individuals, habits are very slow to die. But the axe is at the roots of the tree.

It has been asserted that Demokritos was one of the masters of Hippokrates. If they met, the philosopher of Abdera would have talked with the other about his studies of animals and plants. But the great Asklepiad was one of those men who are really self-made; and we have another reason for naming him among philosophers, for he writes in one of his treatises: "The philosopher-physician is the equal of the gods."



BRONZE MEDALLION.²

The Hellenes raised Asklepios to divine honors, and Homer praises the learning of his sons Podaliros and Machaon, of the

¹ IEPAC EΠΙΔΑΥΡΟΥ. Tetrastyle temple under which is a statue of Asklepios, with a serpent at his feet. (Reverse of a bronze coin struck at Epidauros, with the effigy of Antoninus Pius.)

² Apollo, nude, standing, holding a laurel-branch and extending his left hand over the *omphalos*, around which is coiled a serpent. He looks at Asklepios, who holds his staff, around which a serpent is coiled. Before him stands a little figure representing Telesphoros; Hygeia stands at the left of Apollo, and is feeding a serpent from a patera. Above, in the field, is Fortune seated on a throne and holding a sceptre and a cornucopia, and Zeus standing, hurling a thunderbolt. In the exergue: BIZYHNQN. (Bronze medallion of Bizya in Thrace, with the effigy of the elder Philip.)

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a marble statue of Asklepios, now in the Museum of Naples (from a photograph). This is no doubt a copy of the statue which the sculptor Pyromachus made for the temple of Asklepios at Pergamos, reproduced on many coins of that city.

diviner Melampus and of his descendant Amphiaraos, who could read the future; but, nevertheless, Greek medicine long resembled that of African sorcerers. It was practised in the Asklepeions, by the aid of a few simples and many spells, by long fastings,



HERAKLES.¹

nocturnal apparitions, by stimulating dreams which acted on the imagination of the sick, and now and then occasioned a cure.² Faith, "which removes mountains," can doubtless originate nervous action whose effects seem to work miracles, and yet leave the sceptical unconvinced.³ With the increasing spirit of inquiry in

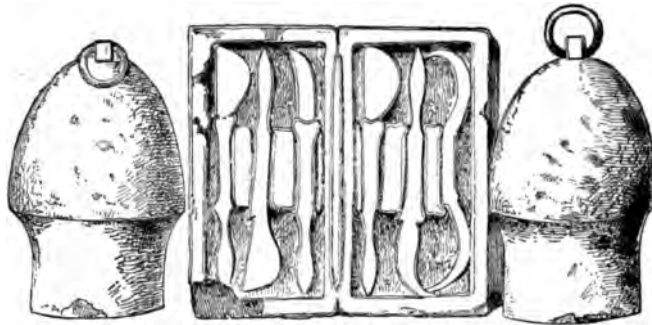
¹ Marble from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, now in the British Museum (from a photograph). The figure is better known under the name of Theseus.

² My learned colleague, Monsieur Perrot, tells me that to this day in Lesbos it is believed that if a sick person passes the night in a church, the remedy needful in his case will be revealed to him in a dream. A very long inscription, found at Epidauros in 1883, contains the account of twenty miraculous cures by visions, dreams, etc. Cf. *Revue archéologique* of August, 1884.

³ See in the *Plutos* of Aristophanes, lines 641-801, the singular eye-salve that Asklepeios in person prepared for Neokleides, and the healing of Plutos, the blind god, whose eyelids

all scientific directions, the Asklepiads, or priests of Asklepios, discovered more rational methods, without, however, renouncing the superstitious practices which availed to gain the confidence of the patient and secure his docility.

The cures being lucrative, the gods became rivals one of another. Apollo opened a shop in competition with his son Asklepios, and was so successful that, in reward for his services,



SURGEON'S CASE.¹

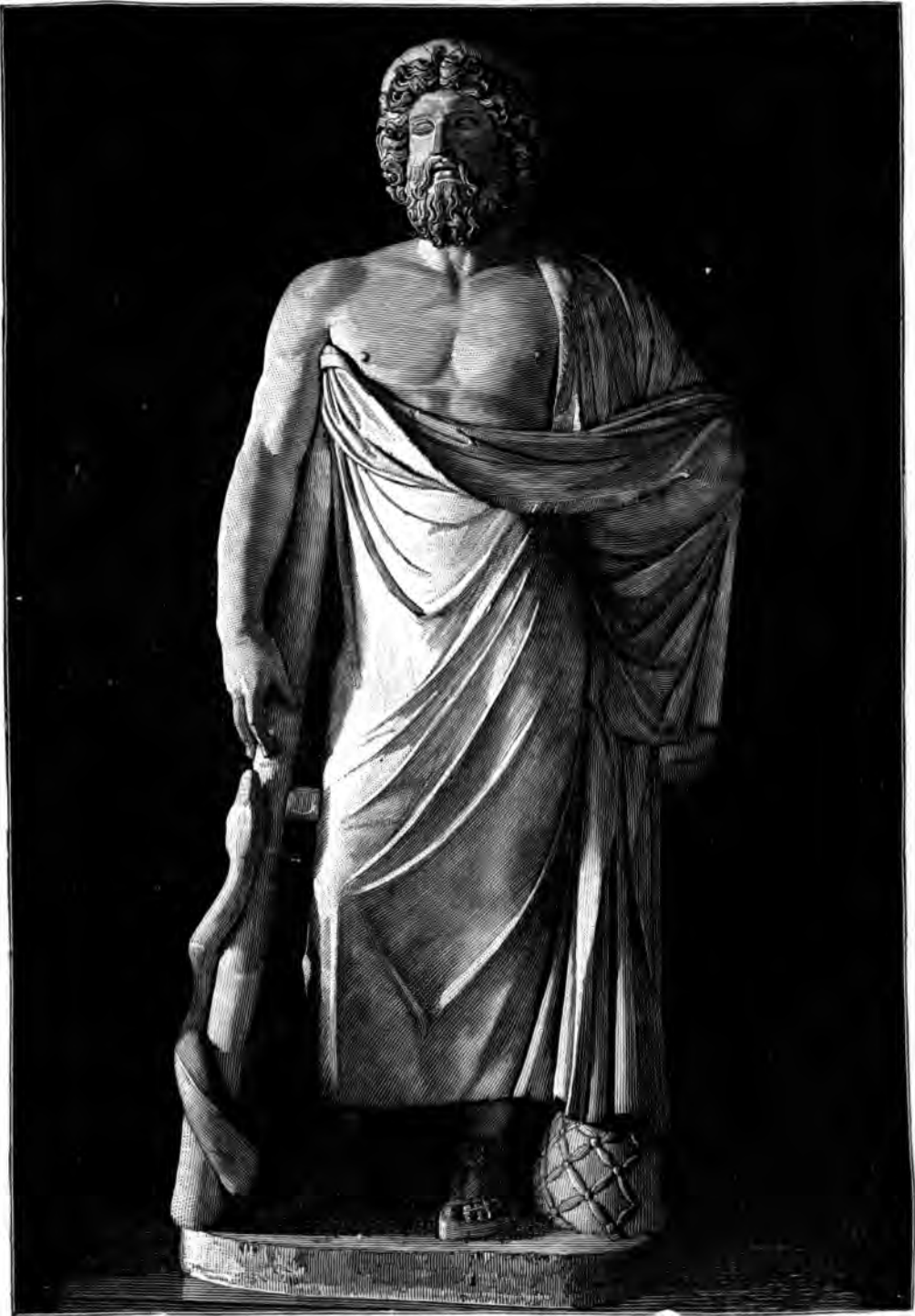
a temple was erected at Phigaleia in Arkadia to Apollo Epikourios, or the Helper. In the course of time the healing gods were multiplied. Artemis, Demeter, Dionysos, Hermes, Herakles, Hephaistos, and even Aphrodite, who could not have been expected to occupy herself with duties of this kind, and the Egyptian Serapis, received patients.² Athene did not wait so long. She revealed to Perikles in a dream the properties of an herb which cured Mnesikles, who had fallen from the top of the Propylæia; in reward, she had a new statue and a new altar, that of Athene-Hygeia. After the gods, the heroes; one of these, Amphiaraos, had so great success that he ruined the Asklepieions of Boiotia.³

are licked by two serpents that have come at the summons of Asklepios. By inscriptions recently discovered, we know that in certain Asklepieions this service was done by dogs (Vol. I. p. 349, note 3); and this is easier to explain. Quite recently has been discovered at Bath in England a votive monument on which is sculptured a dog. On the divers means of healing, some of which were very singular, see P. Girard, the *Asclépéion d'Athènes*. Cf. *Revue arch.* of 1884, vol. ii. p. 129.

¹ Athenian bas-relief, from the *Bull. de Corr. hell.*, vol. i. (1877) pl. 9 (Dr. Anagnostakis). The bas-relief represents a case of instruments for cupping. It contains three knives, two curved scalpels, and a probe curved like a hook. On each side of the case is a cup.

² In the temple of Serapis at Kanopos there even were attendants whom the sick paid for dreaming in their behalf (Strabo, xvii. 17; Pausanias, ii. 27).

³ Cf. *Revue archeologique* of 1886, pp. 108 *et seq.*



ASKLEPIOS.

These things are common to human nature in all ages, and should cause no surprise. But among these conjurors' formulæ we find sagacious advice, and more and more of this in each successive age. "The temple of Asklepios," says Strabo, "is always full of sick people, and its walls are covered with votive tablets containing accounts of the cures."¹ These prescriptions date from a very early period, for the *Knidian*



OBOLOS OF LARISSA.²

Sentences (Κνίδιαι Γνώμαι)³ are anterior to Hippokrates, and must have constituted a fund of experience which increased from year



TETRADRACHM OF KNIDOS.⁴

to year. Medicine became a secular art; physicians trained themselves in the study of the human body, as philosophers in the study of the universe; and although anatomical investigations could be pursued at that time only upon bodies of animals,⁵ they were none the less profitable to science, as in our day, when these experiments are making the science of medicine a new thing. In each important city there was organized a medical service, which was even gratuitous for the poor,⁶ and medical men found students who would pay for the instruction they received,⁷ municipal administrations which gave them salaries, and rich patients whose fees often made them independent. Such, for example, was that Apollonides, fellow-countryman and predecessor

¹ Book viii. ch. vi. §15.

² A bridled horse to the right. Reverse: AAPI. The nymph Larissa, turning to the right, clothed in a transparent veil, tying her sandal; before her, an amphora.

³ [Three medical schools are mentioned by Galen, — those of Rhodes, Knidos, and Kos. From the second were handed down a collection of observations known to the ancients as "the Knidian Sentences." — ED.]

⁴ Head of Aphrodite Euploia, diademed, left profile. Reverse: in an incused square, a large head of a lion roaring and advancing a paw, as if to seize his prey.

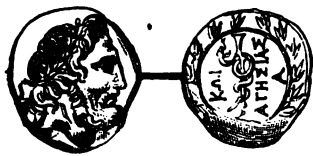
⁵ It is said that Hippokrates, on his arrival at Abdera, found Demokritos employed in the dissection of animals.

⁶ As to the charity of the ancients, see History of Rome, vi. 92-125. An inscription enumerates, among other liberalities, καὶ τὸ ἐπαρκῆσαι δημοσίᾳ τοῖς ἐπικουρίας δεομένοις (*Bull. de Corr. hell.*, March, 1887, p. 158).

⁷ As is proved by this passage in the *Protagoras* of Plato: "Tell me, Hippokrates, if you went to your friend of Kos and carried him a sum of money, and you were asked why you did so, what should you answer? 'That I gave him the money because he is a physician.' 'For what purpose?' 'In order to become a physician myself.'" In book iv. of the *Laws*, Plato speaks of the medical profession as regularly established in all the cities.

of Hippokrates, who cured a Persian noble, and for this was highly renowned at the court of Susa (but the Greek became guilty of an intrigue with his patient's wife, in consequence of which he was put to death); such also was Demokedes of Krotona and Ktesias of Knidos, the one court physician to Darius, the other to Artaxerxes Mnemon.¹

In the fifth century B. C. two rival schools were famous in Greece,—that of Knidos and that of Kos. Hippokrates belonged to the latter school. He was born about 460 B. C., the son of an Asklepiad who claimed descent in the direct line from



DRACHMA OF KOS.²

Asklepios, and on the distaff side from Herakles; and he died at Larissa in Thessaly at a very advanced age. His legitimate renown gave occasion for many famous anecdotes to be in circulation about him in ancient times: he was said to have

refused presents offered him by Artaxerxes; to have put a stop to the pestilence at Athens; to have cured the son of a Macedonian king of that love-sickness from which the son of Seleucus Nicator suffered. Modern history with regret rejects these anecdotes; but the fame of Hippokrates is great enough for him to do without them. His principal honor is that he was unwilling to accept anything but well-authenticated facts. He is not fond of hypotheses; in his *Aphorisms* he founds the art of healing upon experience, and his life was one continued effort to draw medical rules out of the chaos of empiricism. He travelled much, studying man, the circumstances of human life, the votive tablets left by those who had been healed in the Asklepieions, the memoranda preserved in the temples, and the methods employed there.

The school of Knidos, in representing as distinct diseases all the different symptoms observed, created a multitude of pathological species, for each one of which the treatment varied. The

¹ Head of Asklepios, right profile, with olive-wreath. Reverse: ΚΟΙ ΑΘΗΣΙΑΣ. The staff of Asklepios, round which a serpent is coiled; in the field, A, a mint-mark; around the field, an olive-wreath.

² Demokedes, who cured Darius of a severe sprain, employed, no doubt, orthopedic means,—at least, Aristotle says (*Polit.*, viii. 4) that certain mechanical instruments were used to keep the body erect.

danger was of losing one's way in seeking the evil where it was not. At Kos, the different phases of the ascertained disease were followed in order to attack the real enemy; the number of remedies was reduced, instead of being increased, as diseases were simplified by referring them to a few morbid affections. But in giving its entire attention to the developments of the evil, the



THE PLANE-TREE OF HIPPOKRATES AT KOS.¹

school of Kos neither studied sufficiently its seat, nor the anatomic condition; and here was its weakness.

It is not within the scope of this work to enter into details concerning the Hippocratic system; but it is fitting to mention at least the treatise *On Airs, Waters, and Localities*. It is short, excellent, and the idea which inspired it is accepted at the present day not only by the physician, but by the philosophic historian: the influence upon a man of his environment, in the air which he breathes, the heat or cold which is about him, the soil upon which

¹ From O. Benndorf and G. Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien und Karien*, vol. i. (1883) pl. 1. The inhabitants of Kos still give the name of "the plane-tree of Hippocrates" to the immense tree, many hundred years old, in the public square.

he lives, the food which he eats. Where a high culture of the mind has not as yet equalized the conditions of moral life, the mountaineer cannot have the same habits of existence or the same ideas with the dweller on the sea-shore, in the oasis of a desert, or in plains covered with luxuriant vegetation. In places so different remedial agencies must differ, as the social development is diverse. "The human body," says Hippokrates, "must be studied in its relations with everything;" and he did wisely in giving his attention to that part of the science in which hygiene is supreme.

The science of medicine has a twofold duty: first, to study these external influences; and, secondly, to examine the tissues, in order to understand what Hippokrates called "the humors" (concerning which he formed a theory), and — a subject more interesting to modern science — the condition of the organs. Hippokrates has well fulfilled the first of these duties and a part of the second, so far as it was possible at a period when the dissection of the human body was forbidden. "To rank the observation of the whole organism above the observation of one organ, the study of general symptoms above the study of local symptoms, the idea of what there is in common in diseases above the idea of what is peculiar to each: such is the medical science of the school of Hippokrates."¹ This is what he called *prognosis*, or the study of the patient's past, present, and future condition. But this patient study led to no very active medical science. An opponent, with equal malice and wit, called it: "A meditation on death."

When we seek in these old Hippocratic doctrines for some ideas vital enough to traverse the centuries, we find the "animism" of Van Helmont and De Stahl, the "vitalism" which different schools long taught, — the theory, in a word, which makes no separation between that which causes life and that which causes thought. We are even more surprised to meet with a thesis much resembling a startling doctrine very recently imposed upon science, namely, that disease arises from a morbid principle which

¹ Littré, *Œuvres d'Hippocrate*, i. 456. Plato went farther than Hippokrates; he says in his *Laches*: "That physicians fail in most diseases is due to the fact that they treat the body without the soul; the whole not being in good condition, a part cannot be well." But this thought bears the stamp of Hippokrates.

has entered the organism, and that it is this principle which must be expelled.¹

These are the views of genius, and they justify the words used by a master, and one who had the right to be critical in judging of human greatness: "When we say 'the great Hippokrates,' we speak, not of the man, but of the physician."²

This title is also merited, however, by the man who wrote: "The physician will always bear in mind the circumstances of his patients. If there are strangers or poor people in need of help, he will go to them first, and will assist them, not merely with medicines, but with his money." The Hippocratic oath is to this day, in what concerns the dignity of the profession, the law of the medical corps.

III. — ARTISTS.

THE fifth century B. C. is the golden age of Greek art. We have spoken of Athenian artists: let us now consider those who appeared elsewhere in Hellas than at Athens, — those, at least, whose names have come down to us with some indication of their works.

Chersiphron and his son Metagenes, of Knossos in Krete, belong to an earlier period than that of which we are now speaking, for it is they who in the sixth century began the construction of the great temple of Ephesos. To have received charge of a work executed at the expense of all Ionia, it is evident that they must have been the most renowned architects of their time; and as the temple was not finished until two hundred and twenty years later, Ephesos must have been a fruitful school of architectural art. We have already spoken of Hippoda-



TETRADRACHM OF ARGOS.³

¹ This thesis is correct as to infectious diseases, and even as to some which have an organic character.

² Aristotle, *Polit.*, vii. 4.

³ Head of Here, crowned with the *kalathos*, right profile. Reverse: APTEION. A wolf between two dolphins. The head of Here upon this coin is perhaps imitated from the head of the statue which Polykletes made for the temple of Argos.

mos of Miletos, the constructor of Peiraiæus. But we know not who was the architect of the temple of Aigina, which seems to have



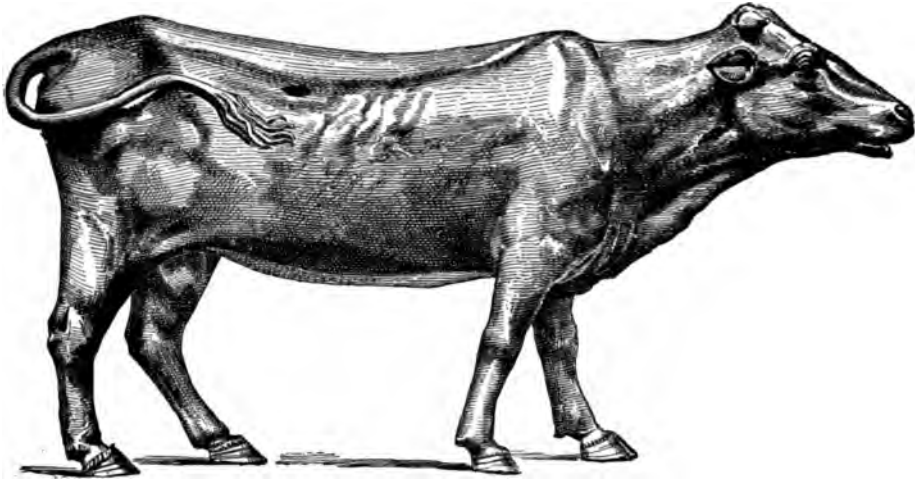
THE DORYPHOROS.¹

been the starting-point for the art which, by way of the Theseion, finally arrived at the Parthenon.

In sculpture there was a great artist, whom the ancients have

¹ Marble statue found in Herculaneum, and now in the Museum of Naples (from a cast and photograph). This is a copy of the celebrated work of the Argive sculptor, of proportions so perfect that the ancients called it the *Canon*. See, on the Doryphoros of Polykleitos, a long letter from the distinguished French sculptor, E. Guillaume, an heir of Praxiteles, in the *Monuments d'Art antique*, published by O. Rayet.

placed beside Pheidias, Polykleitos of Sikyon or of Argos.¹ The artists of the Perikleian age did not limit themselves to any one portion of the domain of art, but cultivated it in its whole extent. Polykleitos was no less eminent in architecture than in sculpture. He constructed at Epidauros a circular building, the Tholos, and a theatre which was greatly admired by the ancients;

BRONZE COW.²

at Argos his Here was the rival of the Athene of the Parthenon, although not of so great size or so richly decorated. Pheidias dwelt in spirit among the gods; Polykleitos was rather a companion of men. He wrote upon the proportions of the human body, and applied his own precepts in his *Doryphoros*, which was called the canon, or rule, of sculpture. The ancients divided the first honors in statuary between these two great

¹ It is thought that he was born at Sikyon, but selected Argos as his residence. Quintilian (xii. 10) says of Polykleitos: "No one equalled him in elaboration of details and in dignity of general effect; but it was not in his power to give majesty to his work. Though in reproducing the human form he rose above the reality, he yet failed in attempting to present the imposing grandeur of the gods. In this respect Pheidias and Alkamenes surpassed him: *Phidias diis quam hominibus efficiendis melior artifex creditur* (*Instit. orat.*, xii. 10). It is believed that a Juno in marble, of the Villa Ludovisi (see Vol. II. p. 487), is a copy of the Here of Polykleitos, of which Pausanias (ii. 17. 4) gives a description. The coin of Argos (p. 185) is believed by Müller (*Denkmäler*, vol. i. pl. 30, fig. 132) to be also an imitation of this statue; so also is, perhaps, that on a coin of Plataia (Vol. II. p. 20).

² Bronze, 0.53 long, 0.25 high, discovered at Herculaneum, and now in the *Cabinet de France*. It is perhaps a copy of one of the cows of Myron. Cf. *Gazette archéologique* (1883), p. 91 (E. Bablon).

artists,—to Pheidias for his statues of the gods; to Polykleitos for his *Kanephoroi* (which Verres stole from the Sicilians), his *Amazon*, which was adjudged finer than that of Pheidias in the



WOUNDED AMAZON.¹

famous competition at Ephesos,² his statues of victorious athletes like the *Diadoumenos*,³ and his *Astragalizontes*,—a group of two boys playing with huckle-bones. Myron, whom we might have

¹ Marble statue of the museum of Naples; from a photograph. On the replicas of the work of Kresilas, see Overbeck, *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, i. 375 et seq.

² Pliny, xxxiv. 8.

³ A representation of this statue will be found, Vol. II. p. 457.

included among Athenian artists,¹ went farther in the imitation of nature; his bronze cow was famous, and even more so was his Diskobolos, whose attitude must have been so difficult to copy.² Concerning Alkamenes, Agorakritos, Kolotes, who were associates with Pheidias in his work, — also concerning Onatas of Aigina, whose two bronze statues were famous, one a Hermes Kriophoros, the other a Herakles, — we know very little; concerning ten other sculptors of that period, even less; but we do know that, in the belief of the Greeks, the statue of Artemis at Ephesos fell from heaven.

ODYSSEUS.³

Polygnotos of Thasos, whom Kimon induced to visit Athens in 463 B. C., lived long on the banks of the Ilissos, and received Athenian citizenship in reward for his work in the decoration of the temples of Theseus and of the Dioskouroi of the Stoa Poikile and part of the Propylaea. In the Anakeion, or temple of the Dioskouroi, he painted the nuptials of the Leukippides with Kastor and Polydeukes.⁵ Many bas-reliefs of sarco-

ARTEMIS.⁴

phagi reproducing this legend are very possibly reproductions of this painting by Polygnotos. The Poikile, a portico where the citizens took shelter from the heat of the sun, was formed on one side by a long colonnade supporting the roof, and on the other by a wall which was covered with paintings representing the great deeds of the Athenians. Hence its name, Stoa Poikile, "the Painted Portico." At Plataia Polygnotos painted, in the temple of Athene, Odysseus destroying the suitors of Penelope, and in the Lesche of the Knidians at Delphi the taking of

¹ He was born at Eleutherai, a Boiotian village, — an ally of Athens, but never a demos of Attika. The cow of Myron was made the subject of thirty Greek epigrams, one of which is translated by Martial: —

*Pasce greges procul hinc, ne, quaeso, bubulce, Myronis,
Aes veluti spirans cum bubus exagites.*

² See the Diskobolos, Vol. II. p. 385.

³ Coin of Ithaka, on the reverse of which is represented a cock, with the legend ΙΘΑΚΩΝ (bronze).

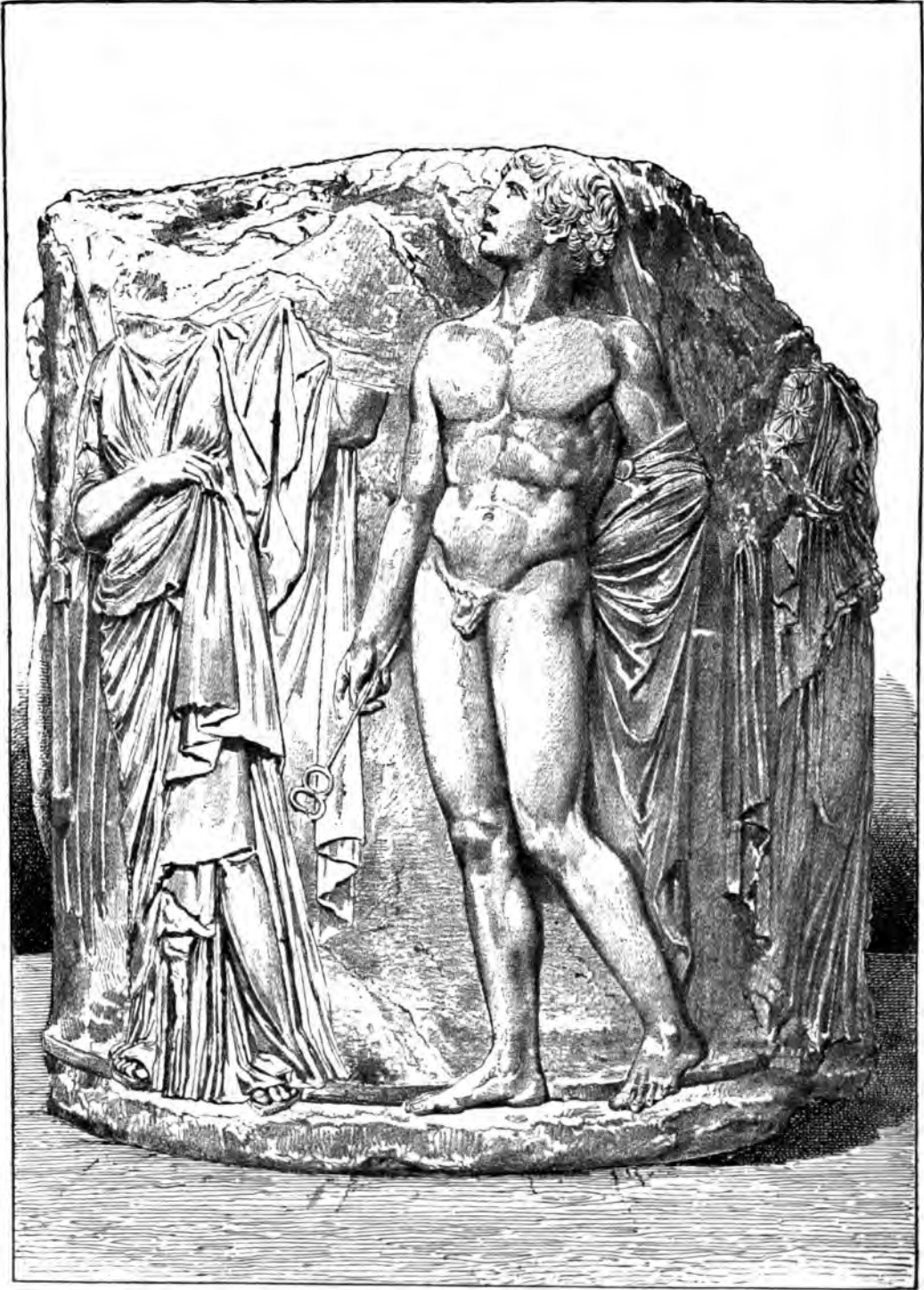
⁴ Image of Artemis, standing, front face, with bandelettes, which fall from her hands to the ground. (Nicolo, height 21 millim., breadth, 15 millim. Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France, Catalogue*, No. 1,494.) See also the Artemis of Ephesos, in Vol. II., pp. 196, 243.

⁵ The Leukippides were daughters of the Messenian chief Leukippos, whom the Dioskouroi carried off and married (Pausanias, i. 18, 1).

Iliad, the descent of Odysseus into the under-world, and the departure of the Greek fleet from Troy. There was still some stiffness in the drawing of Polygnotos: it was sculptural painting, which, however, while employing very simple means, produced great effects. The ancients admired the expressiveness and beauty of his figures, but they had neither the grace nor the dramatic character which the painters of the next century gave to their works. Painting and sculpture are two sisters much resembling each other, and both accustomed to follow the variations of taste, the former often too closely, the latter with more reserve.

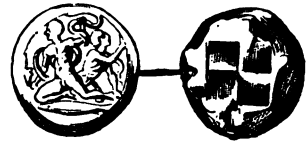
Zeuxis, of Pontic Herakleia, and Parrhasios, of Ephesos, his rival, are both of a later age than Polygnotos. Painting now becomes more skilful, less ideal, and a closer copy of nature. Aristotle reproaches Zeuxis for yielding too much to Ionian effeminacy. If we may believe anecdotes often repeated, but not the more authentic on that account, they even were able to produce optical illusions, — one painting a bunch of grapes which the birds came to peck at; his rival a curtain which Zeuxis attempted to draw, believing that it concealed the real picture. These are tricks rather than art. We may observe that both were greatly indebted to the rich store of ancient poetry. Zeuxis painted, with harmonious combination of light and shade, a female hippocentaur, stolen by Sylla and sent by him to Rome in a vessel which was shipwrecked on the way, off Cape Malea; an infant Herakles; a Zeus surrounded by the other gods; a Marsyas; a Penelope, “the image of chastity,” says Pliny; a Helen which seemed the very Helen of Homer; and other pictures. Of Parrhasios, ancient writers commend the contest between the Lapiths and Centaurs, the Dispute of Aias and Odysseus, an Achilleus, an Agamemnon, a Prometheus Enchained, an Odysseus

NOTE. On the opposite page is represented a relief from a section of a column of the temple of Artemis at Ephesos. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxvi. 14, 95) says that thirty-six of the columns of the temple at Ephesos were carved, and that one of these was the work of Skopas. The bas-relief represented here undoubtedly belonged to one of these columns. It is one of the most beautiful fragments left us of Greek sculpture; the figure of Hermes, nude, the caduceus in his hand, the petasos hanging behind his shoulders, is particularly remarkable. Hermes Psychopompos is standing before Alkestis, whom he is bringing back to earth; behind the wife of Admetos stands the winged genius of Death, Thanatos. See a different interpretation given by O. Benndorf in the *Bullettino della commissione archeologica comunale di Roma*, 1886, pp. 57 et seq.

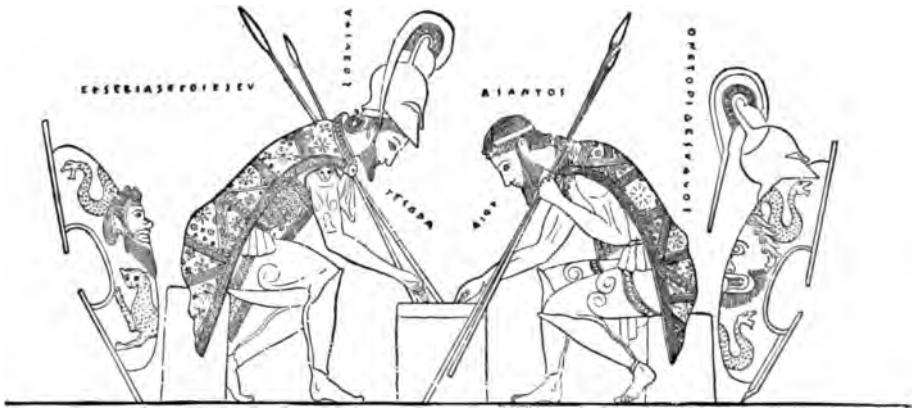


RELIEF FROM A SECTION OF A COLUMN OF THE TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AT EPHEOS.

feigning madness, and also pictures of licentious character. Both these painters attained great fame and wealth. Notwithstanding the misfortunes of the times, Greece had gold for her favorite artists. Archelaos, the king of Macedon, paid Zeuxis four hundred minai for the paintings in his palace, and Parrhasios appeared in public clad in a purple robe fringed with gold. He believed himself "the master of elegance" as well as the master of his art, and it is not strange that he inclined to effeminate grace. "His Theseus," said Euphranor, "has fed on roses; mine, on flesh."



STATER OF ELEKTRON.¹



GREEK PAINTING.²

In European Greece, Sikyon and Thebes had a few famous painters, — Timanthes, who gained the victory over Parrhasios in a trial of skill, the subject being the contest between Aias and Odysseus for the weapons of Achilleus; Pausias, whose work was graceful rather than strong; and the Boiotian Aristeides, who gave his figures the expression of feeling which Aristotle reproaches Zeuxis for not bestowing upon his, τὸ εἶθος. But it is in a later

¹ Herakles as a youth, and Iphikles struggling with serpents; under them the tunny-fish, emblem of the city of Kyzikos. Reverse: incused square. Pliny mentions a picture of Zeuxis, of which this coin is the type and probably the reproduction.

² Vase from the manufactory of Exekias. The reverse of this vase is represented, Vol. I. 513 (from the *Monumenti dell' Instit. archeol.*, vol. ii. pl. 22). Achilleus and Aias, designated by their names in the genitive (ΑΙΑΝΤΟΣ and ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ) are represented seated and playing with dice; they are counting the points. Achilleus has four (ΤΕΣΑΡΑ), and Aias three (ΤΡΙΑ).

age that, with Lysippos and Pamphilos, the school of Sikyon had its most splendid period.

As we see how painters and sculptors drew their inspiration from Homer, we are led to say that the *Iliad* was the Greek Bible, as well in an artistic as in a religious sense. As the mediæval churches of Europe were, with their painted windows, a great book of Scriptural instruction, so on the walls and pediment of Greek temples were reproduced the legends which spoke to men's eyes of the gods and heroes of the Hellenic race. Moreover, while art was never anything more in Rome than a foreign importation, in Greece it sprang from the very heart of the country; and this was the secret of its greatness.¹

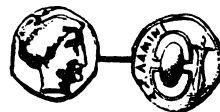
IV. — CONCLUSION.

IN this review of the condition of the Hellenic world in the fifth century B. C. we have seen that, with the exception of a shadow lying across Ionia, once so brilliant, there is life and activity everywhere. Heads think, and hands are busy; masterpieces in art are numerous. The Medes and the Carthaginians have been conquered. There is no further anxiety; there is extreme self-confidence and indefatigable ardor. Victory has lifted this little nation above itself; its activity is developed in every direction; its mind rises to the highest regions of thought; while its temples, statues, and paintings give to earth a new adornment, and make for man, as it were, a second nature, in the midst of which a bold and free intellect moves at its ease.

The centre and, so to speak, the hearth whence this life

¹ We have remarked (Vol. II. chap. xiii. § 2) the influence of the East upon the Greek mind; we might also speak of the reaction of Greek upon Asiatic art. Telephanes of Phokis was probably not the only sculptor in Greece whom the Persian kings employed in the decoration of Persepolis. Pliny says that this artist should be ranked with Myron and Polykleitos. See the *Art antique de la Perse*, of Marcel Dieulafoy, and *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane* of Madame Jane Dieulafoy. According to these dauntless travellers, in the valley of Poulvar-Roud, which extends to Persepolis, are found remains of buildings erected by Cyrus after the conquest of Asia Minor. The influence of Greek artists is recognizable in them, as also at Persepolis itself, in the buildings of the Achæmenid dynasty (Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes Ochus). But these edifices reveal a composite art, — Greek, Assyrian, and Egyptian.

radiates is Athens, the city to which so many other cities sent, for the temple at Eleusis, the first-fruits of their harvests,¹ and to which Plato was forced to render this homage: that in relation to Greece she was the Prytaneion of wisdom.² From Athens came also the greatest political idea of the time, the idea of Perikles, who made a last attempt to unite fraternally all the different scions of the Hellenic race. At his desire, twenty old men were chosen; of these, five went to the Greeks of Asia and of the Islands, five to those of the Hellespont and Thrace, five to Central Greece and the Peloponnesos, and five to Euboia and Thessaly. These men, ministers of peace, were the bearers of a decree convoking at Athens deputies from all Greece to deliberate upon the reconstruction of the temples destroyed by the Persians, upon the fulfilment of the vows made to the gods during the war, and lastly upon the means to be taken for establishing security of the seas and peace among all the Hellenes.³ It would have been an imposing spectacle, that of Greece assembled upon the Akropolis, discussing with Perikles the greatest interests, united in one holy design, religious and patriotic. Never would the sun have shone upon a more beautiful festival, for it would have been that of peace and civilization. If to Marathon and Salamis we owe Aischylos, Sophokles, Herodotos, and Pheidias, can it be doubted that other talent and new masterpieces would have resulted from this fortunate union of the whole Hellenic world?

COIN OF SALAMIS.⁴

Sparta caused this project to be shamefully repulsed. She feared lest Athens would appear as the metropolis of Greece, and, growing great by her services and her fame, would cast into the shade the envious and sterile city hidden among the reeds of the Eurotas. Instead, therefore, of receiving the States-General of Greece, Athens beheld war advancing towards her gates. And

¹ Isokrates, *Paneg.*, 31, and *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, iv. 225.

² In the *Protagoras*. Perikles, in the funeral oration (Thucyd., ii. 37), says that many of the Greeks imitated the laws of Athens; and Demosthenes (*Against Timokrates*): "Many States have adopted your laws."

³ Plutarch, *Perikles*, 17.

⁴ Head of the nymph Salamis, right profile. Reverse: ΣΑΛΑΜΙΝΙ[ΩΝ]. Sword and shield (bronze).

this war was destined to continue until it had accomplished, against all, and in every place, its work of destruction; until it had degraded the Greek character and broken down that civilization which was nevertheless so fruitful that its fragments, sown in other lands, sufficed to re-animate for a moment the old exhausted East, and call to life the younger and still barbaric West.

¹ Gold medallion, discovered at Kertsch, and now in the Museum of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg (from the *Mittheilungen d. d. archäol. Instit. in Athen*, vol. viii., 1883, pl. xv. No. 2). It is interesting to compare this medallion with the gem of Aspasio represented p. 124; the two artists were manifestly inspired by the statue of Pheidias. [This medallion is described by Rayet in his *Études d'Archéologie et d'Art*, p. 211, as the central plaque in one of a pair of ear-pieces attached to a gold diadem found in the great tumulus of Koal-Oba, near Kertsch. "On this circular plaque," he says, "is a head of Athene in *repoussé*, three quarters front. The helmet of the goddess is richly decorated. The crest is supported by a sphinx, and the two lateral *λόφοι* by figures of Pegasus. Heads of griffins appear above the visor. This is evidently, like the famous intaglio of Aspasio in the Cabinet of Vienna, a free imitation of the Parthenos of Pheidias." He adds in a note that Dubrux believes these two jewels to have been placed on the breast of the dead king, but that in his own opinion the position in which they were found in the tumulus makes it quite certain they were ear-pieces attached to the diadem. — Ed.]



ATHENE PARTHENOS.¹

FIFTH PERIOD.

CONTEST BETWEEN SPARTA AND ATHENS (431-404 B. C.).

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR FROM 431 TO 429 B. C.

I. — WAR BETWEEN KORKYRA AND CORINTH (434 B. C.), AND REVOLT OF POTIDAIA (432 B. C.).

THE monarchical form of government, abolished in all the Greek States except Sparta, had been everywhere replaced by an oligarchy: this in its turn had been obliged to make concessions, increasing daily, to the democratic spirit. But this movement had not been the same in all cases. Some cities were in advance of others. At the two opposite points stood Athens and Sparta, the two representatives of this multiform Greek life: the one now purely democratic, the other invincibly aristocratic. Between these two there was room for many gradations; but the nearer a city came in its form of government to one or the other, the more it tended to form alliance with that one it most resembled. Hence between the two rivals a struggle for influence, which ended by arming one half the Greek world against the other half.

While Athens gathered around her the people of the islands and of the sea-coast, the allies of Sparta were the inland cities. To the Athenian empire now stood opposed the league of the Peloponnesos. More than a third of the peninsula belonged to Sparta; and as in the remainder there were but small and feeble States, she had no rival in her immediate neighborhood, her supremacy being accepted by all the cities except Argos. At

home, over the Helots and the Messenians, her rule was pitiless; and her life presented, instead of the fruitful activity of Athens, only a barbaric idleness, useless to the world as well as to herself. But let us not forget that in foreign relations at this period the influence of Sparta was the legitimate sway of a strong and reasonable nation. There was no tribute exacted, no injustice perpetrated. Sparta was the head of a league voluntarily formed, not the capital of an empire. If an enterprise of general interest called for united effort, deputies from all the cities assembled; there was discussion, followed by voting; and each State furnished men and money for the common work. The liberty of each was unimpaired, and the concurrence of all was much more secure than in that Athenian empire where the ruling city had always to fear the revolt of her subjects.

Withal, it was rather the circumstances and the situation of the two cities than any premeditated design of the inhabitants that had given rise to these two contrary systems. The ambition of Athens was, like the indifference of Sparta, the result of a necessity. Most of the Peloponnesians, an agricultural people, living on small means and willing to remain in their native rusticity, without handicraft or traffic or art of any kind, I might almost say without wants, reconciled themselves easily to an authority which they did not feel and would have thrown off had it sought to weigh upon them. What would Sparta have gained in treating them as subjects, in aggravating that great curse of Helotism from which she already suffered? Had she not, as it was, more land than she required; and had not her wars with Tegea and with Argos made it evident that the Spartan people, limited by nature and their own habits of life to the southern part of the Peloponnesos, could not extend themselves beyond it? The deference of their allies gratified their military pride; and since their laws condemned them to poverty and a contempt of commerce and the arts, they had no need to extort wealth.

This nominal independence of the allies of Sparta must not, however, be understood too literally. Thucydides does indeed show us a general assembly at Sparta; but the Spartans themselves deliberated apart, and their decisions were adopted by the others. Moreover, they required hostages, and kept these persons



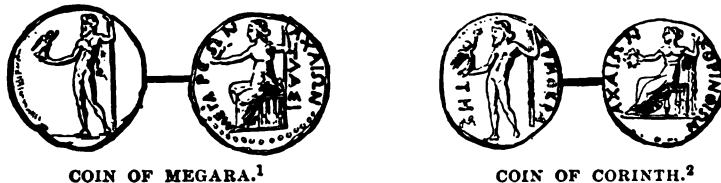
in fortified towns, so that Perikles had a right to say of them: ". . . when they too restore to the States a permission to be independent, as the interests, not of the Spartans themselves, but of the several States shall require." But these cities had no tribute to pay in time of peace, nor had they to bring their suits before the Spartan courts; and the appearance of free discussion, left to the general assembly, concealed the fact of their actual dependence.

The Spartans had conducted wisely at the time of the treason of Pausanias; and they had yielded with a good enough grace when the island cities wished to pass under the sway of Athens. But when that empire, which they had not foreseen, arose, the old jealousy burst forth. Each victory of Kimon or Perikles struck like a knell upon their hearts, and they could not endure the constantly recurring mention of their rival's name. Other States interested in humbling the Athenians did not allow this displeasure to abate. Athens had two enemies: those Greek States whose commerce she destroyed by her own competition, such as the Dorians of Aigina, Megara, and Corinth, who were really the instigators of the Peloponnesian war; and the Persians, whom she had humiliated.¹

Defeated by land and sea, even menaced in their maritime provinces, the Persians had abandoned all open warfare. But the treason of Pausanias had shown them that what they dared not attempt with steel they might accomplish with gold; and from that day forward there was always Persian gold in Greece. We have seen that an envoy of the Great King had endeavored as early as the year 457 to induce Sparta to attack Athens. Like certain potentates of another epoch, Artaxerxes had also agents of a different kind. Plutarch speaks of a beautiful Ionian woman, Targelia, who was on intimate terms with the most influential citizens in each of the Greek States. Her irresistible

¹ As early as 429 B. C. Sparta sent envoys into Persia, and even before the war began Archidamos enumerates among the resources of Lacedæmon the succor she could draw from Persia (Thucydides, i. 82). The day after his defeat Xerxes began to attack Greece with his gold. One Arthmios was sent, with great treasures, to make its conquest. He came to Athens; Themistokles drove him away by a decree which Demosthenes saw engraved on a bronze column in the Akropolis (*Phil.*, iii. 42; *Embassy*, § 271), which authorized any citizen to kill him at sight for having brought into Greece the corrupting gold of the Great King.

charms of person and mind subjugated all who came within her influence; and when they were entirely at her command she gave them over to Persia. Thus, he adds, were sown in the cities the seeds of the Median faction. It was the reverse of Aspasia's reign at Athens and her patriotic influence. It is evident that we cannot follow closely the process of this two-fold corruption, so well planned; but we can judge of its extent by the effects it will be seen to produce. Doubtless at the bottom of the sharp protests and anger of the Peloponnesians against Athens there was a jealousy of her power; but how many royal

COIN OF MEGARA.¹COIN OF CORINTH.²

darics were there also? The ten talents granted by Athens for "secret service," εἰς τὸ δέον, were not enough to neutralize this fatal influence of the Great King.

The commercial rivalry of Megara, Aigina, and Corinth, and the hereditary hatred of Sparta, revived by the intrigues of Persia, these — much more than the ambition of Athens, so firmly restrained by Perikles, and much more than her despotism, which was, as we have seen, neither insolent nor cruel — were the true causes of the Peloponnesian war. Only on two points can the Athenians be justly blamed: their judicial suzerainty, which obliged the allies to bring many of their cases before the courts of Athens, was an irritating and vexatious measure; and their exactions in the matter of tribute from the allies, which should have been diminished now that the Persians no longer menaced. But by what services had these faults been atoned for!

No other origin for this fratricidal strife need be sought. Sparta, the most powerful of the Greek States before the Median

¹ Zeus standing, looking to the left, holding a sceptre and a Victory. Reverse: ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ. Achaia, seated to the left, holding a sceptre and a Victory; in the field, ΤΛΑΣΙ, initials of a magistrate's name. (Bronze.)

² Zeus standing, facing to the left, holding a sceptre and a Victory; legend, a magistrate's name: ΕΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ. Reverse: ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ. Achaia seated, to the left, holding a sceptre and a wreath. (Bronze.)

wars, had lost this supremacy, but had not resigned herself to the loss: the question remained open between these two States, representatives of two races, and sooner or later must be settled by arms. "The truest reason of the war, though least brought forward in words," says Thucydides,¹ "I consider to have been that the Athenians, by becoming great and causing alarm to the Lacedæmonians, compelled them to proceed to hostilities." Secondary causes, which alone were publicly avowed, and the protection due from Sparta to the maritime cities of Dorian origin, were united to the prime cause, and served as occasion for the war.²

It began in private quarrels, which ought not, apparently, to have brought on general hostilities; but in the condition of men's minds the least spark was enough to set everything in a blaze. Greece took fire suddenly at three points,—in the west, the east, and the centre; at Korkyra, Potidaia, and Plataia.

The island of Korkyra, which lies off the western coast of Greece, at the entrance of the Ionian Gulf, had been occupied by a Corinthian colony. This daughter of Corinth, often rebellious against the mother-city, became in her turn a metropolis, and founded on the neighboring coast, fifteen miles north of the Akrokeraunian promontory, the city of

DIDRACHM OF EPIDAMNOS.³HEMI-DRACHMA.⁴

Epidamnos (Dyrrachium). Colonies are ordinarily governed by the same forms as those of the mother-city. Epidamnos had an aristocracy, as Korkyra had. However, a day came when the evils of this form of government led the colony to desire a popular rule, and a revolution took place. The rich citizens, being driven out,

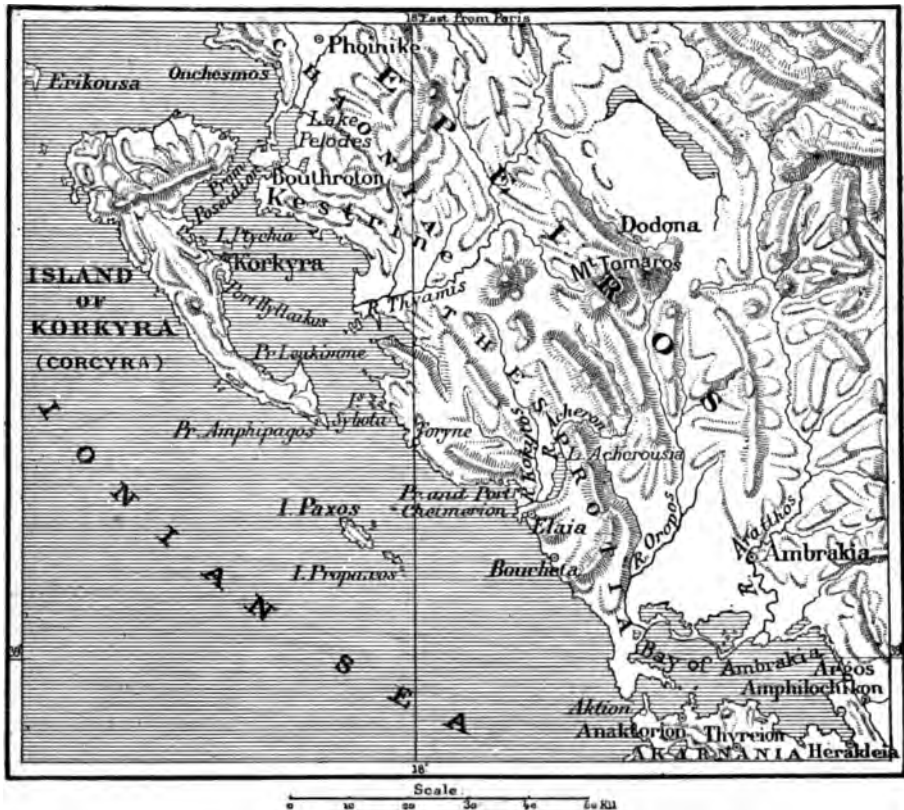
¹ i. 23. The division of the work of Thucydides into books was made, not by himself, but by the ancient grammarians.

² I will not even mention the opinion that Perikles, following the advice of Alkibiades, plunged Athens into this war to escape rendering his accounts. His entire administration, and the estimate of it given by Thucydides, protest against these anecdotes, which render study and reflection unnecessary. Things so unworthy must be left to Aristophanes. See above, p. 76.

³ Cow suckling her calf. Reverse: ΔΥΡ (Dyrrachium). Square: in the centre of which are rows of finials representing the gardens of Alkinoös. In the exergue, a club.

⁴ ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙ Fore part of an ox, to the right. Reverse: rectangular figure divided into two squares; in the centre of each is a flower. This type represents the gardens of Alkinoös; at the side a kantharos, a bunch of grapes, and a star.

made alliance with the Taulentians, a barbarous tribe of the neighborhood, and did so much harm to Epidamnos that the colony applied for assistance to their metropolis, Korkyra, and failing to obtain it, sought aid from their remoter ancestress, Corinth. They reminded the Corinthians that it was one of themselves who, according to custom, had presided at the foundation of Epidamnos,

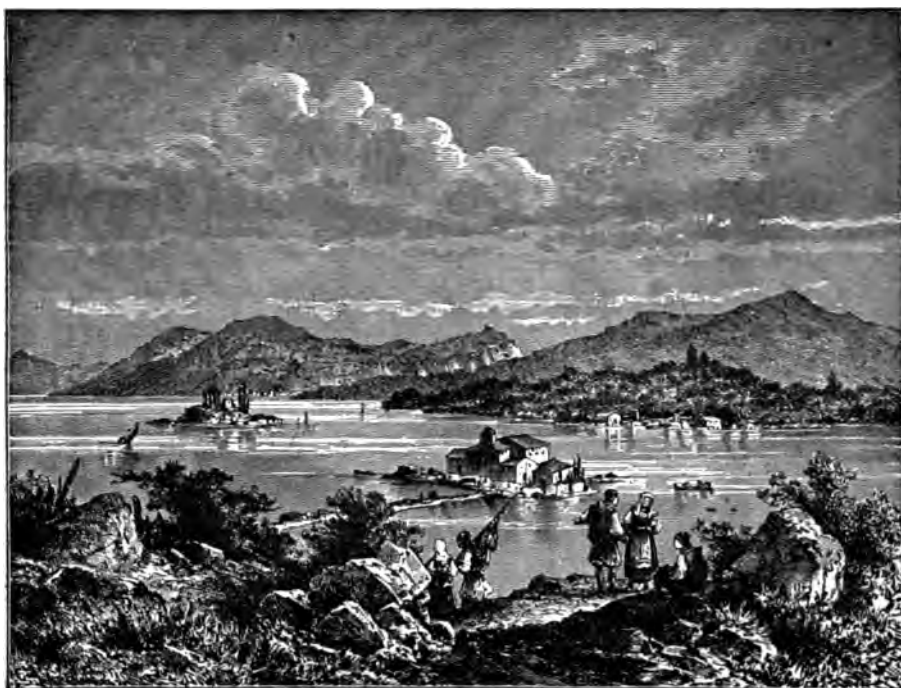


MAP OF THE ISLAND OF KOR KYRA AND THE COAST OF EPEIROS.

and added further that the Delphic oracle had ordered them to deliver themselves up to Corinth. The Corinthians "undertook their defence both on the ground of equity (as thinking the colony no less their own than Korkyra's), and also for hatred of the Korkyraians; because although the latter were the colony of Corinth, they slighted her. For they neither gave to the Corinthians the customary privileges in the general religious assemblies, nor to any individual Corinthian when performing the initiatory rites of sacrifice, as their other colonies did; but despised them, as they

themselves were both equal in wealth to the very richest of the Greeks at that time, and more powerful in resources for war, and sometimes prided themselves on being even very far superior in their fleet; . . . for they had a hundred and twenty triremes when they began the war."¹

Corinth sent to Epidamnos a garrison which Korkyra forbade her colony to receive (434). When this order was disobeyed,



BAY SOUTH OF THE CITY OF CORFU (KORKYRA).²

Korkyra, to compel submission, sent a fleet of forty vessels, having also on board the wealthy exiles from Epidamnos. At the same time she proposed to Corinth to submit the matter to the arbitration of a neutral city or of the Delphic oracle. The Corinthians rejected this overture, and summoning all those who wished to establish themselves at Epidamnos, they armed two thousand hoplites and a naval force of seventy-five triremes, many of which

¹ Thucydides, I. 25.

² From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxiv. 334. This is now called the Bay of Khalikiopoulo. It opens south of the point called *Il Canone*, and two small islands make the entrance to it.

belonged to their allies. But the Corinthian fleet was met and defeated off Cape Aktion by eighty vessels from Korkyra; and on the same day Epidamnus surrendered to the Korkyraians. All foreigners found in the place were sold, the Corinthians within the walls were put in irons, and the Korkyraian fleet remained mistress of the western sea (343).

For the next two years Corinth occupied herself with great preparations to avenge this defeat; she built triremes, collected



VESSEL ON A CLAY PLAQUE.¹

all materials for their armament, and hired oarsmen in all the allied States. This threat of a formidable war at last alarmed the Korkyraians. Up to this time they had remained independent of Greek affairs and alliances; but they now felt the need of a strong ally. The Peloponnesian league was closed against them, for their enemy held, next to Sparta, the first place in it. They were therefore obliged to have recourse to Athens; and here their envoys encountered those sent from Corinth on a like errand. Being admitted to speak before the public

assembly, the Korkyraians reminded their auditors of the hostility of Sparta towards Athens, and the wrongs which Corinth had done her; they brought out clearly the utility of their alliance to a maritime power, and the importance of their geographical position on the route to Italy and Sicily. "There being but three navies worth mentioning," they said, in conclusion, "amongst the Greeks. — yours, ours, and that of the Corinthians, if you allow two of these to come together, and the Corinthians bring us under their power first, you will have to fight at sea with both Korkyraians

¹ Fragment of a painted clay plaque discovered at Corinth, and now in the Museum of Berlin; from the *Antike Denkmäler herausgegeben vom kaiserl. d. Instit.*, vol. i. pl. viii. 3^a. To fill the vacant space at the top, the artist has painted a row of vases. In respect to these Corinthian plaques, see Vol. II. p. 77, note 3.

and Peloponnesians; but if you receive us, you will be able to contend against them with the greater number of ships on your side." The Corinthians asserted that the Korkyraians were men of violent and unjust deeds, outside the common law of Greece, that they had been treated by Corinth with the same consideration she had showed all her other colonies, of whom none complained against her. They reminded Athens of the friendly conduct of Corinth towards her at the time of the Samian revolt, and called upon her to show their city like friendship in her present peril.

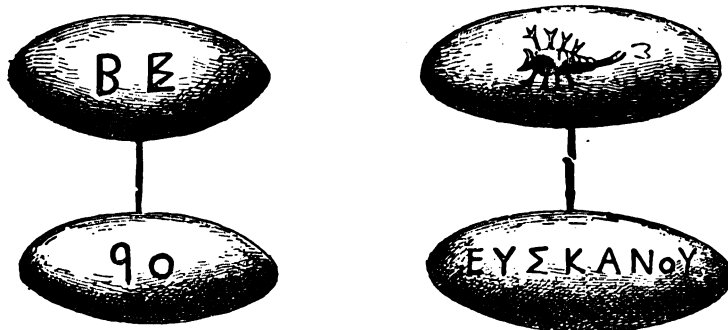
For two days the people of Athens deliberated on this important question: on the first day rather inclining to the side of the Corinthians, but on the second determining in favor of the Korkyraians. A war with Sparta appearing to be, as the envoys from Korkyra had said, inevitable, the Athenians felt it important to secure the support of the second naval power in Greece. Moreover, many among them cast a glance, beyond Korkyra and the Ionian Sea, towards the alluring image of Sicily and Italy. Interest and prudence put to silence that which sterner minds called justice, and others maintained that in allying herself with a people who had hitherto kept out of all alliances,¹ Athens violated no obligation. The league made was strictly defensive, and she engaged only to protect Korkyra from destruction. This was doing less than Athens had done for Potidaia, also a Corinthian colony, and one that had remained bound to its metropolis by ties that Korkyra had long ago broken. Potidaia had taken her place among the allies of Athens,² and Corinth had never thought of making this union a *casus belli* (453). Ten triremes set out from Peiraius for the Ionian Sea, the officers in command having orders not to fight unless Korkyra should be attacked.

Corinth had at sea a hundred and fifty vessels, and Korkyra a hundred and ten. The two fleets met near the island of Sybota. It was, according to Thucydides, the fiercest encounter which had ever

¹ The Corinthians compared the situation of Korkyra towards themselves with that of the Athenian allies towards Athens. But this was unjust. Korkyra had long ago broken with her mother-city; there had even been war between them. Corinth had not the right, therefore, to appeal, as she did, to the principle of non-intervention in the quarrels of a confederated State, τοὺς προσηκόντας ἐυμάχους αὐτὸν τινα κολλάζειν, because the Korkyraians were not to her προσηκόντες ἐυμάχοι (Thucydides, I. 11, 5).

² See above, Vol. II. p. 578.

taken place between Greeks. The Korkyraians were defeated, and lost many vessels; the Athenian squadron, which had kept watch from the beginning of the battle, protected their retreat. After some hours passed in collecting their dead, the victors followed in pursuit; they came up with the enemy, "and already," says Thucydides, "the paian¹ had been sung by them for the advance, when the Corinthians suddenly began to row sternwards, on seeing twenty ships of the Athenians sailing up. The Korkyraians also



SLING-MISSILES DISCOVERED AT KORKYRA.²

withdrew, for it was now growing dark; in this way they parted from each other, and the battle ceased at night." On the following day hostilities were not resumed, the Corinthians fearing that their strength was unequal to contend with the reinforced Korkyraians; and both sides erected trophies and claimed a victory (432). On their way homewards the Corinthians took by treachery Anaktorion, which they had held jointly with the Korkyraians; eight hundred of their prisoners they sold as slaves, and two hundred and fifty of the more important Korkyraians they retained, treating them with great attention, that on their return home they might serve as friends to Corinth.

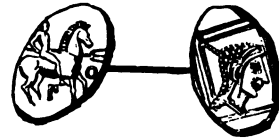
Before sailing away they had sent to inquire whether the

¹ [A hymn or song originally sung in honor of Apollo; later, as a battle-song both before and after the attack. — Ed.]

² From Vischer, *Archäologisches und Epigraphisches aus Korkyra*, in his *Kleine Schriften*, vol. ii. pl. i. Nos. 2 and 3. These sling-missiles have passed from the Woodhouse Collection to the British Museum. The first bears on one side the two letters ΒΒ; on the other ΡΘ (*Κορινθίων* or *Κορκυραίων*). The second has on one side a scorpion, and on the other the inscription ΕΥΣΚΑΝΟΥ, or perhaps, says Vischer, εὐ σκάνου (*εὐ σκήνου*). (*Vischer, Kleine Schriften*, p. 8.)

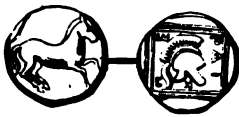
Athenians would attempt to intercept their return homewards. "We are not beginning war," the Athenians replied, "nor breaking the treaty. Sail wherever you please, except to attack Korkyra." Thus the peace, it seemed, was not broken; but after the affair of Corinth happened that of Potidaia, at the other extremity of Greece.

This city, built on the narrow isthmus of Pallene, the most southern of the three points of Chalkidike, was subject to a twofold influence hostile to the Athenians, — that of Corinth, which as mother-city, sent thither every year magistrates, called *epidemiourgoi*; and that of Perdikkas II., king of Macedon, who, at first allied with the Athenians, had broken with them on their making treaties



COIN OF POTIDAIA.¹

with two of his enemies, his brother Philip, and Derdas, prince of Elimeia. Corinth wished to recapture from Athens one of her own colonies and a very important position; Perdikkas wished to be rid of troublesome neighbors. Corinth and the Macedonian king came to an agreement and entered into alliance.



COIN OF PERDIKKAS II.
(454-413 B. C.)²

At news of this, the Athenians ordered the Potidaians to destroy their walls on the side towards the sea, to give hostages, and to expel the Corinthian magistrates. Potidaia negotiated at Athens for the withdrawal of this decree, and also at Corinth and at Sparta to obtain the support of the Peloponnesos, in case Athens persisted in her demands. Athens did persist; and immediately Potidaia and, following her example,



COIN OF OLYNTHOS.³

all the cities of Chalkidike rose in insurrection (432). Perdikkas persuaded the inhabitants of the maritime towns to raze their

¹ ΠΟ(Ποτιδαίων). Poseidon Hippios, nude, armed with the trident, on horseback, facing to the right. Reverse: woman's head, archaic style, in an incused square, right profile. (Silver.)

² Free horse galloping to the right. Reverse: the word ΠΕΡΔΙΚ and a helmet in an incused square. (Silver.)

³ Man in a quadriga, the horses stepping to the right. In the field a buckler (?). Reverse: incused square, in the centre of it an eagle flying to the left. (Tetradrachm.)

walls, and to take shelter in Olynthos or on lands which he offered them in Mygdonia.

Sparta had promised the envoys from Potidaia that she would invade Attika; and was thus the first to break the thirty years truce.

But having sent them away with this assurance, and incited them to revolt, Sparta remained inactive. Corinth, however, at least sent them succor. Athens escaped a war with Macedon by a treaty with Perdikkas, who asked nothing better than to remain spectator of a conflict where two States exhausted their strength for his advantage. All the war centred at Potidaia. The Corinthians attempted to relieve the place; they were defeated in a battle in which Sokrates rescued Alkibiades, who had been wounded, and was about to be captured by the enemy. The result of this victory was the blockade of Potidaia, a Corinthian garrison and many Peloponnesians being in the invested town.

Defeated on all sides, the Corinthians pushed affairs to an extreme. They called for a meeting of the allies at Sparta, and accused the Athenians of having broken the peace and insulted the Peloponnesos.¹ Aigina, through fear of Athens, did not openly send deputies, but in secret urged on the war, complaining that they were deprived of the independence guaranteed them by the treaty. The people of Megara complained loudly, having for some

time considered themselves injured by Athens. If we may believe Aristophanes and those who like to find trivial causes for serious

¹ Thucydides, i. 70. See Vol. II. p. 660, the portrait of the Athenian people drawn by the Corinthian orator, or rather by Thucydides, which ends with this trait: "If any one should sum up their character by saying that they are made neither to be quiet themselves nor let the rest of the world be so, he would speak correctly."

² Bronze, discovered in Magna Græcia, formerly in the Collection Gréau (No. 961 of the *Catalogue*) and now in the Louvre.



GREEK WARRIOR, WITH THE
CORINTHIAN HELMET.²

events, the first quarrel between the two States arose out of the abduction, by young men at Megara and at Athens, of certain women of the town. What is more serious was the fact that the people of Megara, whose soil was only barren rocks or stony plains, had encroached upon the territory of Attika, and that they harbored all the slaves escaping from the Athenians. Nor had their treacherous conduct in 446 been forgotten.¹ Perikles obtained

ROAD FROM ATHENS TO MEGARA.²

against them a decree which denied them entrance to the seaports of Athens and of the allies. The Spartans remonstrated against this law, which put a Dorian people under the ban of half Greece. But Perikles objected that they had tilled the fields consecrated to Demeter in the territory of Eleusis. Greece had already more than once taken up arms for like motives, and was to do the same again.

Perikles contented himself with sending a herald to carry to Sparta the complaints of Athens, "in moderate terms," says

¹ See Vol. II. p. 557.

² From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxii. 42. The view is taken on the Sacred Road, not far from the point where it reaches the Bay of Eleusis, seen in the distance. Cf. the view represented in Vol. II. p. 39.

Plutarch. The herald, whom Greek law recognized as sacred, was slain on the way, and every one held the people of Megara guilty of this murder, condemned by the most ancient of Greek customs.



COIN OF MEGARA.²

Solemn funeral rites were observed, and a statue of the herald was set up at one of the gates of the city, to keep the memory of the crime ever present.¹ The hatred between the two cities became extreme. Not long after, a penalty of death was denounced by Athens against any Megarian who should set foot upon the territory of Attika.³

This unfortunate affair, where the strict right was on the side of Athens, brought on the war, which the Corinthians could not perhaps have precipitated on account of Korkyra or of Potidaia. Profiting by the complaints of Megara, they represented the Athenians as an ambitious people, greedy of novelties, enterprising, indefatigable; and they reproached the Spartans for a policy of too antique simplicity, for their slowness and indifference in the presence of Greek cities threatened or subjugated. And they did not hesitate to add, —



DEMETER.⁴

“For these things it is you who are to blame, by having at first permitted them to fortify their city after the Median war, and subsequently to build the long walls; and by continually, up to the present time, depriving of liberty, not only those who had been enslaved by them, but your own allies also now. For it is not he who has enslaved them, but he who has the power to stop it, but overlooks it, that more truly does this, especially if he enjoys the reputation for virtue as being the liberator of Greece.”



COIN OF SPARTA.⁵

¹ *Letter of Philip to the Athenians.*

² ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ. Demeter, holding a torch in each hand, standing before a larger torch. (Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of Marcus Aurelius.)

³ We have seen above, Vol. II. p. 549, that the people of Aigina had condemned to death every Athenian found in their island. Among these States hatred between neighbors was merciless.

⁴ The goddess standing, holding in one hand a wreath, and in the other a cluster of wheat-ears and poppies. Sardonyx of two layers, 22 millim. by 15. (Cameo of the *Cabinet de France*, no. 57 of the *Catalogue*.)

⁵ Eagle standing, to the left, on a thunderbolt. Reverse: ΛΑ (Λακεδαιμονίων); winged thunderbolt. (Bronze.)

Athenian deputies chanced to be at Sparta for some other purpose: they presented themselves in the assembly, made mention of the services which Athens had rendered to the common cause, justified her conduct towards her allies, whose relations of dependence upon her had been of their own seeking, rather than imposed upon them by herself from motives of ambition, who had suffered more before under the Persians, and would suffer more hereafter under Sparta, a State whose moderation no man had ever had cause to praise. They further pointed out the woes which would arise out of a general war, and ended by a proposal of arbitration. This was a wise ending to a brave speech.¹

COIN OF SPARTA.²COIN OF SPARTA.³

The deputies of other States having thus been heard, the Spartans, with closed doors, deliberated among themselves. The old king Archidamos spoke in the name of his long experience, and showed the dangers of a war for which Sparta had neither a navy nor financial resources, while Athens had both in abundance. He advised a firm but pacific remonstrance in favor of the allies, thus securing time, in case it were unsuccessful, to collect money and vessels. As for that slowness of action with which they had been reproached, he conjured them by no means to abandon it, for it was to this that they owed all their power. But the ephor Sthenelaidas carried the assembly with him by the impetuosity of his language: he said, —

“As for the long speech of the Athenians, I do not understand it; for though they praised themselves a great deal, in no part did they deny that

¹ Concerning the speeches found in the History of Thucydides, see above, p. 89.

² ΝΟΜΟΦΥΛΑΚΕΣ. Helmeted head of Pallas, right profile. Reverse: ΑΡΙΣΤΑΝΔΡΟΣ, name of a magistrate: the Dioskouroi standing, leaning on their lances; laurel wreath. (Bronze.)

³ ΓΕΡΟΝΤΩΝ. Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: ΑΑ (Λακεδαιμονίων). Artemis, standing to the left, leaning on a spear; at her feet, her dog; in the field, two monograms, mint-marks. The whole surrounded by a laurel-wreath. (Bronze.)

they are injuring our allies and the Peloponnesos. And though it be true that they were good men then against the Medes, if they are bad ones now against us, they deserve double punishment for having become bad instead of good. But we are the same both then and now, and shall not, if we are wise, overlook our allies being injured, nor delay to assist them; for there is no longer delay in their being ill-treated. Others have in abundance riches and ships and horses; but we have good allies whom we must not give up to the Athenians, nor decide the question with suits and words, while it is not also in words that we are injured: but we must assist them with speed and with all our might. And let no one tell me that it is proper for us to deliberate who are being wronged. It is for those who are about to commit the wrong to deliberate for a long time. Vote, then, Spartans, for war, as is worthy of Sparta; and neither permit the Athenians to become greater, nor let us betray our allies, but with the help of the gods let us proceed against those who are wronging them.”¹

After these energetic words he himself, as ephor, put the question to vote: a large majority declared their opinion that the treaty had been broken; and the deputies being called in, the action of the assembly was made known to them (October or November, 432 B. C.).

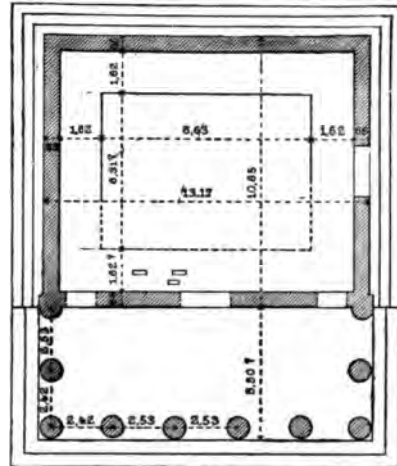
The oracle of Delphi was then consulted. The Dorian god made a response which seemed favorable, but did not commit him positively. If they carried on the war with all their might, there would be victory,² the Pythia declared. Some futile negotiations preceded the actual beginning of hostilities, so reluctantly did men enter on this struggle, in which Greece dug her own grave. The Spartans demanded the banishment of the Alkmaionids, guilty, more than a century before, of sacrilege in the murder of the companions of Kylon. It was the family to which Perikles belonged, and it was on his account that this strange demand was made. They also required liberty for the Aiginetans and the other allies, and the withdrawal of the decree against Megara. Thus the oppressors of the Helots and of Messenia, suddenly becoming the hypocritical defenders of justice and liberty, insolently demanded that Athens should abandon a sway made honorable by worthy deeds, stained by no cruelty, and increased during the time the thirty years had lasted, that is to say, fourteen years,

¹ Thucydides, i. 86.

² Κατὰ κράτος πολεμοῦσι νίκην ἔσσεσθαι (Thucydides, i. 118).

by no conquest. The Athenians sent back reproaches in their turn to the Spartans. "Expiate," they cried, "the murder of suppliant Helots slain before the temple of Poseidon, and that of Pausanias, whom you starved to death in the temple of Athene Chalkioikos." In respect to Aigina, they would give the island its liberty, they said, when Sparta on her part should set free the cities she had enslaved. And in conclusion, Megara deserved, instead of protection, that a sacred war should be declared against her by all the States of Greece. Meantime the Corinthians, much disquieted, urged matters more and more.

"For many reasons it is likely," they said, "that we should have the advantage: we are superior in numbers and military experience, and we all proceed with equal obedience to do what we are ordered. And for a fleet in which they are so strong, we will equip one from the property we severally possess, and from the money at Delphi and Olympia; for by borrowing that, we shall be able by means of higher pay to deprive them of their foreign sailors. For the power of the Athenians is mercenary rather than native; but ours is stronger in men than in money. And by one victory of ours in a sea-fight they are probably ruined; but should they hold out, we too shall have more time for studying naval matters, and when we have put our skill on an equal footing with theirs, in courage we shall most certainly excel them. . . . We have also other ways of carrying on war, such as causing their allies to revolt . . . , with other things which we cannot now foresee. For war, least of all things, proceeds on definite principles, but adopts its contrivances to suit the occasion; in the course of which he that deals with it with good temper is more secure; while he that engages in it with passion makes the greater failure. . . . As for defeat, let every man know that it brings nothing else but downright slavery, which it is a disgrace to the Peloponnesos even to mention as possible, and for so



TREASURY OF GELA AT OLYMPIA.¹

them. . . . We have also other ways of carrying on war, such as causing their allies to revolt . . . , with other things which we cannot now foresee. For war, least of all things, proceeds on definite principles, but adopts its contrivances to suit the occasion; in the course of which he that deals with it with good temper is more secure; while he that engages in it with passion makes the greater failure. . . . As for defeat, let every man know that it brings nothing else but downright slavery, which it is a disgrace to the Peloponnesos even to mention as possible, and for so

¹ Restored plan. From *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, vol. v. pl. 33. The arrangement as well as the decoration of the building is exactly like that of a temple. In respect to temple property, see above, Vol. II. p. 607, and concerning the treasures of Olympia, p. 84.

many cities to be ill-treated by one. In that case we should show ourselves inferior to our fathers who liberated Greece, whereas we do not even secure this liberty for ourselves, but allow a tyrant State to set itself up among us, though we do not suffer tyrants to rule in any one State. . . . Nor will you be the first to break the treaty; for even the god himself considers it to have



HEAD OF APOLLO.¹

been violated, since he orders you to go to war. . . . Do not defer, therefore, to assist the Potidaians, who are Dorians and are besieged by Ionians,— the contrary of which used formerly to be the case,— and to vindicate the liberty of the rest.”

The Athenian people, summoned by the Spartan ambassadors to reply definitively whether they would give the satisfaction demanded, met in the general assembly. Perikles spoke, and pronounced so decidedly for the war that the contrary opinion was not expressed by any one. He showed first that the Spartans were

¹ Marble from Olympia, from *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, vol. ii. pl. 22, and a cast. The entire statue remains. It occupied the centre of the western pediment of the temple of Zeus, and, like all the other figures of this pediment, was attributed by Pausanias to the sculptor Alkamenes. The subject treated was the combat of Lapiths and Centaurs at the marriage of Peirithoös. Apollo, with extended arm, is the commanding figure of the scene.

determined to fight, that their demands were only a means of gaining time, and that to grant any of them would be a base concession which would not even bring peace.

“If you yield to these demands, you will soon be ordered to do something greater, as having in this instance obeyed through fear; but by resolutely refusing, you will prove clearly to them that they must treat with you on an equal footing. Henceforth, then, make up your minds, either to submit before you are hurt, or, if we go to war, as I think is better, to make no concession, either important or trivial; for both the greatest and the least demand from equals imperiously urged on their neighbors amounts to the same degree of subjugation.”

He then proceeded to compare the power of the two States, striving to inspire the Athenians with confidence in their resources. The Spartans had only the treasures of Olympia and of Delphi, soon exhausted. They had no vessels, and a navy is not made in a day; nor would they be able to turn their farm-laborers into good sailors, especially while the Athenian fleets prevented them from going out to sea even for purposes of training.

“Men who till the land,” he said, “are more ready to wage war with their persons than with their money, feeling confident with regard to the former, that they will escape from danger; but not being sure with regard to the latter that they will not spend it before they have done, especially should the war be unexpectedly prolonged, as in this case it probably may be. In battle the Peloponnesians and their allies might cope with all the Greeks together; but they could not carry on a war against resources of a different description from their own, since they have no one board of council, so as to execute any measure with vigor; and all having equal votes, and not being of the same race, each forwards his own interests, for which reason nothing generally is brought to completion. . . . Such seem to me to be the circumstances of the Peloponnesians, while ours are free from the faults I have found in theirs, and also have great advantages in more than an equal degree. Should they come by land against our country, we will sail against theirs; and the loss will be greater for even a part of the Peloponnesos to be ravaged than for the whole of Attika. For they will not be able to obtain any land in its stead without fighting for it; while we have abundance, both in the islands and on the mainland. Moreover, if we had been islanders, who would have been more impregnable? And we ought, as it is, with views as near as possible to those of islanders, to give up all thought

of our land and houses, and keep watch over the sea and the city, and not come to an engagement with the Peloponnesians, who are much more numerous than we. If we defeat them, we shall have to fight them again as numerous as before; if we meet with a reverse, we lose our allies also, for they will not remain quiet if we are not able to keep them so. We should lament, not for houses and lands that we may lose, but for the lives that are lost; for it is not these things that gain men, but men that gain these things. If I thought I should persuade you, I would say, Go out yourselves and ravage your own fields, and show the Peloponnesians that for such things as these you will not consent to obey them. . . . Go to war we must," he said in conclusion, "and if we accept it willingly, we shall find the enemy less disposed to press us hard; moreover it is from the greatest hazards that the greatest honors also are gained both by States and by men. Our fathers in withstanding the Medes — though they did not begin with such resources as we have, but even abandoned what they had, and by counsel more than by fortune, and by daring more than by strength, beat off the Barbarian — advanced those resources to their present height. We must not fall short of them; we must repel our enemies in every way, and endeavor to bequeath our power undiminished to our sons!"

Perikles spoke wisely. Later it has been said, "Who has the sea, has the shore." This was especially true as to Greece, a country all coast, islands, peninsulas, where life and wealth, being on the coast, and rarely in the interior, were at the mercy of the State which held maritime dominion.

Athens therefore replied to the Lacedæmonians that, as a matter of obedience, she would do nothing, and that she required to be treated with on a footing of equality. This was equivalent to saying that she had decided to accept only the decision of the sword. Things were in this position when the affair of Plataia, following upon the hostilities at Korkyra and Potidaia, plunged Greece into war, and by its atrocity gave an unaccustomed bitterness to the struggle just beginning.

II. — CAPTURE OF PLATAIA BY THE THEBANS (431); FUNERAL OF DEAD SOLDIERS; PESTILENCE AT ATHENS; DEATH OF PERIKLES (429).

IN the spring of the year 431 B. C., on a dark night, three hundred Thebans, commanded by two boiotarchs, made their entrance into Plataia. The inhabitants were sleeping, with no fear of danger; they were awakened by a herald's voice calling them to unite themselves to the Boiotian league. At first, much alarmed and confused, they accepted the terms offered them by the Thebans; but soon discovering that the latter were very few in number, they became bolder, made plans among themselves, opening communication with one another by breaking through the side walls of their houses, set wagons in the streets for barricades, and just before daybreak attacked the invading force. The Thebans were unable to escape, and were all massacred or made prisoners. Meanwhile a considerable force, advancing to their assistance, had been delayed by a freshet of the river Asopos. The news of what had taken place quickly reached Athens. The Athenians at once seized all Boiotians who chanced to be in Attika, sent a garrison and provisions to Plataia, and gave asylum to all non-combatants from the city (March, 431). They also asked that nothing should be done in respect to the prisoners who had been taken, until the matter had been deliberated upon at Athens. But when this message arrived, the prisoners had already been put to death. The Plataians, exasperated at this impious violation of the law of nations, and at this attack made in time of peace, had put them to death to the number of a hundred and eighty.

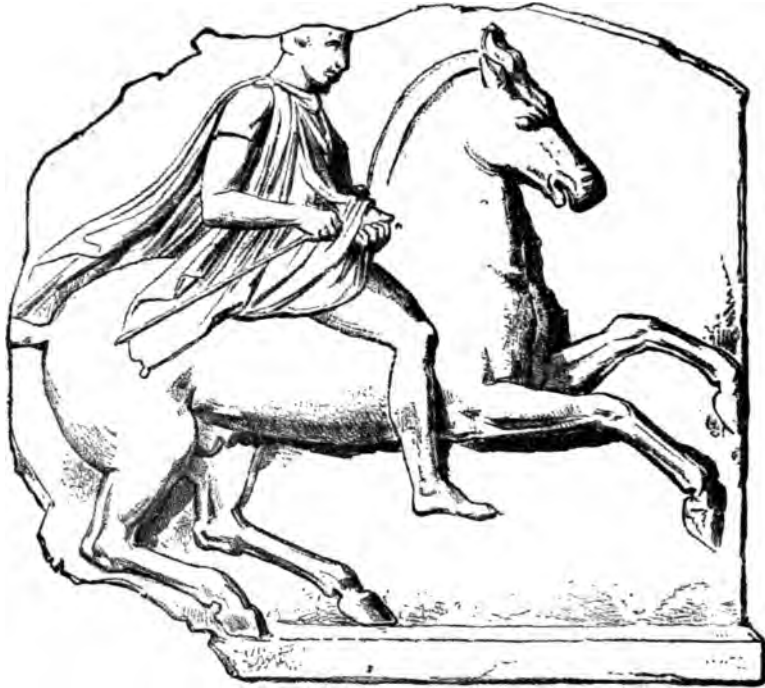


BOIOTIAN COIN.¹

This generous conduct on the part of Athens was considered as the beginning of hostilities. She had done no more, however, than

¹ *In genere.* Head of Demeter, crowned with wheat-ears, front view. Reverse: BOIOTON. Poseidon, nude, standing, armed with the trident, holding a dolphin on his left hand; in the field, a monogram and the Boiotian shield. (Silver.)

protect a faithful ally and fulfil the oath, taken by all the Greeks on the day after the battle of Plataia, to defend the Plataians against all aggression, as a sacred people. Sparta herself recognized this later. Her hesitation in recommencing the war during the



BOIOTIAN HORSEMAN.¹

Sicilian expedition arose, says Thucydides, from her fear lest the gods should punish her for breaking the second truce as she had been punished by the disaster of Sphakteria for breaking the former one.² From the beginning, Athens, having all her forces ready, could have attacked; but she preferred to leave to her enemies the odium of striking the first blow.

¹ Bas-relief from Thespiai, from Stackelberg, *Die Gräber der Hellenen*, pl. ii., 1, and the *Mith. d. d. arch. Instit. in Athen*, vol. iv. (1879), pl. xiv. 1 (cf. G. Körte, *Die antiken Sculpturen aus Bœotien*, No. 10, p. 319, in the third volume of the *Mittheilungen*). The young horseman, wearing the sleeved chiton and a chlamys attached to the right shoulder, held in his left hand the bronze reins; in his right hand he has a wand.

² Thucydides, whom Athens exiled, nowhere accuses her of violating the thirty years truce. Aristophanes had a right to make the Athenians laugh, even at their own expense; we have the right to prefer to satire and caricature, so many times repeated, the truth which springs from a scrupulous examination of facts.

Thucydides thus enumerates the allies on both sides. Those of Sparta were: all the people of the Peloponnesos, except, at the beginning, the Achaians, and during the whole war, the Argives;



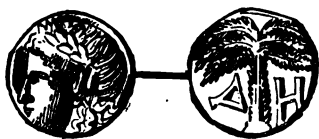
ATHENIAN HORSEMAN STRIKING AN ENEMY.¹

outside the Peloponnesos, the Megarians, the Lokrians, Thebes, who brought with her all Boiotia and kept down the popular party in that State; the people of Doris, who would have been of the

¹ Athenian funeral bas-relief, from the *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1863, pl. clxix. (the inscription at the top of the bas-relief includes two distichs, of which the hexameters are faulty, and the name of the dead, followed by the demotic. Φλυεύς. Cf. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus collecta*, No. 25). This bas-relief should be compared with the funeral monument of Dexileos, which will be represented in a later volume.

Athenian party, had they not been surrounded by enemies; the Phokidians, Ambrakians, Leukadians, the inhabitants of Anaktorion, and the Aitolians, hostile to the Messenians of Naupaktos. Vessels were furnished by Corinth, Megara, Sikyon, Pellene, Eleia, Ambrakia, and Leukadia; from Boiotia, Phokis, and Lokris came the cavalry; the other cities sent infantry. The league had no common treasury, but Corinth proposed to borrow the treasures of Delphi and Olympia. Many powerful cities of Italy and Sicily secretly promised money and vessels enough to raise the number of the fleet to five hundred galleys. Besides this it was expected that the Great King would furnish gold.

The allies of Athens were as follows: on the frontiers of Attika the inhabitants of Plataia and Oropos; more distant, the Messenians of Naupaktos, the majority of the Akarnanians,¹ Argos of the Am-

BRONZE COIN.²

philochians, the islands of Chios, Lesbos, Korkyra, Zakynthos, all the tributary cities, Karia, Asiatic Doris, the Greeks on the shores of the Hellespont, the Thracian Chersonesos, the islands eastward from the Peloponnesos as far as Krete, and lastly the Cyclades, except Melos and Thera. From Chios, Lesbos, and Korkyra ships were furnished, and the other members of the league sent infantry and money; the Thessalians furnished cavalry. An annual revenue of more than one thousand talents, six thousand talents in reserve in the public treasury, and the gold of the temples, valued at five hundred talents, without counting that which decorated the statues of the gods and heroes, available in the last extremity,—such were the financial resources of the Athenians. Their military force consisted of thirteen thousand hoplites for the army in the field, twelve hundred horse, sixteen hundred bowmen, three hundred triremes ready for sea; and lastly, sixteen thousand epheboi, old men, and metoikoi guarded the walls which made Athens and Peiraieus one great entrenched camp.

But the two leagues differed in a very important point: the

¹ The Akarnanians long remained the faithful allies of Athens. Cf. Diod., xv. 36. In a fragment of a decree recently discovered they are called *παρόθεν φίλοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων* (Beulé, *L'Acropole*, Append. No. 15, and Rangabé, *Ant. Hell.*, vol. ii. No. 2, 279).

² Coin of Delos. Laurelled head of Apollo to the right. ΔΗ (Δηλίων). Palm-tree.

allies of Athens were obliged to pay an annual tribute; Sparta asked nothing from hers. Consequently defections took place among the former, while none happened among the Peloponnesians.

When Sparta finally called her allies to arms, promising them the pillage of Attika, the poor and hungry peasants of the Peloponnesos rushed from all sides eager for the prey, and Archidamos found himself at the head of an army of 60,000 men. Before crossing the frontier the old chief tried to negotiate. The Athenians made a Roman answer: "Let Sparta recall her troops, and after that it will be time to negotiate." Withdrawing, the envoy of Archidamos exclaimed: "This day will be the beginning of great woes for Greece." An earthquake which shook the sacred island of Delos seemed to indicate that the gods confirmed this mournful presage.

When Perikles was made aware that the enemy were approaching, he put his plan into execution. All the inhabitants of the country were induced to come within the walls, with their wives and children, their furniture, and even, in some cases, the woodwork of their houses. The sheep and cattle were sent over to Euboiia. Most of these persons had no lodging in the city, nor friends to receive them; and they dwelt in the open squares, around the temples and the monuments of heroes, in the Pelasgikon, which it had been forbidden any one ever to occupy, and lastly, between the Long Walls and in Peiraieus. It was not without grief that they thus abandoned their farms and their dwellings; but the safety of the country required the sacrifice. To save it, had not their fathers abandoned to the enemy, not their farms merely, but Athens and the Akropolis itself? Perikles set an example. Archidamos and himself were united by ties of hospitality; and Perikles declared in the public assembly that if the Spartan king, through regard for this tie, should spare his lands, from that day forth he himself would relinquish them to the State.

Archidamos besieged the fortress of Oinoë, and spent much time in this operation, which was unsuccessful. Being driven away, he ravaged the fields of Thria and Eleusis, and advanced as far as the village of Acharnia, about five miles distant from Athens, hoping that the Acharnians, who had sent not less than three thousand hoplites to the Athenian army, would not be

able to watch calmly the desolation of their property, but would incite the whole army to an engagement. And indeed for a moment the distressing spectacle seen from the walls of Athens very nearly caused prudence to be forgotten. The young men were eager to fight; groups gathered in eager discussion; there were plans as to the road to take; and the majority declared loudly for an attack. But Perikles, unmoved by outcries and sarcasms, refused to call together the public assembly, and in the end restored quiet in the streets. "Let them cut down your trees," he said to the farmers; "the tree will grow again, but not the man when he has been cut down."¹ And this Athenian people, who are represented as indocile, obeyed a prudence which they condemned. A few squadrons of cavalry were from time to time thrown out to harry the enemy. This measure was successful. The Spartans, after sacking several villages, fell back by Oropos and Boiotia. They had remained about thirty days in Attika, and owing to lack of provisions they could remain no longer.

Let us remark at the beginning of this war two things, which we shall find recurring all through its course: on the one side, the reluctance of the Athenians to measure their strength on land against the Spartans, and hence the great military fame of the Lacedæmonian troops; on the other side, the powerlessness of the Peloponnesians to force the ramparts of a city. In the art of sieges the Greeks had not gone beyond the methods of the heroic age. It was believed that Agamemnon had been ten years in taking Troy. Not until the thirtieth year of the war did Lysandros obtain entrance into the city of Athens.

While the enemy were ravaging their lands, the Athenians passed a decree that out of the sums deposited in the Akropolis a thousand talents should be set aside, which no man, on penalty of death, should propose to employ for any purpose except to repel an invasion by sea, and that a hundred of the largest

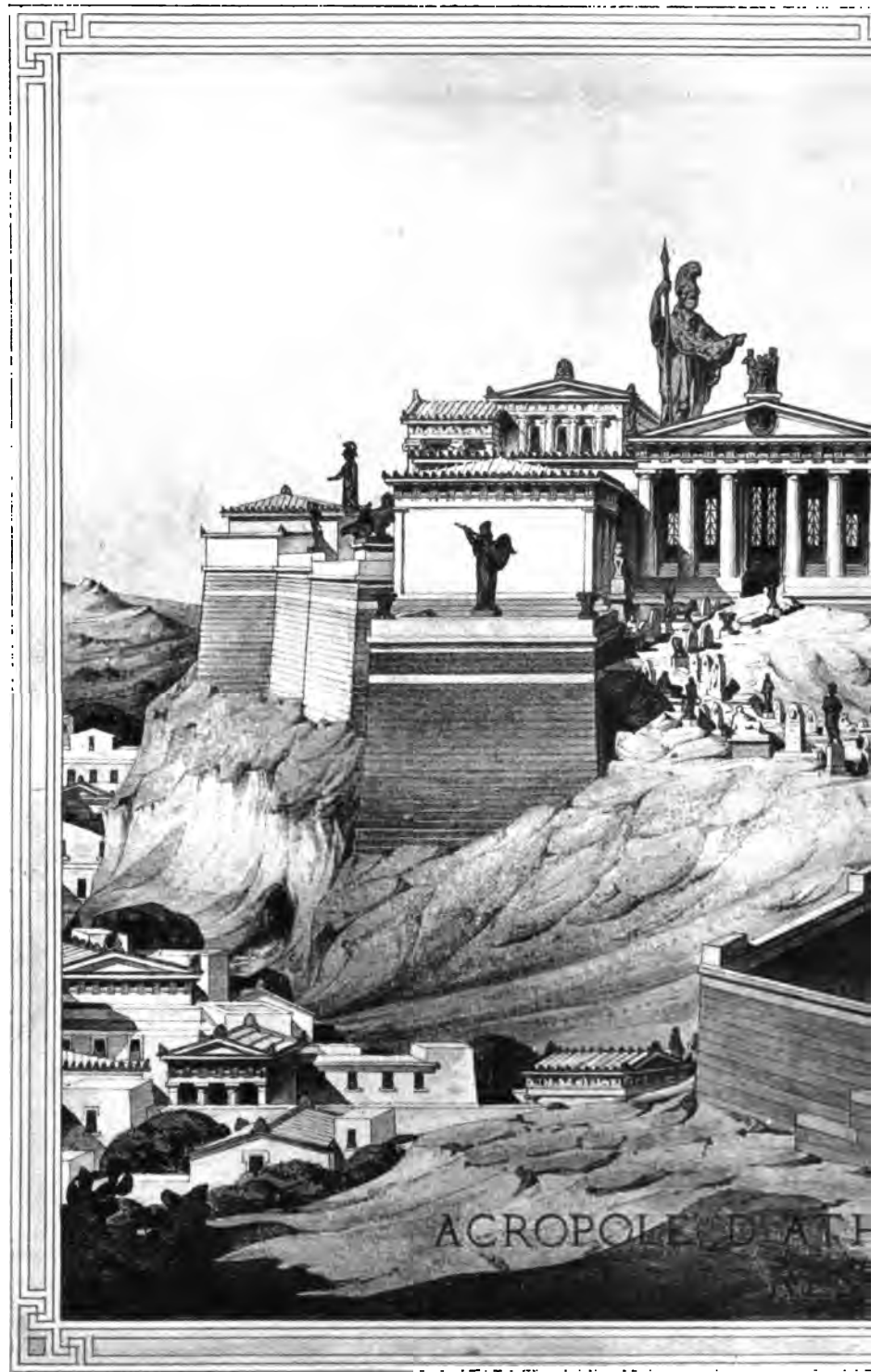


BRONZE COIN.²

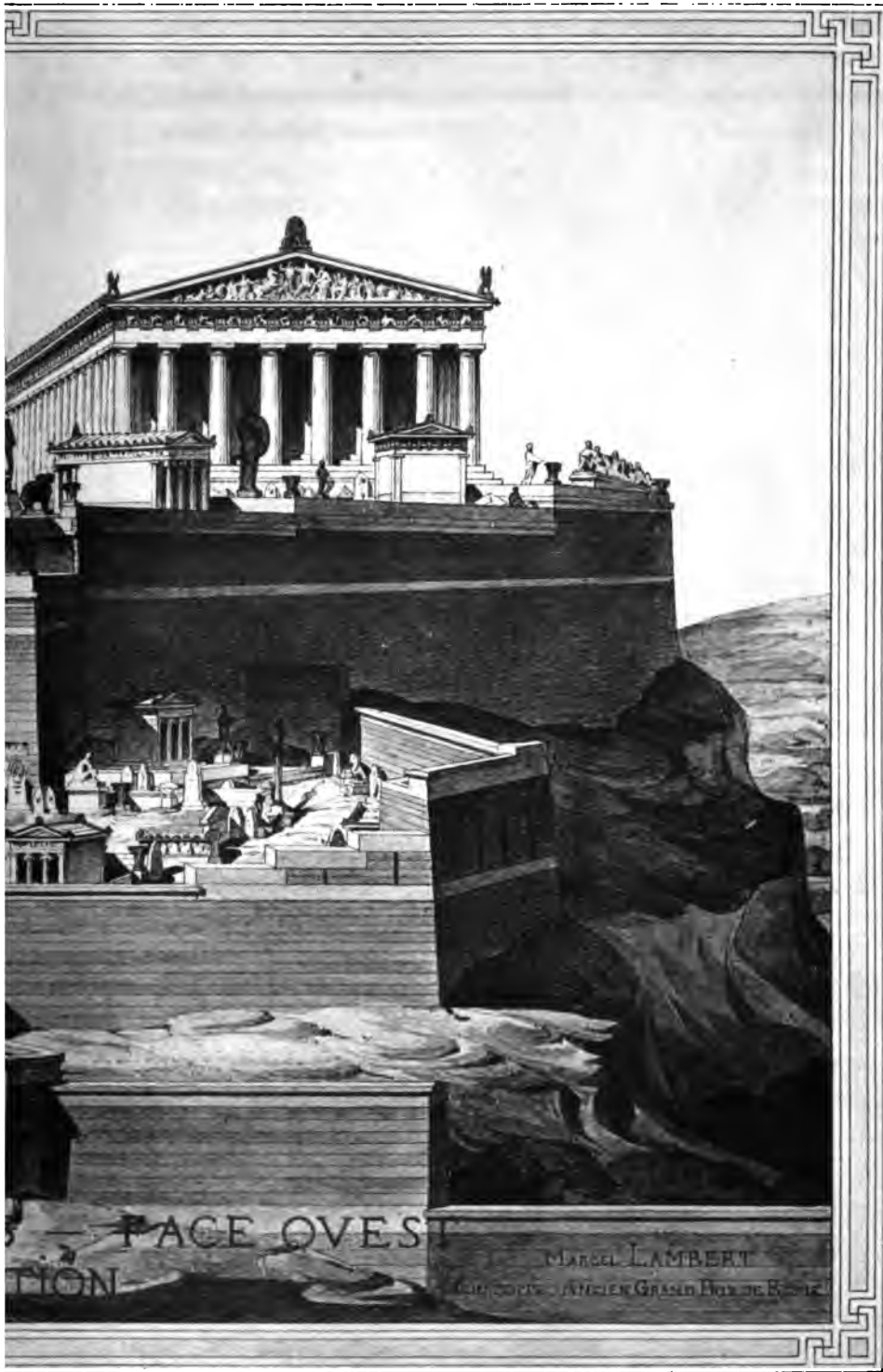
¹ Thucydides puts a like saying into the mouth of Nikias: "Men make the State, not walls, nor empty ships."

² ΜΟΘΟΝΑΙΩΝ. View of the port of Mothone; in the centre, a statue on a column; a sailing-vessel is about to enter the harbor. (Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of Caracalla.) The port of Mothone is described by Pausanias, iv. 35. 1.

1



AKROPOLIS 0
Restoration by Marcel L.



ESTERN FRONT
(“Grand prix de Rome”)



triremes should be kept at Peiraiæus, their captains being already designated, to protect the city in case of attack by sea. Then, not even waiting till the Peloponnesians had quitted Attika, they entered on the campaign in the manner best suited to them. A hundred vessels, sent out from Peiraiæus, ravaged the coasts of Lakonia, and nearly succeeded in capturing Methone, at the extremity of Messenia. Brasidas, a Spartan in command of a guard for the defence of this region, came to the assistance of the inhabitants with a hundred hoplites, and making a dash through the Athenian army, which was scattered over the country, threw himself into Methone, and, losing but a few of his men, saved the city. The fleet, reinforced by fifty galleys from Korkyra, coasted along towards Elis, landing and ravaging the territory; and to shut up the Corinthian fleet in their own gulf, seized all the positions which command its entrance, — Sollion, on the Leukadian promontory, Astakos, at the mouth of the Acheloös, and the island of Kephallenia, which entered the Athenian league. The fleet then returned to support a land expedition, under Perikles himself, against the Megarid. This army, the largest ever sent out by Athens, consisted of ten thousand Athenians, three thousand metoikoi, and a numerous corps of light troops; it ravaged the territory of Megara up to the very gates of the city.

BRONZE COIN.¹

Megara, of Dorian origin and mistress of three roads leading from the Peloponnesos into Central Greece,² had in the seventh century B. C. eclipsed Athens, up to this time of secondary importance;³ in the sixth she had quarrelled with Athens for the possession of Salamis; and quite recently had inflicted on her a mortal injury by the murder of the Athenian garrisons received into Megarian fortresses, and of a herald, whose position rendered him sacred. However, the people of Megara drew their support

¹ ΠΑΓΑΙΩΝ. View of a gate of Pagai, with three entrances. Above the side entrances, two niches, with statues. Above the gate, three other statues. Reverse of a coin struck at Pagai, with the effigy of Septimius Severus.

² Mount Geraneion, which covered part of the isthmus from one sea to the other, was traversed by three roads, all very difficult. — the western, which was longest, but usually the route of armies; the eastern, shortest and most frequented, where were the Skironian Rocks, of evil name; and the central, which led over the summits of the mountain, and was rarely traversed.

³ See Vol. II. p. 85.

from Athens; they sold in her markets articles of food, and they in turn sought at Peiraiæus the grain and the wages for labor refused them at home by an arid soil and a languishing industry. The invasion of Archidamos completed the indignation of the Athenians. They decreed that every inhabitant of Megara found



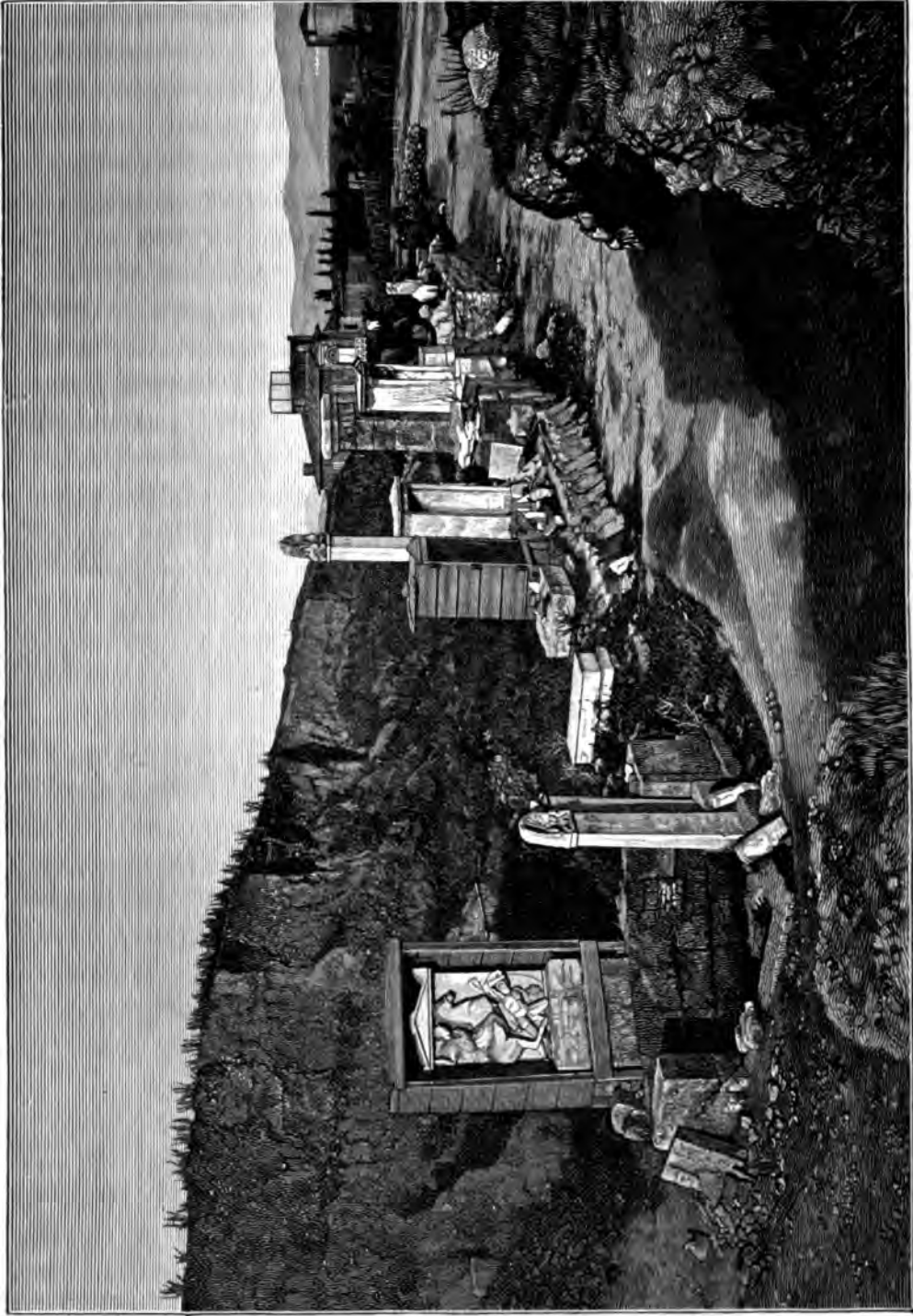
FRAGMENT OF A FUNERAL STELA FROM MEGARA.¹

on Attic soil should be put to death, and that twice annually the strategoi should ravage the Megarid. This law Perikles had just now put in operation.

At the same time a squadron of twenty galleys had driven

¹ Marble in the Collection Saboureff, now making part of the Museum of Berlin; from the *Collection Saboureff* (A. Furtwängler), pl. v. The head, of great beauty, but unfortunately mutilated, made part of a funeral stela.

NOTE. -- On the opposite page is represented (from a photograph) the Nekropolis of the Kerameikos in its present condition. This is the only one in Greece where the monuments have remained in their place on the side of the road. The road here represented is that which, leading from the Sacred Gate, traversed the Kerameikos.



THE NEKROPOLIS OF THE KERAMEIKOS.

the Lokrian pirates from the strait of Chalkis and made many descents upon Lokris. A fort built on the island of Atalanta,



FUNERAL STELA OF AN APOTHEOSIZED ATHENIAN.¹

opposite Opous, commanded this coast and all the Euboian Sea. On the other side of Attika, Aigina was definitively occupied. With implacable hate Perikles pursued these island-people who

¹ Bas-relief discovered in 1874 on the shores of the Ilyssos, and now in the Central Museum at Athens (L. von Sybel, *Katalog*, No. 57); from a photograph. The dead man, entirely nude, holds a hunting club in his hand; at his feet is a dog. The artist has represented him as calm, and indifferent to the grief of those who are about him, — of his father, who gazes on him from the right; of his little slave, who, sitting at his feet, is a prey to deep grief.

had dared dispute the sea with Athens, and rival her in renown, wealth, and art. He distributed their lands by lot among the citizens of Athens (and it happened that Aristophanes thus obtained



OFFERING TO THE APOTHEOSIZED DEAD.¹

a small estate), and he expelled all the inhabitants, even the women and children, whom Sparta received into Thyrea and the adjacent country.² The approaches by sea to Attika were thus well guarded. To these precautions and those which we have

¹ Marble bas-relief, in the *Marciana*, in Venice (from the *Monum. publ. par l'ass. pour l'enc. des Ét. gr.*, 1881, pl. 1). The hero, at the right, holds a phial over an altar; a woman at the left slowly pours into the dish the contents of an oinochoë. Her attitude is grave and calm; with the left hand she brings forward her veil over her face. Behind her a smaller figure raises the right hand in sign of adoration. The work is noble, and the religious character of the scene is well represented.

² Thyrea was later taken by the Athenians, and the Aiginetans found there were put to death (Thucydides, iv. 57). Lysandros, after the battle of Aigospotamoi, recalled from all parts of Greece the Aiginetans who had sought shelter, and gave back to them their island, whence he expelled the Athenians.

already mentioned in respect to the reserve of the treasury and of the fleet, a prudent diplomacy added others. Athens made a reconciliation with Perdikkas of Macedon, and an alliance with Sitalkes, the king of Thrace.

The winter of this year saw an imposing ceremony at Athens, — the funeral at the public expense of those who had been the first victims of this war. This ceremony was performed in accordance with the custom of their forefathers, after the following manner.

“Having erected a tent,” says Thucydides (ii. 34), “they lay out the bones of the dead three days before, and each one brings to his own relative whatever funeral offering he pleases. When the funeral procession takes place, cars convey coffins of cypress-wood, one for each tribe, in which are laid the bones of every man according to the tribe to which he belonged; and one empty bier is carried, spread in honor of the missing, whose bodies could not be found to be taken up. Whoever wishes, both of citizens and strangers, joins in the procession; and their female relatives attend at the burial to make a wailing. They lay them then in the public sepulchre, which is in the fairest suburb of the city, and in which they always bury those who have fallen in the wars (except, at least, those who fell at Marathon; but to them, as their valor was distinguished above all others, they gave a burial on the very spot where they fell). After they have laid them in the ground, a man chosen by the State, one of talent and pre-eminent dignity, speaks over the dead such a panegyric as may be appropriate.”



SILVER COIN.¹

The orator was Perikles. He had already rendered like homage to the soldiers who had fallen before Samos. On the present occasion his eulogy was less on the dead than on Athens, and he exhorted the living, with all the grandeur and authority of which language is capable, to love their country, to cherish her institutions, which, without distinction of fortune or birth, distributed rank according to merit, and, most different from the tyrannical constitution of Sparta, left each man complete liberty for his tastes and conduct, only asking from all men respect for the law and the magistrates, its interpreters. Then he depicted — begging

¹ Coin of Perdikkas II. Horse, to the right. Behind him a spear. Reverse: fore part of a lion, with open mouth and paws extended to seize his prey; the whole in an incused square.

his hearers to remain faithful to it—the national character, of mingled boldness and reflection, gravity and mirthfulness, frank and hospitable to all strangers; this life, shared between serious labors and brilliant festivities; this city, which had become the model and the instructress of all Greece.¹

“It was for such a country, then,” he said, “that these men, nobly resolving not to have it taken from you, fell fighting; and every one of



ATHENS, PERSONIFIED BY ATHENE, CROWNING A BENEFACTOR OF THE CITY.²

their survivors may well be willing to suffer in its behalf; . . . of these men there was none that either was made a coward by his wealth from preferring the continued enjoyment of it, or shrank from danger through a hope suggested by poverty, namely, that he might yet escape it and grow rich; but conceiving that vengeance on their foes was more to be desired than those objects, and at the same time regarding this as the most glorious of hazards, they wished by risking it to be avenged on their enemies, and so to aim at

¹ Τήντε πάσων πόλιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος παιδεύσω (Thucydides, ii. 12). We give nearly the whole of this admirable discourse.

² Bas-relief carved at the head of an Athenian decree (*Corp. inscr. Attic.*, i. 74); from Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, No. 96, plate xxii. The decree was passed in honor of an inhabitant of Kolophon, who appears on the bas-relief in the attitude of a worshipper.

procuring those advantages ; committing to hope the uncertainty of success, but resolving to trust to action, with regard to what was visible to themselves ; and in that action — being minded rather to resist and die, than by surrendering, to escape — they endured the brunt of battle, and when at the very height of their fortune were taken away from their glory rather than their fear.

“ For you that remain day by day, beholding the power of the city as it appears in fact, and growing enamoured of it, and reflecting, when you think it great, that it was by being bold and knowing their duty, and being alive to shame in action, that men acquired these things. . . . While collectively they gave their lives to their country, individually they received that renown which never grows old, and the most distinguished tomb they could have ; not so much that in which they are laid, as that in which their glory is left behind them, to be everlastingly recorded on every occasion for doing so, either by word or deed, that may from time to time present itself. For of illustrious men the whole earth is the sepulchre ; and not only does the inscription upon columns in their own land point it out, but in that also which is not their own there dwells with every one an unwritten memorial of the heart rather than of a material monument.

“ Wherefore to the parents of the dead, as many of them as are here among you, I will not offer condolence as much as consolation. For they know that they have been brought up subject to manifold misfortunes ; but that happy is their lot who have gained the glorious death, as these have, — the most glorious sorrow, as you have ; and to whom life has been so exactly measured that they were both happy in it and died in that happiness. . . . You must cheer yourselves with their fair fame. For the love of honor is the only feeling that never grows old ; and in the helplessness of age it is not the acquisition of gain, as some assert, that gives greatest pleasure, but the enjoyment of honor.

“ For those of you who are sons or brothers of the dead, great, I see, will be the struggle of competition. For every one is accustomed to praise the man who is no more ; and scarcely — though even for an excess of worth — would you be esteemed, I do not say equal to them, but no more than slightly inferior. For the living are exposed to envy in their rivalry ; but those who are in no one’s way are honored with a good-will free from all opposition. If also I must say anything on the subject of woman’s excellence, with reference to those of you who will now be in widowhood, I will express it all in a brief exhortation. Great will be your glory in not falling short of the natural character that belongs to you ; and great is hers who is least talked of among the men, either for good or evil.

“ I have now expressed, as the law required, what I had to say

befitting the occasion, and those who are here interred have already received part of their honors. For the remaining part, the State will bring up their sons at the public expense from this time to their manhood.¹ . . . And now, having finished your lamentations for your several relatives, depart."²

Thus the grandeur of the State was to be the object of general enthusiasm; and each man's courage and intelligence, the mutual esteem of poor and rich, the devotion of all, were the only means of making the country glorious. By these noble words Perikles (or Thucydides, who relates them, after having doubtless himself heard them) replied to those souls mad for peace, who wished it at any price — were it even at the price of honor, and later of safety. Aristophanes was of this order; his intellect and raciness are, after all, at the



YOUTH AT A WELL.³

service of an ignoble character. What is his "just man," in *The Acharnians*, Dikeopolis, his friend of peace, his citizen who makes his private truce with the enemy, and is represented to us as the most fortunate of men, establishing his own market in the public square, trading with men of Megara and Boiotia, feeding himself with eels from Lake Kopais, while Lamachos fights, and comes home covered with wounds? We laugh at the poet's keen strokes of wit; but what else is it but the coarsest egotism, satisfied at the expense of patriotism and all noble sentiments? Unhappily, these "just men" are found in every age.

¹ On that occasion the people assembled in the theatre, and a herald presented the sons of dead soldiers, clad in complete armor, and announced: "Up to this time the State has maintained them; now she gives them their arms" (Aischines, *On the Crown*).

² Thucydides, ii. 42-46. Plato, in his *Menezene*, gives the oration of Perikles; but the version of Thucydides is preferable.

³ Vase-painting, from O. Jahn, *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Kön. sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, 1878, pl. 5, No. 2, and p. 144. The young man, having one foot on the brink of the well, is drawing up the bucket which he has filled.

In the spring of the following year Archidamos re-appeared in Attika. This time he marched straight upon Athens, but not daring to make an attack in front, he went beyond the city and ravaged the coast on the southwest as far as Lau-reion; then he advanced towards Marathon, which he spared, as he did Dekeleia, for the sake of the old legends. At the end of forty days he left Attika. He fled, not from the Athenians, but from a more formidable enemy, — the pestilence, which had just broken out at Athens, and is described by Thucydides and by Lucretius with incomparable energy (430 B.C.).

BRONZE COIN.¹BRONZE COIN.³

This disease had overrun Ethiopia, Egypt, and Persia, and was without doubt brought into Attika by some merchant vessel.² It broke out at first in Peiraieus, and it was thought that the Peloponnesians had poisoned the wells. In that crowded and ill-lodged multitude it made frightful ravages. Medical science was powerless, and the gods upon whom men called were inexorable. Young and old, rich and poor, strong and weak, all were victims to the disease. An inward fever consumed the body, causing frightful suffering; unappeasable thirst led many to plunge into cisterns of water. Usually death occurred on the seventh or ninth day. When the pestilence had reached its greatest height, says Thucydides, men lost respect for things divine and human. Morals yielded before this fearful game of death. Since virtue was no safeguard, why impose its sacrifices upon oneself? Everything that was immediately pleasant, and that which was conducive to it by any means whatever, was laid down to be both honorable and expedient.

¹ The Akropolis at Troizen, surmounted by a temple. Legend: TPOIZHNIQN. Reverse of a bronze coin in the Museum of Turin, with the effigy of Commodus.

² The disease was an eruptive fever, different from small-pox; it ravaged the Roman world in the time of Marcus Aurelius, and is now extinct (Littre. *Œuvres d'Hippocrate*, i. 122). Modern physicians have thought it to be the army typhus, or exanthematic typhus. The legend as to the presence of Hippokrates in Athens at this time is false. Cf. Littre, *ibid.*, 39.

³ EPMIONEQN Herdsman leading a cow by a rope. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Hermione, with the effigy of Plautilla.) Pausanias (ii. 35, 6) relates in the description of the temple of Demeter Chthonia, on Mount Prona at Hermione, that in the procession which came solemnly into the temple for the sacrifice there were servitors who led the cow about to be sacrificed.

In the midst of so many calamities Perikles preserved the tranquillity of his mind. He conducted by sea an expedition against Epidauros, which narrowly escaped falling into his hands; he ravaged the territory of Troizen, Halia, and Hermione, and in Lakonia captured Praisiai and sacked it; but the pestilence spreading in his army compelled him to return to Athens. The disease also now reached the Athenian camp before Potidaia, which was still besieged; out of four thousand hoplites, ten hundred and fifty died in forty days. The people, embittered by their sufferings, laid the blame upon Perikles, and fined him fifteen, or, some say, fifty talents; being unable to pay, he was deprived, according to the law, of his rights as a citizen. Among the number of his most violent adversaries was Kleon. Perikles bore misfortune as he had borne prosperity, without giving way, although blows struck him daily both in the Agora and at home. His sister and some of his most valued friends perished. His son Xanthippos had sympathized with the hostile party, and circulated calumnies against his father. Perikles, however, still cherished affection for his undutiful son, and the death of Xanthippos by the pestilence caused him grief. A second son, Paralos, was also taken from him; and with this loss his legitimate race was extinct, and the hereditary altars of his house were about to be left without sacrifice. The blow was severely felt by Perikles, and as he laid the funeral wreath upon the head of his younger son, his calmness gave way, and he wept.¹ The Athenians, quickly repenting of their ingratitude, granted full citizenship to his son by Aspasia, and restored to himself the supreme power in the State, by giving him, as before, one of ten annual generalships.

A deputation sent to Sparta during the disgrace of Perikles, asking for peace, had been sent away unanswered, and the war took on new vigor. The people of Potidaia, each day more closely pressed, had been reduced to eat human flesh, and shortly after this capitulated. Permission was given the besieged to march out,

¹ A white lekythos of Athens, from O. Benndorf, *Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder*, pl. 33, might here be represented, but the number of these funeral representations is already sufficiently large. See those in Vol. I. pp. 306, 307, and in Vol. II. p. 312. On the subject of the little winged figures which originally represented the soul of the deceased, and later became simple funereal genii, associated with the acts and the grief of the survivors, see E. Pottier, *Étude sur les lécythes blancs attiques à représentations funéraires*, pp. 75 et seq.

men, women, and children, each with one garment and a little money. The Athenians, who had spent two thousand talents in this siege, blamed the generals for their clemency, and were ready to bring them before the assembly for trial. Potidaia was re-peopled with a thousand Athenian families (429 B. c.) Before the fall of this city, envoys sent by the Spartans to the Great King to solicit his support, and among them the instigator of the revolt in Potidaia, had been captured in Thrace, delivered over to the Athenians, and thrown into the barathron. This appeal to Persia was a crime against Hellas; but the law protected these envoys, and Athens, in putting them to death, repeated the offence which Megara had committed.

COIN OF ZAKYNTHOS.¹

In 429 B. c. Archidamos did not again enter Attika, desolated by the pestilence, but he laid siege to Plataia, thus to take away from the Athenians a stronghold outside their own country. The Plataians appealed to the oaths the Greeks had taken after the defeat of Mardonios. "What you say is just, Plataians," replied the Spartan, "if you act in accordance with your speech.

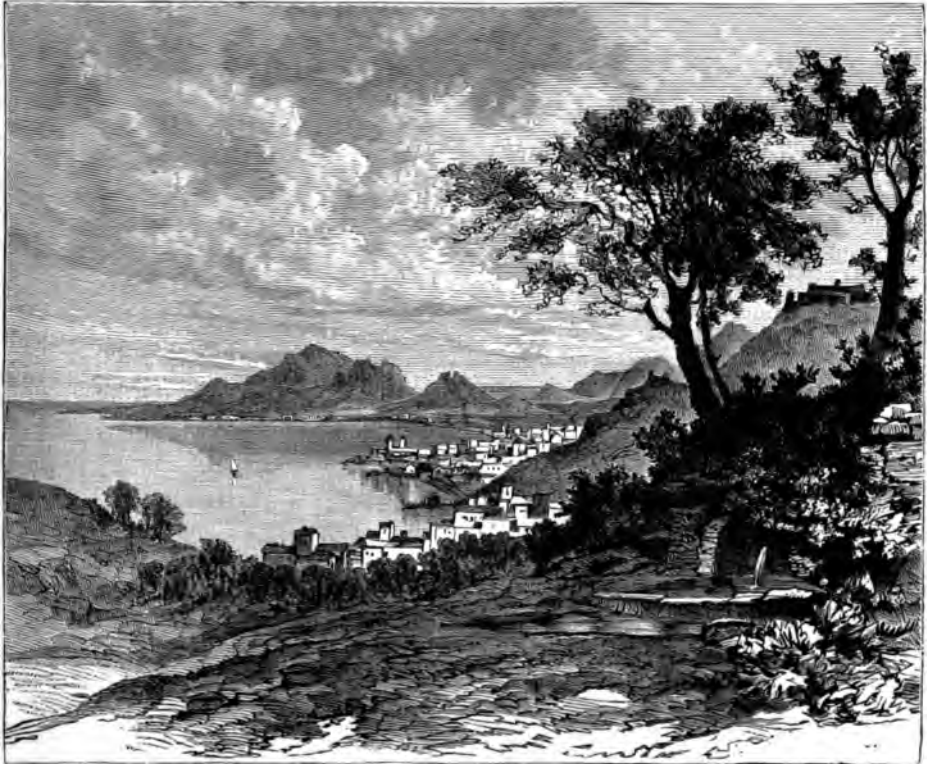
COIN OF THE MOLOSSIANS.²

Enjoy the liberty which Pausanias bequeathed to you, and assist in liberating the rest who shared the dangers of that day, and are now under the rule of the Athenians. Abide by the oaths and take part in this liberation, if you can do so; or else keep quiet in the enjoyment of your own possessions, and do not join either side, but receive both as friends, and neither for warlike purposes. And this will satisfy us." The Plataians replied that they could not do this without permission from the Athenians, who held their wives and children as hostages; and they also feared that the Thebans might come again and seize their city. Archidamos then made a further proposition. "Do you," he said, "give up your city and houses to

¹ Laurelled head of Apollo, left profile. Reverse. ZAKYNΘΟΣ. Asklepeios, as a youth, seated to the left on a rock and caressing a serpent. In the exergue, TE, initials of a magistrate's name. (Silver.)

² ΜΟΛΟΣΣΩΝ. Shield decorated with a thunderbolt. Reverse: thunderbolt in a laurel-wreath. (Bronze.)

us Lacedæmonians, and point out the boundaries of your territory and your trees in number, and whatever else can be counted. And do you remove wherever you please, so long as the war may last. When it is over, we will give back to you that which we have received ; till then we will hold it in trust, cultivating it, and bringing to you such of the produce as may be sufficient for you.”



VIEW OF ZAKYNTHOS.¹

Such a proposition could not be accepted, and at once began this memorable siege, one of the most dramatic episodes of the war. On both sides equal fury was manifested, and all the skill of the period was brought to bear in the military operations undertaken. According to an ancient custom, Archidamos addressed an invocation to the gods and heroes especially worshipped in Plataia, imploring them not to defend the city, but to allow it to be taken by the Spartans. Having thus sought to propitiate the powers above, Archidamos raised a terrace to the height of the wall in

¹ From the Duchess of Devonshire's *Aeneid*.

order to attack on a level, employing seventy days and nights in the work. But the Plataians mined the ground under this terrace until it threatened to give way, and at the same time built their wall higher, and erected another behind it. Against the machines which battered their walls they threw out nooses of rope to catch the heads of the rams, draw them in, and break them off; and also they hung great beams by long iron chains from the extremity of two levers laid upon the wall and extending beyond it, which being suddenly dropped, crushed whatever they fell upon. Storming-parties, surprises, attempts to burn the city by throwing in lighted fagots of brushwood covered with pitch and sulphur,—all were in vain; it became necessary to turn the siege into a blockade. The allies raised a wall of circumvallation around the place, with a ditch in front of it, and



left half their troops there. In the little city there were only four hundred Plataians, eighty Athenians, and a hundred and ten women to make bread for the garrison.

During these operations the Spartans also undertook to drive the Athenians from the Ionian Sea. An expedition directed against Zakynthos and Kephallenia in 430 B. C. had not succeeded. The following year a great attempt was made upon Akarnania. Corinth, Leukadia, Anaktorion, and Ambrakia furnished men or vessels, and the neighboring barbaric tribes, Chaonians, Molossians, Orestinians, were called in to take part. Perdikkas, the ally of Athens, sent secretly a thousand Macedonians; and these forces, with a thousand Spartans, marched upon Stratos, the capital of Akarnania. This army, so diverse and ill-commanded, arrived in disorder, and a vigorous sortie

¹ Inscription on an ex-voto, from Röhl, *Inscript. Graecae antiquiss.*, No. 5. This ex-voto was offered by the Athenians on occasion of the victories of Phormio. It is engraved on a small bronze tablet, broken into three pieces, which was found at Dodona (Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*, pl. 47, and p. xxvi, 2; M. Frankel, *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1878, p. 71). It reads thus: 'Αθηναίοι ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσιων ναυμαχίας νικησάντες ἀ[νθεσάν]. Haussoullier (*Bull. de Corr. hellen.*, 1881, pp. 12 *et seq.*) has shown that the naval victories to which it refers were those gained by Phormio in 429 B. C. in the Gulf of Krissa. Cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. i. No. 28.

from the town dispersed it. A naval victory of Phormio completed the ruin of this enterprise. This officer had but twenty galleys to oppose to the forty-seven that came from the Peloponnesos; accordingly he remained near Naupaktos, affecting a discreet reserve. But at the moment when the hostile fleet crossed the strait he sailed out. The surprised Peloponnesians formed in a circle. Phormio gave orders that his galleys should sail rapidly around this circle, reducing it into a smaller compass by brushing against the vessels, without, however, making an attack until the signal should be given. He waited for a wind from the gulf,



BATTLE NEAR THE SHIPS.¹

which usually rose towards morning, and would throw the Peloponnesians into disorder. As soon as it began to blow, the hostile ships, crowded as they were, fell afoul of each other and were in great danger, which was also increased by the inexperience of the sailors. The battle was already gained when Phormio gave the signal for attack. Many galleys were sunk, and twelve were taken (429 B. C.).²

The Spartans, astonished at such a defeat, attributed it to the incapacity of their admiral. They sent three Spartans, of whom Brasidas was one, to serve as his advisers, and they increased

¹ Vase-painting from Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, vol. iii. pl. 197. The Trojans, led by Hektor, have pursued the Greeks to their ships, which they seek to set on fire. The soldier following Hektor has a torch in his hand. See *Iliad*, xv. 718; xvi. 125 *et seq.*; Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, pp. 421 *et seq.*

² The *Ion* of Euripides, which is a laudation of Athens, was possibly performed soon after this victory, which made a great stir in Greece.

their fleet to seventy-seven vessels. Phormio had asked for reinforcements from Athens, and a squadron was sent him, which, being directed to go first to Krete, arrived too late, so that he was obliged to encounter the hostile fleet with only the same galleys which had gained the recent victory. The Peloponnesians succeeded in intercepting nine of them, and drove them on shore, destroying them, and killing such of the crews as had been unable to make their escape. During this singular sea-fight the remaining eleven Athenian galleys, which had drawn in their pursuit twenty of the enemy, suddenly turned upon their pursuers and compelled them to flee, leaving six of their vessels to the Athenians. One of the Spartan captains killed himself to avoid falling into the enemy's hands, and his body was borne by the waves into the harbor of Naupaktos. Thus, notwithstanding the extreme inequality of the forces, the victory remained, not with the more numerous, but the more skilful, and Athens lost not one of her Western allies.

These brilliant successes did not save Phormio from the fate which demagogues were now beginning to inflict on the best generals. He was, on what pretext we know not, condemned to pay a fine of a hundred minai. Being too poor to pay it, he withdrew into Paionia, whence the Akarnanians called him, with the consent of Athens, to take command of their troops. "It is contrary to law," replied the upright citizen; but it was manifestly a thing which would be very useful to the State, and an effort was made to find some way of evading the law. As the fine could not be legally remitted, Athens appointed him to perform in her behalf certain sacrifices, and allotted him from the treasury for this purpose the exact sum which he owed as a fine. When he died, in 428 B. c., the city gave him an honorable funeral and placed his tomb beside that of Perikles.² Thus were often mingled in the history of this city unjust displeasure and a



COIN OF LEUKAS IN AKARNANIA.¹

¹ Laurelled head of Apollo, left profile; behind it the letter Ξ, mint-mark. Reverse: AEY. Prow of a galley; underneath, the letter Ξ. (Bronze.)

² The Akarnanians asked from Athens his son Asopios for their general (Thucydides, iii. 7; Pausanias i. 23, 29).

generous repentance, which makes her beloved, notwithstanding her faults.

To repair the repeated disasters which Sparta had lately suffered, Brasidas conceived a bold design. He sent the sailors across the isthmus of Corinth, each man carrying his oar, with orders



GOOD ORDER, PERSONIFIED, AND THE PEOPLE CROWNING AN INDIVIDUAL.¹

to launch the forty vessels which were at the time in the shipyards of Nisaia, the seaport of Megara, and sail at once upon defenceless Peiraieus. Instead of making all possible haste, however, in this attack, the newly launched fleet delayed before a fort

¹ Bas-relief carved at the head of an Athenian decree (*Corp. inscr. Attic.*, vol. ii. No. 172); from Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, No. 63. The *Eutasia* was, like the *Evdapia*, a *liturgia*, or public service. (See Thumser, *De civium Atheniensium muneribus eorumque immunitate*, p. 99.) The sculptor has personified it, and represented it at the side of the people; both seem to be placing a wreath upon the head of an individual of lesser stature.

NOTE.—On the opposite page is represented a marble bust with the inscription ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ, in the British Museum (from a photograph). Cf. with busts represented Vol. II. p. 563, and facing p. 1 of this volume.



BUST OF PERIKLES.

in Salamis, whence fire-signals were at once shown towards Athens, and all the Athenians hastened to the defence of their seaport. Learning a lesson from this alarm, they stretched chains across the entrance of both their ports.

Perikles was not able to witness these late successes. The pestilence, which was abating day by day, and had only rarely a victim at this time, at last seized him.¹ He did not die immediately, but his strength gave way by degrees. As he lay at the point of death, his friends and the principal citizens of Athens, seated around his bed, recalled his virtues, his talents, and the nine trophies that he had erected in honor of as many victories. After a time the dying man interrupted them. "You praise me," he said, "for what many others have done also, and you forget the best thing in my life,— I have never caused an Athenian to put on mourning."

This moderation during so long a period of authority is his noblest praise; and as it was his last thought, so it might well be the last word said of him. Let us, however, hear the opinion of Thucydides, one of his political adversaries: "Powerful by means of his high rank and talents, and manifestly proof against bribery, he controlled the multitude with an independent spirit, and was not led by them, but rather himself led them; for he did not say anything to humor them, for the acquisition of power by improper means, but was able on the strength of his character to contradict them even at the risk of their displeasure. Whenever, for instance, he perceived them unseasonably and insolently confident, by his language he would dash them down to alarm; and on the other hand, when they were unreasonably alarmed, he would raise them again to confidence. And so, though in name it was a democracy, in fact it was a government administered by the first man" (429 B. C.).

His tomb was placed in the Kerameikos, among those of soldiers who had fallen in battle.² He himself, indeed, had fallen in the midst of strife, and, as it were, on a battle-field. A few months later, Athens again wept for her great citizen when, in the theatre of Dionysos, Euripides put into the mouth of Theseus the words: "O renowned land of Pallas, of what a man art thou bereaved!"

¹ The recorded symptoms of his disease seem rather to indicate a slow fever.

² Thucydides, ii. 34; Pausanias, i. 29.

The pestilence, of which Perikles was the last victim, had carried off many hoplites and many of the cavalry, — the best class of the Athenian people,¹ that which gave Athens her strength in war and her wisdom in legislation. It had also impaired religious faith, — in former times the source of patriotism, — and the strict morals and social discipline which were matters of no importance to the idle and discontented crowd of peasants sheltered in the city, and to the sailors of Peiræus, accustomed by the continued war to the acts of violence and lawlessness of a military life. The moral disorder produced by the pestilence continued after the evil had itself disappeared. To the contemporaries of Sophokles, Pheidias, Perikles, who had witnessed the peaceful grandeur given by those great Athenians to the city in which they dwelt, succeeded younger men, who were at once sceptical and superstitious, deserting the altars of Athene, of Demeter and Poseidon, and frequent-



ATHENE AND POSEIDON.³

ing those of foreign divinities.² Perikles had been the great moderator of the republic, the representative in politics of that *μηδὲν ἄγαν* which the Delphic oracles advised. After his death, oscillations, more and more violent, were to shake the State, and the

democracy, which its renowned leader had so well understood how to control, by degrees was to become a demagogy, cavilling, suspicious, and savage, invading everything, — deliberating in place of the senate, administering the laws in place of the magistrates, and, forgetful of its ancestors, overthrowing the altar they had reared to Pity. Its political leader was to be Kleon, the tanner, who, on one occasion, would have massacred all the inhabitants of a town after their unconditional surrender, and Alkibiades, the man

¹ This loss was the more manifest since the heavy armed infantry and the cavalry of Athens belonged to its rich or its middle class. The *thetes*, persons of the lowest class (see Vol. I. p. 535), were not enrolled among the hoplites until about 412 B. C. Cf. Harpokration, *s. v. θῆτες*.

² On the introduction into Athens of foreign gods, see Foucart, *Des associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, pp. 56 *et seq.*, and, later, chapter xxiv. of this work.

³ Helmeted head of Athene, right profile. Reverse: ΑΘΗ(ναίων). The dispute between Athene and Poseidon as to the founding of Athens. Between the two, the olive-tree, around which is coiled the serpent Erichthonios; the owl is perched on a branch of the tree. (Bronze coin of Athens.)

of unscrupulous ambition, the descendant of an honorable house fallen to the condition of an adventurer; and its habitual counselors, that vile brood, the flatterers of the populace, "evil cup-bearers, who will pour out to it to intoxication the strong wine of liberty."¹ Democracy at this day is the world's leader; may it escape a like fate!

¹ Plato, *Pol.*, viii. and ii. . . . δημοκρατουμένη πόλις ἐλευθερίας διψήσασα κακῶν οἰνοχόων προστατούντων τύχη . . . μεθυσθή. See also the sombre pictures drawn by Thucydides, iii. 82, 83.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PELOPONNESIAN WAR FROM THE DEATH OF PERIKLES TO THE PEACE OF NIKIAS. (429-421 B. C.)

I.—CRUELTY TOWARDS MYTILENE AND PLATAIA; MASSACRES AT KORKYRA; THE AFFAIR OF SPHAKTERIA.

IT was now the fourth year of the war (428 B. C.), and the anticipations of Perikles had been realized. Notwithstanding the annual ravages of Archidamos, who re-appeared again that summer in Attika, Athens still held the advantage, for she had lost nothing, and had regained possession of Potidaia. But the great statesman had not been able to foresee the disaster that was to fall upon the city,—his own death, a fatal blow to the prosperity of the Athenians. Shortly after, a revolt broke out which shook their authority.

Mytilene, like all the Greek cities, had two parties. The nobles, who held the people in strict subjection,¹ had accepted reluctantly, and only through fear of the Persians, the supremacy of Athens. Although the terms of the early alliance with Mytilene, as with Chios, had remained in force, they both remembered the brilliant days of Pittakos and the time when the whole island of Lesbos was subject to them. We have seen that they solicited secretly the support of Lacedæmon, even before the war of



COIN OF MYTILENE.²

¹ The oligarchy of Mytilene forbade its subjects to teach their children letters or music; so, at least, says Aelianus (*Varia Historia*, ix. 17).

² Laurelled head of Apollo, right profile. Reverse: MYTI (Ἀθηναίων). Lyre of six chords, adorned with a fillet; at the left, the plektron, an ivory stick with which the chords of the lyre were struck. (Silver.)

Korkyra. Encouraged by the Boiotians, who were of their race, they increased the strength of their walls and the number of their ships, compelled the inhabitants of the small towns adjacent to come into the city, and took auxiliaries into pay. Methymnos and Tenedos gave warning at Athens of these preparations. A peaceful embassy sent to Mytilene brought back only a warlike reply, and at the same time it was ascertained that the Peloponnesians had received Mytilene into their alliance. "Athens," said her faithless allies, "enfeebled and ruined by war and pestilence, will not be able to resist a vigorous attack." The Spartans hastened to summon again to arms the allies who had just now returned from a third invasion of Attika, and made ready to convey a fleet across the isthmus, in order to fall upon Athens from all sides.

HEKTE OF LESBOS.¹

History says much of the constancy of the Roman people; not less should be said of the constancy of this people of Athens, who during four years held no more of their own territory than that covered by the city's walls. A squadron had already been sent against Mytilene, and another was on its way towards Akarnania; it seemed that the harbor of Peiraieus must be empty. At news of the project of the Spartans a hundred galleys sailed out from it, and under the eyes of the astonished enemy ravaged the coasts of the Peloponnesos. At this moment Athens had at sea two hundred and fifty vessels; she had an army before Potidaia, another at Mytilene, a third in Akarnania; and how heavy were the sacrifices that she imposed upon herself we may see as we remember that "at the siege of Potidaia each hoplite received two drachmas a day, one for himself, and another for his servant; and on the ships the same pay was received."² In order to meet these expenses the citizens laid upon themselves a tax of two hundred talents. When, in the following summer (427 B. C.), the army of the league a fourth time invaded Attika, the courage of Athens was not shaken;

¹ Veiled head of Demeter, right profile. Reverse: tripod surrounded with fillets. Incused square. (Electrum.)

² Thucydides, iii. 17: . . . *νήεις τε αι πάσαι τον αυτον μισθον εφερον*. In his first *Philippic* Demosthenes speaks of a drachma a day "for the support" of each horseman, and ten drachmas a month for that of a foot-soldier.

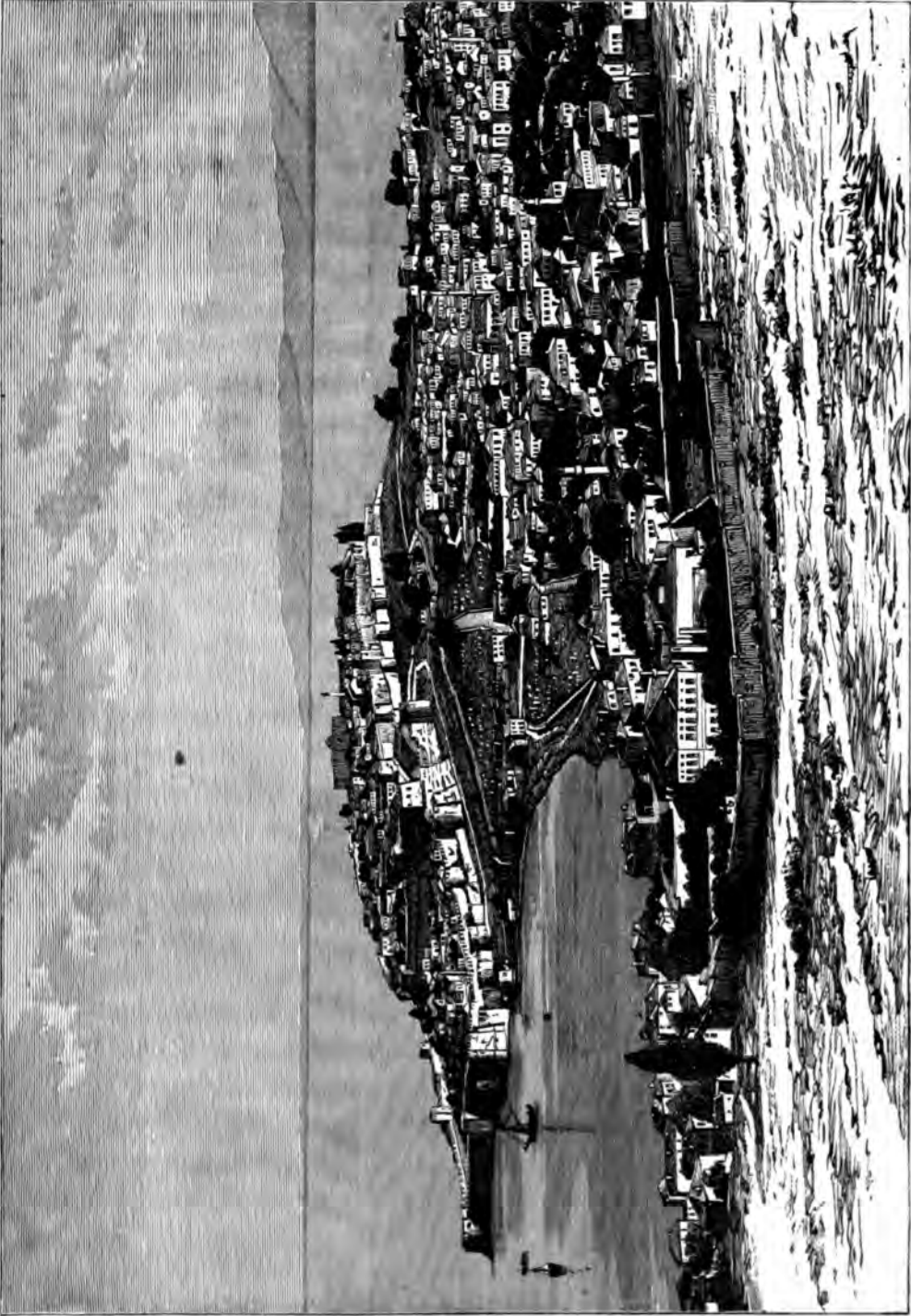
not a galley nor a soldier was recalled from Mytilene; and yet Perikles was no longer there. The Spartan Salethos had taken command in Mytilene. But scarcely had he distributed arms among the people for a general attack on the Athenian lines, when the multitude so long oppressed rose against the nobles. It became necessary to negotiate and to deliver up the place to Paches, the Athenian general.

Here occurs a tragedy. The Spartans had, from the beginning, given to this struggle the character of savage cruelty which the peoples of Southern Europe, Greeks, Romans, Italians of the Middle Ages, and Spaniards, have too often stamped upon their wars. All the allies of Athens, all the traders, fishermen, all neutrals, even, who fell into their hands, were put to death and their bodies left unburied.¹ A Peloponnesian fleet had very lately exhibited along the Ionian coasts that readiness to kill without excuse of incurred peril. The Athenians had not remained behind; their decree against the Megarians will be remembered, and the fact that they put to death Spartan envoys seized on the way to the Persian court. No more compassion had been shown by the Plataians to the Thebans who had attempted to surprise their city. The treason of Mytilene, unjustifiable, since they were the most favored of the allies, had placed Athens in great peril, and brought a Peloponnesian fleet to the coasts of Ionia. They had, therefore, in accordance with the spirit of the times and the character of the war, no reason to expect mercy, any more than Capua had from Rome after surrendering to Hannibal. Among the prisoners sent by Paches was Salethos. His trial was short; notwithstanding the efforts he made to save his life, he was put to death almost immediately on his arrival. In the general exasperation which prevailed at Athens, the atrocious resolution was easily taken, at Kleon's suggestion, to destroy the entire fighting population of Mytilene.

This Kleon, the unworthy successor of Perikles, was—to the great delight of Aristophanes, who draws from the fact endless material for mirth—a tanner, a great friend of the common

¹ Thucydides, ii. 67.

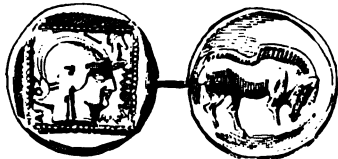
NOTE.—On the opposite page is given a view (from a photograph) of Mytilene. The harbor at the left is the northern port. Cf. the view in Vol. II. p. 279.



VIEW OF MYTILENE.

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people,¹ a great talker, violent, rash, undignified as an orator, having not the decorum and severe eloquence of Perikles, but the tongue and gestures of Peiraieus. This man, who had been once convicted of accepting a bribe, who was but a second-rate orator, a poor general, and a flatterer of the populace, had, however, much energy. At another time this quality was serviceable to him; but in the case of Mytilene it led him into the commission of an evil deed. While the fate of the city was under deliberation he maintained that a conspicuous and terrible example was necessary, and his opinion prevailed. But the people, more right-minded than their leader, returned on the following day to sentiments worthier of Athens. The vessel bearing the sentence of death had twenty-four hours'

ENGRAVED STONE.²SILVER COIN.³

start. With such a message it moved slowly, while the galley which carried the order of reprieve made all possible speed; Paches had just announced in the public square of Mytilene the fatal sentence, and was making ready to execute it, when the second trireme entered the harbor. The thousand partisans of Sparta who had been sent to Athens were, however, put to death,—a massacre cruel enough.⁴ In respect to Mytilene it was decreed that her walls should be razed, her ships confiscated; and the island, except the territory of Methymnos, was divided into three thousand lots. Of these a tenth was devoted to the gods, and the rest distributed among Athenian citizens, who farmed out these fields to Lesbian husbandmen at a rent of two minai for

¹ It seems, according to the scholiast of Aristophanes, that it was Kleon who raised the salary of the judges to three obols. He probably also had a share in making the law of 425 B. C., doubling the tribute of the allies, which was thus raised to twelve or thirteen hundred talents. Andokides, *On Peace*, 68: πλείον ἢ διακόσια καὶ χίλια τάλαντα. Plutarch (*Aristeides*, 40) also says 1,300 talents.

² Asklepios Nikephoros. From Conze, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos*, pl. x. 3, p. 22. Asklepios leans on a staff around which is coiled a serpent: he holds in his hand a statue of Victory. Around is the inscription Ἐπαφροδείτος, name of the possessor of the stone. Asklepios had in the island of Lesbos a celebrated sanctuary.

³ Head of Pallas, right profile, wearing a helmet adorned with a figure of Pegasus; legend: ΜΑΘΥΜΝΑΙΟΣ. The whole in an incused square. Reverse: a wild boar, to the right.

⁴ Thucydides (iii. 50) says rather more than a thousand.

each lot. Mytilene, however, quickly recovered, and again became prosperous.

An example, happily of a different character, was at this time given by Athens to her allies. The conqueror of Lesbos, Paches,



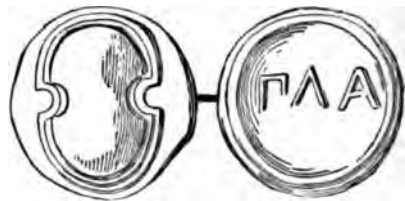
DEATH OF PLANGON, OF PLATAIA.¹

was guilty of unpardonable violence towards two women of Mytilene. On his return to Athens he was brought to trial for the

¹ Funeral stela, discovered at Oropos and preserved in the Central Museum of Athens (Von Sybel, *Katalog*, No. 123; from Lebas, *Voy. archéol., Mon. fig.*, pl. 71). The inscription is complete, and reads thus: Πλάνγων Τολμίδου Πλαταϊκή. Τολμίδης Πλαταεύς. The old man, Tolmides, at the left, his head leaning on his hand, is present at the death of his daughter Plangon, who is sinking back upon her bed, sustained by two women. It will be observed that this funeral stela does not represent the Elysian reunion.

crime; and foreseeing condemnation, fell upon his sword in the presence of the court. Loudly had Athens declared that she would no more pardon crimes than she would revolts (427 B. C.).

The Plataians were made to suffer in retaliation for the murder of the Mytilenians. The Spartans became infuriated against this handful of men who for two years had made so gallant a resistance, repairing the city's walls and building them higher, destroying the enemy's works, breaking their engines of war, braving the rain of burning sulphur and pitch directed against them by their assailants, and the flames which devoured a portion of their city. At last, threatened by famine and almost in despair, they resolved upon a desperate enterprise; namely, to make their escape from the city, going through the besiegers' camp and crossing the double wall and the ditches by which it was protected. By counting the bricks in the enemy's wall they ascertained its height, and made ladders suitable to scale it. At the moment of putting the plan into execution only



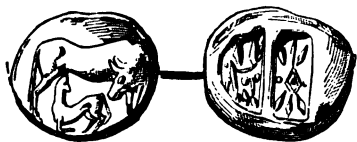
COIN OF PLATAIA.¹

two hundred and twenty men, that is to say, about half the garrison, felt themselves willing to incur the risk. On a cold and dark December night, while the wind blew violently and a rain mingled with snow was falling, they emerged from the city, silent, walking far apart from each other, that their weapons might not clash, and each man having the right foot bare, that he might not slip in the half-frozen mire. They set their ladders up and ascended them: those who went first had only a dagger and a breastplate; others followed with javelins and with shields. A falling brick gave the alarm to the Peloponnesians, who ran hither and thither, not knowing where the danger was, and lighted fire-signals on the side towards Thebes, to indicate that the camp was attacked. The Plataians who had remained in the city lighted other fires upon their walls, so that a confusion of signals took away all meaning from those which the Peloponnesians had employed. The latter sought on every side for the enemy who had caused the

¹ Boiotian buckler. Reverse: ΠΑΑ (*Πλαταιέων*), in the field. Prokesch d'Osten, *Inedita*, pl. ii. n. 57. (Bronze.)

alarm; but the torches they carried revealed them to the Plataians, who, themselves remaining in the shadow, struck with sure aim. The two hundred having succeeded in crossing the camp,¹ took the road towards Thebes to escape pursuit; for the light of the torches revealed to them that they were sought in the direction of Kithairon. After going six or seven stadia in the direction of Thebes, they turned towards the mountains, and arrived safe in Attika to the number of two hundred and twelve.

The garrison of Plataia was thus diminished; but the supply of provisions held out so long that resistance was continued to the middle of the following summer, when, being in danger of starvation, they were obliged to surrender. The Spartans took their



COIN OF KORKYRA.²

revenge for the time the siege had cost them by a cold cruelty all the more odious from the show of justice mingled with it. Five judges were sent out from Sparta, and the prisoners brought before them. No special charge was preferred

against any one, but the question was asked whether they had done the Peloponnesians any service during the present war. They made a reply at some length, defending their conduct as allies of Athens, complaining of the Thebans, and reminding their judges of the glorious battle in which they had defeated the Medes; they said:—

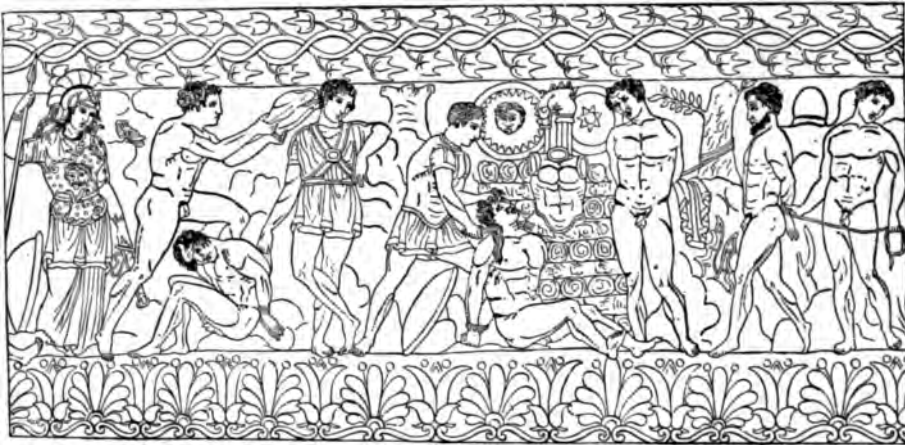
“We entreat you, as is suitable for us and as our need induces us to do, with invocations to the gods who are worshipped at the same altar and by all the Greeks in common, that we may prevail on you in these things. Pleading the oaths which your fathers swore, we pray that you will not be unmindful of them. We beseech you by your fathers’ tombs, and appeal for aid to the dead, that we may not come under the Theban power, nor those who are dearest to them be given up to those who are most hateful.”

In conclusion, they declared that they would sooner have died the most inglorious death—that of famine—than surrender to

¹ Thucydides (iii. 23) speaks of ice, which, coating the water with which rain had filled the ditches, broke under the soldiers’ weight.

² Cow suckling her calf. Reverse: two rectangles incused, in the centre of each those geometrical figures generally regarded as a type of the gardens of Alkinoös; Mr. Percy Gardner, however, sees in them a type of solar origin, connected with the worship of the god Aristaios or of Apollo Nomios. Silver. (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1881, pp. 1 *et seq.*)

the Thebans, but that they confided in and capitulated to the Spartans. Wherefore they urged that it was but just, if the Peloponnesians would listen to them, they should at least be restored to the same position and allowed to take the risk which they preferred. The Thebans followed with a very bitter speech, after which the original question being repeated, whether they had done the Peloponnesian allies any service during the war, the prisoners replied that they had not; and were led away and killed to a

SCENE OF MASSACRE.¹

man. Two hundred Plataians thus perished, and twenty-five Athenians who were with them; and the women were sold as slaves. Thucydides says (iii. 68):—

“As for the city, the Thebans gave it for about a year to some of the Megarians to inhabit who had been banished by party influence, and to such of the Plataians on their own side as still survived. Afterwards they razed the whole of it to the ground from the very foundations, and built to the sacred precinct of Here an inn two hundred feet square, with rooms all round, above and below, making use of the roofs and doors of the Plataians; and with the rest of the furniture in brass and iron that was within the wall they made couches and dedicated them to

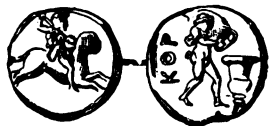
¹ Fragment of a chest of Præneste (from Raoul-Rochette, *Monum. inéd. d'antiq. figurée*, pl. xx.). In the centre is the funeral pile of Patroklos, covered with the armor of the hero; a Greek, at the left, is bringing his greaves. The sanguinary offering has already begun. Achilleus is slaying a Trojan captive. Others held by Greeks or tied to trees are awaiting the same fate. Athene, standing at the left, looks on at the scene. See *Iliad*, xxiii. 175 et seq. (Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, pp. 484 et seq.)

the goddess, building also in her honor a stone chapel a hundred feet square. The land they confiscated and let out for ten years, its occupiers being Thebans."

It is extraordinary that Athens made no attempt to save the Plataians. All the early cruelty reappears in this fratricidal war; on each side prisoners were murdered, and each man resigned himself in advance to undergo the fate which, if victorious, he would have inflicted. Like heroes to whom a fatal duty is intrusted and the order given, "Go thither and let yourselves be killed," the Plataians, voluntary victims, had by their sacrifice served the common cause. They were admired, but they were not succored, because it would have been necessary to risk an engagement on land, and Athens reserved all her strength for her fleet. Gladly, however, would we tell of heroic rashness; they at times succeed who venture a forlorn hope.

Sparta in this affair played an odious part: the ceremonial of a trial, the judges, the questioning, — this parody of justice, in a word, was more abominable than the slaughter after the battle. She however claimed to have acted with strict legality. The alliance with Athens, she said, was treason against Hellas, and there should be no mercy for traitors. To resist Sparta became an inextinguishable crime.

At Korkyra, as elsewhere, the aristocracy and the people, the rich and the poor, the former supported by Sparta, the latter by Athens, disputed furiously for the supremacy. For some time these internal discords brought no other catastrophe than the exile of the feebler party; now that the unsuccessful could appeal to outsiders for aid, these strifes were to assume a character of frightful cruelty.

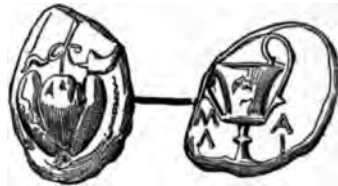


COIN OF KORKYRA.¹

The rich Korkyraians made prisoners by Corinth at the battle of Sybota had been treated with great consideration in that city, and then released as useful instruments for effecting a revolution in Korkyra. Since their return home they endeavored to fulfil the secret condition of their release, by bringing over the island to the party of the Peloponnesians. Peithias, leader of the popular

¹ Dionysos, holding a thyrsos, on a leaping panther, to the right. Reverse: KOP (Κορκυραίων). A satyr, a wine-skin on his shoulder, pours its contents into a krater. (Bronze.)

faction, accused by them of betraying the country, in his turn accuses five of them, who thereupon assassinate him in the senate, murder sixty of his partisans, promise liberty to the slaves, and call in the Peloponnesians. The popular party, at first taken by surprise, recovers itself; twelve Athenian vessels arrive from Naupaktos and give it the advantage. Fifty-three galleys from the Peloponnesos arrive; but the Athenians, notwithstanding their numerical inferiority, hold their ground after a victory of which the Spartan commander is not able to take proper advantage. Warned by fire-signals that sixty Athenian galleys are approaching, he withdraws and sails for home; and then begins a horrible massacre. The nobles and their partisans had taken shelter in a temple. To induce them to quit this asylum, a fair hearing is promised them; fifty, who are prevailed upon to leave the temple, are condemned to death, and the remainder perish by their own hands in the sanctuary.

DRACHMA OF MELOS.¹

During seven days massacre prevailed in Korkyra, and all evil passions took opportunity to glut themselves: debtors killed their creditors; personal hostilities took the pretext of public vengeance. Five hundred, who had made their escape, fortified themselves upon a hill where they remained for two years. At last, compelled by Athens to surrender, they were carried across to an island to be kept in custody till they were sent to Athens, with the understanding that if any one attempted to make his escape, the lives of all would be forfeited. To secure their destruction the democratic party laid a treacherous plan. False friends advised the prisoners to make their escape at once, assuring them that it was the intention of the Athenian general to give them up to the Korkyraian populace. The device succeeded; a number of the prisoners were captured on board a vessel which had been provided by those who were seeking their destruction, and the Athenian general at once gave them all up to the Korkyraians. They were shut up in a large building; and being led out by twenties, were made to pass between two rows of soldiers, who murdered them in cold blood. Sixty

¹ On the obverse, a pomegranate. Reverse: ΜΑΜΙ (Μαλίω). Dionysiac kantharos.
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had thus been led out and put to death, when the survivors in the building came to the knowledge of what was going on outside. They refused to come out, and the Korkyraians, having taken off the roof of the building, discharged arrows at them and threw down tiles from above. The prisoners took their own lives by whatever means they could. This frightful scene lasted through the night, and when it was day the Korkyraians heaped the dead bodies upon wagons and carried them out of the city (425 B. C.). In the same year the Corinthians, driven out of Anaktorion, were



SCENE OF COMBAT ON A VASE FROM MELOS.¹

replaced in that important position by the Akarnanians, their enemies; and henceforth the ships of Athens could freely sail the Ionian Sea, where not a Corinthian vessel dared to show itself.

It must be said that only after these massacres did Korkyra recover its tranquillity. Nothing less would have accomplished this result; so savage was the hatred on both sides that one party must have perished by the hand of the other before peace could come into this city drained of its life-blood. But who gave the signal for all this perfidy and violence? Those who, without just cause, wished to separate Korkyra from Athens, and had murdered Peithias in the open senate,—the faction of the nobles.

In this war of Korkyra, says Thucydides, —

“ whatever ordinarily happens in such a state of things took place, and still more. For father murdered son, and men were dragged out of sanctuaries

¹ From A. Conze, *Melische Thongefässe*, pl. 3. This is an extremely archaic vase; although the painter has reached the stage when the human figure is represented, he still takes care to fill all the vacant spaces with flowers or geometrical ornaments.

or slain in them, while in that of Dionysos some were walled up and perished, — so savagely did the sedition proceed; and it appeared to do so all the more from having been among the earliest. For afterwards even the whole of Greece, so to say, was convulsed; struggles being everywhere made by the popular leaders to call in the Athenians, and by the oligarchical party, the Spartans. . . . The States were torn by sedition, and later instances, from having heard what had been done before, exhibited an excessive refinement of ideas, both in the eminent cunning of their plans and the monstrous cruelty of their vengeance. In peace and prosperity both communities and individuals have better feelings, through not falling into urgent needs; whereas war, by taking away the free supply of daily wants, is a teacher of violence, and assimilates most men's tempers to their present condition."

These massacres at Korkyra, Mytilene, Plataia, and soon after at Melos, were doubly disastrous, since iniquity falls back upon those who commit it, thus repeating itself. In this renewal of former barbarities the sentiment of justice and law was everywhere weakened, and almost destroyed.

As if Nature had her share in the general disorder, earthquakes were felt in Attika, Euboa, the whole region of Boiotia, but especially at Orchomenos. The pestilence had never entered the Peloponnesos; but it now recurred in Attika, and raged for a whole year. Since its first appearance the disease had carried off four thousand three hundred hoplites, three hundred cavalrymen, and a great multitude in civil life. It now was making its last attack. To appease the god whom all filth offended, the Athenians purified the island of Apollo, as the Peisistratidai had done at an earlier period.¹ The remains of the dead who had been buried in Delos were exhumed; it was forbidden that any one should be born or die in the island; the sick were carried to the neighboring island of Rheneia.² Lastly, there were instituted in honor of Apollo games and horse-races which were to be celebrated every four years:³ the Greeks, like the Romans,

¹ See Vol. II. p. 8.

² The gods could not behold a dead body. Apollo, the guest of Admetos, goes away when Alkestis is about to die; Artemis leaves Hippolytos before he expires. "Adieu," she says to him; "receive my last farewell: it is not permitted me to behold a dead body." The Juno of the *Æneid* abandons Turnus in the same way at his last hour. Among the Romans to meet a corpse caused pollution, which required purification.

³ Delos is now deserted and completely ravaged. For a thousand years and more the inhabitants of the adjacent islands, Mykonos, Tenos, and Syros have regarded its ancient

believed that thus they would gain the protection of the god who in his statue was present at these festivals. The Ionians, excluded

from the festivals of the Peloponnesos, attended the Delian Games in crowds, where Nikias distinguished himself by the magnificence of his gifts the first time that they took place. In one night he caused a bridge nearly half a mile in length to be thrown across the strait which separates Delos from Rheneia, and this bridge to be decorated with garlands and covered with carpets, for the procession of the dead exiled, from religious motives, from the sacred island (425 B. C.).



FUNERAL STELA OF DELOS.¹

ness in the choice of leaders. Vainly did Kleon rant; none but generals tested by long service, even where they were noble, rich, and desirous of peace, — like Demosthenes and Nikias, — com-

buildings as a quarry. They have burned its most precious marbles to make chalk (Lebègue, *Recherches sur Délos*). Recent excavations by Homolle, Hauvette, S. Reinach, and others have brought to light many inscriptions, numerous carvings, the foundations of many temples, and also of magazines constructed in the time when Delos, under the Roman sway, was the emporium of the Ægean.

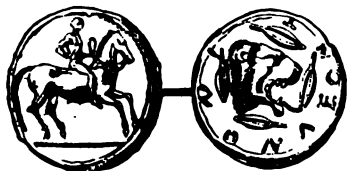
¹ Stela discovered in the island of Rheneia and preserved in the Central Museum of Athens. (L. von Sybel, *Katalog*, No. 487; from the *Expédition de Morée*, vol. iii. pl. 20, 1, and the *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1871, pl. 53a, 1.) The dead man whose name is given by the inscription (Γλύκων Πρωτογένου χρηστὲ χαίρει) is represented seated on a rock, his head leaning sadly on his hand; near him is the prow of a vessel. This is the usual monument for a person who has died at sea.

manded the armies. At Mytilene, at Korkyra, those who had put their trust in Lacedæmon had perished; the destruction of Plataia was the only defeat Athens had undergone. Already she was turning her attention towards Sicily; twenty galleys were sent thither to aid the Leontines against Syracuse. The pretext was that the Athenians were of kindred origin with the Leontines; in reality, Athens was anxious to stop the importation of Sicilian cereals into the Peloponnesos.

Demosthenes was a true general, enterprising and able; to him war was a science requiring plans, and not courage alone. Leaving his colleague Nikias to operate in the seas adjacent to Athens, he sailed into the western waters, aiming to destroy the influence of Corinth in the very gulf that bore her name. Assisted by the Akarnanians, he had conquered on land in the year preceding (426 B. C.), by superior strategy, the Peloponnesians, who lost so many of their number in the battle of Olpai that he was able to consecrate, in the temples



BRONZE COIN.¹



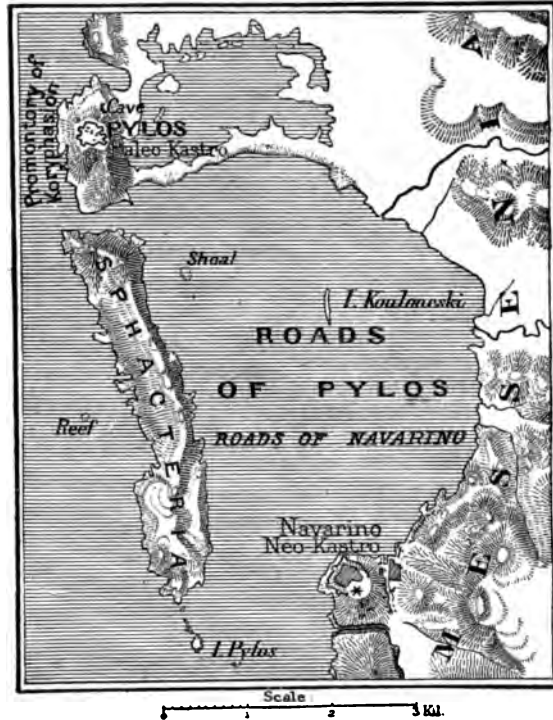
SILVER COIN.²

of Athens, three hundred suits of armor as his part of the spoils. But this Akarnanian war, which Thucydides relates at great length, could have no serious results. A bold enterprise of Demosthenes appeared at one time to be about to bring it to an end. He had remarked, on sailing round the Peloponnesos, the advantageous position of Pylos, a promontory on the coast of Messenia which commands the present harbor of Navarino, the best seaport of the peninsula, which the Spartans had left unoccupied since the Messenian wars. It seemed to him that if he could seize this promontory and establish there a Messenian garrison, "he should, as it were, fasten a lighted torch to the flank of the Peloponnesos." He obtained from the people permission to attempt something; but when the fleet, which was on its way to Korkyra and Italy, arrived before Pylos, the generals in command were

¹ ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙΩΝ. Ship under sail; on the deck are visible the pilot and six oarsmen. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Korkyra with the effigy of Septimius Severus.)

² Horseman, nude, riding to the right. Reverse: ΑΕΟΝΤΙΝΩΝ. Lion's head, with open mouth, to the right; around, four grains of barley. (Coin of Leontinoi.)

alarmed, and refused to carry out the project. The winds, however, favored Demosthenes; heavy gales drove the Athenians towards the coast and compelled them to remain inactive, until at last the



MAP OF PYLOS AND SPAKTERIA.

troops, wearied with inactivity, "were seized with a desire," says Thucydides, "to set to and fortify the post. Accordingly they took the work in hand and proceeded with it, though they had no iron tools, but carried stones just as they picked them up, and put them together as they severally might happen to fit; while the mortar, whenever it was necessary to use any, for want of hods, they carried on their backs, stooping down in such a way that it might best lie on, and clasping their hands behind them to prevent its falling off. Indeed, in every way they made haste to anticipate the Lacedæmonians by completing the most assailable points of the work, . . .



BRONZE COIN.¹

¹ ΠΥΛΟΝ. Statue of a couchant ram on a base. (Reverse of a coin with the effigy of Septimius Severus.)

for the greater part of the position was strong by nature, and had no need of fortifications." At the end of six days the rampart was nearly finished, and the fleet sailed away, leaving Demosthenes with five galleys to defend the position (425 B. C.).¹

Sparta was justly alarmed at news of the seizure of Pylos, for it made an excellent station for hostile fleets on the west coast of the Peloponnesos; and thence also the Athenians could invade all



VIEW OF PYLOS.²

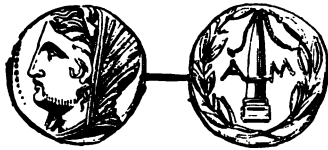
Messenia, and even perhaps instigate a new outbreak of the Helots. The Peloponnesian army in Attika was at once recalled, after a campaign of only two weeks, and also the fleet which was off Korkyra, to the end that Pylos should be at once blockaded by land and sea. The harbor of this place was barred across its entrance by the island of Sphakteria, about a mile and a half in length. Here the Lacedæmonians posted four hundred and twenty

¹ In the *Andromache* of Euripides, first played in 425 B. C., occurs an outburst of the poet's anger against the Spartans, with which his audience were completely in sympathy.

² From the *Expédition de Morée*, vol. 1. pl. 5, fig. 2. The view is taken from the extremity of the island of Sphakteria (cf. map, preceding page), across the narrow channel, between the roads and the sea. It includes the promontory Koryphasion, on which stood the ancient city. On the summit was the akropolis of Pylos, below, at the right, is the little harbor, where may still be seen the ruins of an ancient pier.

hoplites, and barred the channel on either side with a close line of vessels, their prows turned towards the open sea. On the outside Pylos had scarcely any other protection than that which the difficulties of effecting a landing gave it. On this side, however, the attack began: it lasted two days, and was unsuccessful. Brasidas, fighting gallantly, was covered with wounds and lost his shield, which the waves carried in to the Athenians. However, the Spartans were not yet defeated, when forty galleys of the Athenians, arriving from Zakynthos, attacked them and drove them upon the land. Upon this Sphacteria was closely blockaded, while the Peloponnesians went into camp on the land, and from time to time made attacks upon the fort.

At news of what had occurred Sparta was in consternation. Her population had steadily decreased since the time of Lykourgos. It was then 9,000; at the period of the battle of Plataia it had fallen to 5,000; a quarter of a century later there were but 700; and at the time of which we speak the loss of those held besieged by Athens was irreparable.



COIN OF AMBRAKIA.¹

The ephors went in person to Pylos to examine the state of affairs, and saw no other course possible than to conclude an armistice with the Athenian generals. It was agreed that envoys should be sent from Sparta to Athens; and in the mean time an armistice was concluded, the Athenians allowing the Spartans to send rations to their army openly, under the eyes of the Athenians, so long as no vessel should attempt to sail in by stealth; and themselves agreeing, while they kept guard over the island, that they would not land on it, and would make no attack on the Peloponnesian troops either by land or sea. On the other side, the Spartans should bring to Pylos and deliver up to the Athenians the ships with which they had fought the battle, and all their other vessels of war, to be retained during the armistice, and should make no attack on the fort by land or sea.

The envoys from Sparta appeared at Athens, and contrary to their wont made a long address in the public assembly, offering

¹ Veiled and laurelled head of Dione, left profile. Reverse: AM (Ἀμβρακιῶτων). Obelisk adorned with fillets. The whole surrounded by a laurel-wreath. (Drachma.)

peace and alliance and close friendship, and asking in return their men held besieged in Sphakteria; and they added that as soon as this was agreed, every other State in the Peloponnesian league would also lay down their arms. How quickly were forgotten the causes of complaint urged against Athens when the war began! To save some of their fellow-citizens the Spartans abandoned their allies and the cause which they had a little while before considered so just. And indeed a year earlier they had betrayed the people of Ambrakia after the defeat at Olpai. Unfortunately, Perikles was no longer there to urge upon the Athenians a wise generosity. Kleon induced the assembly to demand the restitution of the places given up by Athens at the time the thirty years' truce was concluded.¹ These were conditions which the deputies could not accept, and they departed, leaving everything unsettled.

The armistice ceased on their arrival at home; but the Athenians, on pretext of some violation of the agreement, refused to give up the vessels. This was a useless act of perfidy, for these vessels could have been of no use to the Spartans. Famine was the great danger which the besieged had to apprehend; the island, well wooded as it was, could not be taken by storm without difficulty and danger. Liberty was offered to Helots who should carry provisions thither. Many attempted this, and were successful. The four hundred and twenty were able to hold out until the beginning of winter.

There was reason to fear that in the severe weather the Athenians themselves in Pylos would have great difficulty in obtaining food. Already the army suffered, and this was known at Athens. Kleon, who had caused the rejection of the Spartan proposals, now complained of the generals. That hostilities were so prolonged was due, he said, to their lack of resolution. And this was true, for the Athenians had ten thousand men at Pylos against the four hundred and twenty Spartans. Nikias, always timid, believed, even with the forces they had, that success was impossible, and, to embarrass Kleon, he recommended him to go to Sphakteria himself. Kleon hesitated; but the people, also grown impatient, took him at his word. He could make no excuse, and was obliged to go, promising on his departure that in

¹ Vol. II pp. 558, 559.

twenty days the affair should be ended. And indeed no more time was needed when once it was resolved to attack the island. Kleon wisely asked the aid of Demosthenes as his colleague, and did nothing without consulting this able general. A few days before his arrival at Pylos a fire, lighted for cooking food and carelessly left burning, had spread to the trees and had nearly consumed the forest with which the island was covered. This accident removed the principal danger of the landing. Demosthenes prepared for this and, with Kleon, accomplished it. They set out by night, embarking their heavy armed troops, to the number of about eight hundred, on board a few vessels, and a little before morning effected a landing on each side of the island, and advanced on a run against an old fort rudely built of stone which they thought it might be useful for them to hold. This they seized, and put to the sword the guard posted there.

As soon as morning dawned they were largely reinforced by light troops, and rapidly made their way over the island, harassing the enemy from the high ground, and greatly terrifying the Spartans, who were not accustomed to an enemy fighting and running at the same time, and filling the air with shouts. The dust and cinders from the burnt wood were rising in every direction and obscured the view, and no one could see before him for the arrows and stones which, together with the dust, were flying from such a host of men. The caps worn by the Spartans did not protect them against the arrows, and they could make no use of their own weapons, nor could they hear, owing to the louder shouts of the enemy, their own word of command; danger surrounded them on every side, and they could see no means of defending and saving themselves. To render the conflict less unequal, they fell back into a fort on the extremity of the island, and here through the day both sides held out. At last a corps of Messenians, who had succeeded in reaching still higher ground behind the fort, suddenly appeared in the rear; and upon this the Spartans gave way. Anxious to take them alive to Athens, Kleon and Demosthenes offered them terms. The officer who had been first in command was among the slain, and the second lay dying; the third, Styphon, asked permission to communicate with the camp on the mainland before replying. He was allowed to do so, and received answer:

“The Lacedæmonians bid you provide for your own interests, so long as you do nothing dishonorable.” Thereupon they gave up their arms and surrendered. This, it would seem, was no longer a disgrace at Sparta. One hundred and twenty-eight had been slain in the engagement. Of the survivors about one hundred and twenty were Spartans, and probably of noble families. The blockade had lasted seventy-two days, for about twenty of which, while the envoys were gone to treat for peace, the troops had received provisions; and on the surrender of the island there were still left corn and other kinds of food.

“Of all the events of the war,” says the historian (iv. 40), “this happened most to the surprise of the Greeks; for their opinion of the Lacedæmonians was, that neither for famine nor any other form of necessity would they surrender their arms, but would keep them and fight as they could till they were killed. Indeed, they did not believe that those who had surrendered were men of the same stamp with those who had fallen. And thus one of the allies of the Athenians, some time after, asked one of the prisoners from the island, by way of insult, if those of them who had fallen were honorable and brave men; to which the prisoner replied that an arrow would be of great value if it knew the brave men from the rest, — thus meaning to say that any one was killed who came in the way of stones and arrows.”

This was a very Athenian reply for a Spartan to make; in the time of Leonidas a different answer would have been returned (425 B. C.).

The victory at Sphakteria considerably increased the favor with which the Athenian people regarded Kleon. A decree gave him the right to be henceforward supported at the public expense; and to immortalize the memory of his success a statue of Victory was erected on the Akropolis. Aristophanes revenged himself by putting on the stage, six months later, his comedy of *The Knights*,¹ where Kleon, “the Paphlagonian,” is the slave who creeps into favor with old Demos to rob him, causes the good servants Nikias and Demosthenes to be beaten, and serves up to the master this cake, Pylos, which Demosthenes alone had prepared. We may, however, say in conclusion that while all the honor of this affair did really belong to Demosthenes, Kleon certainly manifested in it an

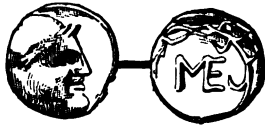
¹ The comedy of *The Knights* was played early in 424 B. C.; *The Acharnians* in the preceding year.

energy, which was by no means useless; that it does not appear even in the narrative of Thucydides that he conducted himself ill as soldier or leader; and, lastly, that what he promised to do he did.

II. — NIKIAS, DEMOSTHENES, AND BRASIDAS; PEACE OF 421 B. C.

THE balance of power was now disturbed; fortune leaned to the side of the Athenians. But while Sparta economically led her army from Lakonia into Attika, Athens was ruining herself by keeping fleets in all the Greek seas, and recruiting, by the expenditure of money, the sailors who manned them. Her annual expenses averaged twenty-five hundred talents [nearly three million dollars]. In 425 B. C., the resources accumulated by Perikles having been exhausted, it became necessary to increase the tribute of the allies and the income-tax paid by citizens. One of these measures was destined later to cause defections; the other, which weighed upon the rich, would cause conspiracies against the popular government, — formidable germs, to be developed in the future.¹

The Athenians as yet did not suffer from these evils, and they followed up their victories with great vigor. Nikias, with a large force, landed on the isthmus, defeated the Corinthians, and then captured Methone on the peninsula which, between Troizen and Epidaurus, stretches out towards Aigina. They built a wall across the peninsula, and left a garrison; and from this post, which by fire-signals was within reach of Peiraieus, the Athenians made continual incursions into Argolis (425). The following year Nikias took the island of Kythera, off the southern coast of the Peloponnesos, and hence a



BRONZE COIN.²

¹ From the year 428 B. C. the treasures of the gods and the reserves of the State, excepting the thousand talents kept for an extremity, had been expended, and it was already necessary that those in charge of the property of the temples should make advances to the State. The *εἰσφορά*, or tax on the rich, during the siege of Mytilene gave two hundred talents. The tribute paid by the allies, nearly doubled in 425, came to be twelve or thirteen hundred talents. (See above p. 251, n. 1.)

² Head of Hephaistos wearing the pilos, right profile. Reverse: ME (*Μεθωνίων*), in a wreath formed of two stems of wheat. Coin of Methone.

point where vessels could be detained which were approaching the coast, or a landing upon it effected. Moreover, the island looks towards the Kretan sea and the Sicilian, where at this very moment Athens had a fleet supporting the cities at war with Syracuse. The importance of the position of Kythera secured for its inhabitants mild conditions; Nikias gave them an Athenian garrison, but required from them a tribute of only four talents.

After having ravaged Lakonia with impunity for seven days, Nikias returned to Thyrea in Kynouria, where the Spartans had



VIEW OF KYTHERA.¹

established the Aiginetans. He took the city, notwithstanding the neighborhood of a Spartan army, which dared not defend it; and his prisoners, sent to Athens, were put to death there. The new law, if we may so call this return to barbarism, was become more firmly established: an enemy was a criminal, and defeat on the battle-field was equivalent to a sentence of death. About this time took place that tragedy, the story of which we should receive with incredulity were it not affirmed by Thucydides; namely, the murder of two thousand of the bravest among the Helots, for the purpose of reducing the strength of the whole body and alarming those among them whom the success of Athens might have led to meditate revolt. Stunned by so many disasters, and rendered uneasy by seeing the war made permanent near Lakonia, at Pylos,

¹ From Dr. Louis Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, p. 8.

at Kythera, and in Kynouria, the Spartans hesitated as to their next step. "They were very cautious . . . , in consequence of the severe and unexpected blow which had befallen them in Sphakteria, and of the occupation of Pylos and Kythera, and of their being



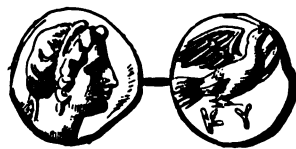
BAS-RELIEF OF THYREA.¹

surrounded on all sides by a war that was rapid, and defied all precaution." The Athenians, on the contrary, were full of confidence in their good fortune. The Sicilian Greeks having ended their wars by a reconciliation, the generals whom Athens had in that island allowed themselves to be included in the treaty. "But on the arrival of the generals the Athenians at home banished two of

¹ Bas-relief discovered on the site of Thyrea and preserved in the Central Museum of Athens (L. von Sybel, *Katalog*, No. 319; from a photograph). This is an ex-voto to Asklepios; at the right are the gods, at the left the worshippers. Asklepios, leaning on a staff around which is coiled a serpent, is attended by his family, — his daughter Hygeia and his sons Machaon and Padaleiros; the latter holds in the left hand a strigil, like an athlete. These four are looking at the first worshipper. The others are Akaso, Iaso, and Panakeia, three daughters of Asklepios.

them and fined the third, on the belief of their having been bribed to return when they might have subjugated the whole island. In their present success the Athenians presumed that they could meet with no impediment, but equally achieve what was possible and impossible, whether with ample or deficient resources."¹ This was a premonition of the fatal madness which later seized them when Alkibiades induced them to decide on the unfortunate expedition to Sicily.

At the time of which we speak, Demosthenes, a wiser man, proposed only a conquest which might have been made or attempted a long while before. Discord prevailed at Megara. One faction at last drove out the other; but the proscribed, finding shelter at Pagai, infested the whole of the Megarid, which the Athenians regularly every year ravaged.³ A part of the people was wearied

BRONZE COIN.²

of this situation, and formed a conspiracy to admit the Athenians. The plot failed. Demosthenes, however, took advantage of it to cross the Long Walls, seize Nisaia, and occupy the island of Minoa, at the entrance of this harbor. Brasidas, hastening into Megara, opened the gates to the exiles; they had been made to swear that the past should be buried in oblivion. On returning they put to death a hundred of their adversaries, and from that time Megara remained subject to the most jealous of oligarchies.

Thus Athens everywhere took the offensive, and Sparta, terror-stricken, remained inactive; she appealed again to the Great King, with more urgency than ever, thus betraying the cause of all Greece, and her old glory of Thermopylai. The Athenians arrested in Greece the Persian Artaphernes. In the letter of which he was the bearer the king complained that he could not understand the intentions of the Spartans, no two of their envoys saying the same thing; and to obtain correct information he said that he now sent them a deputy. Athens essayed to neutralize these efforts of

¹ Thucydides, iv. 55 and 65

² Coin of Kythera. Diademed head of Aphrodite, right profile. Reverse: ΚΥ(θηρίων). Dove flying to the right.

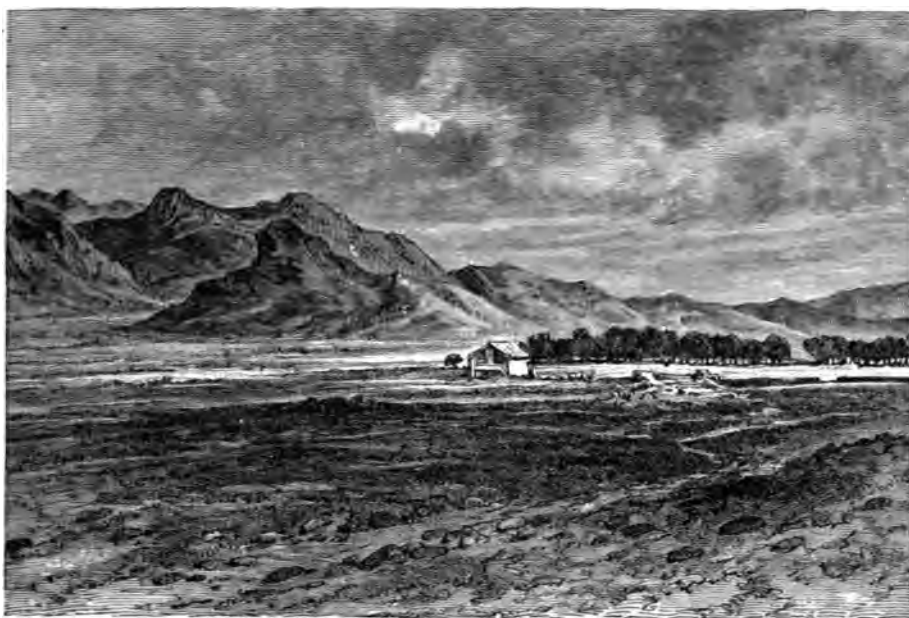
³ Aristophanes in *The Acharnians* (760 *et seq.*) depicts the extreme destitution of the Megarians. One of them seeks to sell at Dikeopolis his two children for a bunch of garlic and a little salt.

Lacedæmon, perhaps to supplant her in the favor of the king. The Persian Artaphernes was sent home, courteously accompanied by an embassy. Greece was about to have at this time the shameful spectacle, which later was not spared her, of the sons of the conquerors at Salamis and Plataia at the feet of the son of Xerxes. But the deputies learned at Ephesos that the Great King was dead, and they went no farther. But by this unhappy design Athens had betrayed her history and her destinies. She expiated it almost immediately by reverses.

The able plan of Demosthenes had succeeded; the Peloponnesos was surrounded by a ring of hostile posts. It remained only to close the isthmus, and the Spartans would be prisoners in their peninsula. It was possible to do this by occupying Megara, but, better still, by bringing Boiotia into the alliance of Athens. The attempt upon Megara having failed, Demosthenes turned towards Boiotia. He had established relations with some of the inhabitants of Chaironaia, who promised to deliver up the city to a detachment of Athenians sent out silently from Naupaktos, and seconded by the Phokidians. He himself undertook to surprise Siphai, on the Gulf of Kirrha; on the coast of Euboia the Athenian general Hippokrates had orders to seize Delion. These three enterprises were to be executed on the same day; if they succeeded, Boiotia would be, like the Peloponnesos, surrounded by a hostile belt, and Thebes would be separated from Sparta. But too many were in the secret for it to be kept; the enemy had time to make preparations, and the three Athenian detachments, failing to combine their movements, lost the advantage of a simultaneous attack. The advance upon Siphai and upon Chaironeia failed, and Hippokrates, delayed for some days, saw collected against him all the Boiotian forces which it had been hoped to scatter. He was able, however, to occupy and fortify the temple of Apollo at Delion. To the Boiotians this was a profanation; and it seemed so to many of the Athenians, who on this account went into the fight with less courage. A thousand men, with their leader, perished in the action; contrary to usage, the Thebans allowed their bodies to remain unburied for seventeen days, until the taking of Delion, regarding the dead soldiers as sacrilegious persons, whose wandering souls must find punishment in the under-world.

Sokrates had taken part in this engagement; with his friend Laches and some other heroic Athenians, he had fallen back step by step before the Theban cavalry. While he was exhibiting on the battle-field a coolness and courage like this, Aristophanes was writing *The Clouds*.

There was but one really great Spartan at this time, Brasidas, the man who had saved Megara, threatened Peiraiæus, and almost

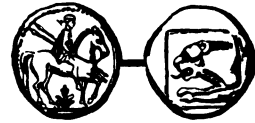


PLAIN BETWEEN MEGARA AND ELEUSIS.¹

been successful against Demosthenes at Pylos. Intelligent, and brave even to rashness, he used moreover a weapon which, especially among the Greeks, could make cruel wounds, but, as a rule, had been unskilfully handled by the Spartans, — eloquence. The sea was closed against him; he proposed on shore to injure Athens in her fortune and her fame. What she had done against Sparta at Pylos, at Kythera, at Methone, Brasidas advised doing against her in Chalkidike and Thrace. It was not the same thing. Athens had really put the Peloponnesos in a state of siege; and it was not possible by victories at any point on the Greek mainland to hold her

¹ From Stackelberg, *La Grèce*. At the left are the summits of Mount Parnes; at the right the foot-hills of Aigaleos.

in turn besieged. The sea was her strength; there she had gained her empire, and there it must be taken from her. However, on the side of Thrace serious blows might be struck at her. At the breaking out of the war she had compelled Perdikkas, the king of Macedon, to enter her alliance, and she had gained the friendship of Sitalkes, the powerful king of the Odrysai, whose territory extended from the Ægæan Sea to the Danube, and from Byzantion to the headwaters of the Strymon,— a thirty days' journey. At the instigation of Athens Sitalkes had even, in 429 B. C., invaded Macedon with a vast horde. But since then his zeal had abated. As for Perdikkas, he had never lost an oppor-

SILVER COIN.¹TETRADRACHM OF AKANTHOS.²

tunity secretly to injure the Athenians. At this moment he was soliciting Sparta to send an expedition to the Thracian coast and into Chalkidike. To compel Athens to withdraw from these regions, whence she obtained timber, would

interfere with her ship-building, and, by carrying the war into the North, would remove it from the Peloponnesos, long devastated by hostile armies. Brasidas was intrusted with this undertaking, into which Sparta did not enter. He was allowed to enlist seven hundred Helots, who were equipped as heavy armed infantry, and a thousand Peloponnesians, attracted by the promises of Perdikkas. It was not a large force, but Brasidas held in reserve the magic and so often deceitful word "liberty," which was to open many gates to him (424 B.C.).

His little army was obliged to traverse Thessaly, a State attached to Athens by only a fragile tie, for the rich, who were especially powerful there, were hostile to this alliance. Brasidas, with a versatility rare among Spartans, extricated himself from all difficulties, tranquillized all suspicions, and advancing while the authorities were deliberating whether to give him per-

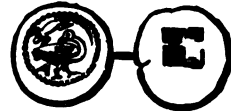
¹ Coin attributed to Perdikkas II. Horseman, armed with two lances, to the right; underneath, a flower. Reverse: fore-part of a lion, running to the left.

² Lion devouring a bull. Reverse: incused square. Coin of archaic style, struck about 450 B. C.

mission, arrived in the territory of Perdikkas. The king desired Brasidas to assist him in overthrowing Arrhabeos, a neighboring prince; but Brasidas feared that the Macedonian might become too powerful. To keep up divisions in a foreign country was the only way to obtain allies there. He refused his assistance, and induced the two adversaries to treat; after which he hastened to enter Chalkidike. In the first city to which he came, Akanthos, the public feeling was divided. Brasidas asks to be allowed to enter the city alone; he harangues the people, extolling the unselfishness of Sparta, whose magistrates had bound themselves, he said, by the most solemn oaths that those whom he should persuade should be left in the complete enjoyment of their present liberties. To these assurances he joins threats. "It is not dominion," he says, "that we aim at; but being anxious, as we are, to stop others from acquiring it, we should wrong the majority if, when bringing independence to all, we should permit you to stand in the way of it." The Akanthians were reluctant to separate from Athens, of whom they had no cause to complain; but their grapes were ripe, and there was danger that Brasidas would secure the vintage: therefore they opened to him their gates.

In like manner he obtained possession of Stageiros, and even Amphipolis fell in his power. He gained a foothold in one of the suburbs; and then, as the city seemed disposed to resist, he gained over the inhabitants by the clemency of the terms which he offered them, permitting all, Amphipolitans or Athenians, to remain and preserve their rights and property, or to depart within five days, taking with them all that belonged to them. It was long since war had been waged with humanity, and it was a Spartan who set this example! We should also notice the indifference of the Athenian allies about shaking off a yoke which, from facts, we must judge less hated and less severe than the complaints of rhetoricians have represented it.

The approach of so active an enemy, and the blows which Brasidas had already struck, ought to have warned the Athenian generals in this neighborhood to concentrate all their strength



COIN OF ARION.¹

¹ A goose and a lizard; in the field, the letter A. Reverse: incused square. Obolos. Coin of uncertain origin (*British Museum Catalogue, Macedonia*, p. 73).

upon the mainland, and as near as possible to Amphipolis, the principal position held by Athens on this coast. One of them was, at the time, with seven galleys at Thasos, where there was nothing to guard, since the island was not menaced, and could not be; arriving too late, he could only save Aeion, the port of Amphipolis. On the proposal of Kleon, the people punished this negligence by a



THUCYDIDES.¹

banishment which lasted twenty years. Posterity owes to this sentence a great work, where vigorous thought finds expression in a style of rough terseness: the exile of whom we speak was Thucydides, and the leisure thus given him was employed in writing a History of the Peloponnesian War.

Brasidas occupied the winter in scouring two of the three rocky peninsulas of Chalkidike. He found small towns badly fortified, of which he easily made himself master. One of them having made some attempt at defence, although with very imperfect means, he put to death all the Athenians whom he found in

¹ Marble bust, in the Louvre. (Cf. Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, pl. 1,025 and 1,103, No. 592.) The name is not certain. See the busts represented earlier, pp. 86 and 88.

the place. The western peninsula, Pallene, escaped him; this was the most important of the three to Athens. Brasidas, in leaving these cities their liberty, took away subjects from Athens, but gave none to Sparta, which had no use for conquests in regions so remote. Accordingly, the successes of the victorious general astonished Greece, without causing either much rejoicing at Sparta, whose situation in



MINERS AT WORK.¹

the Peloponnesos was not affected thereby, or much regret at Athens, after the moment of anger of which Thucydides had been the victim. Deprived of a few unimportant cities, Athens still held her insular empire; only the defection of Amphipolis was a serious loss. But though an important position for attacks on the interior, this city was no longer so for naval operations, after she had lost her seaport, Aion. And from this place the Athenians could continue the exploitation of the woods and mines of Mount Pangaion, or at least prevent the inhabitants of the city from resuming it.²

King Pleistonax, exiled from Sparta since 445 B. C. for having

¹ Painted plaque discovered at Corinth, and preserved in the Museum of Berlin, from the *Antike Denkmäler herausgegeben vom kais. d. archäol. Institut*, vol. i. (1886) pl. viii. No. 7. A miner at the right detaches with a hammer fragments of rock that a boy is gathering up in a basket; at the left, another miner is handing up to a comrade a filled basket. In the middle hangs an amphora, which doubtless contains the laborers' supply of water.

² These mines of gold and silver were very rich, but were not advantageously worked, owing to the neighborhood of warlike tribes of Bessoi and Satrai. (Cf. Herod., vii. 12; Appian. *B. C.*, iv. 106; Heuzey, *Mission arch. de Macédoine*.) Those regularly worked belonged either to cities or individuals; Thucydides owned mines at Skaptê-Hylê, and the island of Thasos, less than five miles from shore, had them on the mainland, — hence the tribute of Thasos

listened to the proposals of Perikles, had taken refuge on Mount Lykaion in Arkadia, near the venerated temple of Zeus, to be able, in case of need, to find shelter in the temple. He had lived there nineteen years. The Delphic oracle, gained over by him, had for a long time added to every response made to Spartan envoys: "Bring back the seed of the demigod, son of Zeus, from a foreign land to his own; else you will plough with a silver share;" which was to say, after the manner of oracles: Restore Pleistonax to his native city, unless you wish to suffer such scarcity of provisions that they will cost as dear as if the implements used in raising them had been made of silver. The partisans of peace obtained the exile's recall, who came back with the idea of putting an end to the interminable war.

Nor was Athens for the moment any more desirous of prolonged hostilities. She held the Spartans of Pylos as prisoners;



SILVER COIN.¹

but herself had had serious disasters, — at Delion, the loss of a thousand citizens, and, in the capture of Amphipolis, her control of Macedon and of Thrace, — regions whence she derived materials of prime importance for her arsenals, archers for her armies, and oarsmen for her galleys. The rich, who bore the principal expenses of the war, felt that the fortress on the Strymon gave to the people the dangerous temptation of interposing in the affairs of these barbaric regions; and in truth the empire of Athens became more vulnerable as it extended into regions where the fleet could not protect it. Aristophanes, the partisan of the great, was at this time putting on the stage his cutting satires upon the warlike policy of the demagogues who were leaders of the Athenian democracy. It would not be rash to suppose that the mocking laugh which broke forth in the theatre was heard again in the market-place after the audience had dispersed. Comedy rarely corrects, but sometimes it enlightens; and in seeing the inclination towards peace which sprang up at this time in Athens we may in fact ascribe it in some degree to the influence of the stage.

to Athens was thirty talents, like that which Paros gave, on account of her marble quarries. Pliny (xxi. 10) notes that on the slopes of Mount Pangaion the hundred-leaved rose grew wild.

¹ Reverse of a coin of Thebes. Herakles, nude, turning to the right, seeks to carry off the Delphic tripod, and brandishes his club. Legend: ΘΕΒΑΙΟΝ. The face of this coin bears the Boiotian shield.

Athens and Sparta seemed for the moment to be in agreement, — the one seeking to lessen her expenses; the other anxious to recover her captive citizens, members of the most influential families in the State. A truce of a year (March, 423 B. C.) brought hostilities to a stand, with the agreement that each city should retain that which she held. The States in the Peloponnesian league were authorized to sail the seas adjacent to their coasts and those of their allies; but they were forbidden to have “long ships,” — that is to say, fighting galleys. The signers of the treaty were to guarantee to all Hellenes free access to the temple and oracle of the Pythian Apollo; were not to harbor fugitives, whether slaves or free; were to protect heralds and envoys travelling by land or sea for the adjustment of differences between States, — in a word, were to facilitate by all means the conclusion of a definitive peace.

While the representatives of the States were signing this treaty at Athens, Brasidas made his entry into Skione, in the peninsula of Pal-



THE VICTORY OF PAIONIOS.¹

¹ Marble statue discovered at Olympia; from a cast. The sculptor, Paionios of Mende, a Thracian city, had already executed the statues of the eastern pediment of the temple of Zeus

lene, received with open arms by the inhabitants, who decreed him a gold wreath and decorated his head with fillets, as if he had been a victorious athlete. This conquest took place two days after

BRONZE COIN.¹

the truce was concluded, and it ought to have been given back: this Sparta refused to do; and the war began again. Nikias, arriving with a large force, recaptured Skione, and then Mende, which the people surrendered to him; he brought

back Perdikkas to the Athenian alliance, while Brasidas suffered defeat in an attempt upon Potidaia. The following year Kleon was appointed general. He wished Athens to make a vigorous attempt on this coast, as had been done not long before at Pylos, —and he was right; for it was important to put a stop to the advance of Brasidas. He at first seized, and with some ability, Torone and Galepsos; then took up his position at Aeion, there to await auxiliaries from Thrace and Macedon. But his men compelled him to advance upon Amphipolis. Brasidas was in the city; he surprised the Athenians in an unfortunate movement, and gained a complete victory, which cost him his life. Kleon also perished in the action. According to Thucydides,² he was one of the first to flee; according to Diodoros, he died bravely. Brasidas,

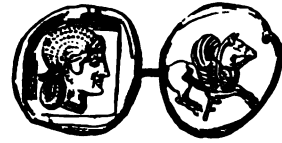
at Olympia, and the acroteria of the same sanctuary, when the Messenians and the Naupaktians, after the affair of Sphakteria, ordered from him a colossal Nike. This statue was recovered at Olympia in 1875, with the inscription on its base: "The Messenians and Naupaktians have consecrated this statue to the Olympian Zeus as a tithe of the spoils taken from the enemy. It was made by Paionios of Mende, and he gained the prize for the acroteria placed upon the temple." The goddess is represented descending towards the earth; the bird flying at her feet shows that she is in the air. The statue stood formerly on a triangular base about twenty feet high. It was placed in front of the temple of Zeus, at the southeast corner. (See Vol. II. facing p. 388, the plan of Olympia.)

¹ Head of the young Dionysos, crowned with ivy, right profile. Coin of Amphipolis. Reverse: ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ. Goat, to the right; in the field, two monograms of magistrates' names, and a third which is interpreted as ΑΜΦΙ(πολις).

² We must not forget that, according to one of the biographers of Thucydides, Kleon was the cause of that general's banishment. As to Aristophanes, Kleon had had numerous difficulties with him. In the comedy of *The Frogs*, put on the stage long after (405 B. C.), he lets fall a word which may explain the animosities of the oligarchical party against Kleon. Herakles had stolen the provisions of two inn-keepers; one says to the other: "Go, call Kleon, our protector, and Hyperbolos, that we may destroy this wretch." Thus we see that Kleon undertook the defence of the poor, — the habitual method of demagogues. "A rich man who had suffered injury," says Grote, "might purchase of Antipho or some other rhetor advice and aid as to the conduct of his complaint; but a poor man or woman would think themselves happy to obtain the gratuitous suggestion, and sometimes the auxiliary speech, of Kleon."

lamented by all the allies, who attended his funeral in arms and with military honors, was buried like one of the Homeric heroes. His tomb was surrounded with a railing, and annual games and sacrifices were instituted in his honor.

The death of these two men (422 B. C.) rendered peace easy. Brasidas had kept the war alive by his activity and his successes; Kleon by his speeches. While Athens, which had just experienced a serious defeat, began to lose confidence, Sparta, on the other hand, by no means gained any; for the victory at Amphipolis had been won, not by national troops, but by mercenaries, on whom it was impossible to depend, and she had seen a war last for ten years which had been entered upon by her with the deceptive hope of overthrowing the Athenian power: another war might at any moment break forth in her immediate neighborhood, for her truce of thirty years with Argos was on the point of ending; finally, her seaports were still held by the enemy, her best citizens still in captivity. In both cities the influence of the peace party returned: at Athens, Nicias recovered popularity, and at Sparta, the moderate Pleistonax. Both counselled peace, and it was concluded in the spring of 421 B. C.



COIN OF ANAKTORION.¹

Two treaties were made. The first was between Athens on the one side, and the Peloponnesians on the other. It began, according to usage, by guaranteeing all Greeks full liberty to visit the public temples of Greece for purposes of sacrifice, consultation of the oracles, or attendance upon the festivals. To the Delphians were secured full autonomy and sway over their temple and territory. Peace was to be maintained in good faith by land and sea. The Peloponnesians were to restore Amphipolis, and also to relinquish the cities they had taken during the war, with the exception that the Thebans should keep Plataia, and as an equivalent for this, Athens should keep Nisaia in the Megarid, and Anaktorion and Sollion, which they had taken from Corinth. Captives on both sides should be given up.

¹ Diademed head of a woman, right profile, in an incused square. Reverse: *F*, under Pegasus, galloping to the right. (Drachma.) The digamma is the initial of the name Anaktorion (Imhoof-Blumer, *Die Münzen Akarnaniens*, p. 57).

All the allies, except Corinth, Megara, and the people of Elis, accepted these conditions. It was agreed that the peace should be confirmed by an oath renewed yearly, and inscribed upon pillars at Olympia and Delphi, in the temple of Poseidon on the isthmus of Corinth, at Athens in the citadel, and in the temple of Apollo at Amyklai, near Sparta.

When, in fulfilment of the article as to the return of prisoners, those who had been taken at Sphakteria reached home, they were

at once degraded from citizenship, to indicate that Sparta did not recognize a right in her soldiers to tamper with duty, even in the face of death. It is true, however, that not long after, these men were rehabilitated.



ERIS, OR DISCORD.¹

The Argives, seeing that some of the allies were discontented, believed the moment favorable to lay claim to Kynouria. Sparta, having little anxiety as to their enmity unless they should be aided by Athens,

provided against this danger by making a second treaty between herself alone and Athens, in which an offensive and defensive alliance between the two States was made for the period of fifty years, with pledge of mutual assistance in case of attack or of slave-revolt. This latter point concerned Sparta only, and reveals her constant anxiety.

The first of these treaties, which put an end for the time to the evils which the peoples of Greece had endured for more than ten years, bears the name of the honorable man who had contributed to its conclusion; it is called the Peace of Nikias. But what profit had there been in all this bloodshed? Sparta had increased neither her fame nor her strength; Athens preserved her empire; and there was but a transient abandonment of the hatred and jealousy which

¹ Vase-painting from Gerhard, *Gesamm. akadem. Abhandlungen*, Atlas, pl. x. fig. 5. Eris (EPIS), or the goddess of discord, with wings at her shoulders, and winglets at her feet. The painter has represented her flying; for the movement of the body, and especially of the legs, see the winged Artemis represented in the first volume, p. 335, and note 3.

had armed the Greek States against each other. No one had gained by the war, and civilization had lost the splendor that ten years more of peace would have added to the Age of Perikles.¹

¹ Upon some of the abuses which had developed in the Athenian democracy during the Peloponnesian war, see above, p. 67; and later, chapter xxvii.

CHAPTER XXV.

ALKIBIADES AND THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION (421-413 B. C.).

I.—ALKIBIADES; AFFAIR OF ARGOS; RUPTURE OF THE PEACE (417); AFFAIR OF MELOS.

“**A**MONG the predictions current at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, one only,” remarks Thucydides, “was considered, after the peace of Nikias,¹ to have been fulfilled,—that which announced that the war should last three times nine years.” This war had in reality three acts: we have seen the first; the second is the insecure truce which lasted from 421 to 413 B. C., without general war, although war was everywhere. The third, from 413 to 404, contains the catastrophe, and the events which led up to it.

The first period is all filled with Perikles,—his policy survived him, and his spirit governs Athens, in spite of Kleon; the second and third are equally filled with Alkibiades, his passions, his services, and his crimes.

Alkibiades, held to be a descendant of Aias, was on the mother's side an Alkmaionid. The death of his father, Klinias, killed at Koroneia, left him under the guardianship of his relatives, Perikles and Ariphton, who made over to him, at his majority, one of the great fortunes at Athens. To the nobility of blood and wealth he united great beauty, which in the esteem of this artist-people made genius and virtue more splendid when it adorned the brow of Sophokles or of Perikles, and seemed always a gift of the gods even in the face of an athlete. Parasites and flatterers, all those

¹ Thucydides (v. 25) says: “Though for six years and two months they abstained from marching against each other's territory, yet out of it, during the existence of a doubtful suspension of arms, they were doing one another the greatest possible damage.”

whom fortune, grace, and daring attract, crowded about this rich and brilliant young man, becoming in Athens that which in itself was a power, — the king of fashion. Habituated to see himself



BUST OF ALKIBIADES.¹

applauded by the crowd of his admirers for his foolish acts, Alkibiades dared all things, and with impunity, thus becoming the favorite of the city. The strength of his temperament and the versatility

¹ Marble of the Vatican (Museo Chiaramonti), from a photograph. Cf. *Monum. dell' Instit.*, vol. viii. pl. 25, and *Annali*, 1866, pp. 228-240 (W Helbig). We have many busts and hermes of Alkibiades; and one which will be given later bears an inscription which leaves no doubt as to the identification of the bust of the Museo Chiaramonti.

of his mind rendered him capable, according to the hour and day and place, of vice or virtue, of abstinence or carousal. In the city of Lykourgos no Spartan was so severe; in Asia he exceeded the satrap in luxury and effeminacy. But his audacity, his uncontrollable petulance, compromised for a whim or a debauch the carefully studied plans of his ambition. Strong and contradictory passions carried him hither and thither, always with excess; and with this stormy mobility of character he had not that sense of right and duty which might have restrained him. To-day he was in the school of Sokrates, receiving eagerly the noble lessons of the philosopher, weeping with admiration and enthusiasm; but the morrow he crossed the Agora with trailing robe and indolent, effeminate gait, on his way, with a troop of too-indulgent friends, to plunge into shameful pleasures. Yet the wise man at times saved him from the crowd of those who would corrupt him. In early wars they shared one tent. At Potidaia Sokrates saved his life, and Alkibiades stood by Sokrates in the retreat at Delion.

From childhood he showed this mental character, half heroic, half frivolous. He was playing at dice in the public highway when a chariot approached. He calls out to the driver to wait; the man pays him no attention, and comes nearer. Upon this the boy flings himself across the road, calling out: "Come on, now, if you dare." Struggling with one of his companions stronger than himself, he bites his adversary on the arm. "You bite like a woman," the other said. "No; like a lion," the lad rejoined.



SLEEPING DOG.¹

He had a fine dog, which had cost him more than seven thousand drachmas. When all the city had admired the animal, he cut its tail off, which was its finest point, that there should be something else for men to talk of. "While the Athenians are occupied with my dog," he said, "they will say nothing bad about me." One day, passing through the public square, he noticed a tumultuous crowd; and asking the cause of their excitement, learned that there was a distribution of money: upon this he

¹ Antique cameo of the Collection de Luynes, in the *Cabinet de France*. Sardonyx of two layers, 13 millim. by 10. In the Museum of Vienne (in the Department of Isère) is a superb marble dog in like attitude (*Gazette archeol.*, 1880, pl. 10).

went forward and threw money himself, to the great applause of the multitude. At this moment a tame quail which he carried under his mantle, after the fashion of the young men of the time, made its escape, and all the crowd ran eagerly to catch the bird and restore it to its master. Alkibiades and the Athenian people



COLOSSAL DOG.¹

were made for each other. "They hate him," says Aristophanes. "they long for him, and cannot do without him."

He had laid a bet to strike on the cheek Hipponikos, one of the most respected citizens in Athens. He did this, as he had said, in the open street, and gained the wager; but on the following day he went to the other's house, laid aside his mantle, and offered to receive the punishment which he had merited. He had married Hipparete, a woman of distinguished excellence, but

¹ Bas-relief on a funeral monument at Athens, in the Kerameikos. (From a photograph; L. von Sybel, *Katalog*, No. 3,325.) The dog is represented guarding the tomb, lying on it with lifted head and half-opened mouth; the ears, now gone, were laid back.

repaid her great affection by disgraceful misconduct. After long patience, she decided to seek divorce from the archon. Upon this Alkibiades rushes into court, and under the eyes of the applauding crowd seizes his wife in his arms, carries her across the city, and restores her to his house, where she gladly remained thenceforward.

Alkibiades dealt with Athens as he did with Hipponikos and Hipparete, and Athens, like Hipponikos and Hipparete, many times forgave this contradictory union of faults and virtues where there were always the two qualities which the Athenians chiefly loved, — wit and audacity. His audacity, indeed, trifled both with justice and religion. He is pardoned for having beaten a schoolmaster who had no copy of the *Iliad* in his school; but at the Dionysiac festival, in the midst of the representation, he struck an enemy, without respect for the solemnity of the occasion; and another time, to celebrate a holiday, he took the sacred galley, which was at the moment required for a public religious service. A painter refusing to work for him, he kept the man a prisoner until he had completed the required decoration; then sent him away loaded with presents. A poet being prosecuted for some offence, he tore the accusation out of the archives.¹

In a republic these were very un-republican acts. But all Greece had such tenderness for Alkibiades! At Olympia he had seven chariots at once in the race, thus eclipsing the display of the kings of Syracuse and of Kyrene, and obtained two prizes in the same race, another of his chariots arriving fourth. Euripides sang his victory, and cities taxed themselves to celebrate it. The Ephesians erected for him a splendid tent; the people of Chios fed his horses, and supplied him with a great number of victims to sacrifice; the Lesbians gave him wine; and the whole assembly at Olympia came to the banquet which this private Athenian offered them.

Posterity, less indulgent than contemporaries, while recognizing the eminent merits of the man, must condemn the unwise statesman who made the expedition to Sicily and the bad citizen who so often set the scandalous example of violating the laws and

¹ The authenticity of these anecdotes cannot be vouched for, but they are characteristic, and have always been current in literature, so that it is well to know them.

dared to arm his matricidal hand against the country which had given him birth. Alkibiades will ever remain the type of the most brilliant but most immoral, and hence most dangerous, citizen of a republic.

Notwithstanding his birth, which gave him the rank of Eupatrid, Alkibiades, like Perikles, went over to the popular side, and became the opponent of a very different man,—the timid, the superstitious Nikias, who was also noble and rich and experienced in long service. But Alkibiades had the advantage over him in being audacious, captivating, and eloquent. Demosthenes regards him as the first orator of his time: not that he was a very fluent speaker,—the language he sought did not come to him readily, and he had a habit of repeating over and over again the last words of his sentences,—but the strength and elegance of what he said and a certain not displeasing lisp rendered him irresistible. His first act as a statesman was a very offensive one: he caused an increase in the tribute of the allies, raising it from six hundred to twelve hundred talents. This was an imprudence of which Perikles would never have been guilty. But Alkibiades had different projects and ideas. He believed in the right of the strongest, and he used it; he looked forward to vast undertakings, and prepared in advance the resources necessary. His inaction began to weigh upon him. He was thirty-one years of age, and had as yet done nothing; accordingly, he bestirred himself at the time of the treaty of 421. It is said he would have willingly supplanted Nikias, and taken to himself the honor of this peace. His flatteries to the prisoners of Sphakteria did not succeed; the Spartans had more confidence in the old general, and Alkibiades never forgave them for this.

There were many people who took this treaty ill, signed amid the applause of the aged, the rich, and the laboring class,—in which, however, Athens, through the fault of Nikias, had suffered herself to be basely tricked.¹ The mercantile class, who during the war saw the sea closed against their rivals, but open to them, the sailors, the soldiers, the whole population of Peiraieus, living on pay or plunder, formed a numerous party, of which Alkibiades made himself the head. The warlike spirit, which was never to

¹ See later, p. 291.

disappear till Greece herself should perish, soon gave him allies outside of Athens.

That which Sparta and Athens did on a large scale, other cities did in miniature. Strong or feeble, obscure or illustrious,



ARGIVE BAS-RELIEF.¹

all had the same ambition,—all wished to subjugate other cities. The Eleians had conquered the people of Lepreon; Mantinea, the adjacent villages; Thebes had destroyed the walls of Thespiæ, to hold that city at her mercy; and Argos had brought

¹ Bas-relief of marble, preserved in the demarchia of Argos (from the *Mittheil. d. d. archäol. Instit. in Athen*, vol. iii. (1878) pl. 13). This bas-relief, though of inferior workmanship, is valuable; it has been said to resemble the well-known replicas of the *Doryphoros* of Polykletos, the great Argive sculptor. "The pose, the dragging left leg, the position of the arms, are quite the same" (O. Rayet, in the *Monuments de l'art antique*). The *Doryphoros* is represented above, p. 186.

within her walls, but granted them citizenship, the inhabitants of many Argive villages. Sparta saw with displeasure this movement of concentration of inferior cities around others more powerful. She proclaimed the independence of the Lepreates, encouraged secretly the defection of the subjects of Mantinea, and the hatred of Epidauros for Argos. But since her defeat at Sphacteria, she had lost prestige. At Corinth, at Megara, in Boiotia, it was loudly asserted that she had basely sacrificed the interests of her allies; especially her alliance with Athens was censured. The Peloponnesian league having been practically dissolved, Argos now sought to reconstruct it in her own interest.

The repose and prosperity of Argos, in the midst of the general disorder, had increased the city's resources, and a liberal policy towards the villages of the country had given her additional strength. But the new-comers were a powerful reinforcement for the democratic party, whose influence impelled Argos in a political direction contrary to that of the Spartans. Argos was able, therefore, and desirous to become the centre of an anti-Spartan league. Mantinea, where the democracy were in power, the Eleians, offended by Lacedæmon, Corinth, which by the treaty of Nikias lost two important cities in Akarnania, were ready to unite their grievances and their troops. The Argives skilfully seized the occasion: twelve deputies were sent out to visit all the Greek States which it was thought might be willing to form a confederation, excluding the two cities equally dangerous to the common liberty, — Sparta and Athens. But no agreement could be made. The oligarchs of Megaris and Boiotia stood at a distance, and shortly drew near to the city which had always been hostile to democracy. Tegea, which was under an aristocratic government, and a portion of the Arkadians remained faithful to Sparta. Emboldened by this return of fortune, the Spartans sent to Lepreon the Helots whom Brasidas had enfranchised, and drove the Mantineians out of a fortress occupied by them on the frontiers of Lakonia. A league of the Northern States was therefore premature. Nothing could as yet be done, with the exclusion of Sparta or Athens.

Many causes of discontent existed between these two cities. It had been decided by lot that Sparta should be the first to make the restitutions stipulated by the treaty of 421. For Athens

the most valuable of these restitutions was that of Amphipolis and the cities of Chalkidike. Sparta withdrew her garrisons, but did not give up the cities; and meanwhile Nikias, deceived by the ephors, caused the Athenians to commit the grave error



TEGEAN BAS-RELIEF.¹

of not keeping the pledges they had in their hands till Sparta had honestly fulfilled her engagements. She had treated in the name of the Peloponnesian allies; but the most powerful of them refused to be bound by her word. The Boiotians gave up Panaktheion, but dismantled; and they still held their Athenian

¹ Bas-relief discovered at Ibrahim-Effendi, a village on the plain of Tegea, now in the National Museum of Athens (from the *Mittheil. d. d. archäol. Instit. in Athen*, vol. iv. (1879) pl. 7). The bas-relief is incomplete at the right, but belongs certainly to the series of funereal banquets: at the right, upon a bed, at the side of which is placed a table, lies the body of which we see the feet. The survivors, two in number, a man and a woman, present offerings. The man is standing entirely nude; the woman is seated, clothed, her head covered with a veil which she holds with the left hand. The man brings a wreath to the dead person, the woman a flower. For the woman's face, her attitude and costume, this bas-relief should be compared with that represented in the first volume, p. 395.

prisoners, and stipulated only for a ten days' truce.¹ Athens, believing she had secured peace, had still war, at ten days' notice with the Boiotians, and permanently in Chalkidike. She had indeed just now on that coast given a terrible instance of her anger. All the male population of Skione had been put to death as punishment for the recent defection of the city, in virtue of a popular decree that the generals had brought with them.¹

In all this there was for Alkibiades good ground for bringing on a war. He first prevented the Athenians from abandoning Pylos. No more was done than to withdraw from the town, at the instance of Sparta, the Helots and Messenians, who were transported to Kephallenia. Then informed by his friends at Argos that Sparta



COIN OF KEPHALLENIA.²

was seeking to draw that city into her alliance, he replied that Athens herself was quite ready to unite with the Argives. Poetry



BRONZE COIN.³

came to the aid of statesmanship; Euripides just at this time (420 B. C.) placed on the stage his tragedy of *The Suppliants*, representing Theseus going at the request of the Argive mothers to recover by force the bodies of the seven chiefs who fell under the walls of Thebes, that they might be given funeral honors,— a pious interposition

which would occasion the Argives a debt of gratitude. It is impossible to tell how much they were moved by the poet's beautiful lines; but they were driven by their hatred of Sparta into alliance with the only city capable of resisting her. On the promise of Alkibiades their envoys arrived at Athens, followed closely by deputies from Sparta, whom the prospect of this league alarmed. The Spartans had full powers to negotiate. They had already induced the senate to agree to their propositions, when Alkibiades, who feared that they would be equally successful with the people, brought everything to a stand by his shameless knavery. He

¹ Ten days from the declaration of hostilities.

² Bare head of Kephalos, right profile; before it, the letter A. Reverse: ΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ. Kephalos, seated, to the right, on a rock which is in part covered by the peplos of the young hunter. He holds a javelin in the left hand which rests upon his knee. (Hemidrachma.)

³ Coin of Argos. ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ Round temple of the nymph Larissa, daughter of Pelasgos, in which is to be seen the Palladion. Reverse of a coin of Argos with the effigy of Antoninus Pius.

sought a secret interview with the ambassadors, and swore to them that he would support them; but he advised them to say nothing about their full powers, which might offend the jealous suscepti-



COIN OF ELIS.¹

bility of the Athenians and defeat their object. When they appear in the assembly Alkibiades asks them the object of their embassy; they reply that they have come to propose peace, although they are not authorized to conclude it. "What is

this?" exclaims Alkibiades; "did you not say yesterday in the senate that you had full powers? What confidence can we place in your words? Athenians, you see that the Spartans deceive us." The envoys can say nothing; the people, exasperated, are for war. On the following day, however, Nikias succeeded by a public address and private interviews in tranquillizing the popular excitement and obtaining his own appointment as envoy to Sparta. But all these incidents had caused bad feeling. Nikias, although respectfully received, obtained nothing, and Athens immediately concluded with the Argives, Mantineians, and Eleians an alliance offensive and defensive.³ In the excitement of the moment against Sparta it was stipulated that this alliance should last for a hundred years, — a very long period for men of the Greek temper (420 B. C.).



COIN OF MANTINEIA.²

We may notice here a new and important clause: it is that the alliance was concluded on a footing of perfect equality. The command of the allied troops was to belong to that State which asked for aid, and upon whose territory the war was carried on.⁴

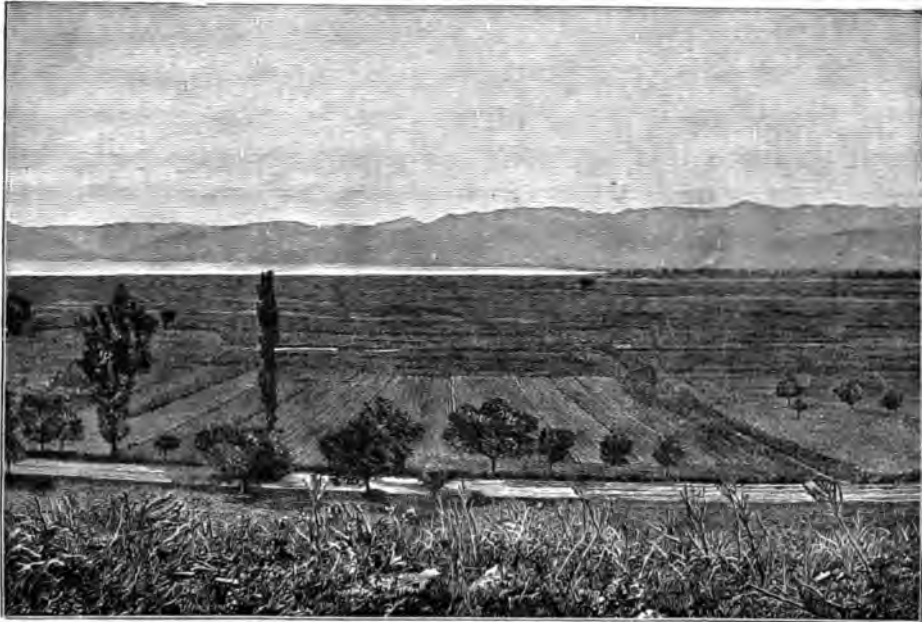
¹ Eagle flying to the right, holding a serpent in his claws and beak. Reverse: *FAAE*(*tor*). Victory moving to the left, holding a wreath. (Didrachm.)

² A person, perhaps a fisherman, wearing the conical *pilos* and a short tunic, stands to the right on a prow of a boat, holding a harpoon in each hand, his knees lightly bent. Reverse: altar surmounted by the busts of the Dioskouroi, wearing the conical *pilos*, and holding their lances on the shoulder. (Drachma.)

³ The text of this treaty is in Thucydides (v. 23), and a part of it has been found on a marble column which gives the official text. Between the two the differences are slight.

⁴ Thucydides, v. 47. The city which obtained the help was to feed the auxiliary corps, and give three obols daily to the hoplites and archers, and a drachma to the cavalry-men.

The neutrality of the Argolid and of the centre of the Peloponnesos had hitherto preserved Sparta from an invasion by land. War, after having long circled around the peninsula, had only ventured, in the later years, to attack certain points of the western, southern, and eastern coasts, all very remote from Sparta, — Pylos, Kythera, and Methone. But now that the Argives, Mantinea, and Elis were about to introduce it into the heart of the Peloponnesos, bringing it into the presence of the Helots, Sparta became again



GULF AND PLAIN OF ARGOS.¹

the patient and deliberate city of earlier days, even allowing herself to be insulted with impunity. On account of the sending of Helots to Lepreon during the Sacred Truce, the Eleians had condemned the Spartans to a fine of two thousand minai, and on their refusal to pay, had excluded them, by a decree, from the Olympic Games. A Spartan of distinction, Lichas, had, however, a chariot entered, and gained a prize in the same race where Alkibiades displayed so much magnificence and was victorious. When the judges knew the Spartan's name they caused him to be driven out of the enclo-

¹ From a photograph. The view is taken from Tiryns; the road is that which leads from Nauplia to Argos, past the foot of the citadel of Tiryns.

sure ignominiously ; but Sparta did not resent the outrage, — she had lost faith in herself. Another insult was offered her some time later by her own allies, which also she suffered in silence. She had, in the third year of the war, colonized Herakleia, at the entrance of the pass of Thermopylai. The Thessalians attacked this place, and would have taken it, had not the Boiotians hastened thither, and under pretext of saving it from their hands, established themselves there, driving out the Spartan governor.

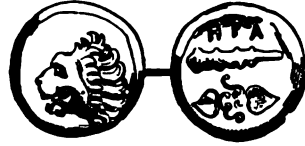


CHARIOT-RACE, ON A BAS-RELIEF FROM DELPHI.¹

Finally, with a small force Alkibiades entered the Peloponnesos. Athens had always had friends in Achaia. Alkibiades went thither for the purpose of re-awakening this old affection ; and to give it more freedom for manifestation he endeavored to build a fort at Rhion in Achaia, the narrowest point of the Gulf of Corinth and opposite Naupaktos, which the Athenians already held, thus holding the key to the gulf. Sikyon and Corinth opposed this proceeding ; but they could not prevent him from constructing at Patras long walls, like those of Peiraius, to unite that city to the sea, and consequently to Athens. “The Athenians will swallow you some day,” was the warning certain persons gave to the inhabitants of Patras. “That may be,” replied Alki-

¹ Marble bas-relief, now in Delphi (from a photograph). The bas-relief was tinted with colors ; it is a remarkable work of the fifth century B C.

biades, "but it will be only by degrees, and beginning at the feet; while the Spartans will swallow you at one mouthful, and they will begin by the head." At Argos he persuaded the people to deprive the Epidaurians of a harbor which they held on the Saronic Gulf; thence the Argives could more easily receive aid from Athens, who held Aigina, opposite Epidaurus. But the Spartans sent by sea a force of three hundred heavy-armed troops, who repulsed all attacks. On news of this, Athens engraved on the column which bore the treaty that Sparta had broken the peace, and war began (419 B. c.).



BRONZE COIN.¹

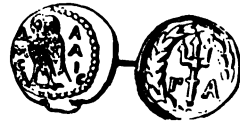
Vainly did Aristophanes bring forward his drama entitled *Peace*, urging the same argument he had maintained seven years before in *The Acharnians*. Vainly did he personify



HEMI-OBOLOS.²

War as a giant crushing cities in a mortar, whose pestles are the generals, and show that with the return of Peace, at last set free from the cavern where she had been thirteen years captive, games and banquets would begin, the whole city would rejoice, only the armorers would be in despair; he convinced no one, not even the judges, who refused him the first prize.

The Spartans, commanded by Agis, entered Argolis with the contingents of Boiotia, Megara, Corinth, Phlious, Pellene, and Tegea. The Argive general, cut off from the city by a skilful manœuvre, proposed a truce, which Agis accepted. This was not what the Athenians desired, who arrived soon after,—a thousand infantry and three hundred horse. Alkibiades



BRONZE COIN.³

spoke to the people of Argos and produced the desired effect upon them: they broke the truce, marched upon Orchomenos, and took it. The blame of this rupture fell upon Agis. The Spartans, angry because he had given the enemy time to make this conquest, proposed at first to raze his dwelling-house and fine him a

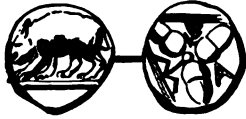
¹ Coin of Herakleia (in Thessaly). Lion's head. Reverse: HPA[κλειῶν]; club and ivy-leaves.

² Thessalian coin. Lion's head. Reverse: HPA; club; under it, a crawfish.

³ Coin of Patras. ΔΑΜΑΚΙΑΚ, a magistrate's name; owl, standing. Reverse: ΓΑ[τραίον]; trident; the whole surrounded by a laurel-wreath.

hundred thousand drachmas. His prayers obtained his pardon; but it was decided that henceforward the kings should be assisted by a council of ten Spartans.

Agis, to repair his fault, went in search of the allies. He met them near Mantinea. "The conflict commenced," says Thucydides,¹

SILVER COIN.²

"the Argives and their allies advancing with haste and impetuosity; the Spartans slowly, and to the music of many flute-players placed amongst them according to custom,—not with a religious object, but that they might advance evenly, stepping in time, and so that their line might not be broken." On the left wing the Lacedæmonians were defeated; but the right, commanded by the king, saved the day, and a victory was gained (418 B. C.). This battle, which cost eleven hundred men to the allies, and about three hundred to the Spartans, is regarded by Thucydides as the most important that had been fought in Greece for a long time. It re-established in the Peloponnesos the reputation of Sparta, and in Argos the preponderance of the aristocratic party, who abolished the popular assembly, put to death its leaders, and made alliance with Sparta.

This treaty broke the confederation recently formed by Athens, Elis, and Mantinea. Mantinea was even so much alarmed by the defection of Sparta as to consent to humble herself to the rank of an ally of Sparta. A treaty dictated by the Spartans decreed that all States, greater and less, should be free, and keep their national laws. Sparta aimed only to spread division and weakness around her. To the policy of concentration followed by Athens she opposed a policy of isolation, which was destined to bring Greece to her feet, but later would bring Greece, and Sparta herself, to the feet of Macedon and of the Romans (417 B. C.).

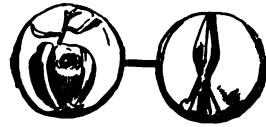
TETRADRACHM.³

¹ Book v. § 70.

² Coin of Mantinea. Bear, stepping to the left. Reverse: MA[ντινίων]; three acorns and a laurel-branch; in an incused square.

³ Laurelled head of Apollo, three-quarters face, to the right. Reverse: lighted torch and wheat-ear, in a large square frame, on which is inscribed the city's name: ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ.

The victory of Agis was the oligarchy's victory. At Sikyon and in Achaia the nobles recovered power or strengthened themselves in it. We have seen that in Argos they had gained the upper hand. But in this city, if we may believe Pausanias, a crime, like that which at Rome caused the establishment of popular liberties, brought at the end of eight months the downfall of the tyrants. Driven out by an insurrection, the nobles withdrew to Sparta. while the people called in the Athenians, and labored, men, women, and children, in building long walls to unite Argos to the sea. Alkibiades came, with masons and carpenters, to aid the work; but the Spartans, led by the exiled Argives, dispersed the laborers. Argos, enfeebled by these cruel discords, never recovered herself; and with her fell this scheme of a league of the secondary States, which might perhaps have spared Greece many disasters, by imposing peace and a certain moderation on the two great States (417 B. C.).



SILVER COIN.¹

If it was absolutely impossible for Athens to live in peace, there was an expedition which for the past five years she ought to have made, and did not make. This was to regain possession of Amphipolis, that colony established by Perikles, which it was so needful for her to keep in the interests of her commerce and her navy.



SILVER COIN.²

But her habitual advisers, Nikias and Alkibiades, were much more occupied in rivalry with one another than concerned about the interests of their country. The first was extremely timid, and dreaded every war, however necessary; the second meditated projects incessantly, but would have them always new, that he might not meet upon his way the glorious traces of some predecessor. It was he who made the strongest effort in favor of an expedition which was to terminate in a sanguinary tragedy.

The Athenians, who were inefficient in Chalkidike, had recently lost there two cities, and had seen the Macedonian king abandon their alliance; they resolved to avenge all these disasters upon

¹ Pomegranate. Reverse: lance-head. (Coin of Melos.)

² Coin of Melos. Pomegranate. Reverse: MHAION; Athene Promachos, helmeted, a shield in her left hand, the thunderbolt in her right; behind, OAYMΠHXOZ, a magistrate's name.

the Dorian island of Melos, which insulted their maritime supremacy by its independence. At Naxos and Samos they had shown clemency, because they were dealing with Ionians, and might expect to find partisans: at Melos, an outpost of the Dorians in the Kretan Sea, they were implacable, because the blow struck at these islanders, faithful to their metropolis, would be



VIEW OF MELOS.¹

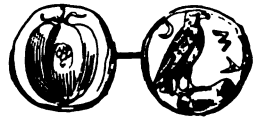
keenly felt in Sparta. A squadron of thirty-eight galleys summoned the city to surrender, and on refusal an army besieged and took it, and put to death the whole male population capable of bearing arms. The women and children were sold² (416 B. C.). Before the attack, a conference was held with the inhabitants of Melos. — We advise you," the Athenians said, — according to the real sentiments of us both, to think of getting

¹ From the *Expédition scientifique de Morée*, vol. III. pl. 25.

² In the ancient world it was admitted that war placed at the victor's disposal the property and persons of the vanquished. This terrible right had been exercised at Chalkis in 547 B. C.: at Histia in 446: at Potidaia in 432: at Argina in 431: in Thrace, at Skione, and at Tyrone. To sell the conquered as slaves was an amelioration: such was it also to deprive them of but a portion of their lands. The Romans followed the same method when they sold (191, 69) Egées, and left the provincials only the occupancy of their lands, vesting in themselves its ownership.

what you can, since you know, and are speaking to those who know, that in the language of men what is right is estimated by equality of power to compel; but what is possible is that which the stronger practise, and to which the weak submit." And later: "With regard to the favor of Heaven, we trust that we shall not fall short of it, since we are not requiring or doing anything beyond the opinion of men with respect to the gods, or their determination with respect to themselves. For of the gods we hold as a matter of opinion, and of men we know as a certainty, that in obedience to an irresistible instinct they always maintain dominion wherever they are the stronger. And neither did we enact this law, nor were the first to carry it out when enacted; but having received it when already in force, and being about to leave it after us to be in force forever, we only avail ourselves of it, knowing that both you and others, if raised to the same power, would do the same."

The right of the stronger has rarely been set forth in a manner so clear.¹ The reputation of Athens has suffered from it, without her having derived the least profit from this bad deed. Let us, however, observe, while holding in horror the sanguinary act done at Melos, that the practice, if not the theory, of this right of the stronger is extremely ancient; it is the principle on which the old world rested, being, in fact, no other than the famous law, *salus populi suprema lex*, so many times appealed to for the justification of scandalous undertakings or the most atrocious cruelty; and it must be sadly acknowledged that, almost everywhere and in all times, men have felt, like Euripides, that "it was wisdom and glory to keep a victorious hand upon the enemy's head."² Force is as old as the world; the right comes forward but slowly, and we might almost believe its reign will never come.



SILVER COIN.³

¹ There is no proof that this language ever was used. Thucydides (v. 85-111) probably wished to reduce to exact formulæ the policy instinctively pursued on both sides, and held by all the world at that time. It was part of the Dorian song: "My spear and sword are my wealth; my shield is my faithful defender. With these I plant and reap."

² Pomegranate Reverse: MA[λίων]. Eagle, standing on a rock; behind the bird, a crescent. (Coin of Melos.)

³ *The Bacchantes.*

The Dorian colonists of Melos had expected the aid of Sparta. "Sparta will abandon you," the Athenians had said; and in fact the prudent city, which in all things considered only utility, sent neither a ship nor a soldier. This inertia increased the hopes of Athens; she now believed the moment had come to attach to her empire the great island of the West, where interior strifes had led many of the cities to desire foreign protection.¹

II. — SICILY SINCE THE TIME OF GELON; THE ATHENIANS INVITED BY SEGESTA; THE INJURIES DONE THE STATUES OF HERMES; DEPARTURE OF THE FLEET, ETC. (416 B. C.)

GELON, the renowned conqueror of the Carthaginians at Himera,² died shortly after this victory (476 B. C.). Syracuse, saved and



BRONZE HELMET OFFERED BY HIERO.³

rendered more powerful by him, paid him the divine honors due to heroes, and allowed his brother Hiero to succeed to his authority. This was the most flourishing period of Syracuse. At the command of Hiero, Anaxilaos, tyrant of Zankle and Rhegion, relinquished his designs upon the Lokrians; Campanian Cumæ, attacked by the Etruscans and Carthaginians, was saved by his fleet, and Pindar sings the victory; a bronze hel-

met, the offering of Hiero to the Olympian Zeus, found in the bed of the Alpheus, bears witness to us of this event. A Syracusan colony, established in the island of Ischia, prevented the Etruscan navy from sailing beyond Cape Misenum, and in Sicily

¹ On the Greek colonization of Sicily, see Vol. II. pp. 133 *et seq.*

² Vol. II. p. 496.

³ Bronze helmet discovered at Olympia, and now in the British Museum. The inscription is given above, Vol. II. p. 142.

a great victory gained over the Agrigentines obliged the Greeks in the island to recognize the supremacy of Syracuse. During the engagement Hiero, who was ill at the time, caused himself to be carried among his troops in a litter.

Sicily had produced a poet of great renown, Stesichoros of Himera, of whose works a very few fragments remain to us,¹ which give but a feeble idea of his genius; and we may suppose Ibykos of Rhegion to have been a Sicilian, a poet who at the court of Polykrates of Samos softened by his love-songs the rude spirit of the Dorian race. Like the Peisistratidai,



DIDRACHM OF SYRACUSE.²

Hiero, cruel but splendid in his tastes, loved poetry and acknowledged its power. He attracted to Syracuse, then the most brilliant of the Greek cities in the West, Pindar, Simonides of Keos, his nephew Bakchylides, the great Aischylos, and Epicharmos, the bold adversary of the gods of the



CARTHAGINIAN COIN OF SICILY.³

multitude.⁴ This brilliant court was like a prelude to the Athens of Perikles. Thrasyboulos, brother of Hiero, succeeded him (467 B. C.); but his tyranny brought on a revolution: the Greeks of the island aided the Syracusans to drive out their tyrant, in order then to rid themselves of theirs (466 B. C.). Royalty was everywhere abolished, and a democratic government took its place. The reaction against Gelon's dynasty did



DIDRACHM OF HIMERA.⁵

¹ Vol. II. p. 203.

² SYRAKOZION. Head of Nike (?), right profile, with laurel-wreath; around, four dolphins. Reverse: hero, nude, on a horse stepping to the right. Behind him a flying Victory with a fillet in her hands; in the exergue a sea-eel (*pistrix*). (British Museum.)

³ Woman's head (Astarte?), right profile, having an ornamental coiffure resembling the Phrygian cap. Reverse: lion *passant* before a palm-tree; Phœnician legend שיעם כחנות. — an inscription generally interpreted as *Schâm machanat*, "the people of the camp." In the *History of Rome*, vol. i. pp. 532-3, and vol. ii. p. 208, are represented other coins minted by the Carthaginians in Sicily.

⁴ See above, p. 159.

⁵ The nymph Himera standing, sacrificing upon an altar behind her a caduceus ornamented with fillets and fastened in the ground; in the exergue IATON (an unexplained word:

not stop with the conquest of popular liberties; the original inhabitants declared those who held citizenship from the tyrant incapacitated from holding office. This was the beginning of new disturbances and armed collisions, which were numerous in all the

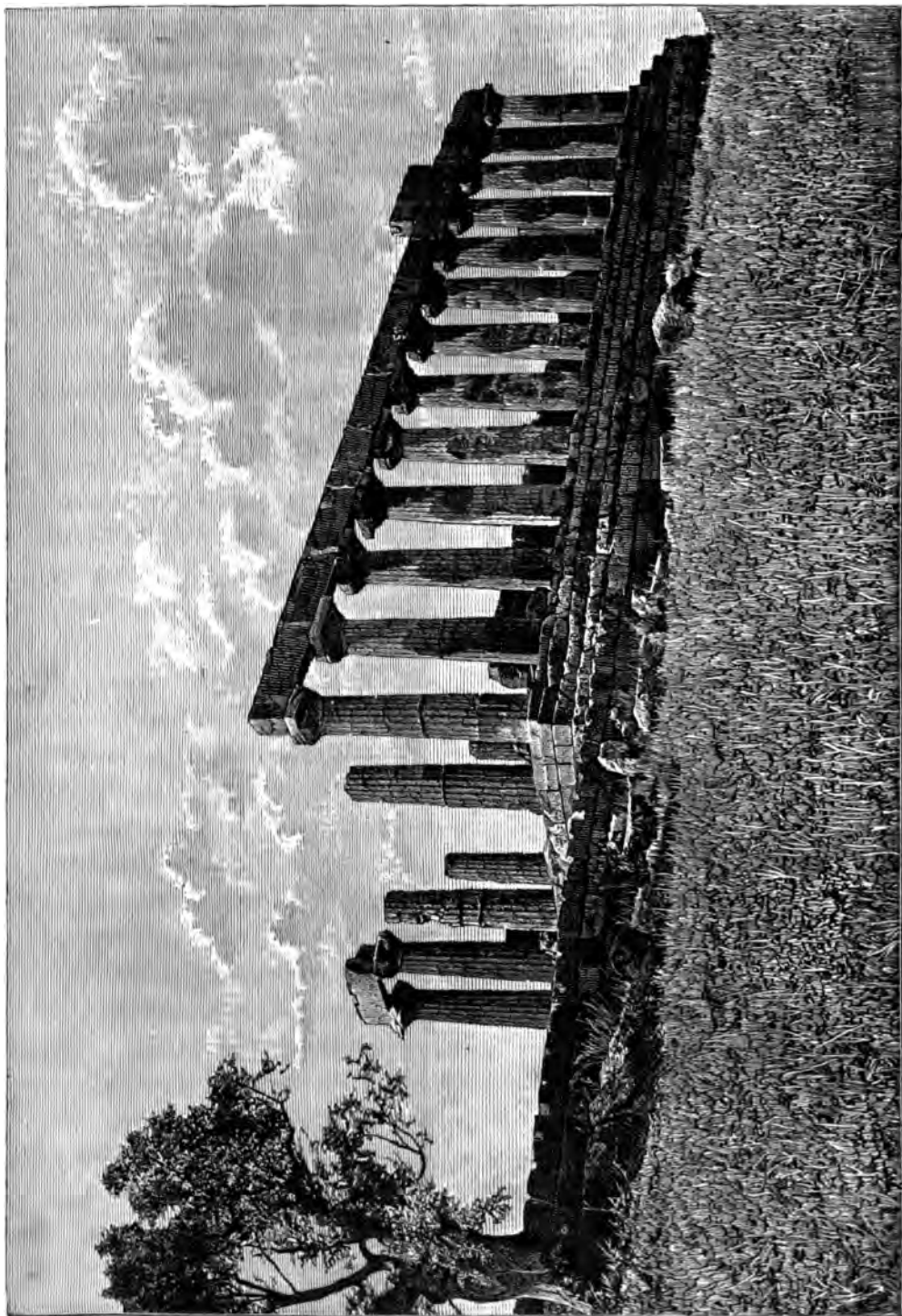


THE FOUNTAIN ARETHOUSA AT SYRACUSE.¹

cities. The disorder throughout the whole island became so great that a general assembly was summoned. It was there agreed that those who had been exiled by the fallen dynasties should be restored to their rights and property, and that to the former mercenaries

(perhaps the Punic name of Himera). Reverse: IMEPAION, retrograde; hero, nude, standing, grasping by the bridle his horse, which is running away; in the exergue a swimming swan. (British Museum.)

¹ From a photograph.



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF HERA AT AGRIGENTUM.

From a photograph.

and friends of the tyrants should be given the deserted city of Camarina, with its territory.

Syracuse, however, did not gain domestic peace by this decision: claimants presented themselves whom it was necessary to repulse; and ostracism, introduced under the name of "petalism," perhaps without the wise limitations Kleisthenes had given it in Athens, did not restore repose to the city. Nevertheless, by degrees tumults subsided, the republican government became fully established, and Syracuse regained her old strength. Her fleets freed the Tyrrhenian Sea from Etruscan pirates, the island of Elba was conquered, and an attack made upon Corsica (453 B. C.).

In the centre of the island of Sicily, whose entire coast had been Hellenized, remained, dispersed in little villages, the race which was the true owner of the soil, having given the island its earliest inhabitants and its name. The Sikeloi still defended their customs and their language from foreign influence. Three centuries later this was lost, and Cicero found only Greeks in the island.



TETRADRACHM OF AGRIGENTUM.¹

In 452 B. C. Duketios, one of their chiefs, undertook to preserve the independence of his people. He persuaded the Sikeloi to form a confederation and to build a city, after the Greek manner, with strong walls. The plan was carried into effect, and Duketios found himself at the head of troops sufficient to make an attack on Agrigentum, which sought and obtained succor from Syracuse. At first victorious over the united forces of the two powerful cities, in a second engagement he was defeated. Finding he could not escape from the hot pursuit of the Greeks, he made his way by night into Syracuse, entered the city alone without being recognized, and seated himself on the altar in the agora (451 B. C.). The people, "dreading Nemesis" if they violated the law of hospitality, cried with one voice that the suppliant must be spared. He was sent to Corinth, whence after a time he escaped, and returned into the island, but made no further attempt of importance. Syracuse took advantage of her victory to extend

¹ ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ. Eagle to the left, picking to pieces a hare which he holds in his claws. In the field, a shell. Reverse: a crab and a fish; in the field two shells.

her sway in the interior. A successful war with Agrigentum increased her secret hope of reducing the whole island. She doubled her cavalry, built a hundred triremes, and gave a new impulse to her commerce. Her merchants paid for their commodities in coins of gold and silver that were veritable works of art. The coinage of Syracuse is the finest that Greek art has left us.¹



TEMPLE OF SEGESTA.²

Agrigentum, her rival, who supplied Carthage and the African coast with wines and oils, gained so much by this commerce that her public buildings eclipsed in magnificence those of Syracuse; her temple of Zeus was nearly twice as large as the Parthenon of Athens, but not a grander building. The other Sicilian Greeks shared in this prosperity in proportion to their strength. For all, however, the days of misfortune were coming.

When the Peloponnesian war began, Sparta earnestly besought help from the Dorian cities of Sicily and Italy; they made a favorable reply, but found it more to their advantage to profit by what they supposed to be the enfeebled condition of Athens to attack

¹ See above, p. 155, and elsewhere in the course of this work.

² From a photograph.

the Ionian cities of the island, — Naxos, Katana, and Leontion. The last-named, being closely pushed in 427 B. C., sent Gorgias to solicit the support of Athens. Perikles would have been opposed to so remote an expedition; but he was at this time dead, and twenty galleys were sent to Sicily. Others followed them; but this war never assumed very great proportions, and ended in 424 B. C., when a wise Syracusan, Hermokrates, had made it clear to all the Sicilian Greeks united in congress that Athens by design fanned their hostilities, to profit thereby when the time should come that a treaty with Sparta left her to dispose freely of her military force.

Unfortunately this wise advice was soon forgotten. Troubles at Leontion brought the ruin of that city; part of its population emigrated to Syracuse, and from the year 422 B. C. Athens had re-formed a league against Sparta. However, until as late as 415 she did not find opportunity for a serious expedition; but in a quarrel which broke out between



DECADRACHM OF SYRACUSE.¹

Segesta and Selinous, the latter obtained aid from Syracuse. Upon this, Segesta, having vainly sought help from Carthage, appealed to Athens, where the exiled Sicilians were numerous.

Alkibiades had been one of the most urgent for the attack upon Melos, and he did not lose the present opportunity to incite the Athenians to an enterprise of much greater importance, and where he hoped to be in command. It was not, however, easy to persuade the assembly. Commissioners were first sent out to inform themselves as to the resources of Segesta; but they readily were deceived by very simple devices: they saw gold where there was only poverty, and the sixty talents which they brought back as the first month's pay for the crews of the sixty galleys strengthened

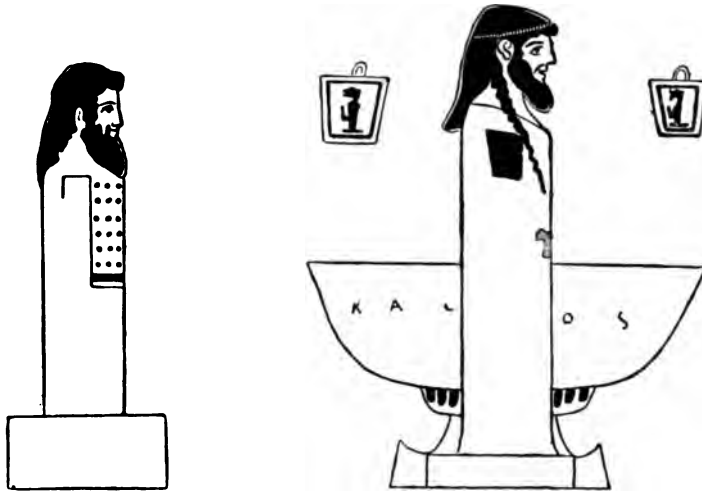
¹ Large silver coin minted under Gelon I. (cf. p. 155, No. 2). Laurelled head of a woman (perhaps a Victory), right profile; around, four dolphins; legend: ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΝ Reverse: a man driving a chariot drawn by three horses to the right; over him a flying Victory holding a wreath; in the exergue, a lion to the right.

the public faith in the wealth of the new ally. All men's minds were filled with ambitious hopes. Everywhere, says Plutarch, were to be seen young men in the gymnasia, old men in workshops and public places of meeting, drawing the map of Sicily, talking about the sea that surrounds it, the goodness of its harbors, its position opposite Africa. Established there, it would be easy to cross over and subjugate Carthage, and extend their sway as far as the Pillars of Hercules. The rich did not approve of this rashness, but feared if they opposed it that the opposite faction would accuse them of wishing to avoid the service and the costs of arming galleys. Nikias had more courage; even after the Athenians had appointed him general, with Alkibiades and Lamachos, he spoke publicly against the enterprise, showed the imprudence of going in search of new subjects when those they already had were at the moment in a state of revolt, as in Chalkidike, or only waited for a disaster to break the chain which bound them to Athens. He ended by reproaching Alkibiades for plunging the republic, to gratify his personal ambition, into a foreign war of the greatest danger. He enumerated the forces necessary, — at least a hundred galleys, five thousand hoplites, vessels for transport, immense supplies, and many other things. He hoped to alarm the people. One of the demagogues, however, replied that he would put an end to all this hesitation, and he proposed and secured the passage of a decree giving the generals full power to use all the resources of the city in preparing for the expedition (March 24, 415 B. C.).

Nikias was completely in the right. The expedition to Sicily was impolitic and foolish. In the Ægæan Sea lay the empire of Athens, and there only it could lie, within reach, close at hand. Every acquisition westward of the Peloponnesos was a source of weakness. Syracuse, even if conquered, would not long remain subject. Whatever might be the result of the expedition, it was sure to be disastrous in the end. Besides, in the Ægæan Sea was there not Amphipolis to recapture, insurgent Chalkidike to subdue, hostile Macedon to enfeeble? But Athens this time, like Alkibiades, was intoxicated with her strength and her prosperity. Vainly did Eupolis, in his comedy of the *Demoi*, send his worthy Myronides into the kingdom of Hades to bring thence the sages of the good

old days,—Solon, Miltiades, Aristeides, and Perikles: the people no longer recognized their former heroes; and it is said that Alkibiades was allowed to put to death the poet who had given him over to the laughter of the crowd.

As was always the case on the approach of important events, the presages and predictions of diviners were multiplied for or against the enterprise, at the will of either party. The oracles had lost their authority over the best class of minds: that of



HERMAI, OR BUSTS OF HERMES.¹

Delphi no longer decided the question of peace or war, as it had so often done; in respect to affairs of state, Perikles or Thucydides invoked only reason as their guide; but many of the people preserved the old superstitions, and listened to rumors from the great sanctuaries. Dodona was favorable; Delos was opposed to the expedition; Alkibiades had caused an oracle to be brought from the temple of Ammon, whose prestige, increased by distance, greatly impressed men's minds. The astronomer Meton, however, augured nothing good from the expedition, and the daimon of Sokrates had made known to him a disastrous issue.

¹ Vase-paintings, from the *Élite des monuments céramographiques*, vol. iii. pl. 79 and 80. The second hermes stands near a public basin or reservoir; on the wall adjacent hang two painted tablets representing *hermai* offered by worshippers. See E. Gerhard, *Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen und kleine Schriften*, i. 126, 566 et seq.: *Ueber Hermenbilder auf griechischen Vasen*.

An event which took place shortly before the departure of the fleet (8-9 June) threw terror into the city: one morning the *hermai*¹ throughout the city were seen to have been mutilated. This was an insult to the gods. The council of the Five Hundred was at once called together.² The offenders were sought for, and a reward of 10,000 drachmas was offered to whomsoever should give them up to justice; for to all pious minds the city seemed menaced with great misfortunes unless the anger of Heaven should be appeased by a sufficient expiation. While Alkibiades had many partisans, he had also violent enemies. Not long before this time Hyperbolos, a contemptible man, had almost succeeded in obtain-

¹ [“The *Hermæ*, or half-statues of the god *Hermês*, were blocks of marble about the height of the human figure. The upper part was cut into a head, face, neck, and bust; the lower part was left as a quadrangular pillar. . . . They were distributed in great numbers throughout Athens, and always in the most conspicuous situations, standing beside the outer doors of private houses as well as of temples, near the most frequented porticos, at the intersection of cross-ways, in the public agora. They were thus present to the eye of every Athenian in all his acts of intercommunion, either for business or pleasure, with his fellow-citizens. The religious feeling of the Greeks considered the god to be planted or domiciled where his statue stood; so that the companionship, sympathy, and guardianship of *Hermes* became associated with most of the manifestations of conjunct life at Athens, political, social, commercial, or gymnastic. Moreover, the quadrangular fashion of these statues, employed occasionally for other gods besides *Hermês*, was a most ancient relic, handed down from the primitive rudeness of Pelasgian workmanship, and was popular in Arcadia, as well as peculiarly frequent in Athens. About the end of May, 415 B. C., in the course of one and the same night, all these *Hermæ*, one of the most peculiar marks of the city, were mutilated by unknown hands. Their characteristic features were knocked off or levelled, so that nothing was left except a mass of stone, with no resemblance to humanity or deity. All were thus dealt with in the same way, save and except very few; nay, *Andokidês* affirms (and I incline to believe with him) that there was but one which escaped unharmed.

“It is of course impossible for any one to sympathize fully with the feelings of a religion not his own. . . . But if we take that reasonable pains which is incumbent on those who study the history of Greece to realize in our minds the religious and political associations of the Athenians, — noted in ancient times for their superior piety, as well as for their accuracy and magnificence about the visible monuments embodying that feeling, — we shall in part comprehend the intensity of mingled dismay, terror, and wrath which beset the public mind on the morning after this nocturnal sacrilege, alike unforeseen and unparalleled. . . . To the Athenians, when they went forth on the following morning, each man seeing the divine guardian at his doorway dishonored and defaced, and each man gradually coming to know that the devastation was general, it would seem that the town had become, as it were, godless, that the streets, the market-place, the porticos, were robbed of their divine protectors; and, what was worse still, that these protectors, having been grossly insulted, carried away with them alienated sentiments, — wrathful and vindictive, instead of tutelary and sympathizing” (*History of Greece*, by George Grote, vol. vi. pp. 4-7). — ED.]

² The historian *Timaïos*, writing a century later, attributed the disaster of the Athenians to the vengeance of the gods, who, to make their anger more manifest, made choice of a descendant of *Hermes*, *Hermokrates*, as the instrument of the expiation (*Timaïos, Fragments*, ciii. civ.).

ing his banishment; and he had escaped this danger only by uniting his party with that of Nikias, and causing the demagogue himself to suffer ostracism. The affair of the *hermai* appeared to his adversaries a favorable occasion to repeat the attempt made by Hyperbolos, and we have good reason to believe in a political



PARTING SCENE.¹

machination, seeing this same populace applaud, a few months later, the impious audacity of Aristophanes in his comedy of *The Birds*. An inquiry was set on foot, and certain *metoikoi* and slaves, without making any deposition as to the *hermai*, recalled to mind that before this time some of these statues had been broken by young men after a night of carousal and intoxication, thus indirectly attacking Alkibiades. Others in set terms accused him of having at a banquet parodied the Eleusinian Mysteries; and men took advantage of the superstitious terrors of the people to awake their political anxieties. It was repeated that the breakers of sacred statues, the profaners of mysteries, would

¹ Painting on a Sicilian vase, from O. Benndorf, *Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder*, pl. 49, 3. A woman offers a *phiale* to an armed warrior who is about to depart. Cf. vase-paintings represented in Vol. II. pp. 166 and 298.

respect the government even less than they had respected the gods, and it was whispered that not one of these crimes had been



DEATH OF ADONIS.¹

committed without the participation of Alkibiades; and in proof of this men spoke of the truly aristocratic license of his life.

Was he indeed the author of this sacrilegious freak? To believe him capable of it would not be to calumniate him. Or,

¹ Vase-painting from the *Bullettino archeologico napolitano*, anno vii. pl. 9. In the middle register Adonis lies dying upon a bed; a winged Love brings him assistance. At the head of the bed stand Persephone, a branch of myrtle in her hand, and Aphrodite, her head covered with a veil. At the foot of the bed is Artemis, holding two torches; this is not the huntress-goddess who has caused the death of Adonis, but the goddess of the under-world, Artemis-Hekate. In the upper register, Zeus, seated on a throne, decides the quarrel which has arisen between Persephone and Aphrodite for the possession of Adonis. Aphrodite kneels before Zeus, holding Eros with her left arm: Persephone is seated, leaning on the small chest in which she hid the infant Adonis. On the other side of Zeus are Demeter, a torch in hand, and Hermes, at the feet of Zeus, and leaning against his sceptre, is the young Adonis. In the lower register are the Muses.

on the other hand, was it a scheme planned to do him injury? Although proofs are lacking, it is certain that among the rich, upon whom rested the heavy burden of the naval expenses, a plot had been formed to destroy the power of Alkibiades, and perhaps to prevent the sailing of the fleet.¹ The demagogues, who had intoxicated the people with hope, were for the expedition; but the popularity of Alkibiades was obnoxious to them: a compromise was made between the two factions, as is often done in times when public morality is enfeebled, and Alkibiades found himself threatened on all sides. Frivolous as he was, and disdainful of the people and of the laws, he felt that he ought not to leave accusations like these behind him, and he implored the people to investigate and decide upon these charges before his departure. His enemies feared that he might too easily obtain acquittal from the popular assembly, in the interests of the enterprise on which he was about to depart; for it was by his influence that a contingent of Argives and Mantincians were to accompany the army. Urging as a pretext the dangers of delay in sending off the expedition, they obtained a decree that Alkibiades should embark at once, and that the question of his guilt or innocence should be postponed until after his return.

It was now the middle of summer. The day appointed for departure, the whole city, citizens and foreigners, went out to Peiræus at daybreak. Each man had a friend, a relative, a son, whom he accompanied. They marched full of hope, yet sad; for while they thought of what they were about to gain, they thought also of those whom they should perhaps never see again. At that moment the view was clearer as to the doubts and dangers, and also the distance of the expedition; but all eyes were drawn to the immense preparations that had been made, and confidence and pride consoled those who were about to part.

¹ Not long before the period of which we now speak, unfavorable auguries had been enough to deter a Spartan army, urgently called for by the Epidaurians, from crossing the frontier. Religious scruples of this kind frequently detained the armies of Lacedæmon. The opinion expressed in the text as to the intentions of the oligarchical party is that of Isokrates (*Disc.*, xvi. § 347). As to the affair of the *hermai*, Thucydides (vi. 60) declares that no one was ever able to discover the authors of the sacrilege: τὸ σαφές οὐδείς οὔτε τότε οὔτε ὕστερον ἔχει εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν δρασάντων τὸ ἔργον; but a little above, § 27, he says that it was regarded as part of a plot to overthrow the popular government; and this seems likely to be the truth.

The fleet was composed of a hundred galleys, sixty fast sailers and forty transports, and a considerable number of merchant vessels, following voluntarily. The allied force joined them at Korkyra, — thirty-four triremes and two Rhodian fifty-oared galleys. Of hoplites there were five thousand one hundred (of whom fifteen hundred were Athenians), four hundred and eighty bowmen, seven hundred Rhodian slingers, one hundred and twenty light-armed Megarians; and to this we may add fifteen or twenty thousand oarsmen, or possibly more.¹ Never had Athens or any Greek city sent out an armament like this.

“When the troops had embarked, and everything had been put on board that was to be carried,” says Thucydides, “silence was proclaimed by trumpet, and they offered the prayers which are usual before putting out to sea,—not ship by ship singly, but all together, responding to a herald; having mixed bowls of wine through the whole armament, and both seamen and their officers making oblations with gold and silver goblets. They were joined also in their prayers by the rest of the multitude on shore, both the citizens and whoever else was there that wished them well. When they had sung their hymn and finished their libations they weighed anchor; and having at first sailed out in a column, they then raced each other as far as Aigina.” The Athenians saw for the last time their ships and their soldiers (July, 415 B. C.).

BRONZE.²

The expedition had been decided upon on the day when the annual commemoration of the death of Adonis took place. While in the Agora orators were declaiming as to its advantages, the women, smiting their breasts and wailing aloud, cried: “Alas!

¹ Each sailor received from the State a drachma a day [about eighteen cents], — more by a third than the ordinary pay; and the captains gave gratuities besides this to the petty officers and the *thranitai*, or rowers of the upper bench, whose oars were longer and whose labor was proportionally greater (Thucydides, vi. 31).

² Coin of Corinth, with the effigy of Marcus Aurelius. C. L. I. COR. (*Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus*.) Galley under sail, in a Corinthian harbor, near a pharos.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a marble statue in the Villa Ludovisi (from a photograph. Cf. Th. Schreiber, *Die antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi in Rom*, p. 82). The god, in an attitude of repose, is seated on a rock, his hands crossed on his sword. His shield is at his right, and at his feet a cupid (Eros). The statue was originally part of a group; at the left was doubtless Aphrodite



THE LUDOVISI MARS (ARES).

alas! Adonis is dead! Weep for Adonis!"¹ This coincidence had seemed to the superstitious a presage of danger; but the people, in the pride of their power, had paid it no attention.

III.—THE ATHENIANS BEFORE SYRACUSE (414 B.C.); GYLIPPOS;
DESTRUCTION OF THE ARMY.

A RASH enterprise must be rashly carried out; but the generals received no precise orders. They were sent to do something great in Sicily, and exactly what great thing had not been said. Moreover, Nikias chilled every one's enthusiasm. He had been right in opposing the expedition when it was first proposed, "but after having vainly attempted to deter the Athenians and to be excused from the command, it was no longer the time to show fear, to act with hesitation, to gaze like a child from the ship to the shore, and incessantly repeat that, without regard to his representations, the people had laid upon him, against his will, an imprudent war, and thus to impair the first impulse of confidence which secures the success of an undertaking." Along the coast of Italy the fleet was very coldly received. The cities closed their gates and refused to sell provisions; even Rhegion, the ally of Athens in the preceding war, would not violate neutrality. Much was expected from the wealth of Segesta: three galleys sent thither brought back the promise of a subsidy of thirty talents; this was all that she could give. Much reliance had been placed on the Ionian cities, but not one called the Athenians. What was to be done when only distrust or poverty was found where warm friendship and aid were expected? Lamachos advised going directly to Syracuse and giving



TETRADRACHM OF SEGESTA.²

¹ Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 389.

² ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑ ΞΙΑ. Head of the nymph Segesta, right profile; behind, a wheat-ear. The ΞΙΑ or ΞΙΒ on these coins is still unexplained. (See Head, *Manual of Greek Numismatics*, p. 144.) Reverse: ΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΩΝ. A young hunter, probably the genius of the river Krimisos, to the right, his foot on a rock, and the chlamys on his left arm; his conical helmet is thrown back on his shoulder, and he holds in the left hand two javelins. He is accompanied by two dogs, and before him on the ground is a hermes.

battle under the city's walls. Alkibiades preferred an attempt to detach the other cities and the native population from the party of Syracuse, and afterwards an attack upon this city and upon Selinous. Nikias was favorable to neither of these plans. He proposed to summon the Segestans to keep their promises: if they refused, to make as good terms for them as possible with the inhabitants of Selinous, and then

DIDRACHM OF SELINOUS.¹

return home, after sailing quietly around Sicily, to show the arms of Athens and the immense armament. The wisest plan was that of Lamachos, the worst that of Nikias; the plan adopted was the one proposed by Alkibiades, which was a half-way measure between the two (July, 415 B. C.).

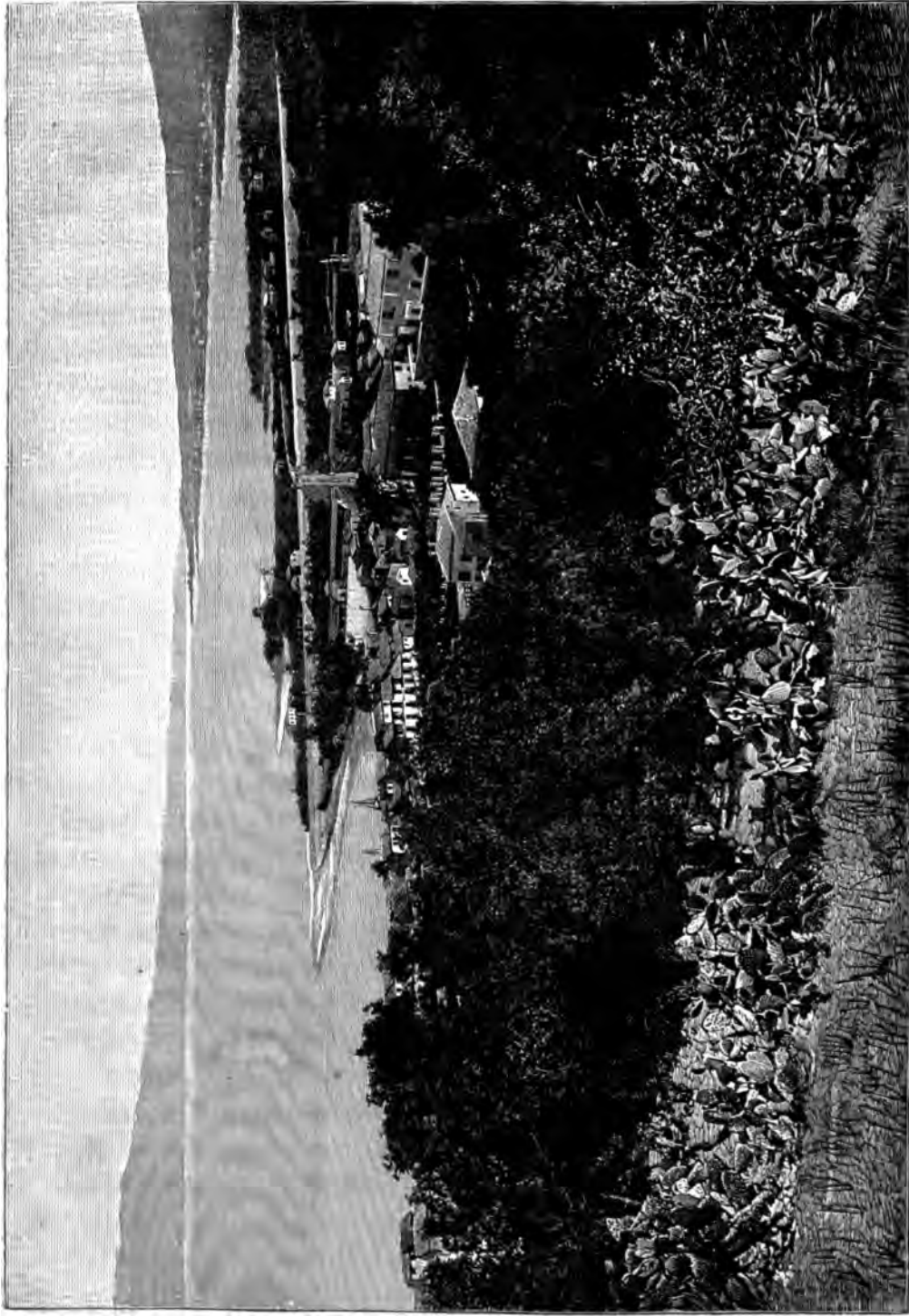
Messina closed her gates; Naxos opened hers; at Katana Alkibiades was admitted into the city, but alone. While he was addressing the assembly, some Athenian soldiers, observing an ill-guarded gate, made their way into the town. Katana allied herself with Athens, and became a station of the fleet. The army returned thither from an unsuccessful expedition to Kamarina, and on their return found that the trireme "Salamina"² had just arrived from Athens, with orders for Alkibiades to return home. Not to exasperate the army, he was simply bidden to come

OBOLOS OF KAMARINA.²

¹ ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΝ. Herakles, nude, armed with his club, and subjugating the bull, which he seizes by the horns. Reverse: ΗΥΨΑΣ. Genius of the river Hypsas sacrificing on the altar of Asklepeios. He holds a patera and an olive-branch; around the altar is coiled a serpent; in the field, a spray of parsley, the city's symbol, and an aquatic bird, recalling the pestilential marshes drained by Empedokles; see above, p. 162.

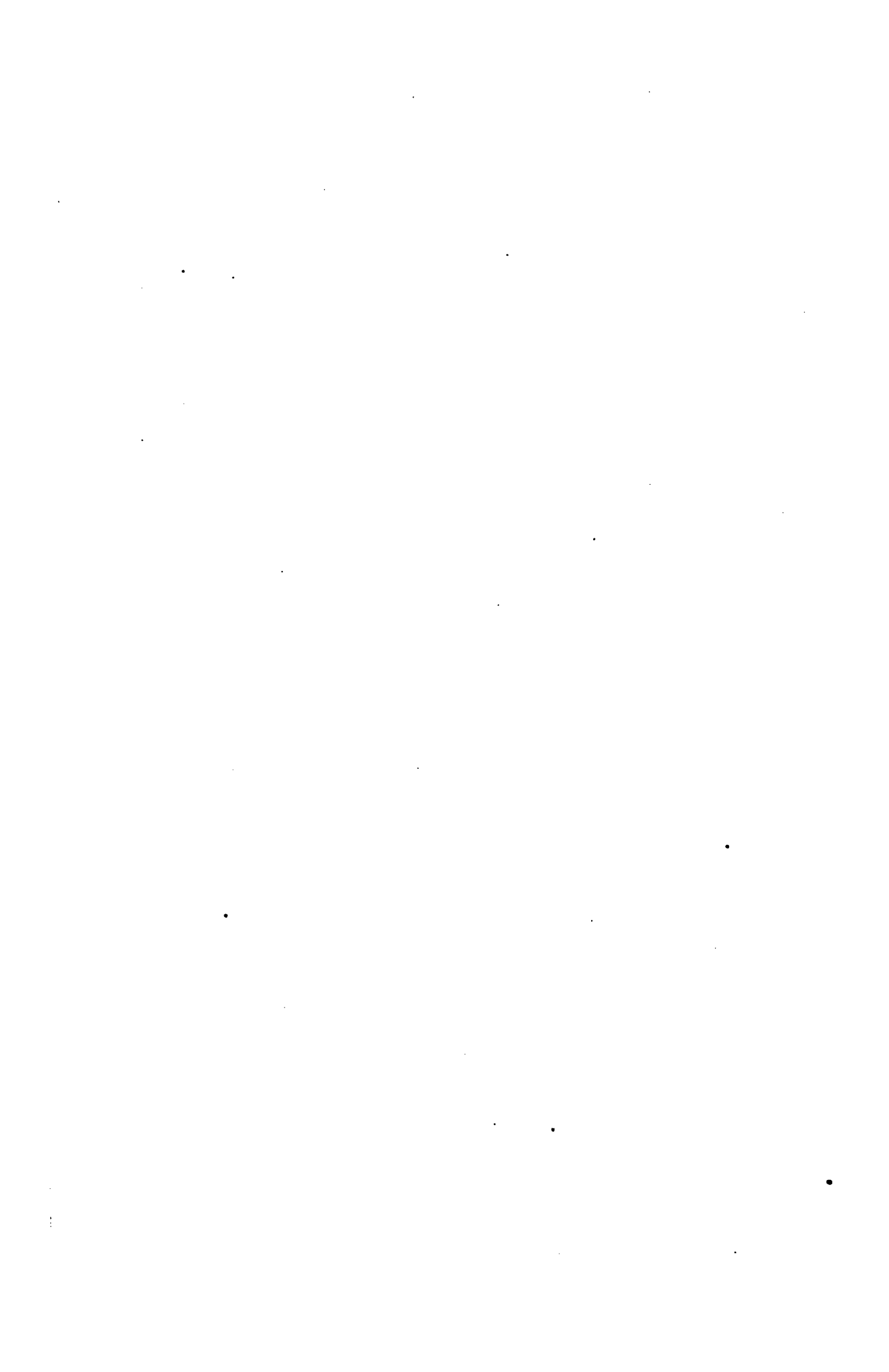
² Athene, standing to the left. She is helmeted, leans with the right hand upon her lance, and holds in her left hand a sheaf of arrows; she has the ægis upon her breast, and at her feet, her shield. Legend: ΚΑΜΑΡΙΝΑΙΟΝ. Reverse: a Victory flying to the left; at her feet, a swan; the whole in a laurel-wreath.

³ ["The Athenians, from very early times, kept for public purposes two sacred or State vessels, one of which was called 'Paralos,' and the other 'Salamina.' . . . Both these vessels were quick-sailing triremes, and were used for a variety of purposes. They conveyed *theoroi*, despatches, etc., from Athens, carried treasures from subject countries to Athens, fetched State criminals from foreign parts to Athens, and the like. In battles, they were frequently used as the ships in which the admirals sailed. . . . The names of the two ships seem to point to a very early period in the history of Attika, when there was no navigation except between Attika and Salamis, for which the 'Salamina' was used, and around the coast of Attika, for which purpose the 'Paralos' was destined" (Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 865). — Ed.]



VIEW OF THE STRAITS OF MESSINA.

From a photograph. The view is taken from Rhegion.



and defend himself against the charges of sacrilege and treason which had been brought against him, and was allowed to make the voyage in his own galley.

When the excitement produced by preparations for war and the sailing of the fleet had died away, the populace had resumed their fears. At first only the brilliant aspect of the expedition had been seen; now, only its dangers were apparent. Men implored the gods to ward off these perils, yet feared that they would be deaf to the prayers of a city that had not



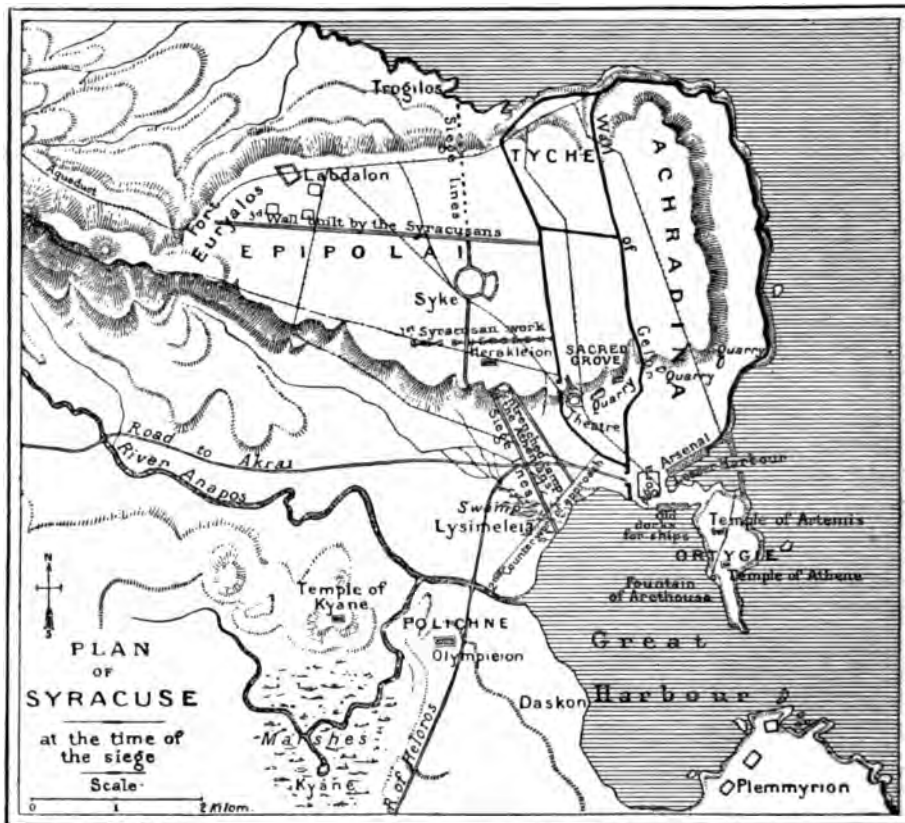
TETRADRACHM OF MESSINA.¹

known how to avenge them; by degrees a kind of religious terror spread over the whole city. As has so often happened, fear revived superstition, and the two together excited implacable hatreds. Everything became matter for suspicion.² The insults offered to the gods caused terror; and it has been already said that certain persons found it for their interest to make use of this terror in leading the people to believe that a conspiracy was on foot which threatened the republic and the constitution. A movement of the Boiotian and Spartan armies towards the frontiers of Attika seemed a proof of connivance between traitors within and the enemy without. Alarm spread to Argos, at this time closely bound to Athens; the partisans of the oligarchy there were put to death; at Athens, eighteen citizens, condemned for mutilation of the *hermai*, were executed; a few days later, forty-two others were designated, but being released on bail, fled from the city; and at last Alkibiades himself was impeached. When Thessalos, son of Kimon and one

¹ Man seated in a biga, the horses stepping to the right. Above, a flying Victory crowns him. In the exergue, a branch of laurel. Reverse: MEΣΣANION, in retrograde letters. A hare running to the right; above, a horned and bearded head of Pan, right profile; underneath, a branch of laurel.

² As late as 1789, even in France, a sacrilegious act of the first criminality — as was, in the eyes of the Athenians, the mutilation of the *hermai* — not only caused as much terror as anger in the place where it was committed, but was punished by the law with its severest penalty, accompanied by the extreme of torture, in the case of the Chevalier de la Barre. In 1825 a rigorous law against sacrilege was again passed in France. In Athens, in the affair of the *hermai*, the proposition to put a citizen to torture was rejected as illegal. Slaves only, and probably also aliens (*metoikoi*), were subjected to it.

of the heads of the oligarchical party, preferred against him a charge relating to the mimicry of the Mysteries of Eleusis, all the worshippers of Demeter and Persephone, the initiated, and, most of all, the women, who were in a sense the guardians of these ceremonies,¹ spread through the city a smothered indignation



PLAN OF SYRACUSE AT THE PERIOD OF THE SIEGE IN 417 B. C.²

against the despiser of religious things. Alkibiades was called home. He felt that a sentence of death awaited him at Athens, and he made his escape to Thourion, and thence into the Peloponnesos, to his friends in Argos. A few days before, some Greeks living in Messina had pledged themselves to give the city into his hands; before leaving Sicily he denounced this plot to

¹ Vol. II. pp. 355 *et seq.*

² See the recent work of Lupus and Holm, *Topographie von Syrakus*, with plans and views.

the magistrates. The persons whom he had persuaded to be traitors to their own government were put to death, and the Athenians lost a post which would have been extremely important to them. This was the beginning of the vengeance which he proposed to wreak upon his country, and it was, at one stroke, two bad acts.



THE RIVER ANAPOS.¹

As soon as the flight of Alkibiades was made known at Athens, his trial took place. He was condemned to death, his property was confiscated, and he was pronounced accursed. after the ancient method,—at nightfall the priests facing the west, and shaking their purple garments, as if to cast away the sacrilegious wretch from out of the city and from out of the divine protection. Only the hierophantis Theano refused to obey the decree. “I am a priestess to bless,” she said, “and not to curse.”

¹ From a photograph. On the banks grow papyrus plants. See E. Renan, *Vingt jours en Sicile*, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (November, 1875), pp. 261 *et seq.*

To complete these acts of religious hypocrisy, of savage superstition, and of political jealousy, a law was passed prohibiting the dramatic poets from making allusion to the events of the day (414 B. C.). This was censorship of the drama.¹ Aristophanes responded to it by a masterpiece, *The Birds*,— a charming fairy-tale, but also a universal satire, which spared neither law-makers nor diviners, nor even the gods. In the blessed city which the Birds build, between heaven and earth, life is tranquil, without fear of informers, of the “Salamina,” or of prosecutions. It was the protest of mind and good-sense. Athens appreciated it, and laughed with the poet; but did not mend her ways. When Alkibiades had taken shelter in the Peloponnesos, she sent envoys to claim his extradition.

GOLD COIN.²

In Sicily, the departure of Alkibiades had discouraged the troops, and Nikias was not the man to restore confidence. He

ETRUSCAN COIN.³

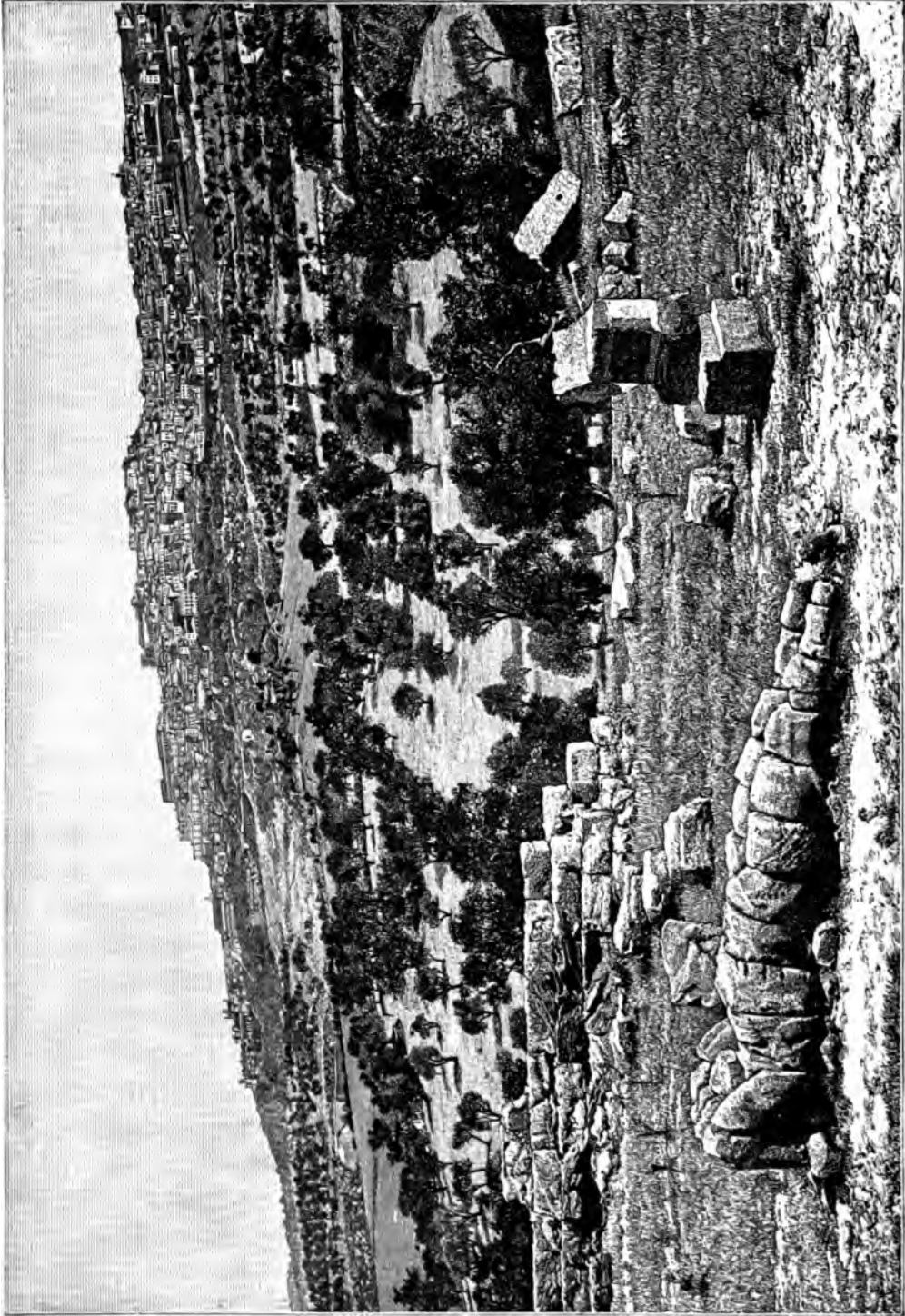
wasted time in sending the galleys out to sail along the coasts, as if he had no further duty than to exhibit to the islanders the Athenian fleet; and autumn arrived without any victory being gained. Syracuse had long despised the warnings of the sagacious Hermokrates, and refused to believe that the Athenians would ever attack her. The arrival of the fleet in Sicilian waters at last opened all men's eyes. At the moment, by a bold stroke, Nikias might have taken the city. But he gave the Syracusans time to recover from their terror and to make preparations. They

¹ This was a renewal of the law of 440 B. C., which had fallen into desuetude. See Vol. II. p. 663.

² Coin of Syracuse. ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Beardless head, left profile, of the Genius of the Anapos. Reverse ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. on a ribbon. Free horse, galloping to the right.

³ The winged Gorgon, running to the left. Her face is in front view, and she holds a serpent in each hand. Reverse: ΘΕΙ. An uncertain type, which is thought to be a kind of wheel. The legend has not as yet been explained (Garrucci, *Le Monete dell' Italia*, part ii. p. 54).

NOTE.—On the opposite page are represented (from a photograph) the ruins of the temple of Zeus at Agrigentum. In the foreground lies one of the caryatides. In the background, on the heights, is the modern city of Girgenti. All the temples of Agrigentum were situated on the terrace which rises between the sea and the modern city.



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT AGRIGENTUM.



were ready for him when he prepared to repeat the project of Lamachos.

Slow and undecided in counsel, in action Nikias manifested no lack of vigor. Having succeeded, by an adroit stratagem, in



GUTTER IN FORM OF A LION'S HEAD.¹

drawing all the hostile force outside the city walls, he suddenly presented himself before the undefended place and landed his troops, encamping them — to be out of reach of the Syracusan cavalry — between a marsh in which the Anapos lost itself, and the slopes of the Olympieion. An engagement ensued, which was entirely to the advantage of the Athenians. On the hill stood a temple of Zeus, having rich treasures, which the soldiers of Nikias would gladly have pillaged. The scrupulous general dared not touch this sacred property, and left it to be used



COIN OF GELA.²

¹ From the Doric temple of Himera; from a photograph. The gutter is of compact limestone. It is a remarkable fragment of Greek decorative sculpture, dating from the sixth century B. C. We know that the city of Himera was destroyed in 409 B. C.

² ΓΕΛΑ. Youthful head of the river Gela, left profile, diademed and horned. The whole in a laurel-wreath. Reverse: horseman striking with his lance a foot-soldier, who is thrown down and has relinquished his shield. (Silver.)

by his adversary. Winter coming on, he fell back to Naxos, and sent to Athens for cavalry and money. At the same time he detached the Sikeloï from their alliance with Syracuse, and endeavored to attract to the Athenian alliance Carthage and Etruria, both hostile to the Italiot and Sicilian Greeks. Syracuse, on her side, appealed to Corinth, to Sparta, and to Agrigentum; but all professed neutrality. On the proposal of Hermokrates, the people reduced the number of their generals from fifteen to three, increased the authority of the three, and, appreciating the necessity of a strong administration in this time of danger, pledged themselves to leave the generals' action unhampered by the indiscreet curiosity common in democracies.

In Greece Alkibiades shamelessly took part with the envoys of those against whom he had set on foot the war, and became their adviser and advocate. He urged the Spartans to send an army to Syracuse and to fortify in Attika the post of Dekeleia, thus placing Athens between two dangers. On hearing that the Athenians had sentenced him to death, he had said, "I shall quickly show them that I am yet alive;" and he kept his word.

Sparta resolved to send one of her citizens, Gylippos, son of Kleandridas, who had been exiled in 445 B. C., with some Corinthian vessels; but her delay was such in doing this that it left time for the Athenians to return to Syracuse in the following summer (414 B. C.). Fortunately, the inhabitants had taken advantage of the retreat of Nikias to build a wall during the winter, protecting the approach to Achradina and to Ortygia. They were preparing to occupy also the summit of the Epipolai, when the Athenians arrived and prevented their doing this.¹ Nikias at once built a great entrenched enclosure, which was called the Circle, thence constructing two walls of circumvallation, one extending to the port of Trogiolos, and the other to the Great Harbor. He urged this work forward with all possible speed, notwithstanding the difficulties of the ground, which was in part

¹ Syracuse consisted, in 415 B. C., of two cities, — the ancient one, in the island of Ortygia; the new city, or Achradina, on the island itself, at some distance from Ortygia. Achradina was fortified, and had two open suburbs, Tyche, and the domain of Apollo Temenites, which was called later Neapolis. Achradina occupied the base of a triangle, of which Epipolai was the summit. At this point, which commanded the whole city of Syracuse, was the fort Euryalos.

hilly and in part marshy. To render it useless, the Syracusans began to build a palisade and counter-wall to intersect the intended line of circumvallation. This wall being attacked and destroyed by the Athenians, a palisade and ditch were carried by the Syracusans from the lower portion of their own city walls to the Anapos, shutting out the besiegers from the Great Harbor.



FORT EURYALOS.¹

This again was taken; but in the engagement Lamachos fell.—a brave and able general. Aristophanes, who scoffs at his martial zeal, acknowledges him, however, to have been a hero. “He was so poor,” says Plutarch, “that whenever he was appointed general he used always, in accounting for his outlay of public money, to bring some little reckoning or other for his very clothes and shoes.”

Nikias remained alone at the head of the army. His recent successes drew to him numerous reinforcements from Sicily, Italy.

¹ View of the interior; from a photograph.

and even from the Etruscans, who sent him three galleys. He began to hope. The Syracusans, on the contrary, lost courage; they had begun to talk of surrender, and were proposing terms of capitulation to Nikias, when a Corinthian galley, escaping the Athenian guard-ships, made its way into the harbor of Syracuse, bringing news that a Corinthian fleet was at Leukas, and that the



FORT EURYALOS.¹

Spartan, Gylippos, had actually landed in Sicily. He was at Himera, where a thousand hoplites and light troops, with a hundred horse, had joined him; other troops from Selinous and Gela increased his force, also a thousand Sikeloi, making, with the hoplites from his own vessel, an army of three thousand men. Nikias, instead of going out to meet him, allowed him to enter Syracuse undisturbed. Instantly the aspect of affairs was changed. Plutarch says:—

¹ View taken from the exterior; from a photograph.

“Gylippos first sent a herald to the Athenians, to offer them an opportunity to withdraw without molestation, if they were willing to leave the island. Nicias disdained to make any reply; and some of his soldiers asked the herald jestingly if the arrival of one coarse cloak and a Lakonian staff had suddenly given the Syracusans such an advantage that they now only despised those Athenians who not long before had given back to the Spartans three hundred prisoners that they had been keeping in chains, all much stronger than Gylippos.”



TETRADRACHMS OF KATANA.¹

TETRADRACHMS OF SYRACUSE.²

But the Spartan had brought back confidence; he restored discipline, improved the character of the troops, and in his first attempt surprised the fort Labdalon and put its garrison to the sword.³ Then he built a new fort on the high ground, and a

¹ (1) Human-headed bull, pawing the ground, to the right; above, a goose; underneath, a fish. Reverse: KATANAION; a Victory, stepping to the left, holding in her right hand a laurel-wreath.

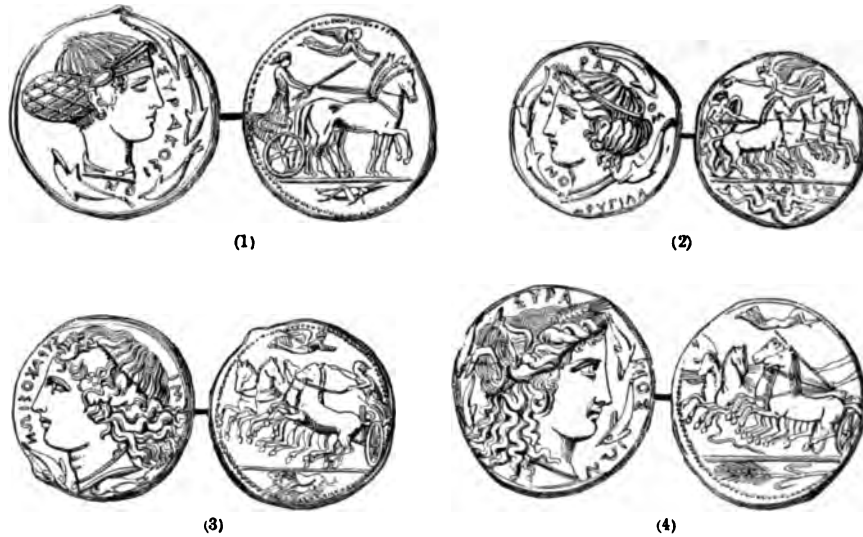
(2) Head of Apollo, front face, with a wreath of laurel and curling hair; in the field, ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΑΣ, name of the artist engraver. Reverse: KATANAION; quadriga driven by a woman, towards whom flies a Victory holding a wreath in each hand. In the exergue, a dolphin.

² (1) ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΝ. Head of nymph, right profile, the hair bound with fillets; dolphins around the head. Reverse: woman in a biga, the horses stepping to the right; over the biga, a flying Victory, with a wreath.

(2) Nymph's head, left profile, the hair lifted and covered by a *sphendone* ornamented with stars; around the head, dolphins; in the exergue, EYMENOY, name of the artist engraver. Reverse: winged Victory, driving a quadriga, to the right; above the horses flies another Victory. In the exergue, the monster Skylla, armed with a trident, and the letters ΕΥΘ, initials of the name of an unknown artist engraver.

³ Labdalon had been built by the Athenians on the slope of Epipolai.

third wall, cutting the Athenian line of circumvallation and prolonged up the slope of Epipolai, barring the Athenians from the summit and the northern cliff. Instead of directing his attack on this side, Nikias, avowing publicly his fears and his weakness,



TETRADRACHMS OF SYRACUSE.¹

occupied himself in fortifying the promontory Plemmyrion, at the entrance of the Great Harbor, and built there three forts; this was almost to abandon the siege. Reinforcements could, it is true, easily reach him there by sea; but, on the other hand, he had to go far in search of water and wood, and the soldiers could not go

¹ (1) ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Nymph's head, right profile, the forehead adorned with a diadem, the hair enveloped in a net; around the head, dolphins. Reverse: woman in a biga, the horses stepping to the right: she has in her hands the reins and a goad. A Victory, holding a fillet, is flying above the horses.

(2) ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ Head of Persephone, left profile, crowned with wheat-ears and poppies; around the head, dolphins; in the exergue, ΦΡΥΓΙΑΑ[ΟΥ], name of the artist engraver. Reverse: a winged Victory driving a quadriga to the right, herself crowned by another Victory flying above the horses; in the exergue, the monster Skylla, armed with a trident, and the letters ΕΥΘ, initials of the name of an unknown artist engraver. The reverse of this coin is found also associated with heads signed by Eumenes.

(3) ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head of nymph, left profile, hair confined by a diadem; behind the head, IM, initials of a name of an artist engraver; underneath, two dolphins. Reverse: woman in a quadriga, the horses galloping to the left; a Victory holding a fillet flies towards her above the horses. In the exergue, a lion devouring a bull.

(4) ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. Head of Persephone, right profile, crowned with wheat-ears; around the head, dolphins. Reverse: woman in a quadriga, the horses galloping to the left; a Victory flying towards her. In the exergue, a wheat-ear.

outside without being harassed by the enemy's cavalry, who were masters of the surrounding plains.¹ A victory gained by Gylippos and the arrival of a Corinthian squadron completed the work of rendering the Athenian army rather itself besieged than besieging.

Nikias then sent to Athens a despatch, in which he revealed the distress of the army and his own anxiety. He announced the arrival of the Spartan commander, the interruption of the wall of circumvallation, the disorder of the fleet and the troops, the bad condition of the triremes, which had now been too long at sea, the desertion of the oarsmen and the hired auxiliaries, the exhausted condition of the allied cities, Naxos and Katana, the discouragement of the soldiers and the sailors; he added:—



TETRADRACHM OF AGRIGENTUM.²

“But the most distressing of all these things is that I, their general, have no power to put a stop to these abuses (for your tempers are difficult to command), and that we have no means of recruiting our ships' crews (which the enemy can do from many quarters), but both what is kept and what is expended must be taken from what we brought with us.”

He concludes his letter:—

“I might, it is true, have had more agreeable things than these to write you, but none more useful, if it is necessary for you to deliberate with a clear knowledge of affairs here. And besides, knowing as I do your temper, that you wish indeed to receive the most pleasing statements, but find fault afterwards should anything in consequence of them turn out otherwise than you expected, I thought it safer to lay the truth before you. And now be assured of this, that for the business on which we first came here neither your troops nor your generals have become inadequate; but since the whole of Sicily is now united together, and a fresh force is expected by them from the Peloponnesos, you must now deliberate with a

¹ The Athenian army had brought only thirty horse, while the cavalry of the Syracusans was numerous: hence, for Nikias, an impossibility of scouting. In 414 B. C. Athens sent out two hundred and fifty cavalry-men, who were supplied with the horses of the country; the Sicilian allies furnished more; so that Nikias was able to form a troop of six hundred and fifty horse (Thucydides, vi. 94 and 98).

² AKPAΓA. Two eagles, standing on a hare, which they are tearing in pieces. Reverse: AKPAΓANTINON. A crab; underneath, the monster Skylla.

conviction that your troops are not a match even for their present enemies, but that you must either recall these or send in addition to them another armament not less numerous, both military and naval, and no small sum of money, as well as some one to succeed me, since I am unable to remain at my post, in consequence of a nephritic disease. And I think that I may claim some consideration at your hands, for when I was in health I did you much service during the periods of my command. But whatever you mean to do, do it at the very beginning of spring, and without any delay; since the enemy will in a short time provide themselves with reinforcements



BRONZE RAM.¹

from Sicily, and though not so quickly with those from the Peloponnesos, yet if you do not pay attention to them, in some respects they will elude your observation as before, and in others they will anticipate you.”²

This urgent letter, far from depressing the Athenians or exciting their anger against the incapable general, roused them to greater efforts. They voted a new levy of troops, to be placed under the command of Demosthenes and Eurymedon, associated

¹ Bronze discovered at Syracuse, now in the Museum of Palermo (from a photograph)

² Thucydides does not profess to give the actual text of the letter of Nikias, which he could have had copied for him at Athens; but there can be no doubt he has brought forward all the general must have employed in explaining the situation to the Athenians.

with Nicias in command of the army of Sicily. Another resolution was adopted, almost the same day, at Sparta, — namely, to send in the following spring an army to Syracuse, and another into Attika, to occupy Dekeleia. A general war was about to break out afresh. To brave so many dangers at once was perhaps heroic, but was the extreme of imprudence. While he awaited the reinforcements promised, Gylippos actively followed up his first successes. He left Syracuse, made a tour of the cities up to this time vacillating, and brought them all, except Agrigentum, over to the side which victory favored. Returning to the Syracusans, he induced them to attack at once, by sea and by land. While the whole Athenian army, gathered on the shore, was looking on at the sea-fight, Gylippos surprised the forts on Plemmyrion. The Athenians lost their provisions, baggage, army treasure, and a position whence the Syracusans could, in their turn, intercept all arrivals from the open sea. Two naval actions, in which the Athenians were defeated, increased the perils of their situation (July 413 B. C.).


 TETRADRACHM OF NAXOS.¹

Demosthenes now arrived. He appeared suddenly outside the harbor, in full sight of the enemy, with a splendid and formidable armament. His fleet consisted of seventy-five vessels, on board of which were five thousand infantry and three thousand archers, slingers, and javelin-men. The glitter of weapons, the brilliant hues of the vessels and the standards, *σημεία*, the great number of officers, and the clamor of trumpets, all made the display at once imposing and alarming. The Syracusans were again a prey to extreme alarm; they saw no limit to their misfortunes, no hope of a better fate. They were about to lose, they said, the fruit of their labors, and certainly to perish, for Athens, which they believed exhausted, — Athens, notwithstanding threatening dangers and the presence of the foe upon her own soil, now sent into Sicily a force more formidable than the first.

¹ Bearded head of Dionysos, right profile, with a diadem ornamented with a branch of ivy. Reverse: *ΝΑΞΙΩΝ*. Silenos, seated on the ground, nude, holding a thyrsos in the left hand, and a kantharos full of wine in the right; at his side, a vine-stock, with bunches of grapes.

Demosthenes desired to end the war promptly. After a careful examination he gave his opinion that an attack should be made upon the counter-wall which the Syracusans had built, and that if successful in this, the Athenian circumvallation should then be completed. If this plan succeeded, he would gain Syracuse; if it failed, he proposed to return to Athens, without wasting the men and money of the State. Nikias, alarmed at his colleague's audacity, remained behind in the intrenchments. Demosthenes and Eurymedon by night assailed Epipolai, to turn the enemy's wall. The unexpected attack threw the Syracusans into disorder; but the Athenians believed themselves victorious before they really were so. They dispersed in pursuit of some of the fugitives, while the enemy, recovering their self-possession, formed again in good order. The Boiotians, allies of Syracuse, were the first to oppose the advance of the Athenians, charging them while in the disorder of pursuit, and driving them back. The moon was shining, but its light was faint, and not enough to make friend distinguishable from foe. The Athenian hoplites lost their way, and the watch-word, being loudly given them, was overheard by the enemy, who were thus aided in their pursuit. The singing of the battle-hymn also created disorder, for the Argives, Korcyraians, and all of Dorian race who were with the Athenians, alarmed their allies exceedingly by beginning to sing this *paian*. The latter supposed themselves among enemies, and attacked them accordingly. Thus friends fought with friends, and it was long before the unfortunate mistake was discovered. The descent from Epipolai is narrow and steep: pursued down this abrupt declivity, many fell from the cliffs and perished. Those who reached the plain in safety fled to their camp, especially the Athenians, who had been long in the country and knew their way; but many of those recently arrived missed the road completely, and when daylight came were surrounded by Syracusan cavalry and put to the sword. In this affair the Athenians lost two thousand men.

After such a disaster but one course could be pursued: the attempt of Demosthenes having failed, Sicily must be abandoned. But decision is a quality lacking in irresolute minds. When Demosthenes talked of setting sail, Nikias objected. He dared not take upon himself so grave a responsibility. He urged that it was

important to remain, that the Syracusans were drained of their money, and were by no means in so prosperous a condition as they appeared to be. In truth, he dreaded to appear before the people of Athens, who would impute to his continued hesitations the ill-success of the war. Eurymedon had at first agreed in the opinion of Demosthenes; but as it was known that Nikias had agents in the city, it was believed, when he thus persistently opposed a departure, that he had still hopes which prudence forbade him to reveal; and it was decided to remain.



HARBOR OF SYRACUSE : PRESENT APPEARANCE.¹

The distressed condition of Syracuse was by no means an imagination of Nikias, but success rendered it easier to be endured. Gylippos a second time went throughout Sicily, and brought back new reinforcements. Having been victorious on land, the Syracusans now aspired to a naval success. To cut off the Athenians' retreat, they undertook to bar the exit from the harbor.

When it had been decided that the expedition should not be given up, Demosthenes, seeing all the danger of the situation, had proposed withdrawing to Katana or to Naxos, there to pass the autumn. The present encampment was in an unwholesome spot, and an epidemic raged in the camp. Nikias had at last yielded to his colleague's wish, and the army was about to move, when an eclipse of the moon gave alarm to the superstitious general. He

¹ From a photograph.

refused to leave the place until thrice nine days had passed, and concerned himself only with sacrifices to appease the anger of the goddess. The Syracusans took advantage of this delay to attack the Athenian fleet. They captured eighteen vessels, and closed the harbor with triremes ranged broadside, and merchant vessels and boats anchored, and connected with each other by chains.

This barrier must be broken through, at whatever hazard. The Athenians, who had still one hundred and ten vessels, resolved to make the attempt: this was the critical moment of the war. We give the narrative in the words of Thucydides:—

“ Demosthenes, Menandros, and Euthydemos, who went on board the Athenian fleet to take the command, put out from their own station, and immediately sailed to the bar at the mouth of the harbor, and the passage through it which had been closed up, wishing to force their way to the outside. The Syracusans and their allies, having previously put out with very nearly the same number of ships as before, proceeded to keep guard with part of them at the passage out, and also round the circumference of the whole harbor, that they might fall upon the Athenians on all sides at once, while their troops also at the same time came to their aid at whatever part their vessels might put into shore. When the Athenians came up to the bar, in the first rush with which they charged they got the better of the ships posted at it, and endeavored to break the fastenings. Afterwards, when the Syracusans and their allies bore down upon them from all quarters, the engagement went on no longer at the bar alone, but over the harbor also; and an obstinate one it was, such as none of the previous ones had been, for great eagerness for the attack was exhibited by the seamen on both sides when the command was given; and there was much counter-manœuvring on the part of the masters, and rivalry with each other, while the soldiers on board exerted themselves, when vessel came in collision with vessel, that the operations on deck might not fall short of the skill shown by others. Indeed, every one, whatever the duty assigned him, made the best effort, that he might himself in each case appear the best man.

“ And as a great number of ships were engaged in a small compass (for indeed they were the largest fleets, fighting in the narrowest space that had ever been known, since both of them together fell little short of two hundred), the attacks made with the beaks were few, as there were no means of backing water or cutting through the enemy’s line; but chance collisions were more

NOTE.—On the opposite page is represented a quarry near Syracuse (*Latomia Casale*), from a photograph. In respect to these quarries, see E. Renan, *Vingt jours en Sicile*, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (November, 1875), p. 261.



STRACUSAN QUARRY.

frequent, as one ship might happen to run into another, either in flying from or attacking a second. While a vessel was coming up to the charge, those on her deck plied their javelins, arrows, and stones in abundance against the other; but when they came to close quarters, the heavy armed marines, fighting hand to hand, endeavored to board each other's ship. In many cases, too, it happened, for want of room, that on one side they were charging an enemy, and on the other side were being charged themselves, and that two ships, and sometimes even more, were forcibly entangled around one. And thus the masters had to guard against some and to concert measures against others,—not one thing at a time, but many things on every side; while the great din from such a number of ships coming into collision both spread dismay and prevented their hearing what the boatswains said. For many were the orders given and the shouts raised by those officers on each side, both in the discharge of their duty and from their own eagerness for the battle, while the Athenians cried out, urging the troops to force the passage, and now, if ever, exert themselves heartily for a safe return to their country; and the Syracusans and their allies were exhorted that it would be a glorious thing for them to prevent the enemy's escape, and by gaining the victory to confer honor on their respective commanders. The commanders, moreover, on each side, if they saw any captain unnecessarily rowing astern, called out on him by name and asked him, on the side of the Athenians, whether they were retreating because they considered the land, which was in the possession of their bitterest enemies, as more their own than the sea, which had been won with no small trouble; and on the side of the Syracusans, whether they were themselves flying from the flying Athenians, whom they knew to be desirous to escape from them in whatever way was possible.

“The troops on shore, too, on both sides, when the sea-fight was so equally balanced, suffered great distress and conflict of feelings,—those of the country being ambitious now of still greater honor, while their invaders were afraid of faring even worse than at present. For since the Athenians' all was staked on their fleet, their fear for the future was like nothing they had ever felt before; and from the unequal nature of the engagement they also could only have an unequal view of it from the beach. For as the spectacle was near at hand, and as they did not all look at the same part at once, if any saw their own men victorious in any quarter, they would be encouraged and turn to calling on the gods not to deprive them of safety, while those who looked on the part that was being beaten uttered lamentations and cries, and from the sight they had of what was going on, expressed their feelings more than those engaged in the action. Others, again, looking on a doubtful point of the engagement, in consequence of the indecisive continuance of the conflict, in their excessive fear gesticulated in correspondence with their thoughts, and continued in the most distressing state, being constantly within a little of

escaping or of being destroyed. And thus, amongst the troops of the Athenians, as long as they were fighting at sea on equal terms, every sound might be heard at once,—wailing, shouting, ‘They conquer!’ ‘They are conquered!’ and all the other various exclamations which a great armament in great peril would be constrained to utter: very much in the same way as their men on board their ships were affected; until at length, after the battle had continued for a long time, the Syracusans and their allies routed the Athenians,



SYRACUSAN QUARRY (LATOMIA DEI CAPPUCCINI).

and pressing on them in a decisive manner, with much shouting and cheering of each other on, pursued them to the shore. Then the sea forces, as many as were not taken afloat, put into the land at different parts and rushed from on board to the camp: while the army, no longer with any different feelings, but all on one impulse, lamenting and crying out, deplored the event, and proceeded, some to succor the ships, others to guard what remained of their wall: while others, and those the greatest part, began now to think of themselves, and how they should best provide for their own preservation. Indeed, their dismay at this moment had been exceeded by none they had ever before felt. And they now experienced very nearly what they had themselves

inflicted at Pylos, for by the Lacedæmonians' losing their ships, their men who had crossed over into the island were lost to them besides; and now, for the Athenians to escape by land was hopeless, unless something beyond all expectation should occur."¹

But the end had come; the army was in fact held captive (Sept. 1, 413 B. C.). The engagement had been so severe that both sides had lost heavily. The victors erected a trophy; the Athenians did not even seek to recover their dead. Demosthenes, whose courage remained unabated, proposed to man the remaining vessels and to strive again at daybreak to force a passage to the open sea. He represented that they still had more ships fit for service than the enemy, for they had sixty, while the Syracusan fleet numbered less than fifty. Nikias agreed with this opinion; but the seamen would not embark, being dismayed at their defeat, and thinking that they could not now gain a victory, and having made up their minds to retreat by land.

On the third day the army began its march. Forty thousand men set out, abandoning their wounded and sick, who clung to their garments and begged not to be left behind, and followed as far as they could, with appeals to Heaven and many lamentations. The army marched in two divisions, led by Nikias and Demosthenes, who both strove to restore courage and confidence so far as existing circumstances rendered it possible. During the eight days of this disastrous retreat the enemy never ceased to attack at the head of the column, on its flank, and on its rear. Demosthenes, with the rear-guard, was surrounded at Polyzelion and obliged to lay down his arms, with the single condition that the troops should have their lives. On news of this, Nikias sent proposals to Gylippos. He asked to be allowed to withdraw his troops unharmed from the island, and promised that Athens would pay the costs of the war. These proposals were disdainfully rejected, and the Syracusans all day long harassed the column. On the next day the Athenians reached the river Asinaros. Without attempting to cross in order, they rushed into the stream tumultuously, seeking to quench their thirst, which had become extreme. Many were trodden to death, and others were drowned:

¹ Thucydides, vii 69 *et seq.*

while the Syracusans on the bank had only to discharge their arrows at random, and a great number of Athenians were killed. Upon this Nikias surrendered, and Gylippos put a stop to the butchery (Sept. 10, 413 B. C.).

“The conquerors, with garlands on their heads,” says Plutarch, “with their own horses splendidly adorned, and cropping short the manes and tails of those of their enemies, entered the city, having in the most signal conflict ever waged by Greeks against Greeks, and with the greatest strength and the utmost effort of valor and manhood, won a most complete victory.”

“Nikias and Demosthenes were executed,” says Thucydides, “contrary to the wish of Gylippos. For he thought it would be a glorious distinction for him, in addition to all his other achievements, to take to the Spartans even the generals who had commanded against them. And it so happened that one of these, Demosthenes, was regarded by them as their most inveterate enemy, in consequence of what had occurred on the island and at Pylos; the other, for the same reasons, as most in their interest; for Nikias had exerted himself for the release of the Lacedæmonians, prisoners in Pylos, by persuading the Athenians to make a treaty. On this account the Spartans had friendly feelings towards him; and, indeed, it was for the same reasons that he reposed confidence in Gylippos, and surrendered to him. But certain of the Syracusans (as it was said) were afraid, some of them, since they had held communication with him, that if put to the torture he might cause them trouble on that account in the midst of their success; others, and especially the Corinthians, lest he might bribe some, as he was rich, and effect his escape, and so they should again incur harm through his agency; and therefore they persuaded the allies and put him to death. For this cause then, or something very like this, he was executed; having least of all the Greeks in my time deserved to meet such a misfortune, on account of his devoted attention to the practice of every virtue.”

Nikias and Demosthenes were stoned to death, or, according to Timeios, having been warned by Hermokrates, perished by suicide. The other prisoners, to the number of seven thousand, were crowded into the quarries under the open sky, where they endured alternately the extreme heat of the sun and the chill of autumnal nights. For food each man had half a slave's rations. Their sick and wounded died among them, and they were not allowed to bury the dead bodies. The air which they breathed became loaded with infection. Thus they lived for seventy days;