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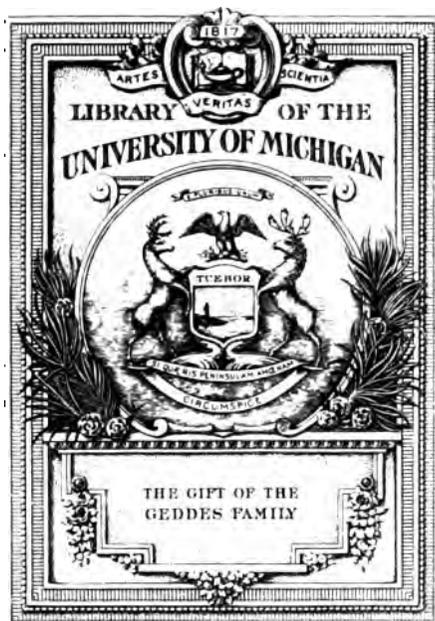
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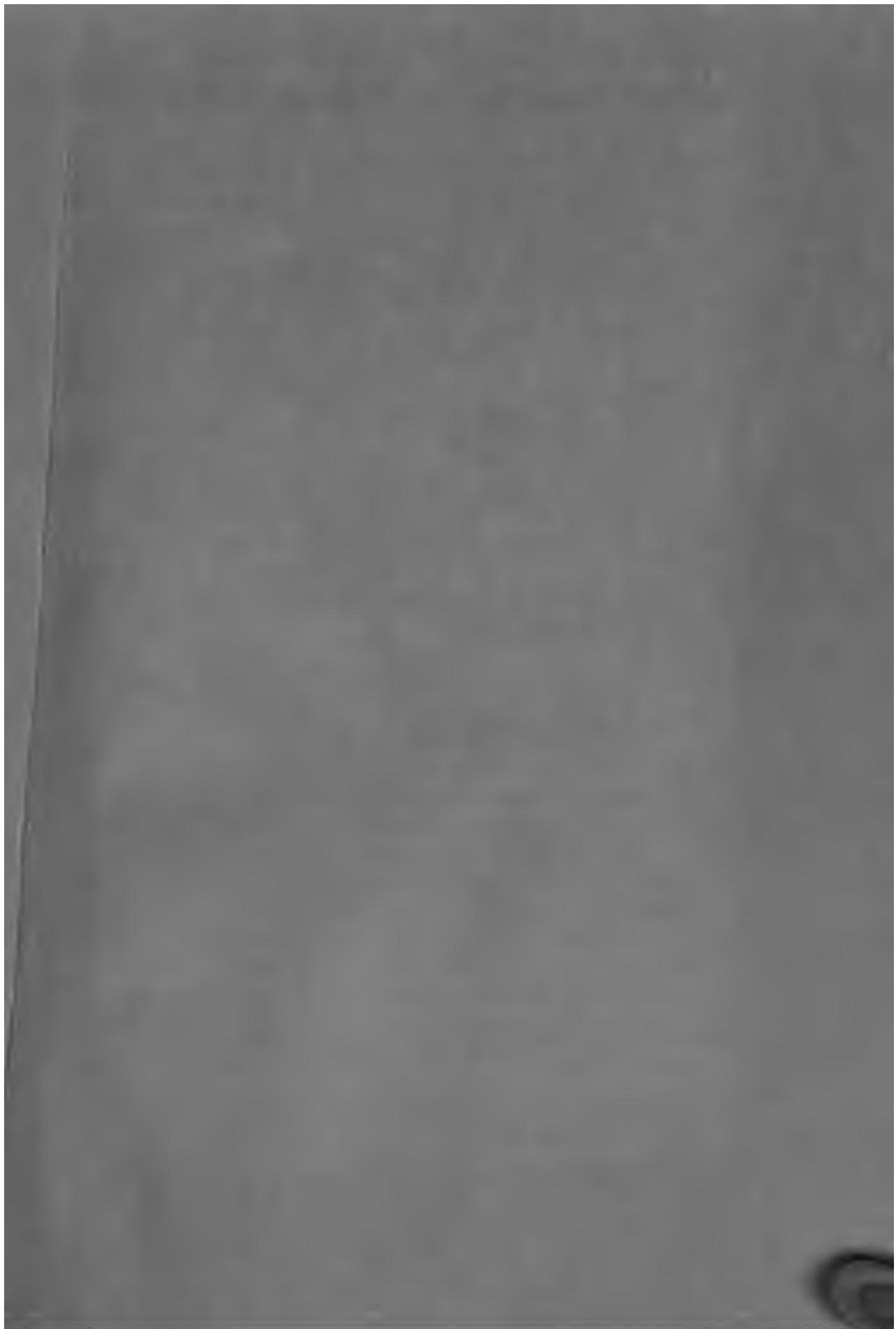




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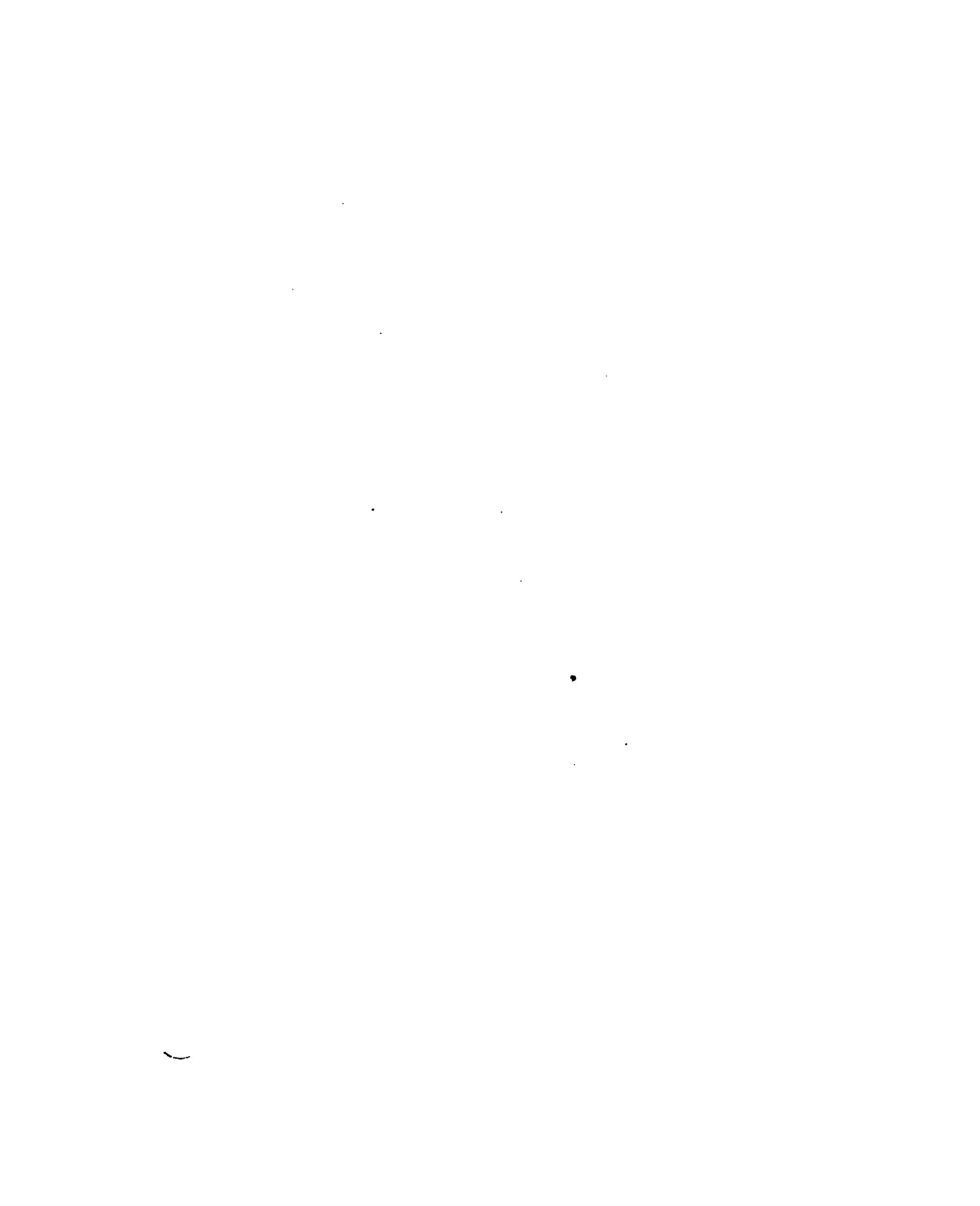
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# HISTORY OF GREECE,

AND OF THE GREEK PEOPLE,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

By VICTOR DURUY,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, EX-MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION,  
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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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# HISTORY OF GREECE.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### CLOSE OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR (413-404 B. C.).

#### I.—HOSTILITIES IN GREECE RESUMED; OLIGARCHICAL REVOLUTION IN ATHENS.

THE war still raged in Sicily when the Spartans, following the perfidious counsel of Alkibiades, invaded Attika and fortified Dekeleia, fifteen miles from Athens. Agis, the Spartan king, posted himself there, and thence ravaged the country unremittingly. Thucydides says (vii. 27. 28):—

“For previously the invasions were but of brief duration, and did not prevent their enjoying their territory at other times; but now that the enemy were continually stationed there, . . . they were deprived of their whole country. More than twenty thousand slaves had deserted, a great part of them being artisans; and all their sheep and beasts of burden were lost. Their horses also, as the cavalry were daily on the move, making excursions to Dekeleia and keeping guard in the country, were either lamed by being worked on rocky ground, and that continually, or were disabled by wounds. The conveyance also of provisions from Euboia, which was before effected more quickly by land from Oropos through Dekeleia, was now carried on with great expense by sea round Sounion. Indeed, the city required everything to be imported, and instead of being a city, it was reduced to a garrison. For the Athenians were harassed by keeping guard on the fortifications, in succession by day, and all of them, excepting the cavalry, by night,—some being on duty where the arms were piled, and others on the walls,—both summer and winter alike. . . . At this time they imposed on their subjects the tax of a twentieth on all sea-borne commodities, instead of the tribute, thinking that thus a larger amount of money would be raised by them. For their expenses were not on the same scale as before, but much greater, inasmuch as the war also was greater, while their revenues were being destroyed.”

Such then had been the result of this adventurous and rash expedition. Athens had lost many soldiers, had exhausted her

resources, offended her allies, and drawn upon her undefended territory the war she had not long before carried into the heart of the Peloponnesos; and to all this we must add the hostility of Alkibiades.

Nevertheless her courage and resolution were not shaken. "At the beginning of the war," says Thucydides, "some thought that if the Peloponnesians entered Attika, the Athenians might hold out a year; others said two years, and a few three: but no one



VIEW OF DEKELEIA.<sup>1</sup>

supposed a longer resistance possible. But seventeen years after the first invasion, already exhausted by this war, they began another in Sicily, as dangerous as the one they had waged against the Peloponnesos." The disaster in Sicily was a great blow. At first there was a general reluctance to accept the fact; then, when it could no longer be doubted, the public anger broke forth against those who had advised the expedition. But when the first moment of grief and dejection had passed, Athens became

<sup>1</sup> From Stackelberg, *La Grèce*, etc. Near the centre of the foreground are the ruins of Dekeleia. At the left, in the middle distance, rises Pentelikos, with the village of Kephisia, where the Kephissos rises. On the horizon is first the Laureion, between Pentelikos and Hymettos, and at the right, the sea and the Peloponnesian hills. In front of these is the island of Hydra, and then the island of Aigina, in the Saronic Gulf.

again worthy of herself; she relinquished idle recriminations, that she might think only how to resist her old enemies and those new ones whom her misfortunes were now to raise up against her. Ship-timber was collected, vessels were put upon the stocks, Cape Sounion was fortified, to protect the commerce in foreign commodities. Exiles were called home, the expenses for games, festivals, and sacrifices were reduced, and, a still more important work, an effort was made to rescue the State from the danger of hasty resolves in the public assembly. A committee of ten members was appointed, the *πρόβουλοι*, "those who deliberate with the others,"—so called because they had the right to pre-

COIN OF ERYTHREIA.<sup>1</sup>SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

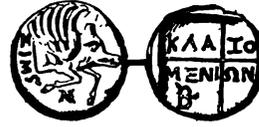
vent a proposal from being submitted to the people until they had authorized its presentation. Thus ceasing to be always in the open square, the government withdrew into the discreet shadow needful for its considerate and timely action. This council of ten was not the Roman dictatorship, but it was the curb which a popular assembly needs to save it from its own rashness.

The supreme moment, the time of greatest danger, seemed come. Euboa, the granary of Athens, made known to Agis, still posted at Dekeleia, that she was ready to revolt if some aid were furnished. Lesbos, Chios, Erythreia, on the coast of Asia, made the same request and the same promise. Tissaphernes, satrap of the maritime provinces, and Pharnabazos, governor of the Helle-spontine provinces, engaged to furnish subsidies for the maintenance of a fleet which Sparta would furnish. Since the victories of Kimon the court of Susa had levied no tax on the Asiatic tributaries of Athens. But Darius II., on news of the defeat of

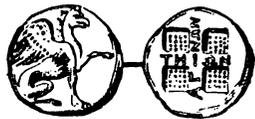
<sup>1</sup> Horseman galloping to the right. No legend. Reverse: incused square.

<sup>2</sup> Legend: ΦΑΡΝΑΒΑ. . . . Head of the satrap Pharnabazos, wearing the Persian mitre; right profile. Reverse: vessel's prow, adorned with a griffin; on each side, a dolphin plunging into the sea. Underneath, a tunny-fish.

the Athenians in Sicily, felt that there was no further need of showing consideration. He refused to abate, from the tribute which Tissaphernes owed for Ionia and Karia, the sums that the Greek cities had ceased to pay. The same injunction had doubtless been laid upon the satrap of the Hellespont; hence the zeal of the two governors for the Peloponnesians. The envoys of Pharnabazos had already brought twenty-five talents to Sparta. The allies were ordered to make ready a hundred galleys. They furnished only twenty-one; and when these vessels sailed out of the Saronic Gulf on their way to Chios, over a

BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>VIEW OF KLAZOMENAI.<sup>2</sup>

sea where it was believed not an Athenian sail could be found, they were affrighted at falling into a squadron which drove them from their harbor and forced them to run ashore. Before the news of this unexpected disaster had reached the coast of Asia, Alkibiades hastened to Chios with five galleys, — all that Sparta had as yet at sea, — which he represented as the precursor of a powerful fleet. Chios was the most important of the allies of Athens, and had always been specially favored as such; her name was joined in the public prayers with that of the city, and poets praised in their dramas her fidelity. But the nobles of the island drew away the people, notwithstanding their sympathy with Athens, into a defection.<sup>4</sup> Erythreia

HEMIDRACHMA OF TEOS.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Klazomenai. ΣΙΜΩΝ, a magistrate's name. Fore part of a winged wild boar, to the right. Reverse · ΚΑΖΟΜΕΝΙΩΝ, in an incused square, divided into four compartments by two lines crossing at right angles. Monogram, a mint-mark.

<sup>2</sup> From Le Bas, *Itinéraire*, pl. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Griffin, seated to the right, with lifted paw. Reverse: incused square, dotted and separated into four compartments by two bands in relief which cross each other, and have, on one, ΘΙΩΝ, and on the other, the name of the mint-master, ΑΙΓΩΝ.

<sup>4</sup> Thucydides, viii. 9, 14, and 24. The same is true as to the defection of Lesbos, Akan-

and Klazomenai, then Teos, Lebedos, Miletos, and Lesbos successively entered the Peloponnesian confederacy.



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF THE DIDYMAIAN APOLLO, NEAR MILETOS.<sup>1</sup>

Alkibiades was a traitor to Athens only; the Spartan general who accompanied him was a traitor to all Greece, signing with Tissaphernes a treaty which gave over to the Great King all the

thos, Torone, Mende, Amphipolis, and other allies of Athens. Everywhere the people oppose these changes, which are planned and carried out by the nobles. The sway of Athens was unpopular only with a faction, and not with the inhabitants generally in the allied States. This has already been often said, but cannot be too often repeated. The democratic revolution in Samos, later, proves the same thing. The prosperity of the allies of Athens was such that Thucydides calls the inhabitants of Chios "the richest of the Hellenes" (viii. 45). Next to Sparta, this city had the most slaves (Wallon, i 319).

<sup>1</sup> From a photograph. O. Rayet and A. Thomas have made important excavations in the ruins of this temple. We give later a restored plan of the building.

Greeks of Asia and of the islands,—Sparta consenting even to abandon to him cities which neither he nor his predecessors had ever before possessed (412 B. C.).

The struggle, which had just now been waged on the western frontiers of the Greek world, was about to have its scene in the East. All the hostile forces gathered there. Athens, believed to have exhausted her resources and also her courage, sent thither successively a hundred and four galleys, which found a point of support and an excellent naval station at Samos. The



SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>

people of this island, taking warning from the recent treachery of the nobles in Chios, expelled their own, not to be obliged to break with the city who guarded the commerce of all the Greek States, and to unite with those who had just given up to the Great King the liberty of the Greeks of Asia. The Athenian fleet defended Samos, recovered Lesbos and Klazomenai, and gained a



DRACHMA OF SELINOUS.<sup>2</sup>

victory over the Peloponnesians near Miletos (September, 412 B. C.), but without being able to prevent the defection of Knidos and Rhodes. Galleys from Selinous, Syracuse, and Thourion had come to join the Spartan vessels; and Tissaphernes promised the near arrival of a great Phoenician fleet.



COIN OF THURION.<sup>3</sup>

Athens was alone against the world, and the effort could not long be sustained by her. An unlooked-for event gave her some advantage,—the quarrel between Alkibiades and Sparta. This singular

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Miletos. Laurelled head of Apollo, left profile. Reverse: lion passant, to the left, with reverted head; above, a star; before him, the monogram of the name Miletos (MI), and the letter Δ, mint-mark. In the exergue, a magistrate's name: ΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΙΟΣ.

<sup>2</sup> ΕΥΡΥΜΕΔΟ[ΣΑ]. Head of the nymph Eurymedosa, wearing a *sphendone*, left profile; behind the head, a swan. Reverse: ΣΕΛΙΝΟΣ; youthful head of the river Selinous, left profile, horned; behind it a leaf of parsley.

<sup>3</sup> Head of Pallas, right profile, with a helmet surrounded by a laurel-wreath. Reverse: ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ; bull stepping to the right, with lowered head; in the field, ΑΙΒΥΣ, name of a mint-master. In the exergue, a fish. (Silver.)

man had surprised the Spartans by his facility in adopting their manners and customs; dry bread and black broth seemed to be the only food he had ever known, and the Spartan exercises the education of his childhood. But the profligate character of



ALKIBIADES.<sup>1</sup>

the man quickly reappeared: he offered an unpardonable insult to Agis, who endeavored to have him assassinated; and the Spartan government, disquieted on account of the ascendancy which Alkibiades had obtained over the Asiatic Greeks, gave an order for his death. This was justice after the manner of the Great King; Athens at least never struck until after due course of law. Alkibiades, warned of the intentions of those whom he had served so well, quitted the army and took refuge with Tissaphernes. He astonished the Persian satrap by his luxury, and

charmed him by the graces of his mind. But it was not enough for him to become the boon companion of Tissaphernes; expelled from Sparta, he desired to secure his return to Athens in reward for his services to his native city. He now represented to the Persian governor the danger of giving up to a single State the control of land and sea; better it were, in the interests of the Great King, to hold the balance even, between Sparta and Athens, and leave them to ruin each other. Since Sparta had now the advantage, it would be well at once to reduce the subsidies given her by the satrap. and to refuse her the assistance that had been promised from Phœnicia.

<sup>1</sup> Marble bust, in the Louvre. Cf. Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, No. 94, pl. 1,071 and 1,024.

Tissaphernes readily entered into these views, gratifying at once to his policy and his avarice. Some money adroitly bestowed among the leaders of the Peloponnesian fleet caused them to spend precious time in inaction. Hermokrates the Syracusan was the only one to keep his hands pure from the gold of the Great King. Alkibiades took to himself the credit of this change, in his intrigues with the Athenian army encamped at Samos. His secret emissaries said to the trierarchs and to all the enemies of popular institutions that it was he alone who could put an end to the hostile fortune of the last four years. They represented him as holding suspended over the head of Athens either an alliance with Persia and subsequent gifts, or the anger and the arms of the Great King,—victory, or else ruin. He had stopped on the way the subsidies destined for the

THE DEMOS.<sup>1</sup>TETRADRACHM OF TENOS.<sup>2</sup>

Spartans; he could turn this wealth towards themselves; he had held back in their harbors the hundred and fifty Phœnician galleys: it was in his power to send them to join the Peloponnesian fleet. But he himself could find no safety in

Athens so long as the government lasted which had driven him into exile.

These words found ready credence with the principal officers of the Athenian army. Since the death of Kimon, the opposition of the aristocracy had modestly limited itself to the sarcasms of the comic poets and to the machinations which had brought about the exile of Alkibiades. The public misfortunes had raised the party's hopes and fortified their resolution to regain power. The longer the war lasted, of course, and the more disastrous it became, the more the burdens of the trierarchy increased. When victory followed the Athenian standards, the booty was a compen-

<sup>1</sup> PECINOS. The Demos of Rhegion, seated to the left, on a throne, holding a sceptre in the right hand. The whole in a wreath of laurel. Reverse of a silver coin of Rhegion; on the face of the coin, a lion's head, front (Percy Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. i. 18).

<sup>2</sup> Laurelled head of Zeus Ammon, right profile. Reverse: TH ΠΩΝ]. Poseidon, seated, to the left, on a throne, holding in his right hand a trident, and with the left leaning on his trident.

sation; now dangers were certain, there was no plunder, and expenses were constantly renewed. The poor man, who had his life only, and that often a miserable one, flung it into the danger with patriotic carelessness; the rich had another thing to apprehend,—ruin. In *The Knights*, Aristophanes represents Kleon as saying to a rival whom the demagogue wishes to injure: “I will

SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>

have you made trierarch; I will put your name on the list of rich men, and I will see to it that there is assigned to you an old ship, with worn sails, that you will be obliged to repair constantly and at heavy expense.” Without these explanations it would not be

possible to understand the scenes about to follow and the tyranny of the Thirty. On the part of the rich this was no blind hatred of liberty, but a violent hatred for certain institutions, the effect of which, in times of disaster, was to render insupportable the condition of those who felt that there must be a limit to the sacrifices made for the honor and power of the country.

To strengthen their opposition, the nobles had long since organized in secret societies; all the members of these *hetairiai*, acting in concert at a given moment, were strong enough to carry an election in the Pnyx, or to defeat before the heliasts an accusation with which one of them had been threatened. They were *hetairoi*, the friends of Kimon, who at Tanagra gave their lives to remove a suspicion from his fame. But the time of heroic devotion was now over; the present *hetairiai* labored only to overthrow the government, and many of the officers in the army at Sarnos belonged to these societies. The man who had so much cause to complain of the democracy appeared to them a useful tool.

BRONZE COIN.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Andros. Head of Dionysos, crowned with laurel, right profile. Reverse: ANΔPIΩN. Dionysos, standing, to the left, resting his left hand on a thyrsos, and holding a kantharos in the right.

<sup>2</sup> ΑΙΓΕΙΝΗΤΩΝ. View of the semi-circular harbor of Aigina; in the centre, a sailing-vessel; in the background, a temple with six columns, and under the portico the entrance of the sanctuary, reached by a flight of steps. Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of Julia Douna (Imhoof-Blumer and Percy Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, p. 45).

Phrynichos alone comprehended that Alkibiades cared no more for one party than for the other; he dwelt upon the disgrace that it was to put the country's laws under the feet of an exile, and upon the danger of re-establishing in the allied cities an oligarchical government, whose first work would be to negotiate with Sparta. But he was not listened to; the envoys set out for Athens, Peisandros at their head. Received at first with outcries and complaints, he contented himself with asking the opponents, man by man, on what they relied for safety; and as they were forced to confess that they knew of nothing unless they could persuade the Persian king to come over to their side, he said, boldly:—

“This advantage, however, cannot be attained by us if we do not adopt a more temperate policy and put our offices into the hands of a smaller number, that the king may have confidence in us—and we do not consult so much at present about a form of government as about the preservation of the State itself, for we shall have power to alter hereafter whatever may not please us—and also, if we do not restore Alkibiades, who is the only man at present that can effect this.”

Peisandros did not at once attain his object. There was much hesitation about overthrowing that democracy which Aristeides and Perikles had made illustrious, and around which gathered all the great deeds of a century. Persuasion remaining ineffectual, the nobles resorted to intimidation. Secret societies under the control of Antiphon became widespread, and by degrees the whole city was involved in one vast conspiracy. Androkles, the principal popular orator, fell by the dagger. Other democratic leaders were assassinated, without any attempt being made to discover the criminals; and the general assembly, the council of Five Hundred, deliberated in fear of their lives, so daring were the murderers. “No man,” says Thucydides, who draws a very gloomy picture of this tyranny of the oligarchical conspirators, “ventured to raise his voice, for the least sign of opposition brought certain death.” The ten *πρόβουλοι*, created not long before in the view of diminishing the rights of the general assembly, were naturally favorable to projects formed with this aim. To prevent a contrary movement, Peisandros had gathered from Tenos, Andros, Karystos, Aigina, and other cities where he had already

established oligarchies, a band of three hundred hoplites, who served as a guard to the faction. All resistance having been suppressed, he called together an assembly of the people in Kolonos, a temple of Poseidon outside the city, in order to lessen the probabilities of attendance, and proposed the appointment of ten commissioners, with absolute powers, for revising the laws. The first decree recommended by this commission was that every citizen should have full liberty of proposing any law, even though contrary to laws already in force, — thus authorizing any man to bring forward any views which he might hold as to the proper government of the State. The proposition was unanimously adopted, and was nothing less than a *coup d'état* (March, 411 B. C.).<sup>1</sup>

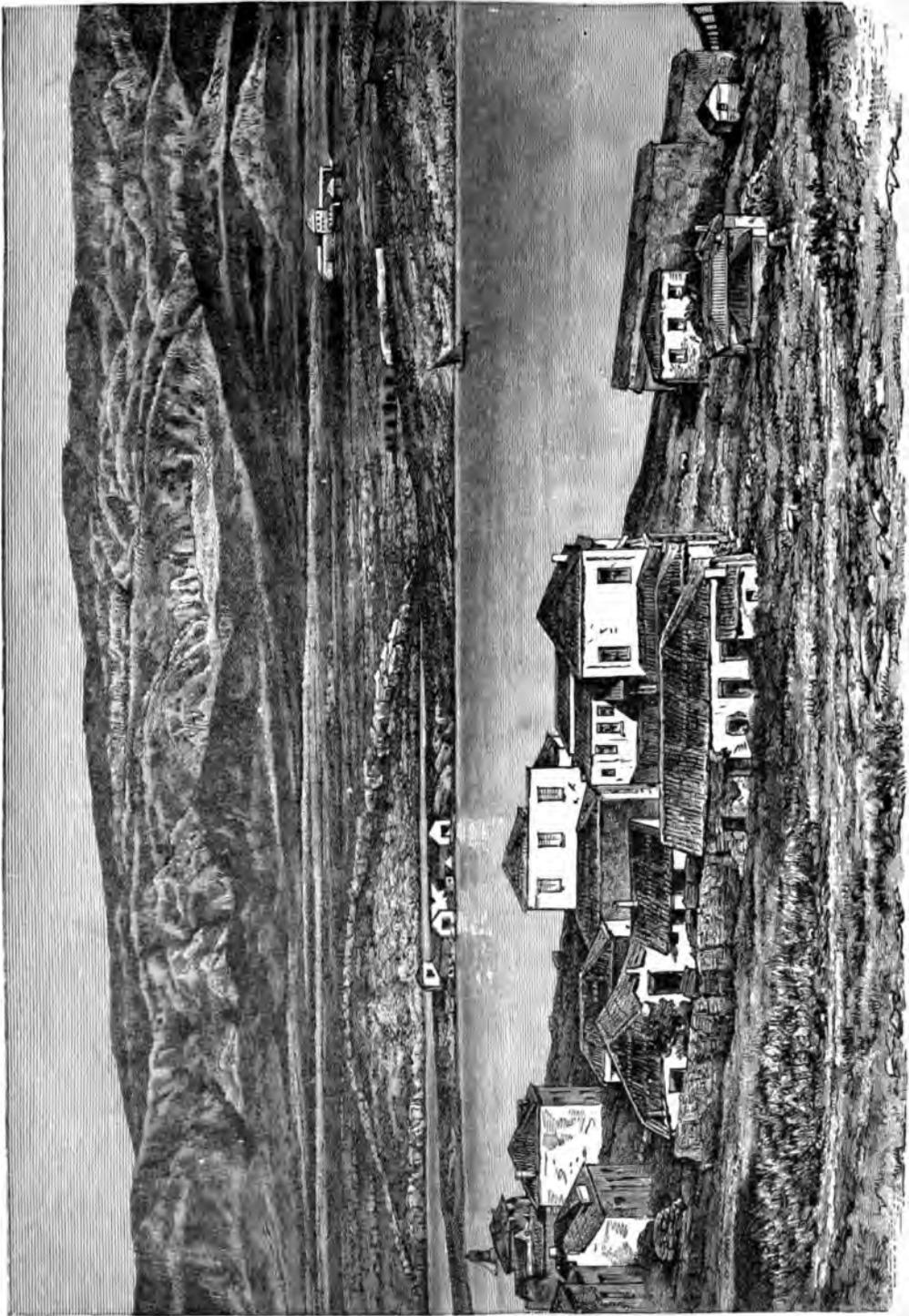
The new constitution which was then adopted did not seem at first sight to differ materially from the old. The Council of Five Hundred gave place to a council of four hundred members, of whom one fourth were appointed by a committee of five persons chosen for that purpose, and the rest by the first hundred, each man selecting three more councillors.<sup>2</sup> Instead of the general assembly, there was to be an assembly of Five Thousand, convened at will by the Council of Four Hundred. We know that under the democracy the popular assembly rarely reached this number, but all citizens had a right to take part in its deliberations; now, there was a selection made of a limited number, and no names were published. The calling together of this assembly depended upon the absolute will of the council, which was invested with unlimited authority, and, by the manner in which it was formed, gave complete security to the nobles; furthermore, to remove the poor from office of every kind, it was decided that all public service should be gratuitous except in the army and navy, the stipend received by judges and the members of the general assembly being suppressed.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Upon the agitation of the oligarchical party after the Sicilian expedition, see Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, v. 1019-71, and 1189-1215.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides, viii. 68.

<sup>3</sup> This was restored after the victory of Kyzikos.

NOTE. — The view of Peiræus (from a photograph) on the opposite page is taken from the promontory of Akte, on the east of the harbor. In the foreground we see the part of the harbor which in ancient times was reserved for war-vessels (*Kāvθαρος*). The tongue of land commanding the harbor at the west was called Eetioneia, and here the Four Hundred built a fort.



VIEW OF PETRAEUS.



II. — OPPOSITION BETWEEN THE CITY AND THE ARMY; RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

ON the day when the new laws began to take effect the violence that had been done to the people became manifest. A body of troops was held in readiness in case any opposition should be made; an armed guard of a hundred and twenty young men attended the council to the senate-house, and each member of the council himself had a dagger concealed under his garments. In this threatening manner they proceeded to expel the Five Hundred, who were seated in the building. No opposition, however, was made; but tyranny quickly manifested itself,—some citizens were put to death, and others were imprisoned or banished.

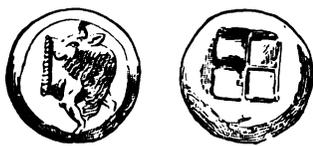
The new government showed itself regardless of the propositions recently made by Alkibiades, and prepared to do without him; this was its first imprudent action. The second was to prostrate Athens at the feet of Sparta. Nothing could have been done more repugnant to the national party, the true friends of the country, and especially to the army of Samos. Word was sent to Agis that there was no further need of prolonging the war, since the government of Athens was now in sympathy with that of Sparta; and they sent Antiphon and Phrynichos to negotiate peace at whatever price, even if it should be necessary to give up the tributary cities, the fleet itself, and the very walls of the city.<sup>1</sup> To secure themselves an asylum against the democratic re-action, which began to be threatening, the Four Hundred proceeded to build at the entrance of the Peiraieus a fort, whence they allowed it to be clearly understood they might assist the Spartans if they should seek to enter the harbor.

Agis made a perfidious answer to these overtures. Believing the city full of disorder and dissatisfaction, he sent for reinforcements from the Peloponnesos, and, emerging from Dekeleia, he fell upon Athens, hoping either that the gates would be opened to him, or

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides, although an admirer of Antiphon, the leader of this base faction. — a man commendable, it is true, in private life, — acknowledges the truth of these charges (viii. 91).

that he might capture the Long Walls; but Athens was true to herself. The people, notwithstanding their unworthy government, stood firm, and Agis, defeated, withdrew to Dekeleia.

It had been planned by Peisandros that an oligarchical revolution, favored by some of the officers of the army, should break out at Samos at the same time with that of Athens. A beginning was made, as in Athens, with the murder of Hyperbolos and some others. But the army, the best part of the population, pronounced in favor of the old and glorious constitution. The attempt to overthrow it failed; and to strengthen the democratic



COIN OF SAMOS.<sup>1</sup>

government at home, which they believed to be still in power, they sent envoys to express their cordial adherence to it. These messengers arrived too late; the Four Hundred ordered their arrest: one, however, escaped, and returned to the camp to

relate his companions' fate and the deplorable condition of the city. The whole army was excited at this news. Thrasyboulos and Thrasyllus, two of the officers, administered to the soldiers a patriotic oath to maintain the democratic government, to continue the war against the Peloponnesians, and to overthrow tyrants. The Samians also swore fidelity, and Argos offered assistance.

“Thus they were engaged in contention at this time,” says Thucydides, “the one party wishing to force the city to a democracy, the other to an oligarchy. And the soldiers held an assembly in which they deposed their former generals, and any of the trierarchs whom they suspected, choosing others in their place, of whom Thrasyboulos and Thrasyllus were two. They also stood up and exhorted one another that they ought not to be disheartened because the city had revolted from them; for it was but the smaller party which had separated from them, who were the larger and better provided in all respects. For since they held the whole fleet at their command, they would compel the other cities under their dominion to give them money, just the same as if they came from Athens. For in Samos they had a city, and not a weak one, but such as, when at war with them, had almost succeeded in taking from Athens the command of the sea. . . . Then, since they had command of the ships, they could more easily provide themselves with supplies than could those at home. Nay, it was through their being stationed in advance at Samos

<sup>1</sup> Fore-part of a bull, to the right, with reverted head. Reverse, incused square. (Electrum.)

that those at home had before commanded the entrance to Peiraicus; and now also they would be brought to such a strait, should they refuse to restore their democratic constitution, that it would be far easier for the army to exclude them from the sea than to be themselves excluded from it by those at home. The city indeed had been but of little use to them in gaining the victory over the enemy; and there was nothing lost in losing those who neither had more money to send them (for the soldiers now provided it for themselves), nor yet good counsel to give them, which is the great superiority of a city over a camp. On the contrary, as counsellors the other party had done wrong, by subverting the laws of their fathers, which they themselves were striving to maintain and to cause to be maintained. Alkibiades, too, would gladly secure them the alliance of the king, should they grant to him security of person and a restoration to his country. And lastly, most important of all, should they fail at every point, yet, having so large a fleet as they had, there were many places for them to retire to, in which they would find both cities and territory."

Thus we see the army in revolt against the State; or rather, in the language of Thrasyboulos, the State had revolted against the army,—for Athens was no longer in Athens, but on board the fleet, whither a war so long protracted had called the bravest citizens. Henceforth the city was dependent upon the army; the army belonged to the ablest man, and the ablest man was Alkibiades. The oligarchy had depended upon him to obtain the alliance of Persia; but he had promised more than he was able to perform, and his new friends, believing themselves tricked, left him in exile. The *rôle* of exile was, however, burdensome to Alkibiades, and the troubles which distracted his country appeared to him the best occasion which his genius for intrigue could require to re-enter Athens, perhaps in triumph. Repulsed from one side, he turned to the other, caused inquiry to be made as to the disposition of the army at Samos, and obtained from them a hearing. Not long before he had declaimed against a popular government: he now praised and extolled it; at the same time he dazzled the soldiers by his false promises. He guar-

ERETRIAN OCTOBOLOS.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Head of Artemis Amarynthis, right profile, with the quiver on her shoulder. Reverse: ΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΩΝ ΦΑΝΙΑΣ. Cow lying down, to the right.

anted them the friendship of Tissaphernes, his subsidies, and the aid of the Phœnician fleet. Unanimously they proclaimed him one of the generals. It was necessary to produce a belief in the friendship of the governor of Sardis; Alkibiades visited the court of the satrap, and availed himself of his new dignity to obtain a cordial welcome. Skilfully playing this double game, he succeeded, says Thucydides, in gaining an influence over Tissaphernes by means of the Athenians, and over the Athenians by means of



THE EURIPOS.<sup>1</sup>

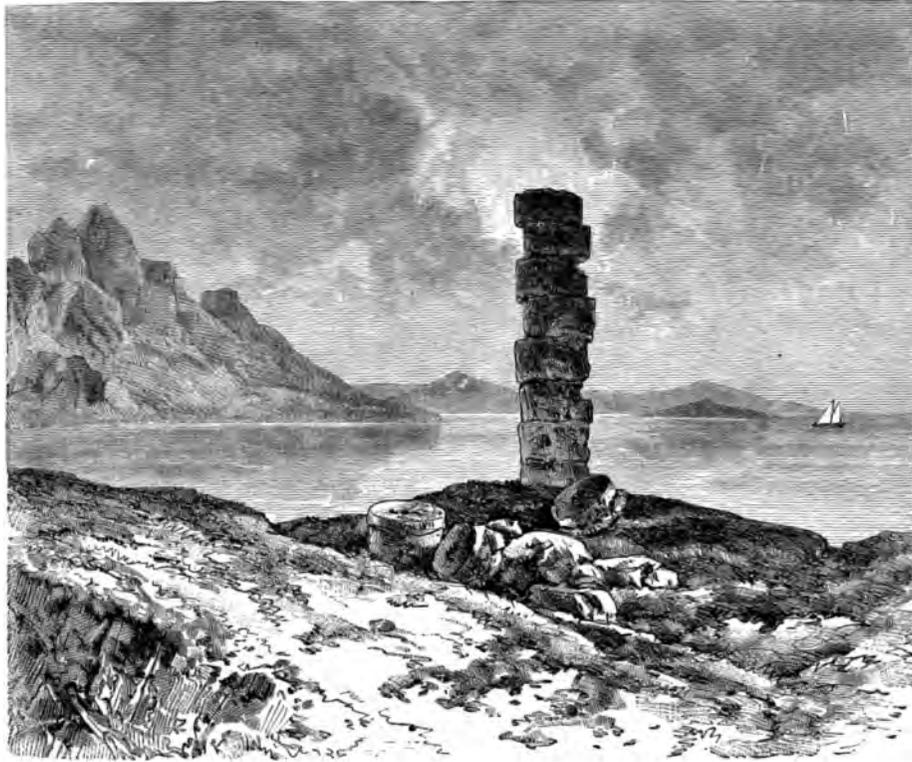
Tissaphernes. That which was of least importance to him he obtained: he produced ill-feeling between Tissaphernes and the Spartans.

The army in their eagerness wished to sail at once for Peiræus and overthrow the oligarchy. It would have been the wisest course to pursue; but Alkibiades restrained the ardor of the troops, representing to them that in quitting Samos they would abandon Ionia and the Hellespont to the enemy. This delay very nearly ruined Athens, threatened at the same moment by the treason of the Four Hundred and by the attacks of the Peloponnesians. But it was for the interest of Alkibiades not to return until by some great service he had commanded public gratitude.

Meantime an opposition had developed among the Four Hun-

<sup>1</sup> From Stackelberg, *La Grèce*. The view is taken from the north. In the middle is the small island which is united by the bridges to Boiotia on the right, and Eubœia on the left.

dred, under the leadership of Theramenes and Aristarchos. These men were not at all friends of the democracy, and they had not received the share of power to which they aspired, and they were ready for a new revolution. They first proposed that the assembly of the Five Thousand, which had been until now only a name, should be called together in fact. Then they alarmed the



COLUMN OF THE TEMPLE OF HERE AT SAMOS.<sup>1</sup>

people as to the design of the new fort which was in process of construction at Peiraiæus, and so successfully that its very builders aided in demolishing it. Its destruction was scarcely completed when a Spartan fleet of forty-two vessels was reported off the coast of Salamis, and there was a general outcry that these were the enemies for whose aid the fort had been prepared. The Athenians on receiving the intelligence hastened to Peiraiæus. They

<sup>1</sup> From Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque dans l'empire ottoman*, Atlas, part i. pl. 53. Across the strait is seen the coast of Asia and Mount Mykale. For a plan of the ruins of this temple, see *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. iv. (1886) p. 383, and pl. 12.

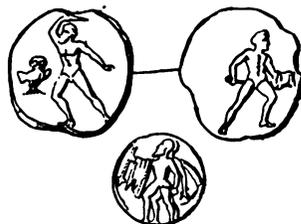
manned the walls, and availing themselves of all the galleys either afloat or ready to be launched, they made ready to meet the Peloponnesians; but the latter, seeing their intended attack thus prepared for, sailed past Peiræus and threatened Eubœia. Upon this, thirty-six Athenian triremes put out to sea, with the intention of protecting Eretria; but the Peloponnesians attacked and defeated them, taking twenty-two vessels. On news of this victory Eretria at once revolted, and with the city the whole island; and shortly after, to secure the allied troops an easy passage at all times, a bridge was thrown over the Euripos, defended by two towers (411 B. C.).

Thucydides testifies that the news of the disaster in Sicily did not produce such extreme discouragement as that of the revolt of Eubœia. Attika lost at once her bulwark and her granary; shut in by Dekeleia and by Eubœia, she was threatened with famine. There was no hope from the army of Samos, and a fear that at any moment the victorious fleet of the enemy might arrive. It was the advice of the Syracusans, after this victory, to advance directly upon Peiræus; but the Spartans hesitated, and thus lost their opportunity.

In the midst of the consternation which followed this defeat the Athenians did not fail, however, to equip twenty triremes more for the defence of the city. But the disaster served to give a death-blow to the oligarchy. An assembly was convoked; it was voted to depose the Four Hundred, and place the government in the hands of the Five Thousand; also, that every citizen who served as a heavy armed soldier should be part of that body, and that no one should receive pay for the discharge of any civil function. "Many other assemblies were also held subsequently," says Thucydides, "in which they appointed persons to frame a code of laws and everything else requisite for the government. And during the first period of this constitution the Athenians appear to have enjoyed the best polity they ever did, at least in my time; for the blending together of the few and the many was effected with moderation, and this was what first raised the State up again after the disastrous occurrences which had taken place." This just balance was not, however, established, as Thucydides would seem to indicate, by a new constitution,—a blending of aristocracy and

democracy; for the former institutions were restored in full vigor, and the limit of the number of voters was soon obliterated: it was a result of the moderation and patriotism of the reviving democracy.

The oligarchical party had ruled four months. Its end was worthy of the means it had taken to usurp the authority, — most of the Four Hundred took refuge with the Spartans at Dekeleia. One of them, Aristarchos, signalized his exile by an act of treason. He marched with a band of Scythian archers to Oinoë, a fortress in Attika, at the moment besieged by the Boiotians and Corinthians. He announced that peace had been made between Athens and Sparta, having as one of its conditions a stipulation that the fortress should be surrendered to the Boiotians; and this was accordingly done. Four or five years later, falling into the hands of the Athenians, Aristarchos was put to death. Antiphon met the same fate.<sup>2</sup> This man, who had commanded or permitted so many assassinations, obtained, from the very people whom he was about to betray to Sparta, a public trial.<sup>3</sup> He was allowed to plead his cause, to insult his judges, and to leave behind him an oration whose eloquence has protected his memory against the severe judgment which is his due. The accusers of Antiphon were two men, formerly members of the council of the Four Hundred; at this moment they seemed impassioned lovers of liberty, but only recently they had been usurpers, and were soon to be so a second time! Kritias, a man who was later to become

ATHENIAN SEALS.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harmodios and Aristogeiton, on Athenian seals; from the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. viii. (1884) pl. iii. Nos. 71 and 72. Cf. Vol. II. pp. 23 and 24.

<sup>2</sup> In judging of the whole affair I do not sympathize with the severity of Grote towards Antiphon and his accomplices. He closes a comparison between the moderate and patriotic conduct of the army of Samos with the crimes, perfidy, and treason of the aristocratic party by these words: "Had their dominion lasted, . . . no sentiment would have been left to the Athenian multitude except fear, servility, or, at best, a tame and dumb sequacity to leaders whom they neither chose nor controlled. To those who regard different forms of government as distinguished from each other mainly by the feelings which each tends to inspire in magistrates as well as citizens, the contemporaneous scenes of Athens and Samos will suggest instructive comparisons between Grecian oligarchy and Grecian democracy" (*History of Greece*, ch. lxii.). Curtius holds the same opinion.

<sup>3</sup> On being condemned, he took his revenge by calling his judges "a chance crowd," *πολλοῖς τοῖς ἰγχανουσι* (Aristotle, *Ethic. Eudem.*, iii. 5, § 57).

a tyrant, called for the return of Alkibiades. Phrynichos had been assassinated on returning from his errand to Sparta, a few days before the insurrection of Peiraieus. An active hatred followed him even into the tomb; a prosecution was set on foot, which lasted nineteen months and ended by a condemnation. His bones were exhumed and thrown out of Attika, his property was confiscated, his assassins were recompensed, and their names associated with those of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the founders of Athenian liberty. This apology for political assassination is in the eyes of the philosopher evil; it was not so regarded in ancient times.<sup>1</sup>

### III. VICTORY OF KYZIKOS; ALKIBIADES AT ATHENS.

WHILE Athens was thus losing and regaining her liberty, military operations continued. The Peloponnesians had counted upon the disorganization of the army of Samos.



GOLD COIN.<sup>2</sup>

This expectation had been disappointed by the discipline and patriotism of the troops; but the news from Athens had been sufficient to cause the defection of Abydos, Lampsakos, and

Byzantion. Fortunately Tissaphernes caused the allies to lose eighty days; and when the Spartan Mindaros, no longer expecting anything from the satrap, listened to the propositions of Pharnabazos, who invited him towards the Hellespont, fifty-five Athenian galleys followed the sixty-seven hostile triremes and gained, near Sestos, a signal victory. It was the first advantage secured by Athens since the disaster in Sicily.<sup>4</sup> A second action, near Abydos, lasted all day.



GOLD COIN.<sup>3</sup>

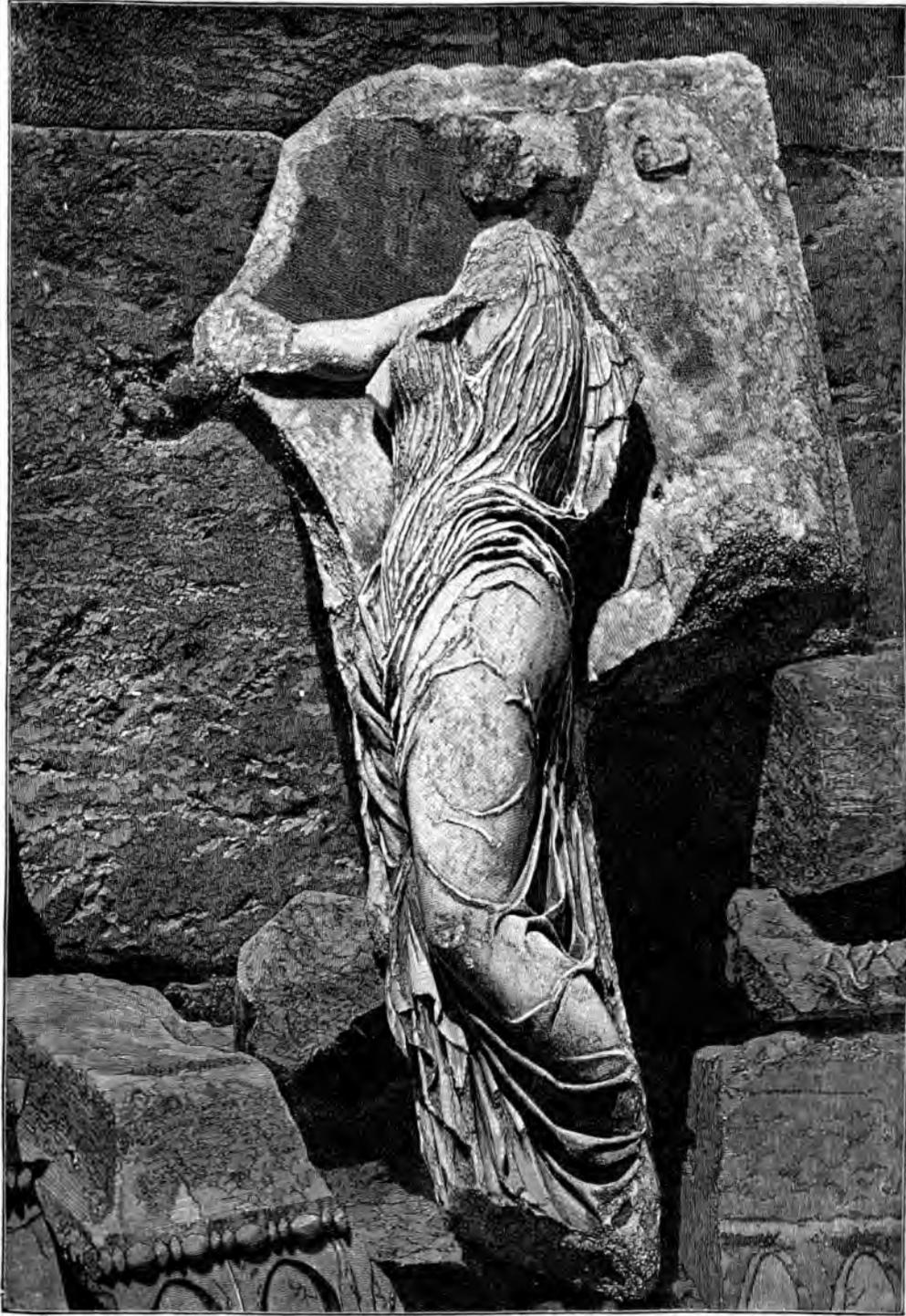
<sup>1</sup> See Vol. II. p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Stater of Abydos. The winged Nike sacrificing a ram. Reverse: eagle to the right; before the bird, an *aphlaston* (ornament of a vessel's prow.) The whole in an incused square.

<sup>3</sup> Stater of Lampsakos. Head of Pan, left profile. Reverse: fore-part of a hippocampus galloping and flying to the right.

<sup>4</sup> With the recital of these events closes the eighth and last volume which we have of the work of Thucydides. Xenophon follows him with the *Hellenics*, but does not equal him. Indeed, in the eighth book the genius of Thucydides seems enfeebled, or possibly he was not able to complete the work himself.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a bas-relief from the balustrade of the temple of Athene Nike (the Wingless Victory): from a photograph.



VICTORY.

UNIV.  
OF  
MICH.



Towards evening Alkibiades appeared with twenty triremes; and this unlooked-for help gave the victory to the Athenians, who captured thirty vessels (October, 411 B. C.). But there was need

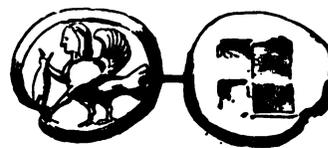


BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>



SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

of money, and Alkibiades, in the hope of obtaining some from Tissaphernes, went to visit the satrap; but the latter, who thought it desirable to make advances to Sparta at the moment, arrested his former friend and held him thirty days a prisoner at Sardis. Alkibiades found means to escape; to compromise Tissaphernes, he gave out that it was by the satrap's order that he had been released, and at once hastened to rejoin



STATER OF KYZIKOS.<sup>3</sup>



STATER OF KYZIKOS.<sup>4</sup>

the fleet. There were now only forty-five galleys at Sestos, many flying squadrons having been detached to scour the coasts and levy contributions; for money was the most important thing in this war, — without it the galleys lay idle in the harbor; with it auxiliaries could be found everywhere, — rowers for the vessels, hoplites for the land engagements. When these detached triremes had rejoined the main body, which was thus

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Sardis. Head, veiled and wearing a mural crown, of the local Kybele, right profile. Legend, the city's name:  $\text{CAPAIC}$ . Reverse:  $\text{CAPAIANQN B NEOKOPQN}$ . Image of Artemis of Ephesos, standing, front face, between a wheat-ear and a poppy.

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Kyzikos.  $\Sigma\Omega\text{TEIPA}$ . Head of Artemis Soteira, laurelled and veiled, left profile. Reverse:  $\text{KYZI}[\text{κηνών}]$ . Lion's head, to the left, with open mouth and extended tongue. Under it a tunny-fish.

<sup>3</sup> Siren, to the left, with wings raised above the back, holding a tunny-fish in one of her claws. Reverse, incused square. (Electrum.)

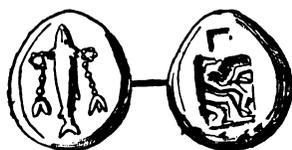
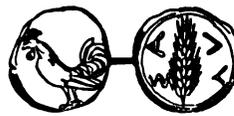
<sup>4</sup> Masculine figure, nude, to the left, one knee on the ground, and head reverted. This monster, who seems to personify Terror ( $\phi\acute{o}\beta\omicron\varsigma$ ), has a lion's head and two cocked wings; he holds in his left hand the tunny-fish, emblem of the city of Kyzikos. Reverse, incused square. (Electrum.)

increased in number to eighty-six vessels, Alkibiades formed a skilful plan to surprise, near Kyzikos, the sixty galleys of the Peloponnesians. The whole hostile fleet, driven in disorder upon the coast, was taken or destroyed; the hoplites on board having

SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>

landed, were defeated, notwithstanding the assistance of the satrap's troops, and Mindaros was killed (February, 410 B. C.). Hermokrates, who took his place, wrote to the ephors: "All is lost! Mindaros is dead; we have no supplies: what

can I do?"<sup>2</sup> In this laconic message there was, however, nothing Spartan. Lacedæmon, fallen from her high hopes, offered to negotiate, on the terms that each city should keep what it possessed. But Athens, seeing a prospect of better fortunes, believed that by constancy she could obtain what she wished. She had lost too much

STATERS OF KYZIKOS.<sup>3</sup>SHIP'S PROW.<sup>4</sup>SILVER COIN.<sup>5</sup>

—Eubœia, Chios, Rhodes, Miletos, and many other islands—to be willing to lay down her arms. A few cities, moreover, were returning voluntarily to their allegiance. Thasos, ravaged since its defection by civil war, expelled the Spartan governor.

Alkibiades made good use of the victory of Kyzikos. This city had been lately taken and ransomed; Perinthos and Selymbria opened their gates or gave money. Opposite Byzantium he fortified Chrysopolis, and left there thirty galleys to levy the trib-

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Perinthos. Laurelled head of Zeus, right profile. Reverse: ΠΕΡΙΝ[θίων]; two fore-parts of horses united, galloping in opposite directions. In the exergue, a magistrate's name: ΜΑΚΙΣ.

<sup>2</sup> . . . πεινῶντι τῶνδρες . . . (Plutarch, *Alkibiades*, 28).

<sup>3</sup> Tunny-fish decorated with fillets. Reverse, incused square. (Electrum.)

<sup>4</sup> ΕΠΙ ΑΙ ΠΟΝΤΙΚΟΥ. A man on a ship's prow; in the field a monogram. Reverse of a bronze coin of Byzantium, the obverse bearing a helmeted head of the hero Byzas (see Vol. II. p. 129) It was coined under the Roman rule.

<sup>5</sup> Coin of Selymbria. Cock, to the left. Reverse: ΣΑΛΥ[μυβριανῶν]; wheat-ear.

ute of a tenth on the value of merchandise brought from the Euxine.<sup>1</sup>

The year 409 B. C. was less fortunate. Sparta recovered Pylos, the Megarians regained possession of Nisaia, and the Athenian general Thrasyllus failed in an attack upon Ephesos. Some successful ravages made by Alkibiades upon the territory of Phar-



THE HELLESPOINT.<sup>2</sup>

nabazos were not a compensation. But some months later he recovered Byzantion, and his colleagues forced Chalkedon to return to its allegiance to Athens, Pharnabazos vainly attempting to save it. Abandoned by Sparta and in serious danger, the satrap negotiated: he promised subsidies, and engaged to conduct an Athenian embassy to the Great King.<sup>3</sup>

We find so rarely any cause to praise Sparta that it is fitting here to mention an act of justice. It was a Byzantine who,

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenics*, i. 1, 21 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> From a photograph. The view is taken from Erinkeui, on the Asiatic coast. Opposite is the coast of Europe, and beyond, the island of Imbros.

<sup>3</sup> We may note that in this year, 409-408 B. C., there was freshly engraved, on a marble discovered in 1843, the law of Drako against murder mentioned by Demosthenes in his speech *Against Makartatos*.

against the Spartan garrison, had opened the gates to Alkibiades. Being accused of treason at Sparta, he replied that he was a Byzantine, and not a Spartan; that seeing, not Lacedæmon, but Byzantium, in danger, where the Athenians maintained a close blockade, and the Peloponnesian garrison consumed the small amount of provisions that remained, while the inhabitants, their



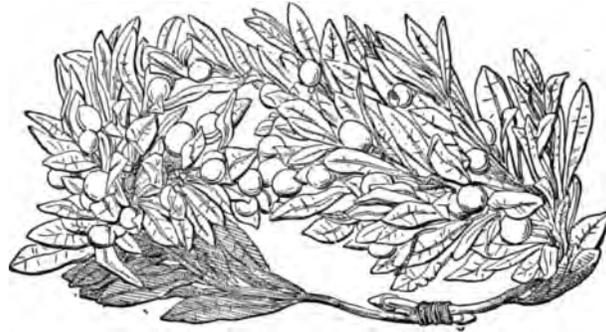
OFFERING TO A WARRIOR.<sup>1</sup>

wives and their children, were dying of hunger, he had not so much given up the city as he had saved it from the horrors of war; that in this he had only followed the maxims of the best citizens of Sparta, who placed in the first rank of things right and honorable the doing good to one's country. At these words the Spartans broke out in applause, and the Byzantine was acquitted of the charge.

After the great successes gained in the Propontis, the Athenian fleet sailed away from this region, where its ascendancy was fully recognized. Emerging from the Hellespont, it divided: one portion,

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief in the British Museum, without doubt of Athenian origin. (See O. Jahn, *De antiquissimis Minervæ simulacris Atticis*, p. 23; from the *Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*, part 1-2, pl. 41.) Before a trophy, round which is coiled the serpent of Athene, stand an armed warrior and a woman, perhaps a priestess, who holds out to him a *phiale*. Behind the soldier is his horse, held by a servant. Cf. a similar bas-relief, Vol. II. p. 540.

under Thrasyboulos, followed the Thracian coasts, to bring back to allegiance the revolted cities; another, under Alkibiades, proceeded to Samos, and thence to Karia, levying contributions to the amount of a hundred talents. The fleet finally met at Athens, after having shown to all the islands, to Thrace, and to Asia Minor the victorious standard of the former masters of the sea. This return of prosperity was not entirely due to Alkibiades. Plu-

GOLD WREATH.<sup>1</sup>

tarch recognizes no other; in his *rôle* of biographer he ascribes everything to his hero. But at the side of the brilliant general history shows his able colleagues, especially Thrasyboulos, the conqueror at Sestos; and behind Alkibiades were the Athenian people, who notwithstanding their exhaustion and their discords gave him the means of being victorious over all Greece and Persia, leagued against him. It is not fitting that the services of one ambitious man should prevent us from recognizing in these successes the part that belongs to those who, having prepared for them by their constancy, obtained them by their courage. The Athenians, however, forgetting—as did later the biographer of Alkibiades—the treasons of the adventurer, gave him all the honors of the victory. He was re-elected general, and his friends urged him to return, that he might enjoy his triumph.

BRONZE COIN.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Discovered in the Crimea, and now in the Museum of St. Petersburg (from the *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* of Daremberg and Saglio, fig. 1,975).

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Eleusis. Head of Demeter, right profile. Reverse: ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝ. Vase called *ptemochos*, round a stem of wheat (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1881, p. 89).

He sailed for Athens; his vessels, adorned with quantities of shields and other spoils, brought in their train many hostile galleys, and carried the standards of many more that had been destroyed,—in all not less than two hundred. As he landed, the people rushed to welcome him with joyous shouts. They saluted him, they followed his steps, they vied with each other in offering him wreaths; those who could not reach him gazed at him from a distance, old men pointed him out to the young.<sup>1</sup>



HORSE'S HEAD.<sup>2</sup>

The people having assembled, Alkibiades addressed them, deploring his own misfortunes, gently and modestly complaining of the Athenians, and ascribing all that he had suffered to some evil power jealous of his fame. He then spoke of the hopes of the enemy, and exhorted the Athenians to take courage. Public sentiment was strongly in his favor, wreaths of gold were decreed him, he was declared general in chief by land and sea, all his possessions were restored to him, and the Eumolpidai and the heralds were ordered to retract the maledictions pronounced against him by order of the people. They all revoked them except the hierophant Theodoros, who said: "If he have done no harm to the

<sup>1</sup> I omit many details of an exaggerated character given by Plutarch. The narrative of Xenophon, more simple and truthful, represents Alkibiades as arriving with twenty galleys only, and only daring to land escorted by friends.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Selene's horse (eastern pediment of the Parthenon), in the British Museum; from a photograph.

city, I have not cursed him" (June, 408 B. C.). In their hearts, however, the priests never forgave him who had made sport of their sacred rites; the Eumolpidai had opposed his recall, and retained against him an implacable hatred. He had made his entrance into Athens on the day when the protecting goddess of the city seemed to be absent from it, when her temple was closed and the sacred veils and ornaments of her statue were taken off and washed. It was the custom that all public life should be suspended during this time, when Athene Polias was no longer among her people. Of this day of mourning Alkibiades had made a festival, thus angering the goddess, the devout alleged, and bringing misfortunes upon himself.<sup>1</sup>

However, there was no delay in offering all possible flatteries to Alkibiades. A hundred galleys awaited him at Peiraeus, with fifteen hundred hoplites and a hundred and fifty horse. Before setting out he made one of those brilliant expeditions which he loved, and which exhibited him as a pious and zealous defender of the gods. It had been the ancient custom at the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries to carry the statue of Iakchos to Eleusis along the Sacred Road. But during the eight years that the Spartans had ravaged Attika it had been impossible to go to the temple except by sea; only a few persons made the voyage, and some of the sacred rites could not be performed. Alkibiades caused the procession again to go by the Sacred Road with the usual solemnity. He escorted it with his whole army; and the Spartans at Dekeleia, either restrained by the fear of his troops or reluctant to interrupt a religious ceremony, made no attack.

"Alkibiades by this conduct gained the affection of the poor and of the lower class of the citizens to such a degree that they conceived a most violent desire to have him for their king; and some of them went so far as to say to him that he must abolish all decrees and laws, must send away all light-minded persons who disturbed the State by their talk, and decide all things by his own will, paying no attention to those who calumniated him. It is not known what his views were in regard to a tyranny, but the most influential citizens, fearing the results of this popular favor, urged his speedy departure, furnishing him with everything that he wished, and with the colleagues that he selected for himself."

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 130.

It is impossible to say how much truth there was in all this; but it is certain that Alkibiades seemed at that time in a position to bring the existing state of things promptly to an end. Yet there were great difficulties in the way. Unwalled or



ARMED EPEBOS ON HORSEBACK.<sup>1</sup>

ill-defended cities had been easily captured in the preceding campaign; but this could not be the case with well-fortified and powerful places like Rhodes, Kos, Chios, and Miletos. An attempt upon Andros was a failure. This defeat was unimportant; but the

<sup>1</sup> Painting on a vase, from the manufactory of Euphronios, now in the Louvre, and for the first time represented. In front of the horse are the words: Εὐφρόνιος ἐποίησεν. The artist represents on horseback an epebos, wearing on his head a petasos, clad in a short chiton and a handsome mantle, and having boots on his feet. See W. Klein, *Euphronios, eine Studie zur Geschichte der griechischen Vasenmalerei* (1886), p. 82.





Restoration.

THE AKROP  
(Restoration.)



Imp Dufrenoy Paris

OF ATHENS  
ei Lambert ).

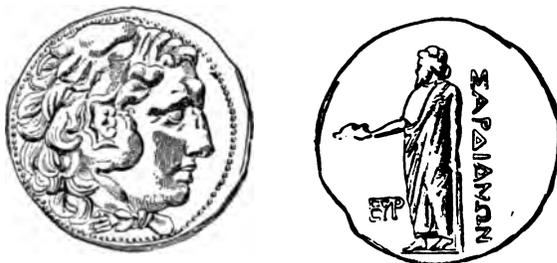




news which met Alkibiades on his arrival in Asia Minor was of vast importance, and checked all his movements. Darius had just given to Cyrus, his son, the government of the maritime provinces recently held by Tissaphernes, and the satrapies of Lydia, Phrygia, and Kappadokia (408 B. C.). Tissaphernes had supported by turns the two rival Greek States, with the intention of helping each to ruin the other, in the interests of his master. Cyrus had other plans: it was his intention at a future day to dispute the crown with his brother; and among the resources which he sought to prepare for himself he relied upon the assistance of the Greek people most famed for courage, — namely, the Spartans. For the well-planned duplicity of Tissaphernes he substituted, therefore, an unreserved support of the cause of Lacedæmon; and as a first token of his favor he laid hands upon the Athenian deputies whom Pharnabazos was conducting to the Great King, and put them in prison, where they remained three years.

IV. — LYSANDROS; BATTLE OF ARGINOUSAI (406 B. C.) AND OF AIGOSPOTAMOI (405 B. C.); SUBJUGATION OF ATHENS.

THE Peloponnesians had at this time as leader a worthy rival of Alkibiades, brave, but also adroit, insinuating, and flexible, willing in case of need to abandon the highway and seek to reach the goal by tortuous foot-paths, — endowed, in a word, with qualities which were as a rule lacking to the Spartan generals, qualities which sometimes make successful, but do not always make honest, statesmen, — Lysandros by name. On his father's side he claimed descent from Herakles, but his mother was a foreigner, possibly a Helot; so that he was not even



TETRADRACHM OF SARDIS.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Beardless head of Herakles, right profile, covered with a lion's skin. Reverse: ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ. Zeus standing, to the left, holding an eagle in the right hand; in the field, the monogram of a magistrate's name. Coin of later date than the time of Alexander.

possessed of full citizenship. This stain upon his birth, which kept him out of the highest positions, compelled him to more effort; for success he needed the fox's craft as well as the lion's strength, and he believed too much in dexterity to be quite satisfied with probity. "Children are amused with huckle-bones," he used to say, "and men with promises;" and he did not despair of being one day recognized as a true descendant of Herakles, and worthy, as such, of the title of king.

Lysandros did not allow the friendship of Cyrus to grow cool; he hastened to Sardis, where the prince had his residence, and



PLAYER WITH HUCKLE-BONES.<sup>1</sup>

obtained from him a subsidy, by which it was possible for Sparta to raise the sailor's pay to four obols. Athens gave but three, and Lysandros expected thus to bring about numerous desertions; he did so in fact, and was able shortly to arm ninety galleys. This dawning power ought to have been crushed with a bold and sudden blow. Alkibiades, — who loved too much those adventurous expeditions where, under pretext of plundering in the interests of Athens, he plundered for himself, — instead of remaining at the head of

the fleet, occupied himself in obtaining money even at the expense of the allies, as at Kyme, where he ravaged the territory. The lieutenant, whom he had left at Notion with express orders not to fight, disobeyed and was killed, and fifteen galleys were lost (407 B. C.).

At the same time news was received at Athens of the loss of Teos and also of Delphinion, — the only fort that the Athenians

<sup>1</sup> Figurine of terra-cotta, from the Collection de Clercq (from the *Monuments de l'art antique*, of O. Rayet).

held in the island of Chios. The greater the expectations had been as to Alkibiades, the more violent was the anger which broke forth against him. One of his enemies came from the army to Athens to accuse him of giving important posts to his convivial companions. His extravagance and his exactions were also brought up against him; he was accused of having built strongholds in Thrace, whither he might at need retire,—which seemed a proof of treason. Notwithstanding the confidence recently shown to the conqueror of Kyzikos, the people had but too good reason to suspect the man who had caused Gylippos to be sent to Syracuse and Dekeleia to be occupied by the Spartans, who had incited Chios and Miletos to revolt, and had brought on a terrible war. But it was with a very imprudent thoughtlessness that a new act of treason on his part was now assumed, and ten generals, Konon among their number, were appointed in his place. Even the army no longer favored Alkibiades. Not knowing whom to trust, he collected some foreign soldiers and went to carry on war in Thrace on his own account. Thrasyboulos, involved in the disgrace of Alkibiades, was deprived of his command; but the upright Athenian did not feel himself at liberty to punish his fellow-citizens for their error: he continued to serve in the fleet in the rank to which they had seen fit to degrade him (407 B. C.).

This fact does honor to the citizen; let us note one which honors the State. Some time later, a man proscribed by Athens and by Rhodes, a mortal enemy of the popular cause, the most active of the agents between Sparta and Persia, Doreios by name, fell into the hands of the Athenians. The law of that period called for his death; but Doreios had gained three wreaths at Olympia, seven at Nemea, and eight in the Isthmian Games. When the Athenians beheld as a prisoner under sentence of death the man who had been so often applauded by all Greece, they forgot their displeasure, and released him without even speaking of a ransom. The Spartans had not such refinement of feeling. A little later, in 395 B. C., Rhodes separated herself from their alliance; Doreios, then in the Peloponnesos, had no share in this defection, but he was seized, conducted to Sparta, and put to death.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the year of command of Lysandros came to an

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenics*, i. 5, 19; Pausanias, vi. 7, 2.

end. A successor was sent to him, Kallikratidas, a genuine Spartan, without artifice, without ambition, incorruptible, and having



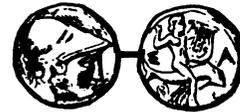
HEAD OF A VICTORIOUS ATHLETE.<sup>1</sup>

no other intention than to go straightforward where his country required him to go, even were it to death. Before his arrival Lysandros, in order to remain necessary, had destroyed all the

<sup>1</sup> Archaic head of Parian marble, discovered at Athens, and now in the collection of G. Rampin (from a photograph. Cf. O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'art antique*). The marble was tinted. The hair, beard, and lips were red; a line of the same color marked the edge of the eyelids, and the pupil of the eye was black. There was a wreath on the head, perhaps of gold, and the representation seems to be of an athlete or chariot-driver. It dates from the second half of the fifth century B. C.

resources of the fleet, and organized in the cities of Ionia a faction which hoped to restore the old tyrannies. He foresaw that this oligarchy would have need of foreign support, and he believed that Sparta would employ him to sustain what he had founded (406 B. C.).

Kallikratidas found a fleet of a hundred and forty galleys; but he had no money. The Spartan general went to Sardis, in the hope of obtaining some from Cyrus; but Ly-sandros had warned the Persian prince against him, and Kallikratidas was kept a whole day waiting for an audience which was finally refused. He left Sardis, deploring the shameful dependence of the Greeks upon Persian insolence, and determined to employ all his efforts, on returning home, to bring about peace between Sparta and Athens. Invited to assist a faction at Methymna, he took the place by a sudden attack, and

BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>BRONZE COIN.<sup>2</sup>

allowed it to be pillaged by his soldiers; but he refused to sell the inhabitants. "While I am in command," he said, "no Greek shall ever be reduced to slavery." Konon, arriving too late to save Methymna, was shut up in Myti-

lene by a defeat which cost him thirty galleys. Only forty remained, and the enemy had one hundred and seventy. He succeeded, however, in sending a message to Athens, and by a last effort, which took all their remaining resources, the Athenians in thirty days launched a hundred and ten vessels. All the citizens who could be spared from guarding the walls manned the galleys, together with many *metekoi* and slaves. To the former was promised citizenship, to the latter enfranchisement, and after the victory, lands, which they in fact received as *kleroukoi*. Forty-five vessels which had been left at Samos rejoined the Athenian squadron. The Peloponnesians, now full of confidence, left fifty

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Methymnos. Helmeted head of Athene, right profile. Reverse: ΜΑΘΥ[μυαίων]. Arion on a dolphin, and playing on the lyre.

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Mytilene. Head of Zeus Ammon, right profile. Reverse: ΜΥΤΙ[μυτιληνίων]; mile-stone, bearded human head crowned with ivy, on a vessel's prow, front face; in the stern, an unknown object, perhaps a branch with a fruit of some kind. In the field, a vine-stock.

galleys to continue the blockade of Mytilene, and with a hundred and fifty went to seek the enemy.

The two fleets, two hundred and seventy-five galleys, the largest armament that had yet been seen in this war, met at Arginousai, — three small islands on the coast of Eolis (September, 406 B. C.). The superiority was now on the side of the Athenians. Kallikratidas was advised to retreat; omens announced his death. He made reply: "If we are conquered, Sparta can easily find another fleet; but if I flee, where shall I recover my lost honor?" He was defeated, and was one of the first to perish. Seventy galleys were



SCENE OF DIVINATION.<sup>1</sup>

taken or sunk. The Athenians lost twenty-five; but there were few slain, and many on board escaped to shore over floating fragments, so near were they to the land. The generals directed two of their lieutenants, Theramenes and Thrasyboulos, to recover the shipwrecked and the dead, while they themselves pursued the enemy. A storm coming down suddenly from Mount Ida raised a heavy sea and rendered the life-saving work impossible; and many perished whose bodies could not be recovered to receive funeral honors. To the Greek mind, leaving the dead unburied was an act of impiety to be carefully avoided, for its punishment was not left to the gods alone. Not long before this, Nikias had left unclaimed his right of erecting a trophy of victory for the sake of obtaining from the Corinthians

<sup>1</sup> Vase-painting, from the *Description de la Collection Czartoryski*, pl. 29. A priest, wearing a wreath on his head, examines the entrails of a ram held extended on a table by an assistant.

defeated by him two dead bodies that he had not been able to find, rather than return home without bringing the bones of all who had perished.<sup>1</sup> Later, Chabrias allowed a Spartan fleet to escape which he might have destroyed if he had not been detained by the duty of searching for the dead. Undoubtedly, during this long maritime war, many soldiers had no other burial-place than the sea, but at least those bodies cast up by the waves had been cared for; at Arginousai, however, this was not done. The generals had felt that to complete their victory and deliver Konon, blockaded in Mytilene, was more patriotic than to delay for the



purpose of performing a duty which others could accomplish equally well. But the sacerdotal families clamored loudly, and the oligarchy, gladly shielding their rancors and hopes under a pretext of religious zeal, took advantage of the worthy sentiment of blind and zealous devotion to promote their own political interests.

One man was specially exposed to these reproaches, he who had the express duty of saving the crews of the wrecked galleys. To turn away the storm from himself, Theramenes became the accuser of the generals under whom he had served. Six of them, deposed from office, were now in Athens; these were prosecuted, and were

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides, iv. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Painting on a vase from Vulci, in the Luyne Collection of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 736. "Four men, clad in the long *himation*, bear on their shoulders a litter, under whose weight they walk stooping; on the litter lies the dead man, his head forward and uncovered, the body wrapped in a mantle ornamented with embroidered flowers (*ἐπιβλήμα καταστικτόν*). Behind follow two women weeping, and an ephēbos on horseback carrying a lance. . . . The procession moves to the left, towards a tomb decorated with a rectangular stela, on which is painted a serpent. Beyond the stela is another group of figures: first, a woman gesticulating with lifted arms; then a flute-player; behind these persons, four warriors, who seem to dance" (O. Rayet, in *Monuments de l'Art antique: Convoi funèbre*).

about to receive acquittal, when a man gave testimony against them to the effect that, after the wreck of his galley, he was clinging to an empty meal-tub, and saw his companions perish one by one, each in turn calling upon him, if he should escape, to make it known at Athens that they had been basely abandoned by their generals. At these words the people were filled with excitement; the kindred of those who had perished called for vengeance, and the assembly voted the death-penalty. Against this condemnation one upright man, Sokrates, vainly lifted his voice.<sup>1</sup> One of the six generals was the son of Perikles; but his name did not avail to save him. Another, Diomedon, who had endeavored to have the whole fleet remain after the battle and search for the shipwrecked sailors, accepted his sentence with manly resignation. "I hope," he said to the assembly, "that this sentence will not bring harm to the city. Do not forget, Athenians, to offer to the gods the sacrifices of thanksgiving which we promised in return for our victory." The words were noble, but their bitter irony was not understood by the crowd, blinded with religious and political excitement. Athens repented, but not until it was too late.<sup>2</sup> She was soon to expiate, by the incapacity of her generals at Aigospotamoi, this unjust extreme of an honorable sentiment against the conquerors at the Arginousai (406 B. C.).

About this time Sophokles died, full of years and honors,—a happy life, beginning with his country's liberation, ending amid the tumult of the last Athenian victory, and honored even by the Lacedæmonians, who did not disturb the funeral procession when it advanced towards Kolonos on the road to Dekeleia. His *Antigone*, a brilliant consecration of the duty of the living towards the dead, had produced upon all minds effects which were

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenics*, i. 7, 35.

<sup>2</sup> Five of the accusers were even declared to have deceived the people, and were tried for the offence. Onosandros, in his treatise on the duties of a general, *Στρατηγικὸς λόγος*, 36, wrote, in the middle of the first century of our era: "Let the general occupy himself with the care of the dead, without excusing himself under pretext of time or season or fear of losing the battle. Piety towards the dead is a sacred duty." Plato thought the same, and all the ancient world agreed in the belief. In the *Hippias Major*, 25, he says: "We cannot regard a human being as happy, although he may have had all prosperity, until after he has obtained sepulture, because then only is it certain that his shade will not wander, restless and unhappy, as those who have not received burial." The denial of funeral rites being understood to inflict suffering beyond the tomb, it occurred only in the case of great criminals.

perhaps of lasting influence. In the same year another poet, Aristophanes, seeing clearly at last the true interests of Athens, ventured to ask in the theatre for the recall of Alkibiades, which was desired by many of his audience. "Athens," says the Dionysos of *The Frogs*, "Athens longs for, but detests him, yet cannot do without him." Euripides opposes his recall because Alkibi-



SCENE OF SACRIFICE.<sup>1</sup>

ades was a bad citizen; and Aischylos replies: "One must not rear a lion's whelp within the city; above all, not rear a lion in the city: but if one rear it, one must submit to its ways." And Aristophanes ends by reverting to the advice of Perikles: "The fleet is our wealth, the only wealth upon which we can rely."<sup>2</sup> Unhappily the poet received no more confidence in this than he did when recommending the most impracticable measures.

The disaster which the Peloponnesians had undergone at the Arginousai was great. On the demand of all the allies of the Asiatic coast, and at the request of Cyrus himself, Lysandros was

<sup>1</sup> Painting on a vase of the Collection Czartoryski, from the *Description* by De Witte, pl. 29 (see above, p. 385, the reverse of the vase). "The same priest, standing, wearing a laurel-wreath on his head, and wrapped in an ample cloak, performs a religious ceremony at a lighted altar. He holds in the right hand a two-handled *phiale*, with which he is about to make a libation. In front of this priest is the acolyte whom we have seen in the other picture, having only a light drapery around the waist; he also has a wreath of laurel on his head, and he holds with both hands a long spit, on the end of which is a piece of flesh which he is about to place in the fire. Behind the priest, at the left, is a column of the Doric order" (De Witte, p. 96).

<sup>2</sup> *The Frogs, ad finem.*

appointed to make retaliation for it (405 B. C.). A Spartan could not twice be admiral; Arakos, invested with the title, remained at Lacedæmon, and Lysandros, as his lieutenant, had full authority. Cyrus, in anticipation of his father's death, gave the Spartan all the gold he asked, and Lysandros was able to collect quite



SOPHOKLES (?).<sup>1</sup>

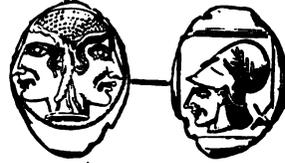
a large fleet, with which he boldly scoured all the Ægæan Sea; he even made a descent upon Attika. To counteract, if possible, the influence of Persian gold, which was making so many deserters, the Athenians are said to have decreed that every prisoner taken at sea should have his right hand cut off; Philokles, one of the new generals, was still more severe than the assembly, — having captured two triremes of the allies, he put the crews to death. The war, now drawing near its close, became merciless.

Lysandros was on his way towards the Hellespont. He had just sacked Lampsakos, and was anchored near the city, when a hundred and eighty Athenian galleys, united to pursue him, arrived opposite Lampsakos at Aigospotamoi, "the goat's river." In the morning the Athenians sail across the straits and offer him battle; he refuses. Fancying it is from cowardice, they return to their station, followed by a few swift-sailing vessels to observe their movements; regardless of this, the Athenians land and disperse through the neighborhood in search of provisions. For four successive days the same advance of the Athenians is received in the same way by the Peloponnesian fleet; and the former, convinced that the enemy is afraid of them, abandon themselves to the most careless security. Alkibiades, who was at this time in the neighborhood, perceived the danger; he came on

<sup>1</sup> Silver statuette, found at Bordeaux in 1813 (*Cabinet de France*, No. 2,870).

horseback to the camp and pointed out to the generals the imprudence of remaining upon an open shore without refuge, without supplies, in face of a strong and skilful enemy. He begged them to fall back upon Sestos; but no attention was paid to his entreaties. One of the generals went so far as to taunt him with the fact that he had no longer any right to interfere in the affairs of the Athenians.

“On the fifth day,<sup>1</sup> the Athenians having sailed towards them, and gone back again as they were used to do, very proudly and full of contempt, Lysandros, sending some ships as usual to look out, commanded the masters of them that when they saw the Athenians go to land, they should row back again with all their speed, and that when they were about half-way across they should lift up a brazen shield from the fore-deck as a sign of battle. And he himself, sailing round,

COIN OF LAMPSAKOS.<sup>2</sup>

encouraged the pilots and masters of the ships, and exhorted them to keep all their men to their places, soldiers and seamen alike; and as soon as ever the sign should be given, to row up boldly to their enemies. Accord-

ingly, when the shield had been lifted from the ship, and the trumpet from the admiral's vessel had sounded for battle, the ships rowed up, and the foot-soldiers strove to get along by the shore to the promontory. The distance there between the two continents is fifteen furlongs, which by the zeal

SILVER COIN.<sup>3</sup>

and eagerness of the rowers was quickly traversed. Konon, one of the Athenian commanders, was the first who saw from the land the fleet advancing, and shouted out to embark, and in the greatest distress bade some and entreated others, and some he forced to man the ships. But all his diligence signified nothing, because the men were scattered about; for as soon as they came out of the ships, expecting no such matter, some went to market, others walked about the country, or went to sleep

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Lysandros*.

<sup>2</sup> Woman's head, double-faced, like the head of Janus. Reverse: in an incused square a head of Pallas, left profile, the helmet having around it a laurel-wreath; in the field, the monogram of a magistrate's name. (Drachma of archaic style.)

<sup>3</sup> Head of Pallas, three-quarters front; the hair scattered; the helmet adorned with a triple aigrette. Reverse: Baaltars, or the Zeus of Tarsos, seated on a throne to the left, and holding a sceptre; in the field, a wheat-ear, a bunch of grapes, an ivy-leaf, and two mint-marks. (Persian coin, of an unknown satrap.)

in their tents, or got their dinners ready, being, through their commanders' want of skill, as far as possible from any thought of what was to happen; and the enemy now coming up with shouts and noise, Konon, with eight ships, sailed out, and making his escape, sailed to Cyprus, to Evagoras. The Peloponnesians falling upon the rest, some they took quite empty, and some they destroyed while they were filling; the men, meantime, coming unarmed and scattered to help, perished at their ships, or escaping by land were slain, their enemies disembarking and pursuing them. Lysandros took three thousand prisoners, with the generals and the whole fleet, excepting the sacred ship Paralos and those which escaped with Konon."



SCENE OF MASSACRE.<sup>1</sup>

It was the fox, and not the lion this time victorious, — Athens deserved a better fate. One hour before this great disaster all the chances were in her favor. Persian gold, the skilful ruse of Lysandros, the negligence of her generals, accomplished in a moment that which all Greece united against her had not been able in twenty-six years to do. Now all was exhausted; there was not a galley at Peiraiæus, not a talent in the treasury, not a soldier in the city, — no material from which a new army could be made. Athens was about to perish, not for want of courage, but for lack of men. Rome was more fortunate in the presence of Hannibal; her courage and patriotism were no greater, but she had neither domestic strifes nor an oligarchical party sacrificing her best gen-

<sup>1</sup> Fragment of a vase-painting, from the *Monum. dell' Instit. archeol.*, vol. ix. pl. 32, 33. (To be compared with the chest of Præneste represented above, p. 255.) In the centre is the funeral pile of Patroklos (ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΟΥ ΤΑΦΟΣ), covered with armor. Achilles, standing at the left, is about to slay a Trojan captive whose cap he has plucked off, and whom he grasps by the hair. Three other Trojans in chains, at the left, await the same fate. On the other side of the funeral pile Agamemnon pours a libation (*Iliad*, xxiii. 250 *et seq.*); behind him stands Briseis, accompanied by a female attendant.

erals and replacing them by the incapable. Accursed be the men who ruined their country by political animosities united with religious hypocrisy!

Let us abridge the sad story of the last hours of this noble and most unfortunate city. There had been no battle, but there was a massacre. Sparta chose to end the war as she had begun it: the three thousand captives had the fate of the Plataians. Lysandros asked Philokles what fate the man deserved who had put in execution the decree made not long before at Athens concerning prisoners. The latter refused to reply to an accuser who was also a judge and an executioner. "Conqueror," he said, "do now what you would have suffered had you been conquered." Lysandros, clad in priest's robes, as if he were a minister of divine vengeance, killed Philokles with his own hands. This was the signal for a wholesale massacre.

No city attempted to resist. Byzantion, Chalkedon, and all the rest opened their gates when Lysandros appeared. Everywhere he abolished the democratic form of government, and gave the authority to a Spartan governor (*harmostes*) and to ten archons, drawn from the secret societies which he had formed. He now released Athenian prisoners as fast as he took them, and sent them to Athens, under pain of death if they went elsewhere: the city was to be required to feed them. This was to cause a famine in Athens. He soon appeared in person off Peiraius with a hundred and fifty galleys, and Pausanias, with all the Peloponnesian army, encamped in the gardens of the Academy.

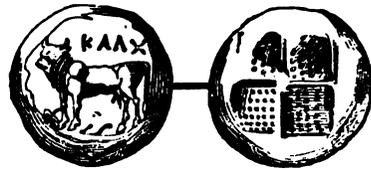
Meantime the galley Paralos, escaping from Lysandros, had reached Athens, arriving in the night. The disastrous news spreads; wailings bear it from Peiraius to the city; it passes from mouth to mouth; in a moment every man knows it. On that night not a person slept; they wept for the dead, they wept for themselves, for their lost power, for their liberty about to be crushed under the blows of Sparta or under the yoke of a detested faction. In the morning the assembly met. It was decided

BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Young and beardless head of Dionysos, right profile, with curling hair. Reverse: BYZANTIQN; cow stepping to the right, with lifted head. Coin of Byzantion.

that two out of the three harbors should be blocked up, that the walls should be put in a condition for defence, and all things made ready for a siege.

Under the first shock of this most disastrous defeat the Athenians then did not entirely despair. They defended themselves in the midst of domestic discords until famine caused them to perish, their weapons in their hands. Sparta demanded the demolition of the Long Walls; this was refused. Theramenes then offered to try the influence which he professed to have over the ephors. He was absent three months, and the Athenians awaited, in a state of famine which was already great at the time of his departure, the



SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>

end of this inexplicable delay. When he returned, having obtained nothing, the scarcity of food had become unendurable. He was sent back with instructions to conclude peace on any terms. The allies were assembled at Sparta; many of them, Thebes and

Corinth especially, were in favor of the extreme of severity. But Sparta was afraid to give up to the former Central Greece, and to the latter the sea; she therefore insisted upon granting peace to the Athenians on the following conditions: the demolition of the Long Walls and the fortifications of Peiræus; the evacuation of all their foreign possessions; the relinquishment of all their war-vessels; an alliance with Lacedæmon, — that is to say, a condition of dependence upon her; and, to conclude, the recall of all exiled citizens. The surviving remnant of the population of Melos and of Aigina recovered their respective territory, Lysandros having expelled the Athenian colonists.

Many wished still to resist, although famine was making new victims daily. The faction of the oligarchy, however, whose influence grew stronger as the general distress increased, threw into prison these desperate champions of the city's honor, and an assembly accepted the fatal sentence.

“Lysandros, as soon as he had taken all the ships except twelve and the walls of the Athenians, on the sixteenth day of the month Mou-

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Chalkedon. ΧΑΛΧΕΔΩΝΙΩΝ. Bull standing to the left, treading wheat-ears under foot. Reverse: incused square, divided into four compartments, ornamented with dots.

nychion, the same on which they had overcome the Persians at Salamis, then proceeded to take measures for altering the government. But the Athenians taking that very unwillingly, and resisting, he sent to the people and informed them that he found that the city had broken the terms, for the walls were standing after the time when they should have been



BANQUETING SCENE.<sup>1</sup>

pulled down. He should, therefore, consider their case anew, they having violated the first conditions. And some state, in fact, that the proposal was made in the congress of the allies that the Athenians should all be sold as slaves; on which occasion Erianthos the Theban gave his vote to pull down the city and turn the country into a sheep-pasture. Yet, afterwards, when there was a meeting of the captains together, a man of Phokis, singing the first chorus in the *Elektra* of Euripides, which begins: 'Elektra,

<sup>1</sup> Painting on a cup in the Vatican (from the *Museo Gregoriano*, vol. ii. pl. lxxxv. 1a).

child of Agamemnon, I come unto thy rustic dwelling,' they were all moved with compassion, and it seemed to be a cruel deed to destroy and pull down a city which had been so famous and produced such men. Accordingly, Lysandros, the Athenians yielding up everything, sent for a number of female flute-players out of the city, and collected together all that were in the camp, and pulled down the walls and burned the ships to the sound of the flute, the allies being crowned with garlands and making merry together, as counting that day the beginning of their liberty."<sup>1</sup>

Thucydides wisely sets forth the causes of the ruin of Athens:—

“For as long as Perikles was at the head of the State he governed it with moderation and kept it in safety, and it was at its height of greatness in his time; and when the war broke out, he seems to have formed a correct idea as to its power in this respect also. He survived its beginning two years and six months, and when he was dead his foresight with regard to its course was appreciated in a still greater degree. For he said if the Athenians kept quiet and attended to their navy, and did not seek to gain additional territory during the war, nor expose the city to hazard, they would have the advantage in the struggle. But they did the very contrary of all this, and in other things which seemed to have nothing to do with the war, through their private ambition and private gain, they adopted evil measures both towards themselves and their allies, which if successful conduced to the honor and benefit of individuals only, but if they failed, proved detrimental to the State with regard to the war. And the reason was that he, being powerful by means of his high rank and talents, and manifestly proof against bribery, controlled the multitude with an independent spirit, and was not led by them, but led them; for he did not say anything to humor them, for the acquisition of power by improper means, but was able from the strength of his character to contradict them, even at the risk of their displeasure. . . . Whereas those who came after, being more on a level with each other, and each grasping to become first, sought to gain the favor of the people, not merely by their speeches, but by the measures which they adopted for the government of the State. In consequence of this, many blunders were committed, as would be likely in a great and sovereign State, of which the greatest was the expedition to Sicily. This was not even so much an error of judgment in respect to the people attacked as it was ill managed by not afterwards voting the supplies required, but instead proceeding, with their private criminations, to gain the leadership in the assembly,

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Lysandros*.

thus destroying the enthusiasm of the army and quarrelling among themselves as to the management of public affairs. But even after the losses suffered in Sicily and the seditions at home, the Athenians still held out three years, both against their former enemies and also the Sicilians, and against their revolted allies and Cyrus, the king's son, who supplied the Peloponnesians with money for their fleet; nor did they give way until they were overthrown and ruined by themselves through their private quarrels. Such a superabundance of means had Perikles at that time, by which he himself foresaw that with the greatest ease he could gain the advantage in the war over the Peloponnesians by themselves."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides, ii. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Engraved stone in the gallery of Florence (from Millin, *Galerie mythologique*, 157, 576). Two Greek warriors, Aias and Teukros, drive the Trojans from their vessel. See Overbeck, *Die Bildwerke zum thebischen und troischen Heldenkreis*, p. 424.



WARRIORS FIGHTING ON THE DECK OF A VESSEL.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### THE THIRTY, THE SOPHISTS, AND SOKRATES.

#### I. — THE THIRTY (404–403 B. C.).

ON that day which the allies called a day of deliverance, and Athens a day of desolation and eternal mourning, there were seen certain Athenians wearing garlands on their heads and taking part in the festivities of the occasion, while others even went out to meet the conquerors, and testified joy at their country's humiliation. These were exiles restored by Lysandros, and to whom he gave in charge the government of Athens. One of these was Theramenes, who had remained three months in the Spartan camp,—a long time to spend in preparing brief articles of capitulation. These men were, in fact, the oligarchical faction,<sup>1</sup> which since the expedition to Sicily had so often disturbed the city with their intrigues, and sometimes by their treasonable acts. The negotiator, so slow about preparing the treaty to save his people, was prompt in destroying the old constitution which had been the glory of Athens. He now proposed to commit full power of revision of the laws to a commission composed of thirty members, like the Council of Elders at Sparta. Lysandros was in the city; the Peloponnesian army had not yet left Athens; the measure of Theramenes was passed. He himself appointed ten persons, the magistrates ten more, and the assembly the remaining ten. It is probable that Lysandros reserved for himself the choice of the ten officers whom he established in Peiræus (June, 404 B. C.).

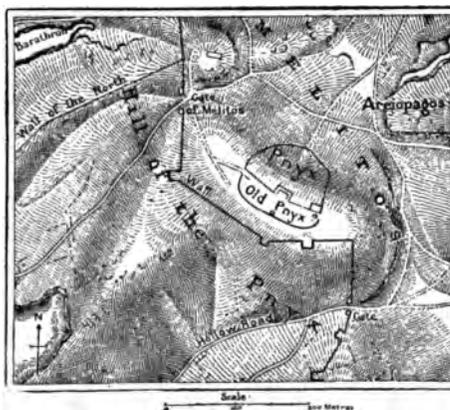
<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, so unfriendly to the democracy, says that the chief support of the Thirty in their abominable tyranny was the body of knights, — that is to say, the richest citizens, — who took to themselves the appellation *καλοκάγαθοί*. "the honest and good."

The life of Athens was in her public assembly and her courts of justice: the former governed, the latter judged; and many disastrous measures had been adopted by the one, many acts of injustice committed by the others, when, after the splendid democracy of the time of Aristeides and Perikles had become a demagogy, there was no longer any man capable of causing wisdom to rule in deliberations, and equity in decisions. The faults of this organization were recognized, and we have shown that many attempts were made to correct it. Those whom Sparta now placed in power acted on a different plan,—they abolished the public assembly and the courts of the heliasts. They preserved

indeed, the archonship, an unimportant office, the Areiopagos, and the Council; but they deprived the Areiopagites of criminal jurisdiction, and compelled the Four Hundred to vote under the supervision of the Thirty. They appeared even to gratify the moral sense of the community by expelling the class of informers,—a venomous race who too often had served

the envious instincts of the crowd. But a trade capable of being so lucrative will not disappear from a city where revolutions now succeeded one another with such rapidity, and quickly there appeared other informers, acting in the interests of the new masters.

In general, the Thirty occupied themselves little with law-making, and much with making their own position secure. From the sea there came with commerce dangerous ideas of liberty, from which they wished to distract the public mind; hence the orator's platform, the *bema*, was displaced, that there might no longer be before a speaker's eyes that view of Peiraieus which had inspired so many patriotic sentiments. The arsenal had cost a thousand talents to build: they ordered its destruction, and sold the materials at a price of three talents. They also



PLAN OF THE PNYX (ORATOR'S PLATFORM).

proposed to demolish the forts that had been built on the frontier, so that Attika might be open by land as well as by sea. Finally, when their first crimes had heightened the public discontent, they obtained from Sparta a corps of seven hundred, whom they estab-



PERIKLES (?).<sup>1</sup>

lished in the Akropolis. For the pay of these mercenaries they despoiled the temples, coined money out of death-sentences (which involved confiscation of property as well), and all the lawlessness of war was seen to rage in the city. A brother and a son of Nikias were put to death; all those who had shown themselves devoted

<sup>1</sup> Marble bust in the Glyptothek at Munich; from a photograph.

to the old constitution, and by their services had merited the confidence of the people, they also—like the rich *metoikoi*, whose wealth was a tempting prey—suffered from the tyrannous rule of the Thirty. Each of these tyrants had his own hatred and revenge to glut. On one occasion the Spartan governor was about to strike with his rod a young Athenian, Autolykos by name, who had been a victor in many gymnastic contests; the youth perceiving the intention, knocked him down, and was put to death without form of law.

Acts less sanguinary show the invincible tendency of despotism to degrade the mind, as it enchains the body. There was a law made forbidding any one to teach rhetoric. It was especially aimed at Sokrates, seeking by the penalty of death to deter him from his instruction of youth. "Do they think," the wise man replied, "that I believe myself immortal?" The people, in the time of democratic sway, had patiently endured the unveiled sarcasms of Aristophanes. The tyrants feared lest some poet, a lover of liberty, should drag them, and their crimes with them, upon the stage, the theatre thus being made to avenge what orators dared not. They prohibited making public men characters of comedy,—any citizen thus attacked by a comic author had the right to prosecute him,—and they forbade the *parabasis*, a sort of political harangue, which the chorus, alone on the stage during the interludes, was wont to address to the audience on the men and events of the day. Comedy, as Aristophanes understood it, perished by this blow. "License," says Horace, "needed to be repressed; this was done by a law, and the chorus became shamefully silent when it ceased to have power to harm." Horace has too much confidence in censorship. We have learned by experience that these laws, very difficult to make, are still more difficult to enforce; and Aristophanes knew how wit can pass through the meshes of the net in which it is caught. The *Assembly of Women* and the *Ploutos*, of later date than this decree of the Thirty, are keen satires of personal quality.

Theramenes, one of those prudent men who know how to escape in time from a falling house or a faction on the way to ruin, began to feel that the new government was going too far.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He was nicknamed Theramenes the Buskin,—a shoe that can be used for either foot.



He warned his colleagues that a general terror might become vengeance. The apprehension seemed well founded; the Tyrants prepared a list of three thousand citizens to serve them as a guard, and disarmed all the rest. In respect to these Three Thousand, it



SCENE FROM A COMEDY.<sup>1</sup>

was decreed that they could not be put to death without a sentence of the council, while the rest of the community were absolutely at the discretion of the Thirty. Thus made secure, they continued to kill and to exile. The class of *metoikoi* were hostile to them, and a resolution was adopted that each one of the Tyrants should select any that he pleased, should put him to death and seize his

<sup>1</sup> Pompeian mosaic, now in the Museum of Naples (from a photograph). The mosaic is signed by Dioskourides of Samos: Διοσκουριδης Σάμος ἐποίησε.

property. Theramenes refused to participate in this new crime, and it became necessary for the Thirty to rid themselves of this troublesome person, who required at least a political pretext before dipping his hands in innocent blood. Kritias undertook the task. He denounced Theramenes to the council as guilty of treason towards all honest men, and demanded his death. Theramenes defended himself, first appealing to justice and legality, and calling to mind his services to the State, then — a better argument with such men — reminding them of the danger which they would incur by beginning to destroy one another. If they suffered Kritias to take his life, not one of themselves would henceforth be secure. But Kritias summoned his band of assassins, and directed them to crowd closely around the council.



SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>

“It is the duty of a good president,” he said, “when he sees his friends duped, not to let them follow their own counsel. This is what I am now going to do; indeed, these men whom you see pressing upon us from without tell us plainly that they will not allow a man to be acquitted who is plainly working for the ruin of the oligarchy. No man on the list of the Three Thousand can be condemned without your vote, but any one not on that list may be condemned by the Thirty. Now, with the concurrence of my colleagues, I strike the name of Theramenes from the list, and by our authority we sentence him to death.”



SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

Theramenes sought shelter at the altar in the interior of the building, but in vain; he was dragged forth and flung into prison. The hemlock was brought him, and he drank it; then throwing upon the floor the few drops remaining in the bottom of the cup, “This,” he said, “is for the gentle Kritias.”<sup>3</sup>

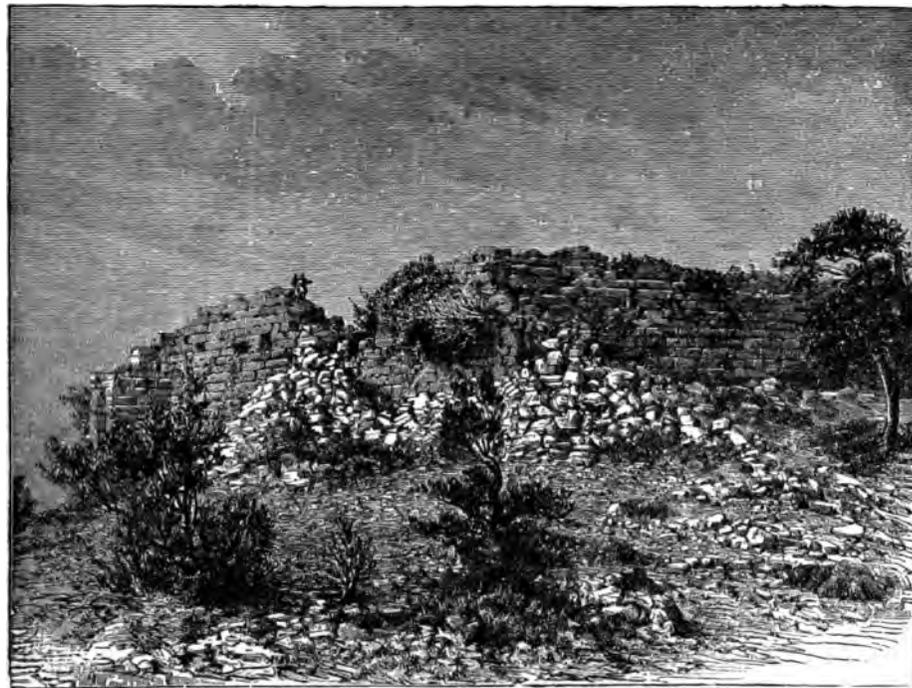
<sup>1</sup> Head of a satrap, right profile, wearing the Oriental tiara; before the head the letters ΜΑΛ[λωτων]. Reverse: head of Aphrodite, right profile, a *sphenone* on the hair. [The *sphenone* was a broad band of gold, or leather with gold trimmings, worn across the forehead. — Ed.] (Silver coin minted at Mallos.)

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Tarsos. Head of the satrap Pharnabazos (or of Ares?), left profile, wearing the Greek *kranos*, surmounted by a crest. An Aramaic legend: פֶּרְנַבְזוֹ הַלֵּךְ (Φαρναβάζου Κιλικία). Reverse: head of Arethousa, three-quarters front. This type is imitated from coins of Syracuse.

<sup>3</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenics*, ii. 3.



After the death of Theramenes, the Thirty declared that only the Three Thousand should henceforth be allowed to reside in Athens. The citizens thus exiled crowded into Argos, Thebes, and Megara. Sparta was not ashamed to forbid, under heavy penalties, their reception by any Greek city, and to authorize the Thirty to seize and put them to death wherever they might be found. This decree was an insult to every State in Greece. Thebes, exasperated



RUINS OF THE FORTRESS OF PHYLE.<sup>1</sup>

at the claims to sovereignty made by Sparta, replied by ordering that the Athenian exiles should be received everywhere in Boiotia, should be assisted, and should be in no way hindered as to any expedition against Attika which they might attempt. Thebes believed that she had rendered services enough to the common cause to deserve that a certain deference should be shown her; but her complaints as to the spoils taken by Lysandros had not received attention. At Argos, answer was made to the Spartans who came to require the enforcement of the decree as to the

<sup>1</sup> From a photograph.



Athenian exiles that they would be considered enemies if they did not withdraw from the city before sunset.

Among the number of those whom the Tyrants had banished were Alkibiades and Thrasyboulos. The former, no longer feeling secure in his Thracian fortresses, went over into Asia, seeking shelter with Pharnabazos. He had penetrated the designs of Cyrus, and was intending to reveal them to the old king. One night, however, the house in which he was living was set on fire, and as he made his escape from the flames a band of armed men,



MOUNYCHIA.<sup>1</sup>

posted outside, attacked him from a distance with arrows and darts until he fell dead. Was it the revenge of the Thirty, of Sparta, or of Cyrus? Probably all three were concerned in it. Thrasyboulos had taken refuge at Thebes. Encouraged by the recent decree of the Thebans, he set out with seventy men and seized Phyle, a fortress on Mount Parnes, about twelve miles distant from Athens. His band rapidly increased in number, and the Thirty, who came out to attack him, were repulsed with considerable loss. The Spartan garrison from the Akropolis, sent against him, had no better success (January 403 B. C.).

It would seem that these defeats ought to have induced some moderation in the Tyrants. On the contrary, their next step was

<sup>1</sup> From a photograph. The hill of Mounychia, about three hundred feet high, rises between the harbor of Peiraieus, at the left, and the basin of Zea, at the right. In the distance are seen the Akropolis, Lykabettos, and Mount Parnes.

to make an expedition to Eleusis and Salamis, carry off to Athens about three hundred prisoners, and put them to death. This was no longer tyranny, but madness.<sup>1</sup> Acts like these increased the number



ATHENE PROMACHOS.<sup>3</sup>

who gathered around Thrasyboulos. When his band numbered a thousand, he marched upon Peiraieus and seized the hill Mounychia. The Thirty marched out against him with the Three Thousand and a troop of horse.<sup>2</sup> A soothsayer who accompanied Thrasyboulos counselled him not to attack until one of his own side had fallen; and to fulfil this oracle, the diviner went forward, like the legendary Kodros, and was himself the victim. The army of the Tyrants was easily routed. The victors were too few in number to follow up their success; but while both sides were together upon the battle-field burying their dead, a herald of Thrasyboulos addressed the citizens who were under the command of the Thirty: he cried, —

“Why are you thus driving us into exile, fellow-citizens? Why do you seek to kill us? We have done you no harm; we share in the same rites and festivals; we have been your companions in daily life; we have fought at your side by land and sea. I adjure you, by our common gods, by our ties of blood and companionship, cease to wrong your country at the command of the infamous Thirty, who have slain as many citizens in three months for their own private ends as the Peloponnesians in ten years of war. These are the authors of this wicked conflict, when we might live at peace. Be assured that we lament your dead in this battle as much as you yourselves lament them.”

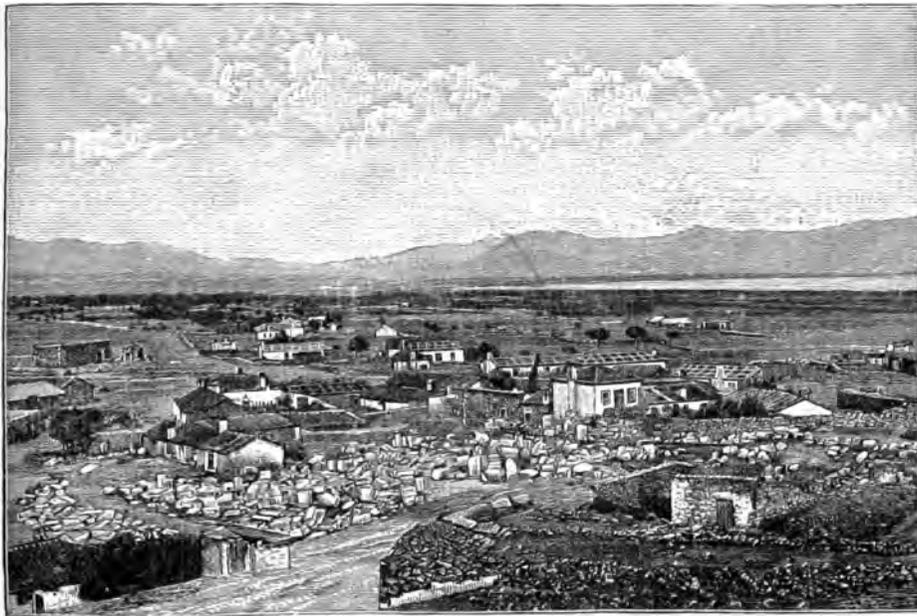
Kritias, the leader of the Thirty, was himself among the dead; and this facilitated a compromise. The Thirty were deposed, and withdrew to Eleusis. We have seen how they had secured for themselves a shelter there by destroying in advance those who were hostile to them. But the Three Thousand were not willing to

<sup>1</sup> In his oration *Against Agoratos*, § 44 et seq., Lysias describes the tyranny of the Thirty.

<sup>2</sup> . . . καὶ οὐδὲν τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς (Xenophon, *Hellen.*, ii. 4. 2).

<sup>3</sup> The goddess held a shield and lance, which have disappeared (archaic bronze statuette, 107 millim. in height, found on the Akropolis. Collection Oppermann, in the *Cabinet de France*).

relinquish their privileges; they established a council of Ten citizens, who sought to hold their ground against the exiles, who were masters of Peiraieus, and the Thirty in Eleusis. Hard pressed by Thrasyboulos, who had received further assistance from Thebes and Megara,<sup>1</sup> they sought aid from Sparta, to save Athens, they said, from falling into the hands of the Boiotians. Lysandros had just returned to Lacedæmon. Denounced to the ephors by the satrap Pharnabazos for his plunderings in Asia, his command had been



ELEUSIS AND THE SACRED ROAD.<sup>2</sup>

taken away, he had been threatened with the fate of his friend Thorax, put to death for having, contrary to the law, kept silver in his house, and he had escaped only by the plea that he had made a vow which he must go to perform at the temple of Zeus Ammon. Having returned to Sparta at the moment when the envoys of the Ten arrived there, he recovered sufficient influence to obtain for them a grant of a hundred talents, and for himself appointment as governor of Athens. With this money he easily levied a corps of a thousand men and went into Attika, while his brother Libys

<sup>1</sup> An Athenian, Gelarchos by name, who had taken refuge in that city, sent five talents to Thrasyboulos (Demosthenes, *Against Leptinos*, 146).

<sup>2</sup> From a photograph.

with forty triremes blockaded Peiraiæus. But the kings and the ephors, who had long been jealous of the victor of Aigospotamoi, or rather had long been in fear of the possible designs of a man already so important in the State, represented in an assembly held after his departure that the Peloponnesos had no other interest in this matter than the public peace, while Lysandros was endeavoring to further his own personal designs, and by his undue power had become dangerous to the public welfare. It was well understood that he hoped to effect a change to his own advantage in the royal succession; accordingly, Pausanias the king, who was of that branch of the royal house which had always been favorable to Athens, or rather had always desired peace and the maintenance of the old institutions of Sparta, succeeded in causing himself to be sent into Attika with an army to counteract the projects of the designing and turbulent Lysandros. Vainly did the Ten offer to place Athens completely at the command of Sparta, on condition that the exiles should be sacrificed to them. Pausanias insisted upon a reconciliation. An amnesty was proclaimed, only the Thirty and some of their most zealous partisans being excepted from it. Even they, however, had leave to withdraw to Eleusis. The negotiation being ended, Pausanias, with all the Spartan troops, marched out of Attika, and Thrasyboulos, with the exiles, came in solemn procession from Peiraiæus, and offered sacrifice on the Akropolis to Athene for this unhoped-for peace. By their courage they had procured this advantage for Athens. "After the gods, it was to Thrasyboulos," Demosthenes said, at a later day, "that the State owed its salvation."<sup>1</sup>

Of the rule of the oligarchy there was now left only the cruel memory (403 B. C.). The fifteen months that these fatal disturbances had lasted were called "the year of anarchy" and the "reign of the Thirty Tyrants." Xenophon says:—

"Soon after this the news spread that those of Eleusis were recruiting foreign troops. The Athenians rose as one man; the generals at Eleusis

<sup>1</sup> *Against Timokrates*, 135. In memory of the assistance rendered by Thebes, Thrasyboulos consecrated in the Herakleion of the Boiotian city a group of Athene and Herakles, the Polæic divinities of the two cities; and to do honor to the hundred most valiant of his companions in arms, he gave them a thousand drachmas for a common sacrifice of thanksgiving to the gods. Also, each man received an olive-wreath, as a liberator of his country. A wreath of oak-leaves was the Roman honor, *op cives servatos*.

came to an interview, and were seized and put to death; the rest were persuaded by their friends to accept terms, and a forgiveness of wrongs on both sides was sworn to and faithfully observed. And to this day they live under the sway of the same laws."

The Athenian people in this frightful crisis showed the most unusual moderation known to history. The amnesty was religiously observed; no one was persecuted, and in the oath taken by the heliasts was inserted this clause, "I swear not to remember the past, and not to allow it to be remembered." Even when Sparta claimed the hundred talents lent to the Thirty, — which she did not propose to give to the democracy, — the people, instead of leaving the payment of the debt to those who had received the money, declared that the city should pay it. Only the Poekile (the Portico), where the Tyrants had put to death fourteen hundred citizens, remained an accursed place for more than a hundred years, until Zeno effaced this infamy by selecting it as the place where he taught his severe ethics (403 B. C.).

An inscription commemorated the memory of the service rendered by the liberators: "The Athenians, children of the soil, have honored with these wreaths those who first, at the peril of their lives, broke the yoke of tyrants ruling in the name of unjust laws."<sup>1</sup>

Athens was delivered; but her commerce was destroyed, multitudes of her population had perished, her territory was waste land, her navy more reduced than in the time of Solon, and the treasury so exhausted that it could furnish neither the cost of the sacrifices nor pay the Thebans, also impatient creditors, the two hundred talents advanced to Thrasyboulos. The fortifications of Peiraieus had been destroyed, the arsenal and the Long Walls demolished, and even the city walls in places were broken down; nor could these ruins be repaired, for a jealous eye kept watch upon them. The people began at the most urgent need, — the revision of the laws. The oligarchical government had been judged by its deeds, — treason and crime; all men now desired to return to that moderate democracy which Solon had founded. Under the archonship of Eukleides, 403 B. C., a commission of legislation, the

<sup>1</sup> Aischines, *Against Ktesiphon*, 190; Plougoulm, *Œuvres politiques de Démosthène*, p. 82.

*nomothetai*,<sup>1</sup> had the duty of seeking out and proposing the modifications needful to bring existing laws into harmony with the spirit of the ancient constitution. After this work of revision had been adopted by the assembly, the laws were engraved on marble tablets<sup>2</sup> and placed under the royal portico, where the sessions were held of the Areiopagos, which, restored to its early rights,



BRONZE COIN.<sup>3</sup>

was required to watch over the execution of these laws, and the magistrates were forbidden to act in accordance with any not here engraved. The law being thus placed above the authority of the council and the assembly, it was further decreed that in certain cases, to give validity to a decision, there must be a majority in six thousand secret votes.<sup>4</sup> Lastly, to prevent the return of tyranny, it was engraved on a column in the council-hall that any man might kill whosoever should conspire against the democracy or should betray the State.<sup>5</sup> The citizens all swore to obey this dangerous law, which authorized a crime by delegating to the individual a sovereign right which ought to be exercised only after a public decision. This decree at Athens was remembered by Brutus on the day when he assassinated Cæsar.

Thus the first care of the Athenians in again becoming their own masters was to return to their old democratic constitution. This was their glory in the past, and was to give them even yet some prosperity.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I. p. 578. Demosthenes (*Against Timokrates*, 27) speaks of a thousand and one *nomothetai* to examine a proposed law. Andokides (*On the Mysteries*, § 84) mentions five hundred.

<sup>2</sup> And for the first time with the new alphabet, which contained twenty-four letters, instead of the older one, which had but sixteen or eighteen.

<sup>3</sup> Reverse of an Athenian coin. Legend: ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ. In the field the owl, the olive-tree, and the amphora. On the obverse is the helmeted head of Athene.

<sup>4</sup> To stimulate the zeal of citizens in attending the assemblies, the stipend was restored, about 398 B. C.; and to keep the race pure, an old law was again put in force, excluding from citizenship all not born of Athenian fathers and mothers, at the same time respecting rights acquired before 403 B. C.

<sup>5</sup> Some authors place this decree after the fall of the Four Hundred.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is given an illustration of a bas-relief of the balustrade of the temple of Athene Nike (now in Athens); from a photograph.



SACRIFICE TO ATHENE NIKE.



## II.—STRIFE BETWEEN RELIGION AND THE PHILOSOPHIC SPIRIT.

IT would seem to be now our duty to show how Sparta, at last victorious, employed her power; but the history of Greece is twofold: it gives us facts which excite our interest or aid us in forming our political experience; and ideas which still inspire our poets, philosophers, and artists. Through ideas social life is transformed, and civilization attains its development. True history is a history of human thought; now in the times of which we speak, many thoughts were seething in Athens, and a great man began there a moral revolution which was destined to give a vigorous impulse to the Greek mind; we must therefore occupy ourselves with him.

By the Peloponnesian war Athens had lost her empire, and many other things also; her ancient methods of life and her religious faith were greatly shaken. Masters of half the Greek world, the Athenians had seen population and wealth flow into their city; industry and commerce had felt a vast stimulus; and in this general activity the human mind could not remain imprisoned by the old creeds. New horizons had opened to the imagination of the thinker, as new seas before the merchant's vessel. Aischylos, Sophokles, Herodotos, Thucydides, Aristophanes, had met in their respective paths the most beautiful conceptions of the human mind; Pheidias had beheld Zeus; Anaxagoras had almost found God.<sup>2</sup> Thus Homer and all the poets who had preceded him, or who drew their inspiration from him, had appeared,—after the Greek race had spread itself,—a fruitful alluvion, over the coasts of Asia, and mingled, by commerce and by war, in the Oriental world.

OLYMPIAN ZEUS.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> HAEION. Olympian Zeus, seated on his throne, holding his sceptre and a Victory. Copy of the statue of Pheidias. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Elis, with Hadrian's effigy. See Vol. I. p. 142; and, in this volume, p. 153.)

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 171.

The religious sentiment had become purer, at least to some. The conception of divinity was nobler, and the great question of a future, though still remaining very obscure, tended towards a solution less coarse than that which Homer and Hesiod had given it. The reward of the good (*χρηστοί*) became more like that which is promised them now. "The souls of the devout," say Epicharmos, Pindar, and Aischylos, "dwell in heaven, and praise the great divinity with hymns."<sup>1</sup> The souls of the blessed (*μάκαρες*), placed among the stars, participated in the divine beatitude, and enjoyed the perpetual vision of pure light, like the blessed described by Dante.<sup>2</sup>

But below the noble interests of these great minds, how much profitless stir! How many who, unable to create, destroy; who



OLYMPIAN ZEUS.<sup>3</sup>

deny the past, without affirming anything for the future; who turn into derision the laws, manners, and beliefs of the old time, yet offer no substitute for them. The devout heard with terror men who mocked at all which still made their moral and religious life, who were sceptical as to their gods, who parodied the Mysteries. Many even, seeing that prayers and sacrifices had not saved Athens from the most frightful calamities, came to

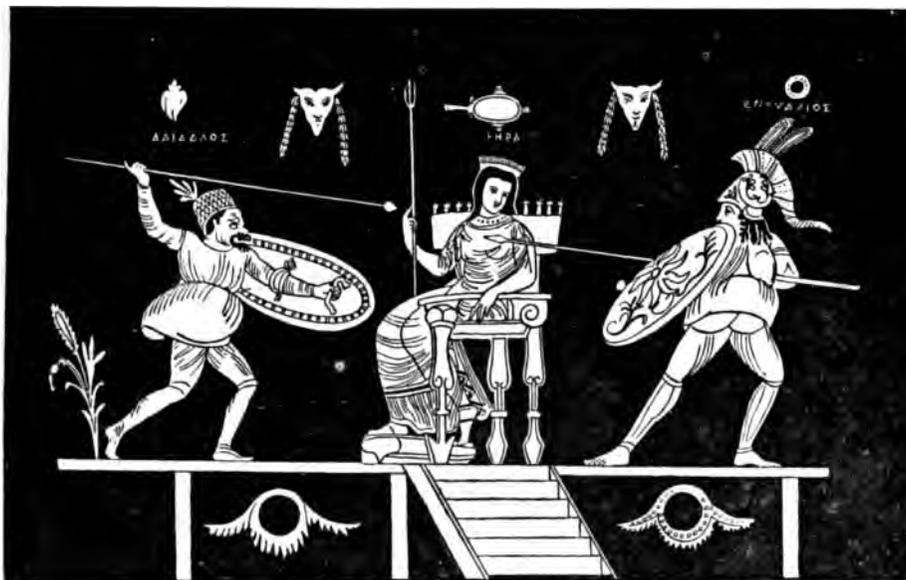
think that the faith handed down from their ancestors was very probably only a tissue of falsehood; men had begun to rob the gods, not merely of the silver deposited in the sanctuaries, as the Phoki-

<sup>1</sup> Pindar, *Olymp.*, ii. 56; Aischylos, *Eumenides*, 269-274.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Concerning Life according to the Precepts of Epicurus*, 27, ed. Didot, iv. 1351: *παίζοντες καὶ χορεύοντες ἐν τοῖς αὐγῆν καὶ πνεῦμα καθαρὸν καὶ φθόγγον ἔχουσι*. Cf. Maury, *Religions de la Grèce*, i. 583, 584, and E. G. Zeller, *The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, chap. xvi. [Eng. trans. by O. J. Reichel.] As late as the fourth century of the Christian era the Emperor Julian believed that the souls of the righteous dwell in the sun or in the stars. See *History of Rome*, viii. 220.

<sup>3</sup> Head of Olympian Zeus, laurelled, right profile; behind, HAEION. (Enlarged reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of Hadrian.)

dians had done at Delphi, but — a twofold sacrilege — the ornaments of gold that covered their statues.<sup>1</sup> Hellenism had reached that gloomy spot to which religions come when doubt begins to cling to them, — a spot where the crowd linger, because, although faith



GODS ON THE STAGE.<sup>2</sup>

no longer guides the life, it still commands the wonted external obedience. From this point many roads lead, by which the lofty and resolute minds advance, who are willing to leave behind them the slowly dying past, and go on to meet the coming future.

<sup>1</sup> Thus, according to the testimony of Isokrates (*Against Kallimachos*), were stolen from the Parthenon the *gorgoneion* and many bas-reliefs from the helmet, the shield, and the shoes of Athene. Demosthenes (*Against Timokrates*, 121) recalls the theft of the gold wings of the Victory, and Pausanias (i. 25, 7, and 29, 16) mentions the great theft of Lachares, who in the time of Demetrios, son of Antigone, took the gold shields from the architrave, and all the gold which could still be taken away from the statue of Athene. The story is well known, whether it be true or not, of the elder Dionysios pillaging the temple of Persephone and stealing from Asklepeios his golden beard, and from Zeus his mantle of gold, — “too warm for summer, too cold for winter.”

<sup>2</sup> Painting on a krater in the British Museum (*Catalogue*, ii. 1433); from the *Élite des Monum. céramogr.*, vol. i. pl. 36. Cf. Heydemann, *Jahrbuch der kaiserl. d. arch. Instituts*, vol. i. (1886), p. 290, a. Hephaistos, seeking revenge upon his mother, Here, for the injuries she has inflicted on him, has made her a gift of a marvellous throne, from which a person who has once taken a seat can never again rise. The goddess being thus ensnared, Ares seeks to compel Hephaistos to release her. This is the scene which the painter represents: Here (ἩΡΑ) is in the centre, seated on the golden throne and looking towards Ares Enyalios (ΕΝΕΥΑΛΙΟΣ); Hephaistos (ΔΑΙΔΑΛΟΣ) is on the left. The god wears a satyr's mask, and a cap in which is fastened a twig.

Long scattered upon the outer edges of the Greek world, in Asia, in Thrace, in Sicily, all the philosophers, Ionians, Eleans, Pythagoreans, Atomists, had gathered at its centre. Since the time of Perikles, Athens had been their fighting-ground. There had occurred a blending of systems; there began the revolution which occasioned paganism to enter on a period of decline for the



ELEUSINIAN TRIAD.<sup>1</sup>

people, and of moral transformation for men of higher intelligence. The old religion saw men's minds withdraw from it by two paths. The Mysteries, especially those of Eleusis, had by degrees set free, united, and developed the spiritual elements of the old cults, and without destroying polytheism, they tended to disseminate monotheistic ideas. Bolder and freer, the philosophers, by reason alone, rose to the conception of a First Cause. But while agitating, to the eternal honor of the human mind, the great problems which the popular religion claimed to have solved, these men naturally were in an attitude of insubordination and revolt towards this religion. They reduced it to an empty form, — a shroud enwrapping the State, which through prudence only, through a forced respect for popular weaknesses, they abstained from tearing off.

It was in accordance with the pantheism of the Ionians that Thales said, "The world is full of gods;" but Hippokrates subordinated their action to constant laws and to the conditions of matter. "There are," he said, "no diseases sent by the gods; all have natural causes."<sup>2</sup> This was to break Apollo's bow and his arrows, which carried pestilence and death into the cities. Anaxagoras, while proclaiming a One Cause, of which Plato made the Logos and Saint Paul the *Verbum Dei*, abolished the auxiliaries which faith had given. He dared to teach that aerolites come from the sky, — which the *popolani* of Naples do not yet believe; and in ascribing to meteoric stones this origin he took from the stars their divinity: the planets, and the sun even, were nothing more than incandescent masses of rock. When he said: "Nothing is born, nothing

<sup>1</sup> Massive gold ring, with, instead of a stone, three carved heads, representing Demeter with the modios, Kora wearing a diadem, and the young Iakchos with the Egyptian *pschent*. (*Cabinet de France, Catalogue, No. 2,632.*)

<sup>2</sup> *Of Airs and Waters, 22.*

dies; there is only composition and decomposition; everything returns to the place whence it came, and the sum of Nature does not change,"<sup>1</sup> he destroyed the supernatural, and with it religion, which lives by marvels. Xenophanes, more explicit, rejected all the popular theology, and reproached the poets with having divinized the harmful or propitious powers which act upon man. Neither Hesiod nor even Homer found favor in his eyes; he reproached them with having degraded the idea of Divinity, by ascribing to the gods acts and feelings unworthy of the Supreme Being. At the same time Xenophanes did not succeed in harmonizing while distinguishing from each other God and the world, the



APOLLO'S BOW AND THE PESTILENCE.<sup>2</sup>

cause and the effect. To escape from this confusion of theism and pantheism, his disciple, the formidable Parmenides, as Plato calls him, found no other way than to deny the existence of matter. He called it a vain show, and our senses, which exhibit it to us, the instruments of error. Demokritos, on the contrary, reduced the problem of the universe to a question of mechanics: there exists, according to him, no other substance than that of bodies, no moving force except weight, and he scoffed at those who have made gods out of natural phenomena. One of his disciples, Diagoras of Melos, resolutely denied their existence. To ridicule the twelve labors of Herakles, he cast into the fire a wooden statue of the son of Zeus, and called upon him to accomplish a thir-

<sup>1</sup> Diogenes Laertius, iii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment of the *Iliad Table* (see Vol. II. p. 303); from O. Jahn, *Griechische Bilderchroniken*, pl. i. A. The scene is laid in the neighborhood of the temple of Apollo Smn'heos (ΙΕΡΟΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΣΜΙΝΘΕΩΣ). in front of the temple is an altar, where Chryses (ΧΡΥΣΕΥΣ) is preparing to offer sacrifice. The priest and an acolyte are leading the victim. The priest is armed with an axe, and, like Chryses, wears a Phrygian cap. On the other side of the temple stands Apollo, discharging his arrows at the Greeks. This is the pestilence (ΑΙΜΟΣ) which strikes down man and beast. Calchas (ΚΑΛΧΑΣ) flees in terror.

teenth exploit by triumphing over this new enemy. At Samothrace the priests showed him offerings of sailors who had escaped shipwreck, by way of proving to him the power of their gods. "But how many would there be," he said, "if all those who have perished had sent you their offerings?"

While the philosophers undermined the national religion by reason, the comic poets killed it by ridicule; and their influence extended rapidly among a people where every one read, even while on a journey.<sup>1</sup> What must have been the effect on the crowd gathered in the theatre at Athens at a performance of the *Ploutos*, *The Birds*, or *The Frogs* of Aristophanes, which treated the gods so irreverently! At the court of the Sicilian tyrants political satire was not in order, and Olympos suffered instead of the agora; the authorities were spared, and the poets

BAITYLOS.<sup>2</sup>

turned their ridicule against the former masters of heaven and earth. In his Syracusan comedies Epicharmos represents Zeus as a fat glutton, Athene as a singing-girl of the cross-roads, the Dioskouroi a pair of dancers, and Herakles a voracious brute. It is understood that Plautus often copied this audacious poet, for instance, in his *Amphitryon*; and yet Epicharmos was a serious person who is represented as a philosopher! Syracuse erected a statue in his

SILVER COIN.<sup>3</sup>

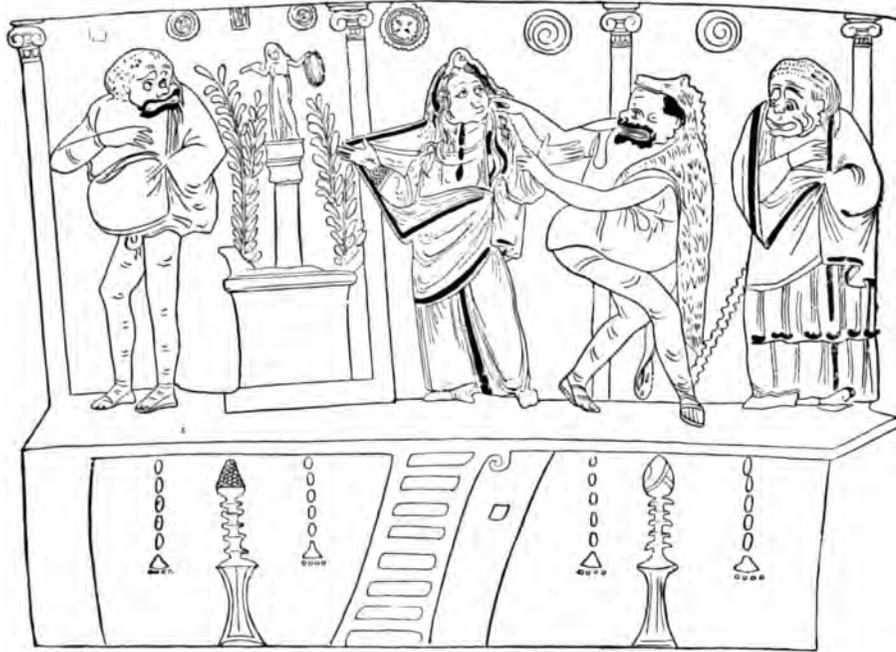
<sup>1</sup> In *The Frogs*, 52, Aristophanes represents Dionysos as saying that he read on board his ship an *Andromeda*, — a subject which had been treated by many tragic poets whose works are lost. When Protagoras, a contemporary of Perikles, was banished from Athens on the charge of atheism, all who had bought his books were required to give them up to the authorities, and they were burned (Diogenes Laertius, ix. 52; Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.*, i. 23). An error of Boeckh, the great scholar, in respect to the price of books at Athens, when he says that the work of Anaxagoras could have been obtained for a drachma, has deceived many, among them even Curtius. In fact, books at this time were very dear: Plato paid a hundred minai for three treatises of Philolaos, and Aristotle three talents for some books of Speusippos (Diogenes Laertius, iii. 9, and iv. 5).

<sup>2</sup> Athenian tetradrachm, signed by the magistrates ΚΛΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ and ΕΠΙΘΕΤΗΣ. As symbol, an object difficult to determine, generally regarded (following Beulé) as a *baitylos* [the stone which Kronos swallowed, believing it to be the infant Zeus. — ED.], clothed like a statue of a god. See Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, 318.

<sup>3</sup> Reverse of a silver coin of Stymphalos (ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛΙΟΝ). Herakles, nude, holding in the left hand his bow, the lion's skin on his arm, and with his club attacking the birds of Lake Stymphalos; in the exergue, the letters ΣΟ, initials of a magistrate's name. The face of this coin bears the laurelled head of the Stymphalian Artemis, right profile.

honor with this inscription: "As the sun in splendor surpasses the other stars, and the ocean the rivers, so is Epicharmos by his wisdom superior to other men."<sup>1</sup>

Thus the older poetry, which lived by images, and the new philosophy, which lived by abstractions, could not agree. The



CARICATURE OF HERAKLES.<sup>2</sup>

former had made the Olympians in the likeness of men, the latter took from them the brilliant form with which they had been invested, and reduced them to mere metaphysical entities. The god of the philosophers, a new Kronos, was about to devour the gods of the poets.

Art had its share in this work of destruction. Caricatures of the gods were reproduced on painted vases, which, circulating

<sup>1</sup> Diogenes Laertes, viii. 78. The earliest comedies of Epicharmos, represented at Syracuse perhaps before the Median wars, were many years anterior to Aristophanes. A war upon the official religion had begun very early.

<sup>2</sup> Vase-painting from Conze, *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, series B, pl. iii. 2. (Cf. Heydemann, *Jahrbuch*, etc., p. 278, m.) The scene takes place before a temple and altar of Aphrodite. Herakles is dragging off a woman, in presence of two spectators, an old woman at the right, a man at the left. The vase was discovered in Sicily, the country of Epicharmos; the painter has perhaps followed some suggestion of the poet, who often brought Herakles upon the stage.

everywhere, were like our comic newspapers, and popularized the irreverent scenes from Olympos which the poets had put upon the stage. Some of these are preserved in modern collections: one, for example, of Dionysos, who has made Hephaistos intoxicated, in order to be able to bring him back, against his will, to Olympos, where he has suffered annoyances. Another shows Poseidon, Herakles, and Hermes, who have gone fishing, to provide for the banquets of the gods.

SEAL.<sup>1</sup>

The introduction of new ideas is often accompanied by a moral upheaval which precedes their coming and lasts until they have become established. The Erinyes — the personification of that remorse which incessantly pursues the guilty<sup>2</sup> — were important figures upon the stage of early Greek life; with them disappeared the penal sanction which religion had established for this life and the next. Then, the old laws being despised and the new not yet established, men found themselves cut loose from their moorings,

PLAQUE.<sup>3</sup>BRONZE COIN.<sup>4</sup>

without other rule than an uncertain conscience and headlong passions. Morals were enfeebled, the sentiment of duty was impaired, and family ties were relaxed. "We have courtesans for our pleasures," an Athenian said, in open court, "concubines to share our couch, and wives to give us legitimate children and to keep the house." Was it Alkibiades who spoke thus? On the contrary, it was perhaps the greatest of Greek orators.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An Athenian seal, from the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. viii. (1884) pl. iv. No. 137. The fisherman is drawing up his line, from which hangs a fish.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aischylos, *Eumenides*, 499; *The Libation-Pourers*, 406; Pindar, *Olympics*, ii. 45; Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.*, iii. 18.

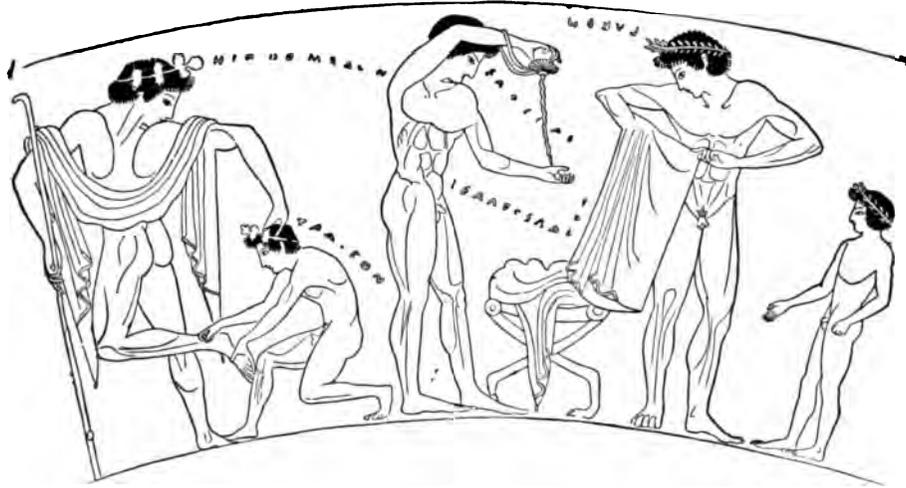
<sup>3</sup> Oval gold plaque, part of a *fibula*. The subject, stamped in repoussé, represents the three Furies united in one figure with three heads, on which rests a *modios*, and with six arms, each holding a torch. The body is clad in a tunic and a short peplos. This antique, found at Rome in 1760, is now in the *Cabinet de France* (Chabouillet, *Catalogue*, No. 2,686).

<sup>4</sup> Athenian coin. Legend: ΑΘΗ[ΝΑΙΩΝ]. Athene and the satyr Marsyas. The latter advances dancing, and is about to pick up the flutes which Athene has just thrown upon the ground. This monetary type is the reproduction of a celebrated group by the sculptor Myron.

<sup>5</sup> In the oration *Against Naiara*, 122, long attributed to Demosthenes, but now ascribed to Apollodoros. Cf. R. Dareste, *Les Plaidoyers civils de Démosthène*, ii. 310. The morals of another great orator, Hyperides, were even on a lower plane than those justified by the words of Demosthenes or Apollodoros. See J. Girard, *Hypéridès*, pp. 102 *et seq.*

## III. — RHETORICIANS AND SOPHISTS.

THIS conflict between religion and philosophy would have remained innocuous to the State, had it not been that at the same time there were established schools of general scepticism and of facile morals, where the art of success was taught, instead of the old manly instruction in the civic virtues.

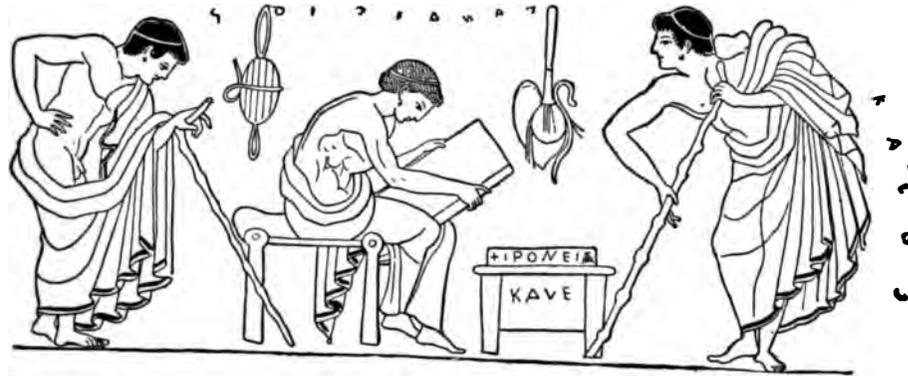
SCENE IN A GYMNASIUM.<sup>1</sup>

For the boy the system of education remained the same. The teaching of grammar and music, and the military and gymnastic exercises continued; but the young man found himself surrounded by a new atmosphere. We have said much of the Athenian taste for the arts, but no mention has been made of that art, especially democratic, rhetoric, — the art of speaking. From this were born

<sup>1</sup> Painting on a vase in the Museum of Berlin (A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, No. 2,180); from the *Archäol. Zeitung* (1879) pl. 4. The first group consists of two persons. Hippomedon (Ἰππομέδων), leaning with one hand on his staff, rests the other on the head of a boy (Τρα[νί]ων), who is taking a thorn out of his foot. The second group contains three figures. Hegesias (Ἡγησίας), entirely nude, is pouring oil upon his left hand from the *aryballos* which he holds in the right. To the little vase is attached a leather thong which is passed over the arm. In front of him Lykos (ΛΥΚΟΣ) is taking off his garment, which a lad stands ready to receive. All the figures wear wreaths of vine-leaves or myrtle. In the field, the inscription *Λίαγρος καλός*.

two classes of men,—the rhetoricians and the Sophists, who regarded a talent for speaking as in itself its own means and end. Hence their sole care was to render their pupils accomplished speakers, while the old masters sought only to make citizens and soldiers. Formerly men were trained to act; now, they are trained to talk.<sup>1</sup>

This was an inevitable consequence of the development of democratic institutions and manners. Perikles himself had disdained the instruction of Protagoras. In small States, where



READING SCENE.<sup>2</sup>

everything is accomplished by speaking, eloquence is at once a sword and shield,—a weapon of offence and of defence; with it a man gains an office or a suit, the favor of the people or the approval of the judge. At Athens a citizen was liable at any moment to be accused, or to be himself an accuser of others; and he was obliged to speak. An accusation which was made good brought a man into notice; one which failed had the double disadvantage of a defeat and a serious loss,—for the accuser who

<sup>1</sup> One of the first measures of the Thirty was to prohibit the teaching of rhetoric, "the art of disputation," *λόγων τέχνην μὴ διδάσκειν* (Xenophon. *Memor.*, I. ii. 31). Pindar complains, at an earlier period, of "a deceitful speech, hateful, the companion of wily words, attacking what is illustrious, but upholding the false glory of obscure men" (*Nemean*, viii.). These rhetoricians are, in fact, of all times, but no epoch was more favorable to their multiplication than that in which Kleon succeeded Perikles.

<sup>2</sup> Painting on a vase of the manufactory of Euphronios, now in the Museum of Berlin (*Beschreibung*, No. 2.322); from Klein, *Euphronios*, 2d ed. p. 283. In the centre is seated a young man preparing to read the volume which he holds in his hand; before him is a box of books, on which is the inscription: *Χιρωνεία καλή*. At the right and left, leaning on their staves, are two young men who seem to listen to the reading. In the field, the inscription *Παναίτιος καλός*.

could not substantiate his charge or failed to obtain at least a fifth of the votes was condemned to pay a fine of a thousand drachmas. To know how to speak was therefore a necessity. To obtain public notoriety and power, the Agora was the surest road; as a way to success, military exploits were surpassed by oratorical efforts. This art of speaking well, — whether a man thought well or not; this power of investing an erroneous opinion with the aspect of truth, and dazzling the multitude by a display of words; this talent of the advocate, who when the case requires, pleads, with a conviction of the moment, a cause which he knows to be bad, was extremely admired by the Athenian youth, less interested now in understanding and singing the hymns of the old poets than in acquiring what Plato's *Gorgias* calls the greatest good: namely, to be able to persuade by speech the judges in the tribunals, senators in the council-room, and the multitude in the assemblies. Accordingly, the young men flocked around those who dealt in arguments and subtleties, and paid liberally for what they bought.<sup>2</sup> Hippias of Elis boasted of having gained in Sicily by his lessons, in the short space of fifteen days, more than a hundred and fifty minai, although he had to contend against the rivalry of Protagoras, then at the height of his celebrity. The sages at an earlier day had sown broadcast the words of wisdom, and asked no money in return; and both Sokrates and Plato were indignant at these sales, which modern communities, founded, it is true, on a different basis, see without displeasure.

PHILOSOPHER.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A young man, half-nude, with a light garment round the waist, seated before a tripod, holding in the left hand a tablet which he reads attentively. On this tablet is an illegible inscription. In the field, the word ΑΓΕCΑΡ, imagined to be the name of Agesarchos, a philosopher of Metapontum, a disciple of Pythagoras; but it is more probably the artist's name. (Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France*. Cornelian, 13 millim. by 9; Chabouillet, *Catalogue*, No. 1,898.)

<sup>2</sup> This people, who worshipped the god of craft, Hermes, and in the first rank of their heroes put the wily king of Ithaka, whom Athene praised for his skill in deceit, would naturally have a tolerant mind towards the Sophists, whom Plato, in the *Phaido*, calls "artists in language," λογοδιδασκοι, and would permit their advocates to follow peculiar methods. "The Athenian pleaders," says a learned jurist, "had recourse without scruple to false testimony, and created proofs to support facts, after having invented facts to make good their cause. Demosthenes and all the fraternity lie with wonderful facility. Thus are explained the enormous contradictions in the two orations *Concerning the Crown*, in those *For Phormion against Apollodoros*, and *For Apollodoros against Phormion*, in the argument *Against Konon*, where he is represented as the worst of men, and that *Against Leptinos*, where Konon is praised" (Arthur Desjardins, of the Institute, *Le Jury et les avocats*).

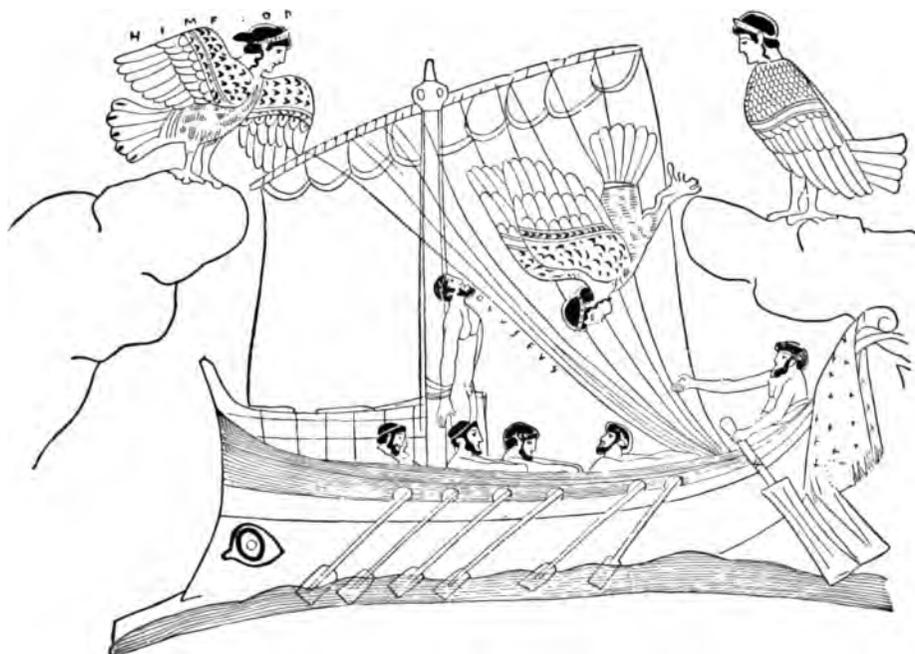
Rhetoricians, who analyzed forms of language, and Sophists, who analyzed moral and political ideas, were of the same fraternity. The latter did not form a school with a system of its own; they represented a certain state of mind and one of the sides of Greek philosophy,—scepticism. They believed in nothing, except the art of speaking well; they prepared, each after his own fashion, orators for the assemblies, or speeches for those who were to plead in court, as our advocates let their arguments and sell their knowledge, as our teachers of every kind give theirs in exchange for a salary. It is thought the Sophists came from Sicily at a period of which the date is fixed. This is true as to Gorgias; but the Sophists and rhetoricians are no artificial product,—they are the offspring of the Greek society of this period.<sup>1</sup> “The greatest of Sophists,” says Plato, “is the people;” which is to say, the democracy is too fond of fine oratory, and has but rarely the prudence of Odysseus when he passed the rocks of the Sirenes.

The four schools which since the time of Thales had sought for truth independently of religious instruction, by purely mental effort, had produced only hypotheses founded on *à priori* ratiocination. The methods of the Sophists were the reaction inevitably following an imperious dogmatism, as philosophical scepticism at a later day succeeded to the doctrinal affirmations of Plato and Aristotle. These oscillations of the mind are in the natural order of things. The Ionians had essayed to explain creation by matter; the Eleans, by thought; the followers of Pythagoras, by numbers; Leukippos and Demokritos, by atoms. The conceptions were very grand, but they solved no problems; the systems mutually destroyed one another, and still no light sprang forth. Along the road followed by the philosophers there were only ruins to be seen; and this must forever be the case so long as among the questions which they agitate there are those which go beyond the compass of the human mind, as there are efforts of which the muscular strength of the human body is incapable.

<sup>1</sup> Their name was not at first used in a bad sense. Herodotos gives it to Solon (i. 29) and to Pythagoras (iv. 95); and Aischines to Sokrates (*Against Timarchos*, 34). We may remark that the most famous Sophists were not of Attic birth. Protagoras came from Abdera, Gorgias from Sicily, Prodiikos from Keos, Diagoras from Melos. But all gathered in that city which was the most complete expression of democracy. Egger (*S'il a eu chez les Athéniens de véritables avocats*), out of a hundred and ten arguments that we have in the works of the Attic orators, enumerates but ten delivered by their authors.

It is the glory of the mind that it seeks to penetrate to the principles of things; it is the misfortune of the mind's condition that it can never succeed in doing this; and feeling itself conquered in this strife for the attainment of truth, it abandons itself sometimes to negations as rash as were the metaphysical audacities. Such was the case in Greece at the time of which we speak.

With the Sophists, whose method is defined by Aristotle as "an apparent but unreal wisdom,"<sup>1</sup> the critical spirit began its work.



ODYSSEUS AND THE SEIRENES.<sup>2</sup>

Like every new power, it could neither measure nor use to advantage its strength. This method — dialectics, namely — is fruitful or dangerous, according to the person who employs it; borrowed from the Eleatic school, it assumed to analyze all things, and did indeed reduce all to fragments, without having any power to reconstruct.<sup>3</sup> It could not reconstruct, for it was and it

<sup>1</sup> Φαινόμενη σοφία. οὐσα δὲ μὴ (*Refutations of the Sophists*, i. 6).

<sup>2</sup> Vase-painting (from the *Monum. dell'Inst.*, vol. i. pl. 8.) Odysseus (ΟΔΥΣΕΥΣ) is standing, tied to the mast of his vessel, while his companions, urged by the helmsman, are rowing hard. Three Sirenes, under the form of birds with women's heads, seek to attract them. One flies down towards the ship, the two others are perched on rocks; the Siren at the left bears the significant name of ΗΙΜΕΡΟΙΑ. (See *Odyssey*, xii. 164 *et seq.*; Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, p. 791.)

<sup>3</sup> On the false dialectics of the Sophists, see the *Euthydemus* of Plato.

remained Negation, — a weapon useful in destroying, but not in building up. When Protagoras, from whom we have, however, beautiful words concerning justice and virtue, said that man is the measure of things, *ἄνθρωπος πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον*, this signified that every thought is true to him who thinks it, but only at the moment when it is thought; so that at different moments affirmation and negation have an equal value, whence it results that no man has the right to establish a general law. He admitted, however, that there were opinions which, if not more true, were at least better than others, and that it is the duty of the wise man to substitute them for those which are worse. Thrasymachos of Chalkedon went farther; he held that the good is determined by the useful, that right is always with the stronger, that laws were established by peoples and by kings purely for their personal advantage. In Plato's *Gorgias*, Polos of Agrigentum maintained the thesis that personal interest is the measure of all good; and he extolled the good fortune of the kings of Persia and of Macedon, who had raised themselves to the throne by murder and treason. In their proscription of the inhabitants of Melos the Athenians then did not have to make any very great efforts of the imagination to demonstrate to their victims that they had no right to complain because Athens required them to suffer.

The people, however, did not philosophize. But there was another master, war, in whose school they learned the ethics of a beast of prey. To the infamously cruel measures often adopted in those times Thucydides ascribes for a cause the obstinate struggle which Sparta and Athens — that is to say, aristocracy and democracy — maintained with each other. Between the two there was nothing but force that could be appealed to; and a half century later, Demosthenes repeated with a groan the dreadful statement, "At the present day force is the measure of right."<sup>1</sup>

From whatever side these doctrines came, it is plain that, while disastrous for the State, they were equally so for Heaven, and brought the gods into great danger. Protagoras speaks of them as follows: "Concerning the gods, I cannot tell whether they exist or not, for many things render it improbable, in particular the obscurity of the question and the brevity of life." Gorgias main-

<sup>1</sup> *On the Liberty of the Rhodians, ad fin.*

tained at first that nothing exists; and later, that if anything did exist it would be impossible to know it and to communicate one's knowledge to others. This was to reach by an opposite road the same point with Protagoras; namely, the negation of all certainty.

Accordingly, nothing is true, but everything is probable; at least, by means of art the appearance of truth can be given to everything. Hence there is no proposition which may not be defended. While doctrines like these, the dethroning of the human reason, were destructive to virtue, patriotism, and religion, they were nevertheless in their skilful presentation extremely attractive. They gratified the lovers of ingenious subtleties, and were useful to every defender of a bad cause. And so, with this argumentative race, they had numerous adepts who found in this pursuit the means of shining and of gaining wealth. There was a rivalry among these *prestidigitateurs* as to which should surpass the others in the strangeness of his theses, the subtlety of his arguments, the elasticity and brilliancy of his thought, his skill in treating in rapid succession the yes and no, the *pro* and *con*. In the schools, at the festivals, in the Olympian games, wherever men gathered, at once the Sophist was seen to appear, who, accepting any subject given him, treated it, however paradoxical or frivolous it might be, amid the applause of his listeners, and would never acknowledge himself defeated. "Even Herakles could not fight against the Hydra," Plato says, "who was a she-Sophist, and had the wit to shoot up many new heads when one of them was cut off."<sup>1</sup>

But the existence of Sophists was not peculiar to democracy; Kritias, one of the Thirty Tyrants and one of the worst among them, saw in religious institutions and in a belief in the gods only the effect of a clever stratagem.

"There was a time," he says, in his *Sisyphos*, "when human life was without law, like that of the animals, and a slave to violence. There was no honor as a rule to the good, and punishments were not yet a terror to the wicked. Then men established laws, that justice might prevail and wrongdoing be suppressed; chastisement then followed crime. But as men continued to commit in secret deeds of violence which the law repressed when they were done publicly, there came to be some man, I think, skilful and wise, who, to impress terror upon perverse mortals when they were disposed to

<sup>1</sup> In his *Euthydemos*.

do, or say, or even think a wrong thing, imagined the divinity. There is a god, he said to men, enjoying an immortal life, who knows, who hears, who sees, by thought, all things, and whose attention is always bent upon mankind. He hears all that is said among men; he sees all that is done. If you plan in silence some evil deed, it by no means escapes the eyes of



THE RISING OF THE SUN.<sup>1</sup>

the god. Such words, often repeated, were a most advantageous training, concealing the truth under a form of falsehood. And to impress still more, to lead men's minds the better, this man then assured them that the gods dwelt in those places whence come to men the greatest terrors and the greatest blessings of their wretched lives, — whence come the lightning flashes and the terrible sound of thunder; where, on the other hand, shines the starry vault of the sky, the admirable work of time, that wise artificer, and whence comes the splendid light of the stars,

<sup>1</sup> Painting on the lid of a pyxis in the Collection Sabouroff (from A. Furtwängler, *La Collection Sabouroff*, pl. 63). Eos, the goddess of dawn, appears in her chariot, the four horses galloping to the right. Then follows Selene, the moon, on horseback; she is looking back at Helios, the sun-god, whose chariot is coming up into the light. Above the head of Helios is the radiate disk of the sun. See the sunrise on a vase of the former Collection Blacas, ii. 620. (Cf. Vol. I. p. 145; Vol. II. pp. 216 and 346.)

and the penetrating rain descends upon the earth. In this way, I believe, some wise man succeeded in persuading his fellow-men of the existence of the gods.”<sup>1</sup>

Athens had the honor and the sad privilege of becoming the home of the sophistic spirit, traces of which we find in the public conduct of some of her citizens, and even in her literature. The tragedies of Euripides furnish us the proof of this;<sup>2</sup> and the life of Alkibiades still further demonstrates it. This historic personage was, in fact, a political Sophist, a brilliant rhetorician in act, as the others were in word; equally ready to affirm or deny; to-day with Athens, to-morrow with Sparta, Argos, or Tissaphernes,—indifferent, in a word, on those questions of country and virtue which so passionately influence the contemporaries of Miltiades.

Against these doctrines, which detached the citizen from his country and are, unfortunately, reflected in the works of even so noble a genius as Euripides, many protests were made. Two are famous: one, in the name of the past; the other, in that of the future. I speak of Aristophanes and Sokrates.

Aristophanes in his comedies is at war with Euripides, Kleon, the Sophists, and Sokrates.— in a word, with the modern spirit, whether in good or bad manifestation. We have already seen that the Athens of Perikles and his martial democ-



ALKIBIADES.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Denis, *Histoire des théories et des idées morales dans l'antiquité*, i. 42, 43. Cf. Eduard Gottlob Zeller, *Pre-Socratic Philosophy*, ii. 481-2 [English translation by S. F. Alleyne].

<sup>2</sup> See chap. xx. § 4.

<sup>3</sup> Marble discovered on the Cælian Hill, and now in the Vatican, from Visconti, *Iconografia greca*, pl. 16. Of the inscription there remain but five letters, ΑΛΚΙΒ [ἄδης]. Cf. the bust represented above, p. 285.

racy had not the sympathies of the poet. In *The Frogs*—where the object is to show how inferior Euripides is to Aischylos as to the nobility of his characters and the dignity of his style, which is the same for all, kings or slaves—he puts these words into the mouth of Euripides: “By Apollo! when I make them talk like this, I give them a more democratic air.”

But it was the Sophists whom Aristophanes most violently attacked in the person of Sokrates, not distinguishing in him the reasonable man, concealed, perhaps, under too much dialectic skill. *The Clouds* may be called a political document, sparkling with wit, stinging, striking at the very heart of the Sophists’ reasonings; only there should be substituted for the name of Sokrates that of one of those verbal mountebanks of whom we have been speaking, in the person whom the poet represents as suspended above the earth and involving the tutelary goddesses of the Sophists,—the Clouds, namely,—whose voices he hears amid the fogs.<sup>1</sup> Strepsiades, the old father who is ruined by the misconduct of his son, wishes to escape paying the debts the young man has contracted; he accordingly sends him to the school of the Sophists. The youth inquires what he is to learn there.

“*Strepsiades*. They say that among them are the two causes,—the better cause, whichever that is, and the worse; they say that the one of these causes, the worse, prevails, though it speaks on the unjust side. If, therefore, you learn for me this unjust cause, I would not pay to any one even an obolos of those debts which I now owe on your account.”

On the son’s refusal, the old man himself goes to Sokrates, and soon learns to disbelieve in the gods. Meeting his son, and hearing him swear by the Olympian Zeus,—

“See, see! he cries, Olympian Zeus,—what folly! To think of your believing in Zeus, as old you are!

*Pheid*. Why, pray, did you laugh at this?

<sup>1</sup> The comedy of *The Clouds* was played in 424, 423 B. C.; it had therefore no influence in the condemnation of Sokrates in 399. But although Plato in his *Symposium* represents the poet seated beside the philosopher, Aristophanes kept his hatred of Sokrates, as is proved by the lines 1491–1499 of *The Frogs*, played in 405. To him Sokrates was always a sayer of foolish subtleties; and in speaking thus he must have expressed the view of a certain number of the spectators, who later were judges in the trial of Sokrates. As to the violent attack of Aristophanes on the Sophists, that was at once just and unjust. We shall see that the sentence was in part annulled, and deservedly.

*Strep.* Reflecting that you are a child and have antiquated notions. Yet, however, approach, that you may know more; and I will tell you a thing, by learning which you will be a man. But see that you do not teach this to any one.

*Pheid.* Well, what is it?

*Strep.* You swore now by Zeus.

*Pheid.* I did.

*Strep.* Seest thou then how good a thing is learning? There is no Zeus, O Pheidippides!

*Pheid.* Who then?

*Strep.* Vortex reigns, having expelled Zeus."

This is the *nous avons changé tout cela* of Molière, and this worthy dupe Strepsiades recalls the *Bourgeois gentilhomme*. We must not forget that he has lost his cloak and his shoes, — a calumnious insinuation of theft assuredly against Sokrates, and doubtless also against the Sophists.

After this caricature of the new doctrines, which substituted for the divine royalty of Zeus the supremacy of physical laws, the poet brings upon the stage the Just Cause and the Unjust

Cause: the two argue fiercely. The Just Cause traces a picture of the old life which was spent in the exercises of the palaistra and in the practice of virtue, with modesty, moderation, and a



ZEUS.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bronze statuette, discovered in Hungary, and now in the British Museum (from O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art antique*. Height, about eight inches). The god is sitting on a seat of cubic form; his right arm rests against his sceptre, and the left hand holds the thunderbolt. The breast is bare, and the head has a garland of laurel-leaves and fruit. The artist evidently copied a well-known type, that which Pheidias fixed forever in his Olympian Zeus.

respect for old age. The Unjust Cause displays all his seductions, and it is he whom Aristophanes leaves master of the field, as if he despaired of bringing the Athenians back to justice. The following conversation takes place:—

*The Unjust Cause.* Now tell me, from what class do the advocates come?

*The Just Cause.* From the blackguards.



EROS, PLAYING WITH A COMIC MASK.<sup>1</sup>

I believe you. What then? From what class do the tragedians come?

From the blackguards.

You say well. But from what class do the public orators come?

From the blackguards.

Do you see that you cannot say anything to the purpose? And look which class among the audience is the more numerous.

Well, I am looking.

What, then, do you see?

By the gods, the blackguards to be far more numerous. This fellow, at any rate, I know; and him yonder; and this fellow with the long hair.

What then will you say?

We are conquered. Ye blackguards, by the gods, receive my cloak, for I desert to you."

Pheidippides at last decides to become a pupil of Sokrates. But old Strepsiades soon has reason to repent of his advice; he runs in upon the stage, beaten by his son.

*Strep.* Hollo! hollo! O neighbors and kinsfolk and fellow-tribesmen, defend me by all means, who am beaten! Ah, me, unhappy that I am, for my head and jaw! Wretch! do you beat your father?

*Pheid.* Yes, father.

*Strep.* You see him owning that he beats me?

*Pheid.* Certainly.

<sup>1</sup> Bronze in the *Cabinet de France*, about two inches in height; No. 2,953 of the *Catalogue*, where it is designated as the Genius of Comedy.

*Strep.* O wretch and parricide and housebreaker!

*Pheid.* Say the same things of me again, and more. Do you know that I take pleasure in being much abused?

*Strep.* You blackguard!

*Pheid.* Sprinkle me with roses in abundance.

*Strep.* Do you beat your father?

*Pheid.* And I will prove too, by Zeus, that I do well to beat you.

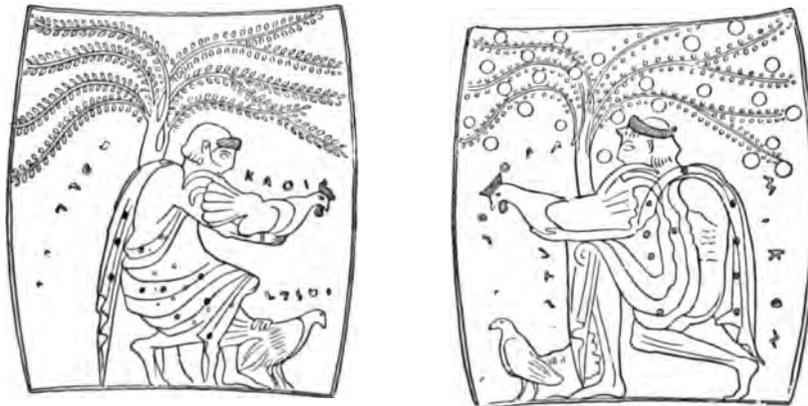
*Strep.* O thou most rascally! Why, how can it be right to beat a father?

*Pheid.* I will demonstrate it, and will overcome you in argument.

*Strep.* Will you overcome me in this?

*Pheid.* Yes, easily and completely. But choose which of the two causes you wish to speak."

Pheidippides goes on to explain that since his father has often beaten him when he was a boy, it is now quite just for him to beat his father. "Was it not a man like you and me," he says, "who made the law for fathers to beat their sons? Why then



COCK-FIGHTING.<sup>1</sup>

shall not I in turn propose a law for sons that they in turn should beat their fathers? As many blows as we received before this law was made, we remit; and we allow ourselves to have been beaten without return. Observe cocks and other animals, how they punish their fathers; and yet in what do they differ from

<sup>1</sup> Painting on a little Athenian vase, in the Museum of Berlin (*Beschreibung*, No. 2,030); from the *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1878, pl. 21, 1. Two men, crouching under a tree, hold each a cock, which they are about to set fighting; at the feet of each man is a hen.

us, except that they do not write decrees?" Reasoning like this was much in favor with the Sophists, though on other subjects, it is true. The old man returns to his senses at last, and recognizes that the Sophists are rascals; he sets off, accompanied by a slave, a torch in one hand, an axe in the other, to tear down the building where Sokrates holds his discourses, and to burn it, with all its inmates.

The affair of Melos showed what progress these doctrines had made, giving in that their natural fruit, — the right of the stronger;



JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE.<sup>1</sup>

and the historian asks himself what could be the patriotism of these new-comers, who, seeing in the past only useless and worn-out ideas, put their individual reason, all armed with specious arguments, in the place of the collective reason of the State, made of the memory of joys and sorrows experienced in common. One of them is known to have said that the law was a tyrant, because it hampered men, — an opposition against the civil law which brought the moral law into danger.<sup>2</sup> Neither Lykourgos nor Solon spoke thus,

and we remember that Pindar calls the law "the queen and empress of the world."

Greece had lived ten centuries under a municipal rule which had given her power, fame, and freedom, with a patriotism narrow, but energetic, before which the Mede had fallen back. And here

<sup>1</sup> Vase-painting (from the *Nuove memoire dell' Instituto*, vol. ii. pl. iv. 4. Justice (ΔΙΚΗ) is about to strike Injustice (ΑΔΙΚΗ), whom she has seized by the throat and thrown upon the ground.

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon, *Mem.*, iv. 4, 14. This Sophist was Hippias, who took for his standard of moral truth that which is admitted by all people, or that which, twenty-two centuries later, Lamennais calls the universal reason of the human race.

were men who sapped the respect due to the law, to the Poliac divinities, to the ancestral faith. These nomads, wandering from city to city in quest of wages, no longer had a country, and they destroyed the love of it in the hearts of those who still had one. The sad effects of this moral revolution, which gave a breadth to ideas, but left the character to bend under every wind of passion, were soon to be felt; before two thirds of a century the inhabitants of these cities, once so keenly alive, will be only the dull subjects of the Macedonian empire. When religion is gone, at least patriotism should be left.

We lay to the charge of the Sophists' teaching faults enough to be obliged to indicate the services it rendered in giving a new direction to philosophic meditations. The physicists of the earlier schools had been occupied only with the *kosmos*; the Sophists acquainted themselves with man, his faculties and his language. Making the mind more acute by their subtleties, they prepared it for more useful labors, and they began the fruitful opposition between the traditional law, which often sanctioned things that were unjust, and the natural law, found only in the

BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

conscience. These services we owe chiefly to the first Sophists, whom we should distinguish from the vendors of words who were their degenerate disciples, because they were philosophers and skilful dialecticians whom Sokrates and Plato respected. Some of them gave expression to thoughts which would not have been challenged by the ancient sages. "All animals," said Protagoras, "have their means of defence; to man, nature has given a sense of justice and a horror of injustice. These are the weapons which protect him, because these natural sentiments aid him in establishing good institutions." To Prodikos is due the beautiful allegory representing Herakles solicited, at the moment of his entrance upon active

<sup>1</sup> Athene seated to the left on a throne; she holds in her left hand a sceptre, and in her right a small Victory, who presents her a wreath. She is helmeted, and her shield is on the ground, leaning against the throne. Legend: ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Athens. Athene Nikephoros.)

<sup>2</sup> Aphrodite on a coin of Eryx. EPYKINON. Aphrodite seated to the left on a throne, and drawing towards herself a nude epebos, who extends his arms to her. Reverse: dog, to the left, with reverted head, and holding under his paws a prostrate hare (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, vol. viii. pl. i. 2)

life, by Virtue and by Pleasure, and deciding to follow the former. Lykophron declares that rank is an imaginary advantage; Alkidamas, that nature does not make freemen and slaves,—a thesis adopted by the later Stoics. Across these doctrines, purified by Sokrates, we get a glimpse of a new world coming into existence. That which the citizen loses, the man is to gain; and the strife between the *jus civitatis* and the *jus gentium* which the Sokratic schools are about to enter upon, will be the history of human progress itself.

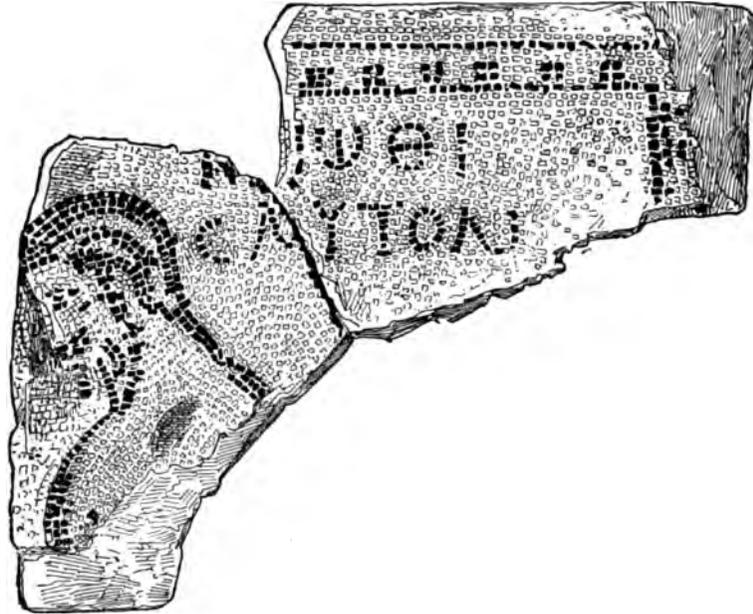
Aristophanes had attacked the sophistic teaching with singular vigor, but without proposing any other remedy than to close the schools of the philosophers and to fall back by three generations. But had he not himself the vices of his time,—immorality and irreligion? The true remedy was not the ignorance of earlier days, it lay in the sound knowledge which one man was bringing forward, and that man was he whom the poet most savagely attacked.

#### IV. — SOKRATES.

SOKRATES was born, in 469 B. C., of a midwife named Phainarete and a sculptor, Sophroniskos. In personal appearance he was very unprepossessing, which helped him early to understand that only moral deformity is really repulsive. It is said that he at first followed his father's art, and Pausanias saw in the citadel of Athens a group representing the Veiled Graces which was attributed to him.<sup>1</sup> Although poor, he early abandoned this art, which possibly he never really followed, and began to study the works and systems of philosophers, his contemporaries or predecessors. These speculative studies did not prevent him from fulfilling those duties which the law laid upon every citizen of Athens; he fought bravely at Potidaia, at Amphipolis, and at Delion. At Potidaia he saved the wounded Alkibiades; at Delion he was one of the last to flee, and narrowly escaped capture. The generals declared that if all the soldiers had done their duty as he did, the battle would

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. II. p. 95, the engraving, and the note on the same page.

not have been lost.<sup>1</sup> Indifferent in respect to what men consider the necessaries of life, he made it his endeavor to have no wants, so that he might be more at liberty; he ate scantily, and went barefoot summer and winter, clad only in a miserable cloak; and the anger of the powerful, the hatred or the applause of the multitude, had no more effect upon his soul than heat or cold



FRAGMENT OF MOSAIC.<sup>1</sup>

upon his body. Being among the judges who sentenced the generals defeated at Arginousai, he refused to conform his opinion to the passions of the crowd. When all gave way before the Thirty, he dared disobey them rather than be guilty of injustice. He lived in poverty, and refused wealth when it was offered him. Alkibiades would gladly have given him lands, Charmides slaves, and the king of Macedon his favor; but he would have none of them.

What then was it which was done by this upright man and valiant citizen to draw upon him so much ill-will from his con-

<sup>1</sup> It has been said that at Delion (424 B. C.) he saved the life of Xenophon; but this is an error, the historian being at that date only seven years old.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment of mosaic discovered in Rome, and now in Verona (from Visconti, *Iconografia greca*, pl. xi. 3). The maxim *Γνῶθι σαυτόν* (Know thyself) is attributed to Chilon, one of the Seven Sages; and this name is suggested by Visconti as appropriate to the head at the left.

temporaries, and so much admiration from posterity? It was this, —Sokrates assumed the duty of releasing the moral sense, round which the Sophists had caused dense clouds to gather. At the enervating and destructive breath of their teaching, everything was endangered. The human mind prided itself upon its most dangerous subtleties, and smothered under a flood of words the voice of the inward monitor which Nature has placed in our souls. In man the Sophist saw only that which pertains to the individual;<sup>1</sup> Sokrates sought that which concerns human nature. On the pediment of the temple at Delphi he had read, "Know thyself;" and it was to him the knowledge above all others. Demosthenes also said later, "The most sacred altars are in the soul."<sup>2</sup> The statesman and the philosopher both spoke wisely; for the knowledge of ourselves reveals to us the gifts which humanity has received, with the obligation to employ them: intellect, to understand the good and the true; freedom, to choose the road leading to them.

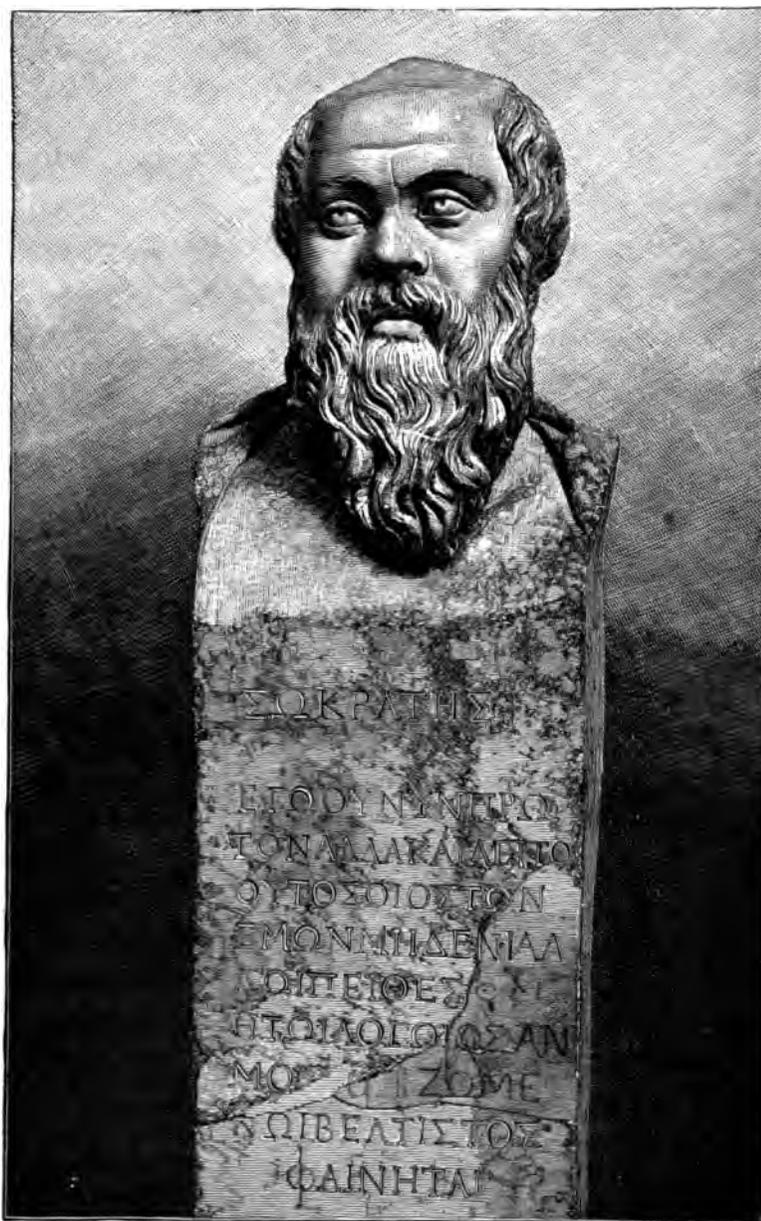
Fascinated by the grandeur of this task, Sokrates turned away from purely speculative doctrines, from the search after first causes, the investigation into the origin and laws of the world, the nature of the elements, and kindred subjects, to meditate upon our duties. He maintained that Nature had placed within our reach all that it was essential for us to know, and that we need only open our souls to read there, in ineffaceable characters, the immutable laws of the good, the true, and even of the beautiful,—those laws which, following Sophokles,<sup>3</sup> he so appropriately called the unwritten laws, *νόμοι ἄγραπτοι*, to which is attached an inevitable sanction by the evils which their violation brings with it. In thus making man the object of study, he created the true philosophy, that science which was destined to bring to view all the treasures of human consciousness; and he discovered at last and placed high above the errors and prejudices and wrongs of time and place natural law,—the one torch which can enlighten the road by which communities advance. Montaigne says well, following Cicero: "Sokrates brought back

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 424, the saying of Protagoras.

<sup>2</sup> *Against Aristogeiton*, i. 35. On the authenticity of this oration see H. Weil, *Revue de philol.* (1882), pp. 1-21.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 42.

human wisdom from the sky, where it wandered idly, and occupied it with man, its proper subject.”<sup>1</sup>



SOKRATES.<sup>2</sup>

In revealing a justice higher than the laws peculiar to indi-

<sup>1</sup> Rabelais also says (v. 22): Sokrates was “the first to bring philosophy down from heaven to earth and to make it useful and profitable, instead of idle and curious.”

<sup>2</sup> Marble hermes in the Museum of Naples (from a photograph). The words of Sokrates

vidual States, Sokrates showed that there is for all communities an ideal towards which they should strive; but he was respectful to the established order, he proclaimed the sacredness of the family tie, and for the mother and the wife he found words which remind one of the virtuous woman of the Bible.<sup>1</sup> His most illustrious scholars condemned manual labor; but he had the courage to say to those who held slaves: "Because a man is free, shall he do nothing but eat and sleep?"

Sokrates has been represented as a profound metaphysician; but the creator of the philosophy of common-sense could not shut



VISIT TO AN HETAIRA.<sup>2</sup>

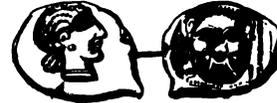
it up within a system. He has also been called a great patriot, and it is thought he proposed to reform the morals of Athens; this is in a degree Plato's idea concerning him. It seems probable that he had no political aims so definite, and that his ambition looked higher. Indifferent to all outside concerns as no Greek had ever yet been, to the point of never willingly going outside of Athens more than once or twice, he concerned himself with man's inner life, and passed his days in watching himself and other men. The work of his life was to gain souls to virtue and truth. Furnished with two powerful

engraved upon the column of the hermes are taken from Plato's *Kriton* (vol. i. p. 46, edit. Didot): *ὡς ἐγὼ οὐ μόνον νῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰεὶ τοιοῦτος, οἷος τῶν ἐμῶν μηδενὶ ἄλλῃ πείθεσθαι ἢ τῷ λόγῳ, ὅς ἂν μοι λεγόμενῳ βέλτιστος φαίνηται.* "It is not a matter of to-day," said Sokrates to Kriton, who advised him to flee, "that I have it as a principle to hear no other voice than that of reason." For the inscription on the hermes, see *Corp. Inscr. Graec.*, No. 6,115.

<sup>1</sup> These sentiments are found in the *Economics*, chap. 7; but this treatise, where the author represents Sokrates as speaking, is thought by some scholars not to be the work of Xenophon.

<sup>2</sup> Comic scene on a painted vase in the British Museum (*Catalogue*, No. 1,490); from the *Jahrbuch des kaiserl. d. arch. Instituts*, vol. i. (1886) p. 293, d. A comic actor seizes by the arm a woman who conceals herself behind her door, her head only being visible. In the case of Theodota, we know from Xenophon (*Memorabilia*, iii. 11, 2) that on the day when she received the visit of Sokrates, she was sitting to an artist for her portrait.

weapons, — a clear and accurate intellect, which made him discover error, and a method of reasoning at once strong and subtle, which surrounded his adversary with a network which could not be broken, — he undertook the task of pursuing the false wherever it showed itself. This mission he fulfilled for forty years, with the faith of an apostle and the pleasure of an artist taking delight in the victories which he gained over presumption and ignorance. Did he not even one day bring Theodota, the beautiful *hetaira*, to understand that there were ways by which she could render her trade more lucrative?<sup>2</sup>

SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>

This teaching at all hours and of all people was neither theoretic nor specially prepared for each occasion; it went on from day to day, in all places and wherever error showed itself. Constantly frequenting the market-place, not to seek a part in the affairs of State, he concerned himself in them only so far as the law required;<sup>3</sup> he was on the watch for all false teaching, to challenge it, to dispute it, to show its worthlessness. There might always be seen walking about the city this man, to whom nature had been so unkind, snub-nosed, with thick lips, with short, heavy neck, obese of figure as a Silenos, with round and prominent eyes, lighted up, however, with genius.<sup>4</sup> Hither and thither he went, sometimes absent-minded, and so lost in thought that he would remain, it is said, twenty-four hours in one spot;<sup>5</sup> more frequently accosting one or another of the passers-by, or entering the shops of artisans, and talking with each on the subject most interesting to him. Conversation was his invariable method. From some simple truth, granted without hesitation by his interlocutors, he made

<sup>1</sup> Masque of Silenos, on a coin of Gaza. Woman's head, right profile. the hair knotted at the back of the neck. Reverse: incused square in which is a large masque of Silenos, front face, and the Phœnician letters  $\text{ϣϣ}$ . (Unpublished.)

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon, *Mem.*, iii. 11. Sokrates often speaks of friendship and of love; "he demands justice and active benevolence towards others, and commends friendship. though his conception of marriage does not rise above that usual to the Greeks" (Zeller, *Outlines of Greek Philosophy*, p. 109 [English translation by S. F. Alleyne]).

<sup>3</sup> On the tendency to evade public duties, see above, p. 57. Anaxagoras had already renounced all social obligations.

<sup>4</sup> See, in Plato's *Symposium*, the speech of Alkibiades.

<sup>5</sup> Legendary exaggeration, serving to indicate that he often remained lost in reflection, so that he took no notice of the exterior world.

them draw unforeseen results, and led them, without appearing to intervene personally, to ideas of which they had not had even a suspicion. His method became celebrated in antiquity under the name of Sokratic irony; it led men to think, and to know that they were thinking rightly. Accordingly he called himself, in memory of his mother's profession, the midwife of the mind,<sup>1</sup> inducing the artisan to form, as of himself, more noble and

PLATO.<sup>2</sup>

rational ideas concerning his work, — the statesman, concerning public affairs; the Sophist, concerning the questions which occupied him. A spice of raillery seasoned all his conversations. Sokrates represented himself to be merely a man in search of truth, — a seeker, as he said; he feigned to have great confidence in the wisdom of his opponent, and to wish to learn from him; by degrees the relative position changed, and he reduced the other to an absurdity or to silence. It was indeed a singular thing that his accusers, the people, and some illustrious Athenians confused him with the Sophists. He resembled them, it is true, in certain methods of discussion; but he had no greater enemies. He delighted in covering them with confusion in the presence of many listeners, for he was never alone. As soon as he appeared, a group gathered around him to see him get the better of those unlucky opponents whose systems and claims he overthrew. A train of

<sup>1</sup> In the *Theaitetos*.

<sup>2</sup> Marble bust in the Vatican (from the *Jahrbuch des kaiserl. d. arch. Instituts*, vol. i., 1886, pl. vi. No. 2). The Museum of Berlin has recently obtained a bust with the inscription ΠΛΑΤΩΝ, which may be considered a portrait of the great philosopher. It presents so much resemblance to the bust on this page that W. Helbig has been able to affirm that the inscription ZHNΩN is false, and that the bust of the Vatican is also a portrait of Plato. S. Reinach has recently brought from Smyrna to the Louvre a bust of Plato which has not hitherto been engraved, of finer workmanship, and which it is possible may be represented later in this work.

young men usually followed him, fascinated by his good sense and his facile and incisive speech: these composed his school; and it was a marked difference between himself and the Sophists that he sought the friendship of his followers, but refused their money.

Sokrates has had for biographer two of his disciples, — Plato and Xenophon: the former a philosopher and a genius, who adds, defines, and interprets much, while the latter, a man of average ability, makes us know the master in his daily life, without understanding the great place he filled, and in his desire to defend his memory from the charge of atheism has been led to represent to us a Sokrates more religious than was the historic person.<sup>1</sup> The *Memorabilia* of Xenophon are a kind of Sokratic gospel; we see the sage in his daily life, as a teacher of good sense, enlightening men as to the beautiful, the good, the just, the useful; deterring from public affairs ignorant youths whose foolish ambition led them thither; on the other hand, urging towards these duties judicious men, whom an exaggerated distrust of their own merits kept in private life, at the same time himself avoiding all official station or dignity. He labored to re-establish harmony everywhere, he reconciled estranged friends, removed quarrels between brothers, and sought to inspire his son with sentiments of filial duty towards Xanthippe herself, although she was to him only a continual occasion for the exercise of patience.<sup>2</sup> This active and practical part of the life of Sokrates seems not less admirable than its speculative side.

<sup>1</sup> This thought, for instance, which is attributed to him (*Mem.*, i. 3), "For himself, he undervalued everything human in comparison with counsel from the gods," is that of a mystic, and could not be the utterance of a dialectician who passed his life in training the human mind to rational action. Plato, in his *Apology*, never represents Sokrates as declaring his belief in the established religion.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that Xanthippe has been misjudged. Sokrates married her, not from affection, but to fulfil the duty imposed on every citizen of Athens to be the father of legitimate children (see Vol. I. p. 552). His wife, upon whom rested the burdens of the household, desired, like any other woman, to have a comfortable home, at least for her children. Sokrates, however, remained poor as a matter of choice. This voluntary poverty, this apparently idle life, were not likely to soothe a naturally impatient temper. Sokrates was one of the men whom humanity has most honored, but he certainly was not a good husband, in the modern sense of the word, nor indeed as it was understood in Athens, where law and custom imposed on every citizen the obligation to labor. See on this subject Vol. II. pp. 610, 626. He himself recognized the justice of this law, while not obedient to it; for he recommends manual labor (*Xenophon, Symposium*, ii. 7). On other points he might be blamed, — as in his singularity of conduct, his pedantry, and indifference to appearances; but I leave this duty to Zeller, *Outlines of Greek Philosophy*, pp. 101–103 [English translation by S. F. Alleyne].

For this speculative side we must have recourse to Plato, since Xenophon shows only the practical sides of the master's doctrine. There had been, before the time of Sokrates, many rational ideas in the world, and that spirit of justice which lies in the depths of our nature had more than once pierced through the thick layer of egoism which covers it. Sokrates was the first to make of morality a science, furnishing men with rules of conduct dependent upon no traditions or customs,—things variable and changeful according to time and place. He sought the rock on which morality must rest; and having found it in the human conscience and a recognition of the dignity of human nature, he deduced thence, by severe reasoning,

SOKRATES.<sup>1</sup>BRONZE COIN.<sup>2</sup>

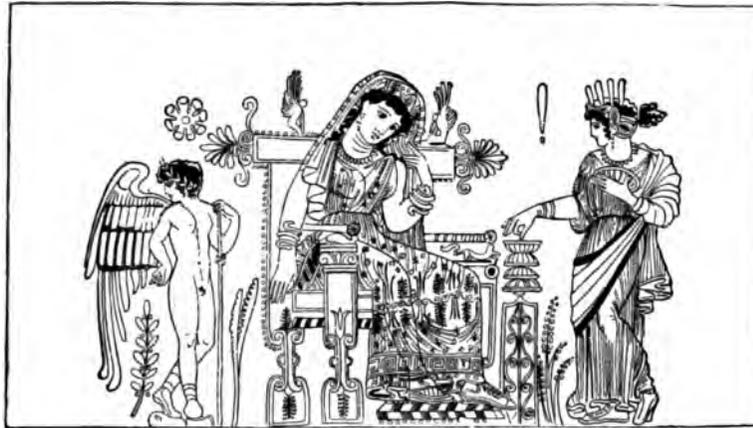
our ethical obligations. To Sokrates, the just man was he who understood what the association with our kind imposes upon us, and the wise man he who was able to avoid evil and do good; so that all virtues depended on a perfect knowledge of things, and wisdom was knowledge applied, consequently a virtue exclusively belonging to the intellectual aristocracy.<sup>3</sup> Twenty centuries before Descartes he announced the Cartesian principle that there is no ignorance more shameful than to admit as true that which one does not understand, and that there is no advantage so great as that of being set free from an error. These things are always true, and the genuine democracy understood them when it made public instruction one of the essential conditions of its existence.

<sup>1</sup> Engraved stone of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2,038 of the *Catalogue*.

<sup>2</sup> Symbol of the goddess Kotytto, on a coin of Tereus, king of Thrace (?). *THPEΩ*. The *bipenna* seems rather to be the symbol of Dionysos, like the vine on the reverse of the coin. Reverse: in an incused square, a vine-stock curled around the trunk of a tree (*Trésor de Numismatique. Rois grecs*, pl. iv. fig. 6).

<sup>3</sup> The Sokratic doctrine is summed up in this proposition: virtue is knowledge, — a doctrine in its essence extremely aristocratic, since knowledge is the lot of but a few, and hence in express opposition to the principles of the Athenian constitution. While Sokrates never violated the law nor advised others to do so, he certainly attacked constantly its spirit. It has even been asserted that he was displeased at the equality between citizens, the lack of severity in the relations of father and son, of husband and wife, of Athenians and strangers, of masters and slaves, — all things which are highly valued by us in the legislation of Solon, and give Athens its peculiar historical position. Cf. J. Denis, *Histoire des théories et des idées morales dans l'antiquité*, i. 89.

Whether as a concession to the frailties of the period and a means of gaining more disciples, or from his own incapacity to rise to the higher ideal, Sokrates often represented utility as the end of knowledge. While it is true that he says, "We should never injure even those who injure us, or return evil for evil," and many other generous words, his morality is very much like self-interest well understood, — which, indeed, is not exclusive of ideas



APHRODITE WEeping FOR ADONIS.<sup>1</sup>

of devotion and self-sacrifice. In carrying to a great height the feeling of the dignity of the soul,<sup>2</sup> in maintaining that the upright man cannot endure a strain upon his conscience, Sokrates laid the foundations of the temple in which the Stoics at a later day installed their laic religion, — a faith which has had so many illustrious disciples.

How was it possible that this just man should have been condemned to the fate of traitors and murderers? There were three counts in the charge against him: Sokrates did not recognize the

<sup>1</sup> Vase-painting (from Millingen, *Peintures de vases*, pl. 41; Heydemann, *Vasensammlung des Museo Nazionale zu Neapel*, No. 2,900). Aphrodite seated in the centre, on a richly ornamented throne. Peitho, the goddess of persuasion, at the right, and Eros, at the left, strive to console her. The name given to the seated figure is conjectural, and the motive of her grief is still more obscure. Aphrodite had other causes for tears besides the death of Adonis. See also *History of Rome*, vii. 500, 506.

<sup>2</sup> He carries this so far that he recognizes something divine in it: ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀνθρώπου γε ψυχῇ, ἢ εἴπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ θεοῦ μετέχει (Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, iv. 3, 14).

Rome in the time of Lucretius, who wrote his daring poem for the pleasure of young men of rank, the corrupting cults of Asia and of Egypt were creeping in through all the lower strata of society. In France the *Convulsionnaires* were contemporary with La Mettrie; in Athens, while Alkibiades or his friends scoff at the Mysteries, and Aristophanes robs the gods of the government of the world, many men, tired of their former protectors, who no longer protect them, accept the sensual divinities brought by the innumerable foreigners who crowded into Peiraieus, — a Thracian goddess, Kotytto; a Phrygian god, Sabazios; the Syrian Adonis; and “the Great Mother,” Kybele, whose shameless priests begged in the streets, or made their way into houses, carrying their goddess on a board. They explained dreams, sold amulets, and were rivals of the soothsayers in exciting the curiosity of those who, no longer knowing what to believe, clung to religious charlatans, who poured out to them the intoxication of the supernatural.<sup>2</sup> Men were abandoning the former rites, — some for the sake of the few noble ideas they could discover in the new cults, the greater number for the license of the orgiastic religions of the East, the sor-

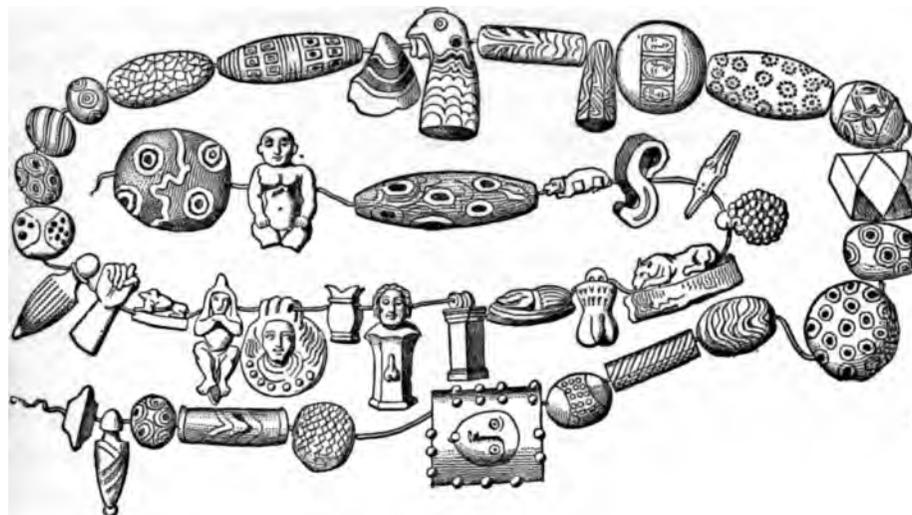
KYBELE.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Statuette of Parian marble, found in 1855 in Peiraieus, in the ruins of the temple of the Mother of the Gods, and now in the Museum of the Louvre (Frohner, *Notice de la sculpture antique*, No. 540). The goddess has the *polos* on her head, and sits in a chair with a very high back. Her left hand rests on a tympanon, or tambourine; at her right is a lion.

<sup>2</sup> See in Aristophanes, *The Wasps*, 1019, the ventriloquist diviners, and in Demosthenes, *Concerning the False Embassy*, 200, what is said of Aischines and his mother, and of Sabazios, “the noisy flute-player,” whose nocturnal cult favored license in conduct.

tilege of pious jugglers, and the pretended revelations of the Orphic oracles.<sup>1</sup>

From an early period a right to form brotherhoods prevailed in Athens.<sup>2</sup> Each divinity had a corresponding fraternity, which per-



NECKLACE OF AMULETS.<sup>3</sup>

formed the religious rites of the particular cult. Athenian citizens alone could share in them; but as the custom was established,

<sup>1</sup> For the *ὄρφεοτελεσταί*, see Vol. II. p. 378. Mysticism is itself a first revolt of the religious sentiment, which in the end leads the multitude to new gods, and philosophers to new systems; for, quite unconsciously, it is the precursor of rationalism. Upon the introduction into Greece of foreign cults, and upon *Orphism*, see Maury, iii. 191-337, J. Girard, *Le Sentiment religieux en Grèce*. pp. 207-247; and on the organization of societies called *ἐρανοί* and *θιασοί*, the paper of Foucart *Des Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*. He reaches the same conclusions as to the fatal influence of this religious dissipation. An invasion of frequently shameful superstitions was an endemic evil in Greece and in the Roman Empire. Foucart says on this subject: "Persons of weak mind, the superstitious, those instigated by evil passions, found much more attraction in the disorderly rites of the Thiasos than in the regular official cult" (*Ibid.*, p. 186). For the island of Rhodes alone and its colonies, Wescher (*Recherches épigraph.*, pp. 12 and 13) has given a list of nineteen religious bodies having sanctuaries of their own for their ceremonies. Thus there were in Greece four different cults: at the domestic hearth; in the temples; in the celebration of the Mysteries; and in these chapels of brotherhoods. See also a curious inscription from Laureion in Reinach's *Épigraphie grecque*.

<sup>2</sup> Caillemer, *Le droit de société à Athènes*, p. 11. The same custom prevailed throughout Greece.

<sup>3</sup> Necklace found in a tomb at Kertsch, in the Crimea, and now in the Museum of St. Petersburg (from the *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, fig. 310). This is a collection of emblems which serve as amulets; there are animals, a lion, a frog, a cock's head, a scarabæus, a hand snapping its fingers, crouching figures, and a number of stones or glass globes set with eyes and various grotesque designs, which give them their magical virtue.

foreigners took advantage of it to form associations for religious purposes, — *thiasoi*, *eranoi*, *orgia*, — into which were admitted women, freedmen, and even slaves.<sup>1</sup>



THE ARCHIGALLOS, OR CHIEF PRIEST OF KYBELE.<sup>2</sup>

In these promiscuous gatherings many unwholesome trades were carried on, degrading both to mind and body; it was an active solvent for the whole city. There was indeed a law punishing with death those introducing strange gods;<sup>3</sup> but these divinities

<sup>1</sup> This principle of equality, without distinction of race or social condition, was to make its way in men's minds when, under the protection of the Athenian law, now become the law of Rome, the *collegia* spread through all the provinces of the Empire; and it was to the protection of this ancient law that the Christian communities owed their first legal existence. See *History of Rome*, vi. 94 and vii. 23.

<sup>2</sup> The archigallos, or chief of the Galli, priests of Kybele, half length, veiled, seated on a throne adorned with two griffins. (Cameo on agate of two layers, of the *Cabinet de France*. 9 cent. by 7. *Catalogue*, No. 123.)

<sup>3</sup> Demosthenes, or the author of the oration *Against Aristogeiton*, 79, speaks of a woman of Lemnos put to death, with all her kindred, for the crime of magic. Aristophanes (*Clouds*, 740) mentions the Thessalian magicians who can enchant the moon and were so famous among the Romans. See Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*.

came in so humbly and lived so long in the shade that the official world either despised them or was not aware of their presence.



MARBLE STELA AT LESBOS.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, to put the law in force it was needful that a citizen should undertake the dangerous duty of accusation. But under

<sup>1</sup> From Conze, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos*, pl. 19. Sacrifice offered by the priestess of a *thiasos*, and banquet of the members. Above the decree engraved in honor of the priestess are two bas-reliefs. "The first represents a sacrifice offered to the two divin-

the stroke of public disaster, intolerance revived. The sacerdotal families, through hereditary piety, and that the credit which they owed to their religious functions might not be at all impaired, came

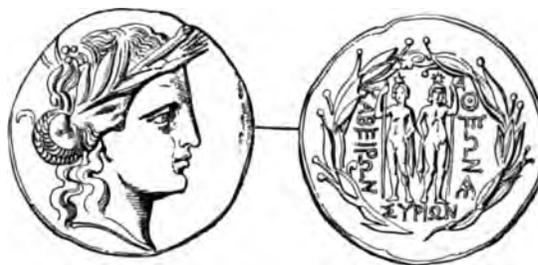


BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>

to an understanding, in the interest of avenging their gods, with the conservative party, whom innovations alarmed; and, unfortunately, the Athenian law authorized a prosecution for impiety, *ἀσέβεια*, with a penalty of death, confiscation, and even the deprivation of sepulture, which was a second death.<sup>2</sup>

Before the war Anaxagoras and Diogenes of Apollonia were the only victims; since the pestilence, condemnations had been numerous. At Samothrace Diagoras of Melos

had escaped from the anger of the Kabeiroi, but at Athens he was prosecuted for having divulged the Mysteries of the Great Goddesses, and the State offered a talent to the man who should kill him, and two talents to any one



DEMETER AND THE KABEIROI.<sup>3</sup>

who should deliver him up to justice. Protagoras, a friend of Perikles, being condemned for atheism, was able to make his escape, but perished by shipwreck, and his books were publicly

burnt. The first bas-relief represents the Mysteries of the *thiasos* by the priestess Stratonike. At the right of the altar and the tree stands Apollo Kithairedos, clad in a long robe, holding a lyre in the left hand and a patera in the right; next to him is represented Kybele, with her characteristic pose and attributes; she is seated, wearing the modios, her left hand resting on a tympanon, and holding in her right hand a patera; the lion is seated beside her. On the left of the altar a boy is leading up a lamb; a female musician plays the double-flute. Behind them, the priestess, standing, turns towards the divinities; she is wrapped in a long garment which rests on the back of her head; only her right hand is free, and raised in a gesture of adoration" (Foucart, *Des Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, p. 238). In the second bas-relief is represented the banquet which follows the sacrifice; men and women (*θιασῖται καὶ θιασῖτιδες*) take part in it. Boys wait on them, and flute-players, seated at the left, perform on their instruments.

<sup>1</sup> The eight Phœnician Kabeiroi. Reverse of a bronze coin of Berytos, with the effigy of Elagabalus. Legend: COL. IVL. BER. (*Colonia Julia Berytus*.) The statues of the eight Kabeiroi; in the exergue, a galley.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. II. p. 663, note 3, the decree of Diopithes.

<sup>3</sup> Head of Demeter, crowned with wheat-ears. Right profile. Reverse: ΘΕΩΝ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΩΝ ΣΥΡΙΩΝ; the Dioskouroi-Kabeiroi, standing, leaning on their spears, a star over the head of each; in the field the letter A, mint-mark. The whole in a laurel-wreath. (Tetra drachm, attributed to Tripolis, in Phœnicia.)

burned. His disciple, Prodikos of Keos, in his beautiful allegory *Herakles at the Cross-roads*, placed happiness in virtue, and not in pleasure; but the gods were to him a creation of the human race, divinizing the objects of their terror and of their gratitude, and on this account Athens condemned him to drink the hemlock.<sup>1</sup> The mutilation of the *hermai* will be remembered, the profound anxiety caused in the city, and the grave prosecution which followed. Now against this intolerance Sokrates made a bold attack.

In his judgment there were two kinds of knowledge, — that which men can acquire, and that which the gods reserve to themselves;<sup>2</sup> and this distinction exists forever, for no thinker has yet been able to penetrate into the unknowable. But in all ages, out of this domain reserved to the gods have been made to come revelations through oracles, prophets,



BRONZE COIN.<sup>3</sup>

or divine representatives upon earth. Sokrates, though despising, like Homer's Hektor,<sup>4</sup> omens drawn from the flight of birds, believed that recourse might be had to oracles, on condition that they were consulted only as to matters inaccessible to the mind, — such as the future, which is the secret of the gods;<sup>5</sup> and this reservation saved the rights of the human reason, leaving it at liberty to interpret the obscure responses of the priests to questions which were within its sphere. He also believed that secret communications were made to the souls of those whom the divinity favored. He thought that he himself received many of these supernatural communications; and these secret impulses of his mind appeared to him the work of

<sup>1</sup> At an earlier period Aischylos had been accused of impiety (Aristotle, *Ethika Nikomacheia*, iii. 3). Aristotle himself was incriminated on this point. Religious anger is so implacable that among the gentlest people in Greece we read of citizens condemned to death for having pulled up a shrub in a sacred grove, or having killed a bird consecrated to Asklepeios. A child who had picked up a gold leaf which had fallen from the wreath of Artemis was put to death, if we may believe Ælian (*Hist. var.*, v. 14, 17).

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon, *Apology, init.*, and *Memor.*, i. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Coin of Thyateira, in Lydia. ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΗΝ ΔΟΥΛΙΑΣΤΕΙΣ; head of Zeus Serapis, right profile. Reverse: ΕΠΙ ΜΟΥΧΙΑΝΟΥ ΘΥΑΤΕΙ[ΡΗΝ]; the serpent Agathodeimon rearing its head.

<sup>4</sup> See Vol. I. p. 422.

<sup>5</sup> Xenophon, *Apology, init.*

a "daimon," who restrained him when he was about to do what he ought not.<sup>1</sup> In this daimon, to whom Sokrates listened with so much docility, we recognize only the unconscious revelations of a moral sense developed by the most constant application, and taking place within him without his being aware of the momentary action which produced them.<sup>2</sup>

All the great religions have promised supernatural protectors. *Fravashis* in Persia, good genii of Greece, guardian angels of the



THE GOOD DAIMON AND GOOD FORTUNE.<sup>3</sup>

Christian nations, — they have all had their birth from the same sentiment of piety and of poetry. We have already heard the voice of the daimon in the *Iliad* of Homer and in the *Theogony* of Hesiod; we listen to it again in the old faith which gave the living for protectors their dead kindred purified by funeral rites.<sup>4</sup> Philosophers

<sup>1</sup> . . . ἀεὶ ἀποτρέπει με τοῦτο ὃ ἂν μέλλω πράττειν. προτρέπει δὲ οὐποτε (Plato, *Apology*, 31). He says, or Plato represents him as saying, in the *Phaidros*, 20: μαντικόν γέ τι καὶ ἡ ψυχῆ, "there is in the soul a prophetic virtue."

<sup>2</sup> How far did the idea of Sokrates go on the subject of the daimon? Some have made him an insane person, others the victim of hallucination or of somnambulism; I am still of the opinion given in the text, — an opinion written forty years ago. And this is only what is said in Plutarch's treatise *On the Daimon of Sokrates*, and by Marcus Aurelius in his *Thoughts*, v. 27. "To each of us Zeus has given for our guidance a daimon, part of his own divinity, which is no other than intelligence and reason."

<sup>3</sup> Votive bas-relief in the Central Museum of Athens (L. von Sybel, *Katalog*, No. 6,740); from Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, No. 109, pl. 26. The good daimon (ἀγαθὸς δα[ίμων]) is represented as a bearded man, standing; he holds in his arms a cornucopia. Good fortune ([ἀγ]α[θῆ] τύχη) is standing, and seems to be looking at the daimon; with the right hand she is holding her garment about her head. The name of the third divinity has not been preserved to us.

<sup>4</sup> See Vol. I. p. 383.

accepted it when, to conceal or to justify doctrines which might else have been regarded as hostile to the national religion, they invested these daimons with functions which formerly belonged to the gods.<sup>1</sup> The *Golden Verses*, which were current everywhere,



BOREAS AND OREITHYIA.<sup>2</sup>

peopled the air with these visitants of heaven and earth; Pythagoras had taught that the virtuous man owed to them his wisdom; and Plato, in the *Symposium* and in the *Phaido*, affirms what Menander repeats later, that each man has his special daimon. "These daimons fill," he says, "the space which separates heaven from earth, and are the bond uniting the great Whole. The divinity never entering into direct communication with man, it is by the agency of daimons that the gods converse with him, in wakeful or sleeping hours of the night." Other passages, scattered through his books, explain that which, with a little mys-

ticism and much prudence, he enveloped in theological veils. "We must listen," he says, "to right reason, which is the voice of God speaking in our souls."<sup>3</sup>

The multitude gave a much more material form to the belief in daimons, which has always, with more or less intensity, made part of the moral life of the Hellenes. Hence there could have been

<sup>1</sup> Thus Empedokles, to explain the existence of evil upon the earth, substituted the action of evil daimons for the Divine Envy, the ancient and formidable Nemesis.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment of a vase-painting (from Gerhard, *Etruskische und Kampanische Vasenbilder*, pl. 26). Boreas (BORAS) carries away Oreithyia (OREIΘ[ua]) to the right. The god has wings on his shoulders and winglets on his ankles. The wind lifts his hair and puffs out the garments of the young girl, who vainly stretches out her hands to her companions. See in Vol. I. p. 215, the same subject.

<sup>3</sup> Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, *Morale d'Aristote*, i. 51.

nothing surprising at Athens in the claim openly made by Sokrates of being in communication with a daimon. The accusation that he regarded himself as having a special daimon, served as a pretext to the devotees of the old faith and to the vulgar crowd; but it was only in its combination with another charge, namely, of disavowing the gods of the city, that it became really serious. Athens, like every other Greek city, had a State religion, so that the crime of impiety was a political crime; and we have seen what penalties it involved.

In his daily life, Sokrates was careful not to be disrespectful towards the national cult. He sacrificed at the public altars and in



his own house; he admitted the value of the oracles as rules of life; he even had some slight faith in omens; while yet he did not think the instinct of unreasoning animals was a surer guarantee of truth than words inspired by the philosophic Muse.<sup>3</sup> To those who questioned him as to the manner of honoring the gods, he was accustomed to reply: "Follow the customs of your country;"<sup>4</sup> and he, who was eager for discussion upon every other topic, avoided it on questions like these. It was asked of him what he thought of the legend of Boreas and Oreithyia.

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Larinum. Bearded head of Herakles, in the lion's skin, right profile. Reverse: in Oscan, LAΔINOD; centaur galloping to the right, holding on his shoulder a branch of a tree. In the exergue, three globules, — mark of the *triens*.

<sup>2</sup> Helmeted head of Pallas, left profile; under it, two mint-marks; behind it, the head of Pan, front face. Reverse: Pegasus flying to the left; under the horse, the koppa, initial of the name of Corinth.

<sup>3</sup> Plato, in the *Philebos*.

<sup>4</sup> Xenophon, *Symposium*, iv. 3. Plato also often repeats, in the *Republic* and in the *Laws*, that it is proper to leave to the gods the work of regulating by their oracles all that concerns their worship. In the *Epinomis*, this great innovator again says that the legislator ought not to change the sacrifices established by tradition, inasmuch as he knows nothing about these things, which are completely above mortal knowledge. "It is Apollo," he says elsewhere, "who has established the worship which must be rendered to gods, daimons, and heroes. Seated upon the *omphalos*, the centre of the earth, he directs men on all these subjects," — which does not prevent him from saying, in his book iv. of the *Laws*: "Religious ceremonies have no virtue except so far as the participant has a pure conscience."

lovers of wisdom *cannot help* saying to one another and thinking. . . . This is the *hope* with which I depart.”<sup>1</sup>

Uncertainties like these touching the future life were diametrically opposed to the popular faith; and the reserve of this language was in accordance with the tone of his philosophy. He hoped, but with no demonstration of his hope: a wise distinction between faith and reason. But when we see what his doubts were, it is easy to understand that the great adversary of the Sophists, no less than the Sophists themselves, prepared the way for scepticism.

Vainly, therefore, did he speak of a Sovereign Power, so often use the words “God,” “the gods,” “the divinity,” even sincerely admit the inferior gods and daimons, — the popular instinct was not deceived; in a system like his there was no room for the vulgar theology, for those weaknesses, those contests, and those vices of the masters of Olympos which made justifiable the weaknesses and vices of their worshippers.

What also can we think of these words?

“Piety, Euthyphro, is an art which gods and men have of doing business with one another. Tell me what benefit accrues to the gods from our gifts? That they are the givers of every good to us, is clear; but how we can give any good thing to them in return, is far from being equally clear. If they give everything and we give nothing, that must be an affair of business in which we have very greatly the advantage of them.”<sup>2</sup>

And again, —

“How could the gods have more regard to our offerings than to our souls? If it were so, the most guilty could secure divino favor. But no; there are none truly righteous but those who, in word and act, do what they ought towards the gods and towards men.”

This was the very opposite of the national faith.<sup>3</sup> It was with justice, then, that Sokrates was accused of attacking polytheism.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Phaido* [English translation by B. Jowett, i. 407, 411].

<sup>2</sup> Ἐμπορικὴ . . . τέχνη ἢ δαιμόνης θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις παρ’ ἀλλήλων. These words are in the *Euthyphro* (ch. xviii.) of Plato. If not the exact language of Sokrates, it is at least perfectly harmonious with his teaching and belief. The other quotation is from *The Second Alkibiades*.

<sup>3</sup> Not long after, Bion the Borysthenite, failing to understand the great moral law of the solidarity of the generations, in which the ancients believed, says that the gods, in punishing the children of a guilty man, are more foolish than a physician treating a son or grandson for the malady of a father or grandfather (Stobaios, *Fragment of Bion*).

<sup>4</sup> The act of accusation read: ἀδικεῖ Σωκράτης οὐδὲ ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων (Xenophon, *Memor.*, i. 1).

But was this a crime? In our eyes, surely not; to his contemporaries, yes: for not to share the general faith has always been, to those who believed it, equivalent to total scepticism.

The third count in the accusation had most effect upon the minds of the judges. Sokrates, like all the philosophers of his time, was hostile to democracy. To his lessons were imputed the immorality and crimes of Kritias,<sup>1</sup> the cruellest of the Thirty Tyrants, who maintained that religion was an invention of legislators for procuring order in cities; of Charmides, one of his colleagues in the evil commission; of Theramenes, another of the Thirty; of Alkibiades, twice a traitor to his country. He was reproached with saying often that it was "madness to let a bean decide the choice of the heads of the republic, while no one would draw lots for a pilot or for an architect." "Kings and commanders," he said at another time, "are not those who hold sceptres merely, or those elected by the multitude, or those who gain authority by lot, or those who attain it by violence or deceit, but those who know how to command."<sup>2</sup> There is another saying of his, or attributed to him, beautiful also in the philosophic sense, but very offensive in a city where patriotism was at a great height, owing to a bitter war: "I am not an Athenian, I am a citizen of the world;"<sup>3</sup> and he taught his disciples that the most important matter for each man was his own moral perfection, and not a care for public interests. "Harbors and arsenals and fortifications and tributes," Plato, in the *Gorgias*, represents him as saying, "are but frivolities, (*φλυαριῶν*)." This abandonment of social activity was to relinquish those ideas which for centuries had made the life of the State, — ideas which we meet again in the manly words of him who was the last Athenian. "To desert the post held by our ancestors is the basest of crimes," says Demosthenes.<sup>5</sup>

SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 425-426.

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Metapontum. Head of Nike, right profile; under it, NIKAI. Reverse: a hermes, side view, head wearing a petasos; before it, a wheat-ear. In the field the letter M, initial of the name Metapontum.

<sup>3</sup> Xenophon, *Mem.*, iii. 9, 10: . . . ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπισταμένους ἀρχεῖν.

<sup>4</sup> Cicero, *Tusculanes*, v. 37.

<sup>5</sup> *Oration upon the Liberty of the Rhodians*, ad fin.

Although Sokrates had in two instances disobeyed the Thirty, he had probably been placed in the list of the Three Thousand, — another offence to those who had overthrown the Tyrants. The affair of the *hermai* was remembered, where those who had thus insulted the gods seemed to be also conspirators against the democracy; and its most zealous defenders now recognized that there were in his words too little regard and respect for the laws of the State.

Anytos, a tanner, a man of influence on account of his wealth, a zealous partisan of democracy, and lately persecuted by the Thirty, was the principal accuser. Sokrates had offended this man by influencing his son not to follow his father's trade. Meletos, a miserable poet, and the rhetorician Lykon aided Anytos in his prosecution. The tribunal was that of the heliasts; five hundred and fifty-nine members were present. Lysias, the greatest orator of the time, offered to conduct the defence; but Sokrates refused, and pleaded his own cause, with the pride of a man who, at seventy years of age, would make but little effort to save his life, whether attacked by accusers or by disease. To the accusation of not believing in the gods worshipped by the republic, and of introducing new divinities, the sage replied that he had never ceased to worship the gods of his country, and offer them sacrifices in his own house and on the public altars; and that he had been often heard to advise his friends to consult the oracles and to interrogate the augurs. But when he spoke of his daimon, tumultuous opposition manifested itself in the assembly. Men were ready to admit a vague intervention from this source in the affairs of men; this was a matter of tradition. But they were shocked at the thought of a man's having in his service a familiar spirit who guided him in all the acts of life. This claim to be in permanent communication with the gods appeared sacrilegious, and to a democracy but just escaped from an oligarchy, the claim of a privilege so contrary to equality it seemed could only come from one friendly to those nobles who had recently been overthrown. Fifty-four years after the death of Sokrates Aischines attributed his condemnation to his political opinions.<sup>1</sup>

After having acknowledged with satisfaction the divinity whom he regarded as his guide, Sokrates continued: "I am about to offend

<sup>1</sup> *Against Tim.*, 173.

much more by reminding you that the Pythia has proclaimed me the most just and wise of men." And as if he took pleasure in further exasperating his judges, by praising a Spartan, he added that Apollo had placed Lykourgos much higher still. Under the second charge, his character made answer for him, and he called upon the fathers of the youth he was said to have corrupted to come forward



SEPULCHRAL CHAMBERS AT ATHENS.<sup>1</sup>

and testify against him. He passed rapidly over all that concerned public affairs, and ending by swearing that he would disobey, were he acquitted on condition of abandoning the mission he had received for doing good to Athens; namely, that of seeking wisdom for himself and for others. "We ought," he said, "to obey God rather than men,"<sup>2</sup>—a very serious utterance, one authorizing all revolts and breaking the social tie, which is made from obedience to the laws of the community. Who, indeed, after this great example, would not be tempted to place himself above all law, in virtue of inner revelations? Evidently Sokrates considered this, as Xenophon

<sup>1</sup> From a photograph. These excavations in the rock to which has been given the name of the Prison of Sokrates are in the northwest slope of the hill of the Mousaion, on the southwest of the Akropolis. See the plan of Athens, Vol. I., facing p. 550.

<sup>2</sup> Plato. *Apology*.

says, a most appropriate time to end his life. Two hundred and eighty-one votes, against two hundred and seventy-eight, declared him guilty. Had two of his judges voted otherwise, he would have been acquitted. But it would not have been appropriate for a man who had raised so high the moral dignity of human nature to abase himself to the means employed by ordinary persons accused of crime to win over their judges. He was willing that his death should be the sanction of his life; and in his defence it was less to his judges than to posterity that he spoke.

It remained to fix the penalty; Meletos proposed death; Sokrates said, —

“Athenians, for this entire consecration of myself to the service of my country, for my incessant endeavor to make my fellow-citizens virtuous, for having neglected, to this end, domestic affairs, employments, dignities, I sentence myself to be fed at the public expense in the Prytaneion for the remainder of my life.”<sup>1</sup>

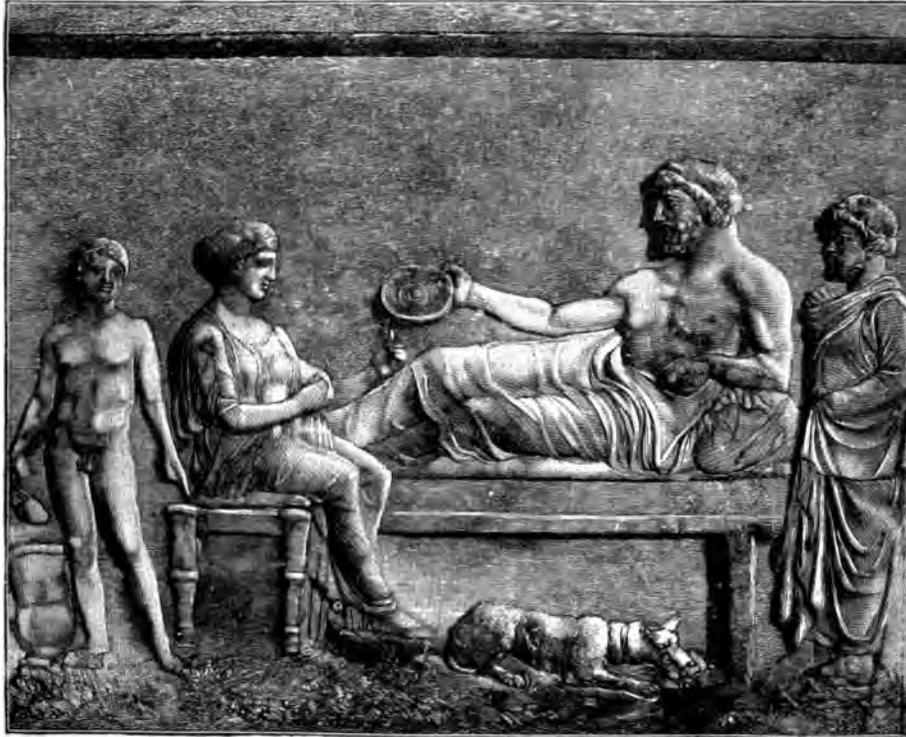
Upon this eighty judges, displeased by his haughty tone, united with the two hundred and eighty-one and voted death.

His last words to the judges, according to Plato's *Apology*, show a serenity that Cato of Utica, about to die by his own hand, sought to derive for himself from the *Phaido*:—

“One of two things is true,” he says, “either death is a state of nothingness and utter unconsciousness, or, as men say, there is a change and migration of the soul from this world to another. Now, if you suppose that there is no consciousness, but a sleep like that of him who is undisturbed even by dreams, then to die is gain, for eternity is only a single night. But if death is the journey to another place, and there, as men say, all the dead are, what good can be greater than this? If, indeed, when the pilgrim arrives in the world below, he is delivered from the professors of justice in this world, and finds the true judges who are said to give judgment there, Minos and Rhadamanthos, and Aiakos and Triptolemos, and other sons of God who were righteous in their own life, that pilgrimage will be worth making. What would not a man give if he might converse with Orpheus and Mousaios and Hesiod and Homer? . . . Above

<sup>1</sup> In all prosecutions where the law itself did not fix the penalty, the accuser proposed one, and the condemned person had a right to propose another. Sokrates at first demanded to be fed in the Prytaneion; then, which was of less proud a tone, to be fined one mina, which, though he was poor, he could pay, or thirty minai, which his friends offered to pay for him (Plato, *Apology*, 26 and 28).

all, I shall be able to continue my search into true and false knowledge, as in this world, so also in that; I shall find out who is wise, and who pretends to be wise and is not. . . . Wherefore, O judges, be of good cheer about death, and know this of a truth, that no evil can happen to a good man, either in life or after death. He and his are not neglected



ATHENIAN BAS-RELIEF.<sup>1</sup>

by the gods; nor has my own approaching end happened by mere chance. But I see clearly that to die and be released was better for me. . . . For which reason, also, I am not angry with my accusers or my condemners; they have done me no harm, although neither meant to do me any good; and for this I may gently blame them. . . . We go our ways, I to die, you to live; which is better, God only knows.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief, known as the “Death of Sokrates,” in the Central Museum of Athens (L. von Sybel, *Katalog*, No. 325); from a photograph. This belongs to the very numerous class of funeral banquets; it represents an offering to the dead man, who is reclining on a couch and holds out a patera to his wife, seated at his feet; a boy, standing at the left, is about to dip a vessel into a krater. At the right is a person in an attitude of adoration. The wife, the boy, and the worshipper are there to serve the dead and offer him food, which he may require even in the tomb.

<sup>2</sup> Ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἤδη ὥρα ἀπιέναι ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀποθανομένῳ ὑμῖν δὲ βιωσομένοις (Plato, *Apology*, *ad fin.*). [Jowett’s Eng. trans., i. 355, 356.] As usual, the prosecution had lasted but a single day.

Sokrates remained thirty days in prison under the guard of the Eleven,<sup>1</sup> waiting the return of the *theoria* which had been sent to Delos; for during the time of this pilgrimage it was unlawful to execute sentence of death. He passed this time in versifying the Fables of Aisop, and especially in conversing with his friends on the highest subjects of philosophy, — the immortality of the soul, and a future life better than this. On the day before the sacred vessel was to arrive at Athens, Krito, one of his disciples, offered him the means of escape into Thessaly. He refused, appealing to the laws of the country, and the moral obligation laid upon every citizen legally condemned to accept the punishment decreed by his judges. The last day came. Sokrates devoted the whole of it to the conversation which Plato gives us in the *Phaido*. At sunset the hemlock was brought him;<sup>2</sup> he drank it, firm and serene, amid his weeping friends, while even the jailer himself shed tears. When the chill of death was beginning to gain the upper part of his body, Sokrates said, with a half-smile, sceptical, but not contemptuous:<sup>3</sup> “Krito, I owe a cock to Asklepeios; will you remember to pay the debt?” He wished to say that this death was freeing him from the ills of life, and that he ought to manifest his gratitude for it to the healing god. Shortly after, a slight movement of his body showed that the soul was leaving it (May or June, 399 B. C.).

The disciples of Sokrates, alarmed for their own safety, fled to Megara and other cities. They carried with them his doctrines,

<sup>1</sup> Ten magistrates, one from each tribe, chosen by lot, and the jailer, formed the college of the Eleven, who kept guard over prisoners.

<sup>2</sup> It was the custom not to put a man to death during the day, — a custom based on a very Greek sentiment, to which Lamartine alludes in his beautiful lines, —

*Mais la loi défendait qu'on leur ôtât la vie  
Tant que le doux soleil éclairait l'Ionie;  
De peur que ses rayons, eux vivants destinés,  
Par des yeux sans regards ne fussent profanés.*

We have repeatedly referred to the idea that the gods could not look upon a dead person.

<sup>3</sup> *Phaido* [English translation, p. 468]. Sokrates was a voluntary martyr to free thought and universal morals. There soon came a reaction in Athens; the Sophist Polykrates having justified the condemnation of Sokrates, his writing produced indignation. Cf. Diogenes Laertius, ii. 38; Suidas, s. v. Πολυκράτης.

NOTE. — On opposite page is represented a bas-relief discovered in the enclosure of the temple of Asklepeios at Athens; from a photograph. Cf. P. Girard, *L'Asclépiion d'Athènes*, pl. 3. Asklepeios is standing, leaning on a long staff; behind him are two of his daughters. Before him are the worshippers and a table covered with offerings; there remains only one end of the table, on which objects, probably of food, are discernible. Cf. the bas-relief of Thyreia, above, p. 270.



EX-VOTO TO ASKLEPIOS.



illuminating all the countries where the Greek race dwelt, and stirring men's minds even among the dull Boiotians, according to the testimony of one of their own number. Varied as the man himself, the study of whom is their common point of departure, these doctrines were the origin of various systems. All the schools, all the philosophic activity of the world, are due to Sokrates; this man, condemned at the instance of the tanner Anytos, is the founder of Athens' second empire, — the empire of thought.

<sup>1</sup> Funeral genius, winged, nude, holding in the right hand his inverted torch: in the left hand, which is raised to his head, he held an object which has disappeared, — perhaps the butterfly,  $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ . The torch is broken off. (Bronze statuette of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,042.)



FUNERAL GENIUS.<sup>1</sup>

## SIXTH PERIOD.

### SUPREMACY OF SPARTA AND OF THEBES.

#### DECLINE OF GREECE.

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#### CHAPTER XXVIII.

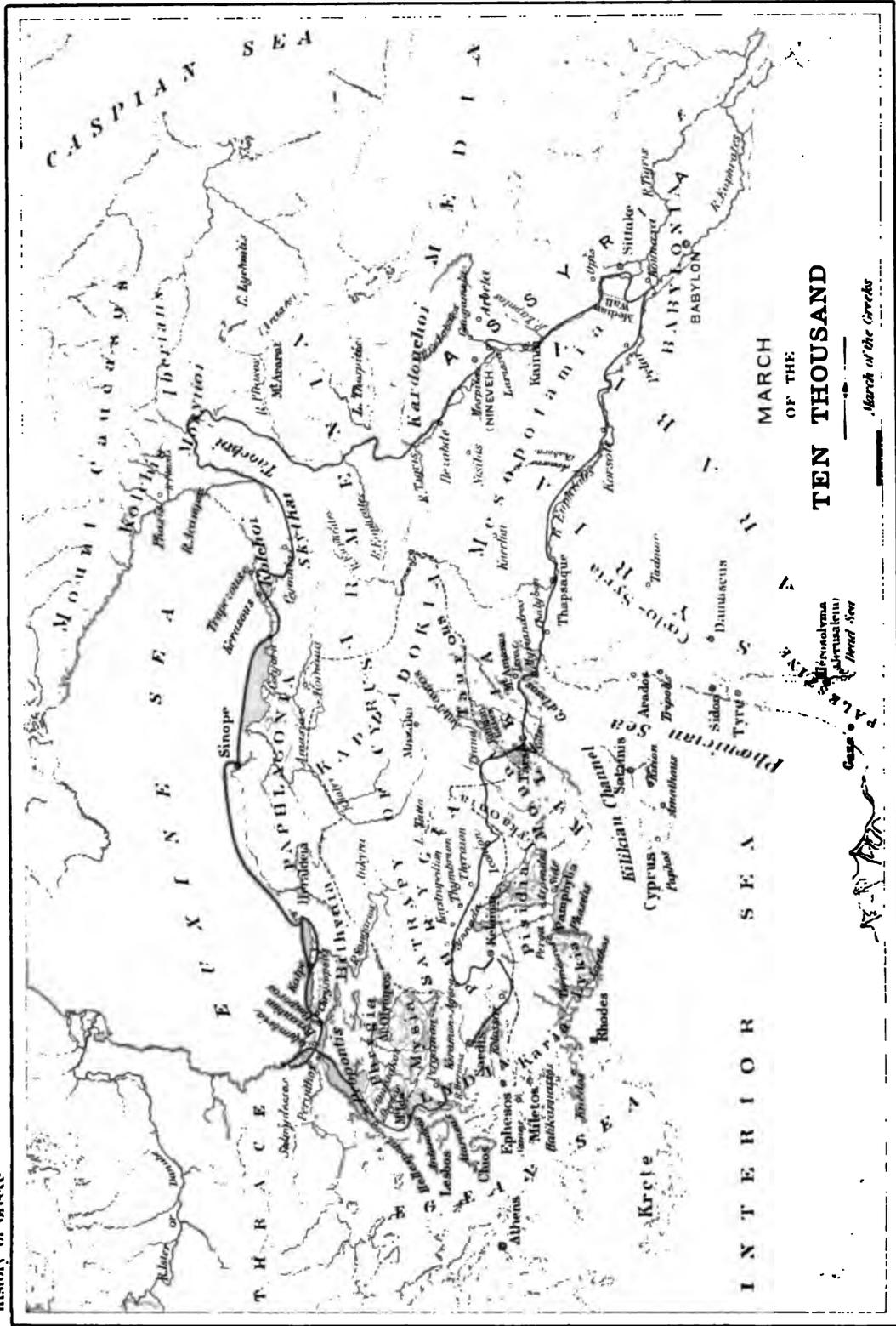
##### FROM THE FALL OF ATHENS TO THE TREATY OF ANTALKIDAS (404-387 B. C.).

##### I. — THE TEN THOUSAND (402-400).

IT is not at the moment when truths are discovered that their political and social results take place. Ideas require centuries to establish themselves and to root out the convictions which they oppose. Philosophy was destined in the end to destroy paganism and to modify, by its infiltration into the laws, the bases of society; but in the time of which we are speaking it was only a subject of interest to the more enlightened minds. In the political history of Greece the tragedy that we have just related remained an isolated fact; the Greek peoples were not turned from their path by it, and Xenophon in writing their history sees no occasion even to mention the name of Sokrates among the events which he relates.

But all men could see that demagogues and factions had lost to Athens the splendid empire that Perikles and political wisdom had given her, that Athens had not fallen alone, and that all Greece had been degraded. The Persian was now the friend, and patriotism — the first of social virtues, because it contains all the others — had given place to low ambition in various forms, which later impelled the Greeks to seek wealth in distant expeditions.

When a long war ends suddenly, large military forces are thrown out of occupation. A multitude of men whose lives have been





passed in camps, and who know no other interests than war, feel themselves incapable of beginning a new existence and exchanging the soldier's habits for those of the citizen. No matter how hazardous the enterprise then which presents itself, they eagerly enter upon it. When, after Aigospotamoi, peace returned weapons and galleys into the arsenals, the mercenaries of Sparta and Athens, and the exiles, always so numerous in Greece, found themselves without employment; and it became apparent that one of the most



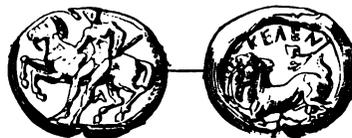
SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>



SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

disastrous results of this struggle had been to produce a floating force, an army without a country, which asked only for war, because it required war for its maintenance. This army gave itself to the highest bidder, — the young Persian prince Cyrus.

After they had succeeded in setting Greece in a blaze, the Persians remained simply spectators of events, taking no part in them except so far as it was necessary to feed the fire. Incapable of renewing the great struggle of the beginning of the century, they had now but one resource; namely, to enfeeble Greece by keeping up discords there. The disasters of Marathon, Salamis, Plataia, Mykale, and the Eurymedon, following one another in the space of a few years, and the disgraceful treaty which ended the war, had given a



SILVER COIN.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coin of a satrap at Mallos. Diademed and bearded head of Herakles, right profile. Reverse: MAA[λωρων]. Demeter standing, to the right; she is about to go in search of her daughter, Kora, and holds in one hand a lighted torch, and wheat-cars in the other.

<sup>2</sup> Coin struck by an unknown satrap at Mallos in Kilikia. Double-headed Genius, bearded, having four wings curled up, like the Assyrian genii, and holding, with both hands upon his breast, the lunar globe, or perhaps the colossal emerald of the temple of Astarte at Tyre. Underneath, the fore part of a bull, with human head, crouching to the right. Reverse: MAPA[ωρων]. Swan, to the left.

<sup>3</sup> Coin of Kelenderis, under the Persian rule. Horseman, nude, about to mount his horse, and holding a spear in the left hand. Under the horse the letter A, a mint-mark. Reverse: KEAEN[δερτων]. A crouching buck to the left; under the buck an ivy-leaf. (Minted about the year 400 B. C.)

fatal blow to the prestige of divinity which had formerly surrounded the ruler of Asia. Great kings had been followed also by incapable kings. The East is terrible in its palace revolutions and the sudden

SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

downfall of its dynasties. Artabanos, a captain of the guards, had assassinated Xerxes (465 B. C.); Artaxerxes Longimanus had seized the throne, which should have belonged to his elder brother, and

SILVER COIN.<sup>3</sup>SILVER COIN.<sup>4</sup>

had killed him, and had afterwards abandoned himself to the influence of his mother and his wife; Xerxes II. had perished, after two months' reign, by the hand of his brother Sogdianus (425 B. C.); and Sogdianus, seven months later, had been killed by another brother;

<sup>1</sup> Winged Genius, kneeling on one knee, and holding with both hands the lunar globe, or the emerald of the temple of Astarte at Tyre. Reverse: ΜΑΡ[λωρών.] Swan, to the right; before it, an altar and the ansate cross, — a frequent symbol on coins of Cyprus and Kilikia.

<sup>2</sup> Silver coin of an unknown satrap. Bare head of Herakles, right profile, the lion's skin, tied upon his shoulders. Reverse: bearded head of a satrap wearing the Oriental tiara; legend: ΜΑΑ[λωρών]. Minted at Mallos. We have given a number of these half-Greek, half-Persian coins, in order to show the blending of the two civilizations on the confines of the Greek world.

<sup>3</sup> Coin of the satrap Tarkamos. In Aramaic legend: בעלתרן (*Baaltars*). Baaltars seated, to the right, partly nude, the head front face, the right hand resting on his throne, and holding a sceptre surmounted by an eagle; the left hand lowered and holding a wheat-ear and a bunch of grapes; in the field, a *thymiaterion*; the whole surrounded by a crenelated circle which represents the fortifications of a city. Reverse: two bearded men, standing, facing each other and seeming to converse; one is quite nude, the other draped like Baaltars; between them a pyre and an Aramaic legend: תרכמו (*Tarcamou*), a satrap's name. This coin was formerly attributed to the satrap Dernes.

<sup>4</sup> Coin of a satrap at Tarsos. Pallas, seated on a throne to the left, she rests her right hand on a sceptre, and her left arm on her shield placed on the ground; behind the goddess, an olive-branch. Reverse: ΤΕΡΣΙΚΟΝ. Koré, stooping to the left, to gather flowers; behind her a large flower on its stem.

lastly, Darius II., the bastard, had remained all his life under the sway of his wife, Parysatis, and three eunuchs. His two sons, Artaxerxes Mnemon and the younger Cyrus were to continue the homicidal tradition of the court of Susa.

Encouraged by these disorders, the provinces were in commotion. Egypt was in continual revolt during this century. Certain peoples, never thoroughly subjugated, shook off the yoke entirely. In other countries there were satraps who aspired to become independent princes.

Tissaphernes, who governed the southwest of Asia Minor, had at least served the king well by his skill in keeping the balance even between Sparta and Athens. In 407 B. C. the satrapy had been



divided and Cyrus had succeeded Tissaphernes over a part of the country, and had introduced a different policy, having himself different designs. On the death of Darius, shortly after the battle of Aigospotamoi (404 B. C.), Parysatis would have raised to the throne her younger son Cyrus, on pretext that he was the king's son, having been born after his father's accession to the throne, while Artaxerxes was only a prince's son. The life of Cyrus was at this time endangered; being saved by his mother's intercession, he was sent away to the province assigned him, where he continued to nourish plans of vengeance. He spent nearly three years in collecting treasure and an army for the purpose of overthrowing his brother. As soon as he knew that the struggle in Greece was ended, he invited all the soldiers of fortune to enter his service, offering to

<sup>1</sup> A fortress flanked by four towers; in front, a galley. In the exergue, two lions, stepping in opposite directions. Reverse: in an incused square, a Persian king, wearing a kidaris, armed with a dagger, and contending with a lion, which rears itself on its hind legs before him. (Persian.)

<sup>2</sup> Coin of an unknown satrap. Laurelled head of Apollo, left profile. Reverse: an eagle, with wings displayed, standing on a crouching lion. This small silver coin was minted at Tarsos or in the island of Cyprus, under the Persian rule.

<sup>3</sup> Persian king, in the costume of an archer, wearing the kidaris, and holding in one hand a bow, and in the other a spear. Reverse: an incused square.

the foot-soldier service in the cavalry, to the cavalry-man a team of horses, to the owner of a field villages, to the master of villages a city, and pay measured out in bushels. He gave ten thousand darics<sup>1</sup> to Klearchos, a Spartan exile, to buy him soldiers in Thrace. The Thessalian Aristippos, the Boiotian Proxenes, Sophonetes of Stymphalos, Sokrates of Achaia, and others received similar commissions. Sparta even sent him seven hundred hoplites, and placed at



TERRA-COTTA FIGURINES AT TARSOS.<sup>2</sup>

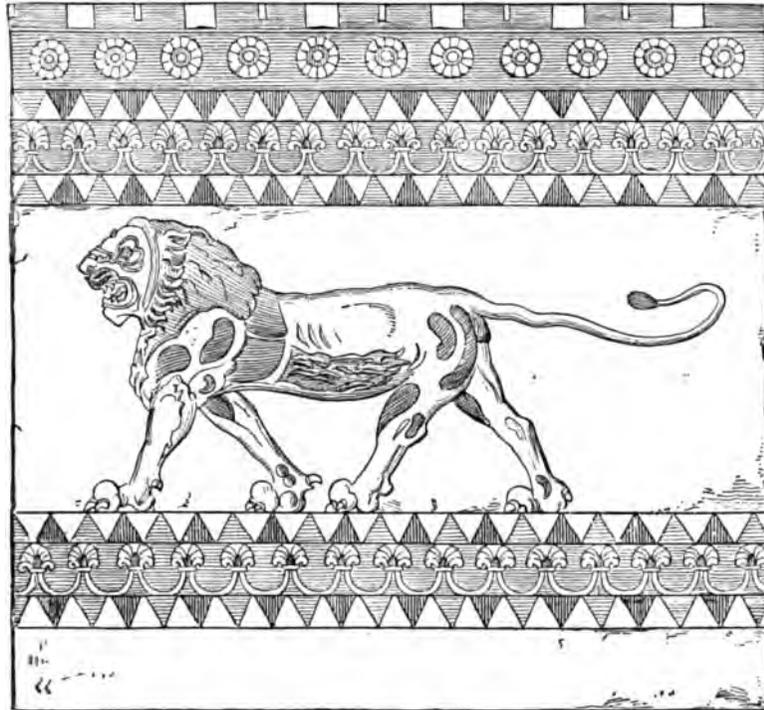
his disposal a fleet of twenty-five galleys which was cruising in the Ægean Sea, feigning to believe that Cyrus would employ both ships and soldiers for no other purpose than against the brigand tribes of the Kilikian sea-coast, — a duplicity not very heroic, of dull minds who believed they could serve the usurper without offending those whom the usurpation menaced. Cyrus thus collected thirteen thousand Greeks, of whom nearly half were Arkadians and Achaians; and he had moreover a hundred thousand Barbarians.

He did not at first unveil his designs even to his generals, alleging a war against Tissaphernes, who kept back part of the

<sup>1</sup> [The value of a daric is estimated in Hussey's *Essay on Ancient Weights and Measures* (ch. iii. § 12) at 16s. 3d. = \$3.90. The amount given to Klearchos was therefore equivalent to \$40,000. — ED.]

<sup>2</sup> From the originals in the Louvre.

provinces which belonged to Cyrus, and then an expedition against the Pisidians, who infested the frontiers. He set out from Sardis in the spring of 401 B. C., and made his way towards the southwest, across Phrygia, Lykaonia, and Kilikia. The hereditary satrap of that province, Syennesis, declared in favor of Cyrus, at the same time, however, sending one of his sons to the king to protest that he was still at heart faithful to Artaxerxes. The designs of Cyrus were still only a matter of suspicion; but that suspicion became



FRIEZE OF THE PALACE OF THE PERSIAN KINGS IN SUSA.<sup>1</sup>

stronger when he marched out of Tarsos, where he had allowed his army to rest for twenty days. These rumors caused an outbreak among the mercenaries, who were alarmed at the idea, not of meeting the Persian army, but of being led into the depths of Asia. Klearchos was pelted with stones, and narrowly escaped death; he was accused of having deceived the Greeks. Cyrus raised the pay of the mercenaries to a daric and a half a month, and now announced

<sup>1</sup> Frieze of enamelled bricks discovered in Susa by Dieulafoy, and now in the Louvre. Lion walking to the left between two bands of flower-work.

that he was intending to make war upon the governor of Syria. Upon reaching Thapsakos he at last declared that he was marching upon Babylon, whereupon a new outbreak was appeased by further gifts.

The author of the *Anabasis* delights thus to mark each stage by a surprise. It is possible that the multitude allowed themselves to be deceived; but there were in Sardis too many well-informed Greeks for the belief to be universal that the prince had gathered so formi-



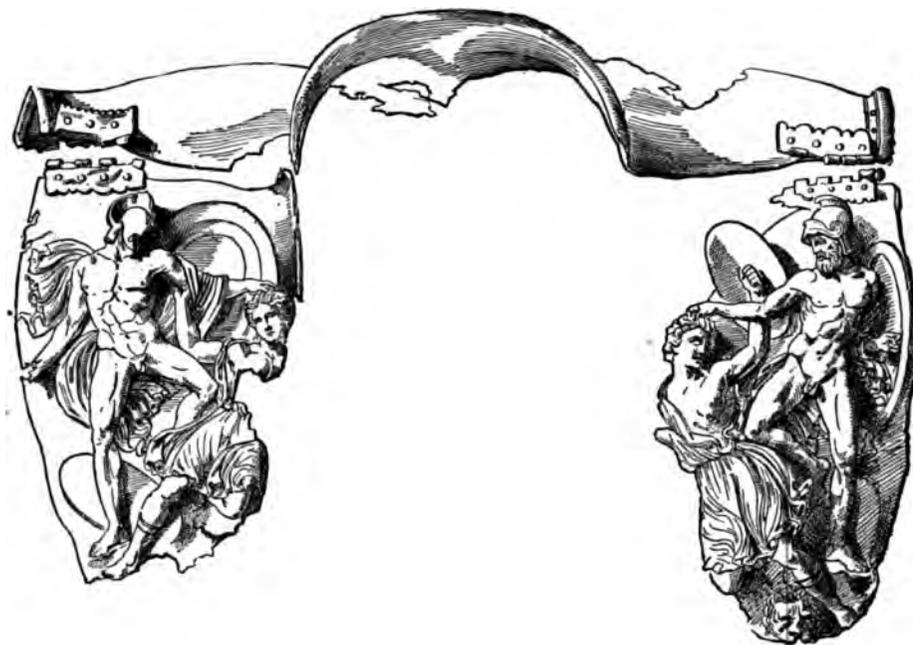
THE EUPHRATES AT BABYLON.<sup>1</sup>

dable an army merely to reduce to submission a few mountaineers. Our author must have been one of these Greeks; and later we shall see his motives for speaking as he does.

Nowhere, neither in the passes of the Tauros nor at the Syrian Gates, did Cyrus meet any resistance. The Euphrates was a barrier, especially if an army lay encamped on its eastern shore; but there was not a soldier there, and the water was so low that the troops were able to wade across the great river. From Thapsakos they turned southward to the right, keeping along the left bank, and

<sup>1</sup> Ruin called Babil. (From an unpublished sketch by Félix Thomas. Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, ii. 56.)

meeting with no other obstacles than those offered by a desert. At that season, however (September), they probably suffered much; but at the end of the road general and soldiers beheld a great prey to be seized, and this hope enabled them to brave a tropical sun. At the distance of fifteen or sixteen leagues from Babylon, in the plain of Cunaxa, the troops for the first time beheld the enemy.<sup>1</sup>

FRAGMENTS OF A CUIRASS.<sup>2</sup>

It was about noon, and the army had nearly reached the spot where it was intended to encamp, when suddenly is seen riding up at full speed a Persian, one of the confidential friends of Cyrus. He cries out, in the barbaric tongue and in Greek, to all whom he meets that the king is approaching with a vast army.<sup>3</sup> Cyrus at once leaps from his chariot, puts on his armor, mounts his horse, and gives command that every man shall make ready and take his place in the

<sup>1</sup> From Sardis to Cunaxa is 1,464 miles, according to Colonel Chesney (*Euphrates and Tigris*, p. 208).

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon represents the royal army as 900,000 strong. Ktesias and Plutarch reduce the figures to 400,000. It is unnecessary to say that the principal part of what follows is drawn from Xenophon.

<sup>3</sup> Fragments of a bronze cuirass, ornamented with reliefs, discovered at Siris, in Magna Græcia, and now in the British Museum (from P. O. Brøndsted, *The Bronzes of Siris now in the British Museum*, vols. i. and ii.; cf. p. 16). Greeks fighting against Amazons.

ranks. The Greeks form rapidly, Klearchos on the right wing, near the Euphrates, and supported by a thousand Paphlagonian horse; in the centre, Proxenos and the other generals; on the left wing, Menon, with Ariaios and the Barbarian army. Cyrus places himself in the centre of his line, with six hundred cavalry, the men all wearing breastplates, thigh-pieces, and helmets, except Cyrus only, who went into battle bare-headed.

“It was now midday, and the enemy was not yet in sight. But when it was afternoon there appeared a dust like a white cloud, and



WAR-CHARIOT.<sup>1</sup>

not long after, a sort of blackness, extending to a great distance over the plain. Presently, as they approached nearer, brazen armor began to flash, and the spears and ranks became visible. There was a body of cavalry in white armor on the left of the enemy's line; close by these were troops with wicker shields; and next to them heavy armed soldiers, with long wooden shields reaching to their feet; then other cavalry and horsemen. These all marched according to their nations, each nation separately in a solid oblong. In front of their line, at considerable intervals from each other, were stationed scythed chariots; that is to say, chariots having scythes

<sup>1</sup> Terra-cotta bas-relief of archaic style, in the Collection de Luynes (No. 768), in the *Cabinet de France*. On a chariot drawn by two horses, which are running to the left, are seated two Greeks, the charioteer wearing a cuirass, and at his side a warrior wearing a helmet and carrying a lance and a large circular shield. Above the horses flies an eagle,—presage of victory. The bas-relief was painted; the background was white, and the figures were painted in a brownish black, heightened here and there by touches of very dark cinnabar red. Its origin is unknown. Cf. *Gazette archéol.*, vol. viii. (1883), p. 305 (O. Rayet)

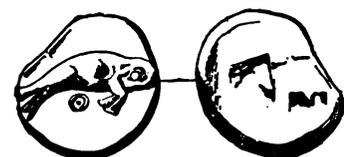
projecting obliquely from the axle-tree, and others under the driver's seat, pointing to the earth, for the purpose of cutting through whatever came in their way."

One of the four generals in the royal army was Tissaphernes, whose information had kept Artaxerxes acquainted with his brother's projects, and had given him time to make immense preparations for defence.

"The two armies were not now more than three or four stadia<sup>1</sup> distant from each other, when the Greeks sang their war-song and began to march forward to meet the enemy. And as while they proceeded some part of their body fluctuated out of line, those who were thus left behind began to run; and at the same time they all raised just such a shout as they usually raise to Ares, and the whole of them began to run forward. Some say that they made a noise with their spears against their shields, to strike terror into the horses. But the Barbarians, before an arrow could reach them, gave way and took to flight. The Greeks then pursued them with all their force, calling out to each other not to run, but to follow in order. The chariots, abandoned by their drivers, were hurried, some



ARMED ARES.<sup>2</sup>



COIN OF PHOKAIA.<sup>3</sup>

through the midst of the enemies themselves, others through the midst of the Greeks. The Greeks, when they saw them coming, opened their ranks to let them pass, and no one suffered material injury; nor did any other of the Greeks receive any hurt in this battle, except that on the left of their army a man was said

to have been shot with an arrow.

"Cyrus, though he saw the Greeks victorious and pursuing those of the enemies who were opposed to them, and though he felt great pleasure at the sight, and was already saluted as king by those about him, was not, however, led away to join in the pursuit; but keeping the band of six hun-

<sup>1</sup> Less than a half mile.

<sup>2</sup> Engraved stone (cornelian), from the Imperial Russian Collection; from Millin, *Pierres gravées incédites*, pl. 20.

<sup>3</sup> A sea-lion, emblem of the city's name, swimming to the right, beneath, the letter Θ. mint-mark. Reverse: incused square. (Coin of electrum. *Numismatic Chronicle*, new series, vol. xv. 1875, pl. x. 6.)

dred cavalry that were with him drawn up in close order around him, he attentively watched how the king would proceed, for he well knew that he occupied the centre of the Persian army. On the present occasion the king, though he occupied the centre of his own army, was nevertheless beyond the left wing of the army of Cyrus. But as no enemy attacked him in front, or the troops that were drawn up before him, he began to wheel, as if intending to enclose his adversaries. Cyrus, in consequence, fearing lest he might take the Greeks in the rear and cut them in pieces, moved directly upon him; and charging with his six hundred horse, routed the troops that were stationed in front of the king, and put the guard of six thousand to flight; and is said to have killed with his own hand Artagerses, their commander.

“When this flight of the enemy took place, the six hundred who were with Cyrus became dispersed in the eagerness of pursuit, only a very few remaining with him, chiefly those who were called ‘partakers of his table.’ While accompanied by these he perceived the king and the close guard around him; whereupon he immediately lost his self-command, and exclaiming, ‘I see the man,’ rushed upon him, struck him on the breast, and wounded him through the breastplate. As Cyrus was in the act of striking, some one hit him violently with a javelin under the eye; he fell dead, and eight of his principal officers lay dead upon his body. . . . Thus then died Cyrus, a man who of all the Persians since the elder Cyrus was the most princely and the most worthy of empire, as is agreed by all who appear to have had personal knowledge of him.” (September, 401 B. C.)

His death changed the issue of the battle. His troops, without a leader, and without reason for fighting longer, dispersed, and the king made his way into his brother’s camp, where the harem of the vanquished prince fell into his hands. There were there two Greek girls whom their parents had offered to Cyrus while he resided in Sardis,—an habitual practice among these Asiatic populations, who trafficked in all things, even in the beauty of their daughters, to whom they gave, as an additional charm, a brilliant education. One of these young women, a native of Miletos, escaped; the beautiful Milto of Phokaia, less fortunate—or more so—became one of the wives of the Great King, and like Monima in the story of Mithridates, but without her tragic end, reigned over her master.

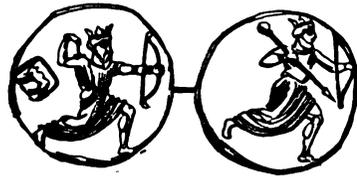
The victorious Greeks, meanwhile, had continued their pursuit of the fugitive Persians; but learning that the king was plundering their baggage, returned. The Persians at first advanced

boldly to meet them; when, however, they perceived the Greeks form in line, begin their war-song, and charge furiously, they fled more hastily even than before. It was not until after sunset that the Greeks returned, wondering that Cyrus neither came to them nor sent any messenger, and not for a moment imagining that he was dead. In the morning the news was brought to them, and at the same time they were informed that Ariaaios, with the remainder of the army, had retreated a day's march; so that the little band of Greeks, who had lost only two or three of their



SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>

number, remained masters of the field between two armies, one their enemies, the other their allies, who had fled in opposite



SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

directions! Then began that famous Retreat, through countries for the most part unknown to the Persians themselves, across deserts, mountains, rivers, snows, often suffering from want of food, and frequently harassed by savage

tribes. It is known in history as the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, that being about the number of the soldiers.

Ariaaios sent word to the Greeks that he would wait for them a day, if they wished to join him, and retreat together to Ionia. Their reply was to offer Ariaaios the Persian throne if he would remain with them and march against the king. Before his answer came, messengers arrived from the king calling upon them to lay down their arms, to which Klearchos rejoined that it was not customary for conquerors to disarm. Later in the day the envoys returned with the refusal of Ariaaios to advance farther, and the assurance that he should set out that same night on his return to the coast. Upon this the Greeks decided to join

<sup>1</sup> Coin of a satrap at Soli. Helmeted head of Pallas, right profile; the helmet has a high crest, and is ornamented with a griffin. Reverse: in an incused square, a bunch of grapes and the letters TI, initials of the name Tiribazos or Tissaphernes (?). Outside the square the word ΣΟΑΕΩΝ.

<sup>2</sup> An Achaemenid king crowned, bearded, holding his bow in the left hand, and with the right drawing an arrow from his quiver. Behind him an ox in contremarque. Reverse: Achaemenid king, crowned, holding in the left hand a bow and in the right, a short lance having a ball on the handle.

him; and on their arrival in his camp all the principal officers of both divisions took a solemn oath of mutual fidelity, with the sacrifice of a bull, a wolf, a boar, and a ram.

The army began their retreat on the following morning; but before they had gone far, the king again sent messengers to them, this time proposing a truce. The Greeks made known that they were in need of provisions; and it was at once agreed that they should be conducted by Persian guides to a place where abundant supplies were obtainable. Here they remained three days; and at the end of that time Tissaphernes arrived, who proposed to be their guide in returning to Greece, as he himself was on his way in that direction to his own province. He brought a message from the king to ask why the Greeks had taken up arms against him, and he advised them to make a conciliatory answer, that he might thus obtain better terms for them from the king.

The Greeks sent word to Artaxerxes that they had not made war against him on their own account, but simply as a matter of fidelity to Cyrus, who being now dead, they had no other wish than to return home peacefully if unmolested. Tissaphernes was absent twenty days, and in the mean time the Greeks had reason to suspect the fidelity of Ariaïos. On the arrival of the satrap the march towards Ionia began; but the Greeks encamped apart, and both parties kept on their guard against each other, as if they had been enemies. Occasionally the soldiers quarrelled and came to blows over gathering fuel or grass; and at last Klearchos sought an interview with Tissaphernes, in the hope of putting an end to this half-concealed hostility. He was at first well received, and induced to come a second time to the tent of Tissaphernes and to bring with him four other principal officers of the Greek troops, when they were all seized and put to death.

The Greeks, thus deprived of their generals, for a moment despaired; they were ten thousand stadia distant from home, surrounded by hostile tribes, without provisions, without cavalry to complete a victory or protect a retreat. No man slept in the gloomy night which followed this disaster.

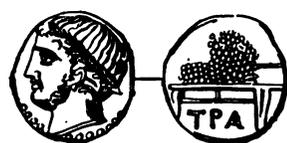
At this moment our author enters upon the scene. There was, he says, in the army an Athenian, Xenophon by name, who accompanied it neither in the character of general, nor captain,

nor common soldier; but it had happened that Proxenos, an old guest-friend of his, had sent for him from home, giving him a promise that if he came he would recommend him to the friendship of Cyrus. The gold of this Persian prince had secured the victory of Sparta and the ruin of Athens; but this, Xenophon had chosen to forget. He had, however, consulted Sokrates in respect to the expedition,—a man who also, in his lofty speculations, was willing to forget Athens. The philosopher had sent him to the god of Delphi, and an ambiguous oracle had permitted Xenophon to do that which he desired.

In truth, the disciple of “the citizen of the world” had, like the rest, accepted the pay of Cyrus; and he knew well that

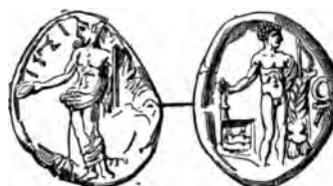
if this prince should overthrow his brother, he would be to Athens a very much more formidable enemy than the feeble Artaxerxes. This part which he claims to play, the simple-minded astonishment which he affects in his book as to the end of the expedition, at last unveiled, were only his way of making reply to the Athenian decree which withdrew from him, as the servant of Cyrus, his Athenian citizenship.

According to his own story, he saved the army from discouragement. Enlightened, he says, by a dream, he called together



SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

the captains of the Greeks, caused a traitor who spoke of surrender to be expelled, and recommended that new generals should be chosen,—which was at once done, he himself being appointed in the place of Proxenos. At daylight the soldiers were called together and addressed by the new generals; Xenophon being the second to speak,—“who had accoutred himself for war,” he says, “as splendidly as he could, thinking that if the gods should

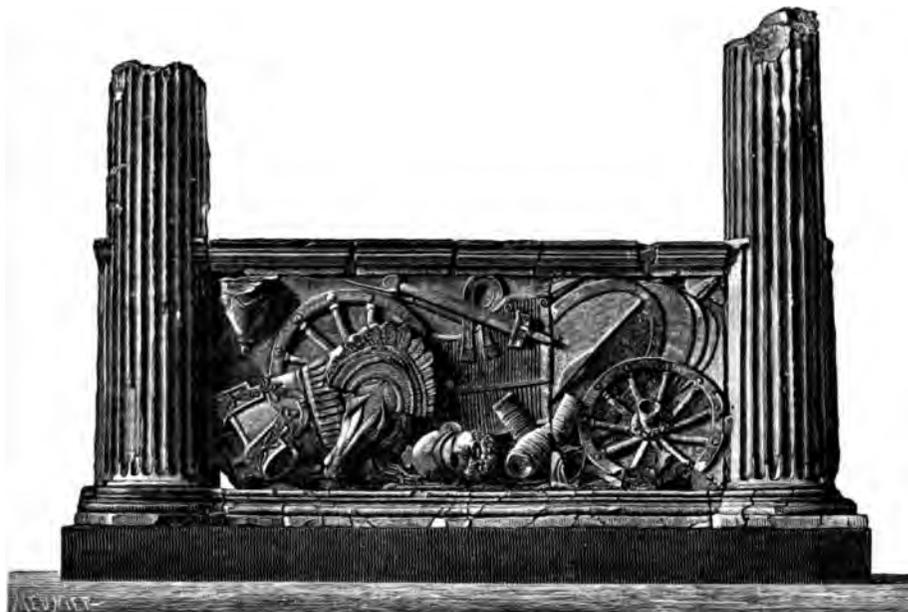


SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Tiribazos, at Issos. Apollo, half-nude, standing to the left, holding in the right hand a patera, and leaning with the left on a laurel-branch; in the field ΙΣΣΙ[κον], and the name of Tiribazos in Aramaic legend, partly effaced. Reverse: Herakles, nude, standing, facing forward, holding his club, bow, and lion's skin; before him a symbol often found on Kilikian coins struck under Persian rule. As countermark, an ox.

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Trebizond. Laurelled head, lightly bearded, left profile. Reverse: TPA-[πρ(ου)σιων]; square table, with bunches of grapes on it.

grant them victory, the finest accoutrement would be suitable for success; or that if it were appointed for him to die, it would be well for him to adorn himself with his best armor, and in that dress to meet his end." At his recommendation, a corps of fifty horse and another of two hundred slingers or archers were organized, so that the troops of Tissaphernes could be kept at a distance.



TROPHY OF ARMS.<sup>1</sup>

We shall not follow the Ten Thousand in their famous retreat; only the fact that they were able with impunity to traverse a great empire is of importance to general history. Arriving in the country of the Kardouchoi, Tissaphernes ceased to pursue them, and took the route to Ionia. But they were not left to pursue their way undisturbed, for the native mountaineers did them

<sup>1</sup> The columns of the second story of the portico of Athene Polias at Pergamon are connected by a balustrade, on whose exterior face were carved trophies of arms. One of these reliefs is represented here, from *Die Alterthümer von Pergamon*, vol. ii. pl. 43 (cf. on p. 95 of the text, the commentary of H. Droysen). In the centre is the body of a chariot which seems to be formed of narrow strips of wood; the two holes on the upper edge perhaps gave passage to the reins. Above is a sword with a fringed strap, by which it was attached to the sheath, and a lance. Below is a helmeted mask, and two greaves crossed over each other. At the left in front of a wheel are carved a cuirass and a part of a horse's armor; the head-piece, above, is a helmet. At the right of the chariot-body are a wheel and four shields leaning one against another. Above and on each side of the shields is a spear-head.

much harm with their long arrows, which no shield could resist. The satrap of Armenia, Tiribazos, received them kindly; he made a treaty with them, and promised not to attack them if the Greeks did not burn the villages as they passed, but contented themselves with taking such provisions as they required. A suspicion of treachery on the part of Tiribazos, however, led them to withdraw as quickly as possible from Armenia, and they soon found themselves in the mountains, where they encountered heavy snows; many of the baggage-cattle and slaves perished with cold, and about thirty soldiers; others were made blind by the glitter of the snow. They had still to cross the Phasis and the Harpedon, and to fight their way through many hostile tribes. At last from the mountain of Theches they beheld on the horizon the vast extent of the Euxine Sea.



TETRADRACHM OF SINOPE.<sup>1</sup>

“When the men who were in front,” says Xenophon, “had ascended the height and looked down upon the sea, a great shout proceeded from them; and Xenophon and the rear-guard, on hearing it, thought that some new enemies were assailing the front. . . . But as the noise still increased and drew nearer, and as those who came up from time to time kept running at full speed to join those who were continually shouting, the outcry becoming louder



SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

as the men became more numerous, it appeared to Xenophon that it must be something of very great moment. Mounting his horse, therefore, and taking with him Lykios and the cavalry, he hastened forward to give aid, when presently they heard the soldiers shouting, ‘The sea! the sea!’ and cheering on one another. Then they all began to run, the rear-guard as well as the rest, and the baggage-cattle and horses were put to their speed; and when they had all arrived at the top, the men embraced one another and their generals and captains with tears in their eyes. Suddenly,

<sup>1</sup> Turreted head of Sinope, daughter of Asopos, right profile. Reverse: ΣΙΝΟΠΕΩΝ; Apollo seated to the right on the *omphalos* and holding a lyre. In the field mint-marks or initials of the name of a monetary magistrate.

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Herakleia in Bithynia: ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑ. Woman's head, left profile, wearing a high *stephanos*, ornamented with finials; in front of the throat a star. Reverse: head of Herakles, left profile, wearing the lion's skin.

whoever it was that suggested it, the soldiers brought stones and raised a large mound, on which they laid a number of raw ox-hides, staves, and shields taken from the enemy."

It was a trophy, and the most glorious one ever raised by human hands; for they had been victorious over the Persians and over Nature herself.

Some further fighting was requisite with the warlike tribes in this neighborhood before they reached the Greek city of Trebizond,

SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>

a colony of Sinope, and here they celebrated their deliverance by solemn games and sacrifices (March, 400 B. C.). They numbered at this time eighty-six hundred hoplites and fourteen hundred archers or slingers. They had but one wish left; namely, to find vessels which

would transport them to their native land. In a council held soon after their arrival in Trebizond, Antilion, a native of Thurion, expressed the feelings of all. "For my part," he said, "my friends, I am now quite exhausted with packing up my baggage, walking, running, carrying my arms, marching in order, mounting guard, and fighting; and I should wish, since we have come to the sea, to rest from such toils and to sail the remainder of the way, and to arrive at Greece, like Odysseus, stretched out asleep."

The Spartan admiral was at Byzantion. Cheirosophos was sent to ask vessels from him; but Sparta would have nothing to do with men who had failed in their undertaking. The galleys were refused, and the Ten Thousand, forced to follow the coast on land, now fighting, now advancing undisturbed, made their way slowly to two colonies of Sinope, Kerasous and Kotyora. This last city gave them the means of reaching by sea Sinope, Herakleia, and Kalpe. In crossing

SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Seuthes I. Horseman trotting to the right; he brandishes a spear, and his peplos floats back from his shoulders. Reverse: ΣΕΥΘΑ ΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ, in three lines. (See Vol. II. p. 509, for another coin of this king of the Odrysian Thracians.)

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Byzantion. Bull standing to the left; under him a dolphin, before him the monogram of a magistrate's name; above him, BY, first two letters of the name Byzantion. Reverse: incused square, of which the four compartments are filled with dots.

Bithynia they were constantly harassed by the cavalry of Pharnabazos, but kept steadily on, until they arrived at Chrysopolis, opposite Byzantion (October or November, 400 B. C.). Pharnabazos, eager to be rid of such dangerous neighbors, paid their passage to the Spartan admiral, Anaxibios, who transported them across the Hellespont, where they entered the service of a king of the Odrysai, Seuthes, and restored him to his heritage.

Thus ended the Retreat of the Ten Thousand. During fifteen months, and in two hundred and fifteen marches, they had covered a distance of about four thousand miles, going and returning. Setting out as adventurers, they returned as heroes; but this famous army came to an inglorious end,—it melted away in Thrace. Some of the men returned home; others were scattered hither and thither; many perished in obscure and profitless skirmishes; and a Spartan general caused to be sold as slaves four hundred of them left invalided in Byzantion.<sup>1</sup> They had not left their homes in the hope of causing the triumph of an idea, or of gratifying a patriotic impulse, they had only gone in search of gold; and yet they won a deathless fame, because they made their adventure noble by showing a constancy unlooked for in this light-headed race, and soldierly qualities which enhanced even the great military renown of Greece. This seemingly barren expedition had the most important results: the victorious march of the Ten Thousand across the empire exposed the incurable weakness of the Persians,—a revelation which was not wasted either upon Agesilaos or Alexander.

## II. — HARSHNESS OF THE SPARTAN HEGEMONY.

THE Peloponnesian war had had disastrous consequences in respect to public morals. Its long duration, its sanguinary incidents, had everywhere produced distrust, had stimulated men's passions, deified strength, and so profoundly changed the Greek character that it was never again what it had been.<sup>2</sup> Men were

<sup>1</sup> The rest took service with Sparta, under the command of Thymbron, to fight against Tissaphernes.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides, iii. 82, 83.

savage on the battle-field and savage in party strifes. "Observe," says Aristotle, "the oath which the oligarchy requires men to take at the present day in many cities: 'I will be the enemy of the demos, and will do it all the harm I can.'"<sup>1</sup> It is true that to this homicidal

COIN OF A SATRAP.<sup>2</sup>

oath we may oppose the one taken by the Athenian heliasts after the tyranny: "I will forget all past wrongs, and I will allow no one to remember or mention them." But Athens even in her decline was always Athens, liberal and generous, like those mutilated statues that are beautiful still, even in their degradation.

The system of war had changed. I have indicated an earlier revolution in the military art,—the democratic army of the sixth and fifth centuries succeeding the aristocratic army of the heroic age; now we have the age of the mercenaries: all the cities of Greece enlist paid soldiers, together with their soldier citizens. But for this pay there must be gold, and Persia alone has it. The Greeks ask for it from the Great King; hence their mendicant attitude towards him, and the constant interference of the successors of Xerxes in Hellenic affairs. This harshness of character and this dependence on an outside power were noticeable in the later years of the war; we find them still in the first year of peace,—the year of anarchy, as the Greeks called the beginning of the Spartan dominion.<sup>4</sup>

SILVER COIN.<sup>3</sup>

To gain accomplices in her hatred, Sparta had for thirty years clamored against her rival's despotism, and promised to break off the fetters with which Athens held Greece bound,—an ancient method (which Rome in turn followed) often, and always successfully, repeated. Athens being overthrown, all Greece lay at the

<sup>1</sup> *Politics*, v. 7, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Tetradrachm struck at Mallos by an unknown satrap. A Victory, clothed in a long chiton with sleeves, running to the left, with head reverted; her wings are curled up; she holds a sceptre in the right hand, and a wreath in the left. Reverse: a conical stone with two handles near the top; on each side a dove stippled, or possibly the objects represented may be bunches of grapes.

<sup>3</sup> Coin of Thasos. Bearded head of Silenos, double-faced, like Janus. Reverse: ΘΑΣΙ[ων]. Two amphorae, placed in contrary directions.

<sup>4</sup> *Anabasis*, vi. 6, 12.

feet of Sparta. What would she now do? Would she organize this Hellenic world, which needed to be united in order to be strong, which felt that truth at the moment, and would perhaps have consented to it without extravagant regrets? Sparta had no thought of such a thing as this, and concerned herself only with measures of reactionary vengeance and with ambitious intrigues.<sup>1</sup> Everywhere blood flowed, for everywhere she re-established oligarchical governments. Ten men in each city, under the presidency of a military governor (*harmostes*) and protected by a Spartan garrison, had full powers. Their first care, like that of the Thirty, was to take cruel revenge upon the opposite faction.

At Thasos there was a massacre; at Miletos eight hundred citizens of the popular faction, deceived by the oaths of Lysandros, emerged from their retreats and were murdered;

BRONZE COIN.<sup>2</sup>

five hundred at Herakleia; similar scenes occurred in Byzantion, in Oitaia, and in many cities of Asia Minor. "It is impossible," says Plutarch, "to enumerate those who perished." At Samos all the inhabitants were exiled, and were allowed to carry away with them but a single change of raiment.<sup>3</sup> Chios had, by her defection and by her fleet, secured the triumph of Sparta; but her principal citizens were exiled, and all her triremes taken from her.<sup>4</sup> In Thessaly, Lykophron, a citizen of Pherai, succeeded, after a fierce conflict, in making himself absolute master of this province. "The Lacedæmonians," says Xenophon, "are the chief people of Greece, and each individual Lacedæmonian does what he pleases in all the Greek cities." And this terror the historian himself shared. After the retreat of the Ten Thousand

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Lysandros*, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Herakleia in Bithynia. ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙΤΑΝ. Bust of Herakles, left profile; he has a diadem on his head, and the lion's skin on his shoulders; he holds his club in the right hand. Reverse: ΗΡΑΚΛΗΑΣ ΜΑΤΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΩΝ; Herakles, nude, seated on a rock on which he has placed the lion's skin; he holds out his hand to a Love who is trying to lift his club; in the field a tree, and the statue of a Love, drawing a bow, on a column.

<sup>3</sup> Corn. Nepos, *Lysandros*, 2; Polyainos, i. 45, 4; Plutarch, *Lysandros*, 19.

<sup>4</sup> Isokrates, *de Pace*, 38.

he refused the title of general-in-chief, offered him by his companions, because he feared lest Sparta should see with jealousy the command placed in the hands of an Athenian.<sup>1</sup> The islanders, those especially who had been false to Athens, naturally hoped that the taxes established by Aristeides and Perikles for the protection of their commerce would be abolished, since Sparta was the ally of the Great King. But they had only changed masters. Sparta continued to levy the former tributes, which reached annually a sum of more than a thousand talents.<sup>2</sup>

BRONZE COIN.<sup>3</sup>SILVER COIN.<sup>4</sup>

A fleet keeping watch everywhere in the Ægæan Sea, from Cyprus to Byzantion; finances not lavished at Sparta, as they had been at Athens, on things beautiful, but of no military value; an army always easily obtainable from those poor and rapacious populations of the Peloponnesos which had furnished Cyrus with most of his mercenaries; and, lastly, an active surveillance, resolutely enforced in Sparta by the ephors, and in all the cities by the military governors,—these, together with the great reputation of Sparta, were the props of her empire.

Athens at an earlier period had established hers more skilfully, without deeds of violence, rapine, or cruelty; hence she was able to preserve it longer, and never to have, even in her misfortunes,

<sup>1</sup> *Hellen.*, iii. 5, 15; *Anab.*, vi. 6, 12; 7, 2. And I do not say all. See in Isokrates, *Panegyri.*, 113 and 114: *ἐτι δὲ παίδων ὕβρεις καὶ γυναικῶν ἀλοχύνας* . . .; in Plutarch, *Pelop.*, 20, in the edit. Didot, vol. iii. p. 945, and Vol. II. p. 577 of this work.

<sup>2</sup> Diodoros, xiv. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Coin of Byzantion. Veiled head of Demeter, with a wreath of wheat-ears, right profile. Reverse: ΒΥΖΑΝ[τιῶν]. Poseidon, seated to the right, on a rock; he wears a diadem; in his left hand he holds the trident, and in the right the akrostolion, an ornament attached to the prows of vessels. Behind him a magistrate's name: ΚΑΛΧΑ[υρος?]. In the field, a monogram.

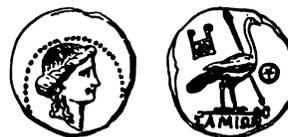
<sup>4</sup> Coin of Pherai. A Thessalian hero subjugating an angry bull. The animal is leaping to the left, and the hero grasps him by the horns, his peplos and kousia float from his shoulders. In the exergue, a dolphin and a lion's head. Reverse: ΦΕΡΑΙΩΝ. Horse springing to the left; his bridle drags on the ground. The whole in an incused square.

too numerous defections. Sparta was not so well informed in respect to the organization of a State. Strength was all that she knew of, and this she used unduly; her empire had no other bond. Athens had also used the right of the stronger, it is true; but she had habitually joined to it justice. She had made herself the centre, political, military, and judicial, of her empire, and, more than that, the metropolis of art and letters for all Hellas. Nothing great or glorious, nothing fruitful or useful, was to spring out of the Spartan supremacy; from its very beginning its ruin was inevitable. A thousand causes brought about its rapid decline. Some were in Sparta itself and in Greece; others were foreign to Lacedæmon and to Hellas.

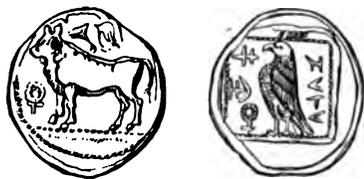
The consequences of the institutions of Lykourgos continued to be developed. The Spartan city diminished daily, as if worn by the play of its iron institutions. The close limits it had made for itself, which, never expanding, grew always narrower, at last came to contain but a very small number of citizens. A multitude had perished in war, others, through poverty, had fallen into a lower class, and were no longer permitted to sit at the public tables.

This is said by Aristotle: "He who had not the means to contribute towards the expense of these tables was deprived of his political rights." The Spartans understood perfectly that they were in danger of perishing for want of citizens. It will be remembered how bitter was their lamentation when four hundred and twenty soldiers of Sphakteria were shut up in the island. "The territory of

Sparta," says Aristotle again, "could support fifteen hundred horsemen and thirty thousand hoplites, whereas it has in reality



BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>



SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Samos. Laurelled head of Here, right profile. Reverse: ΣΑΜΙΩΝ. The peacock, the usual attribute of Here, to the right, standing on a caduceus; against his wing rests a thyrus; in the field, two monograms of magistrates' names.

<sup>2</sup> Cypriot coin. Bull standing to the left; before him the ansate cross; above, an eagle flying. Reverse: an eagle standing to the left; before him the ansate cross; legend in Cypriot characters: βασι. Στασανδ. The whole in an incused square. (Coin of Stasandros, king of Paphos, about 440-420 B. C.)

scarcely a thousand soldiers at the present time." In the assemblies of four thousand men there were scarcely forty Spartans.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, as the number of the Spartans diminished, the inequality among them increased.<sup>2</sup> Much earlier than this, gold and silver had ceased to be proscribed and the unselfishness of the Lacedæmonians to be a matter of pride. There were numerous examples of venality among them. Eurybiades had been bought by Themistokles; Pleistonax and Kleandridas by Perikles; Leotychides by the Aleuadai; the admiral and captains of the fleet by Tissaphernes. Spartan kings, senators, and ephors had often accepted bribes, and Gylippos, the defender of Syracuse, being commissioned to carry to Sparta the spoils of Athens, had appropriated to his own use the sum of fifty talents. Hence an interlocutor in the *Alkibiades* says: "There is more gold and silver in Sparta than in the rest of Greece; the precious metals flow into it from all quarters and remain there. It is like the lion's cave, — footprints leading into it are seen, but none that lead out."<sup>3</sup> Those who returned from appointments in Asia, generals and military governors, brought home great sums of money, and much else, — luxury, effeminacy, corruption. There was sudden wealth, and the vices which accompany it. After the Peloponnesian war the ephor Eпитadeos had caused the passage of a law authorizing citizens to dispose of their property and their lot of land, κληρος. The effects of this *rhetra* were so rapid that Aristotle could say, "The land has become the property of a few." In the time of Agis IV. the whole territory belonged to one hundred Spartans.<sup>4</sup> Hence the government became more and more oligarchical. Everything was done by the ephors and the senate, the general assembly was rarely consulted; and so it came about that the rulers, being very few, were all the more jealous of their

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, ii. 7; Xenophon, *Hellenics*, iii. ch. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, ii. 6, 16–18; ii. 7, 3. On this corruption of Sparta see Isokrates, the oration on *Peace*, 118–127; Xenophon, *Republic of Sparta*, 14; and Thucydides. *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *Alkibiades*, i. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, *Agis*, v.; Aristotle, *Politics*, ii. 6: ἀπόλετο διὰ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν, "a want of men has ruined it." Fustel de Coulanges (*La Propriété à Sparta*, 1881) thinks, and rightly, that these changes had been prepared for before the time of Eпитadeos by subterfuges, and that the estates had accumulated as trusts in a very few hands, thus reducing the number of active citizens to the very low figures given us by Plutarch and Aristotle. We must also take into account the *Creticus amor*, the exposure of infants, etc. From the nine thousand of the time of Lykourgos the number had fallen, after Leuktra, to two thousand; Aristotle gives one thousand; under Agis there were only seven hundred, of whom six hundred were beggars.

privileges, and less disposed to suffer invasion of them. To open their ranks, moreover, for the readmission of families who had lost their status through poverty, would have been to expose themselves, by giving the majority to the others, to some land reform, some new division of the vast domains now concentrated in a few hands. While the public interest urged this, individual interests opposed it, and they gained the victory:

Hence resulted a violent hatred between the privileged class and those beneath them, who were Spartans deprived of their rank, enfranchised Helots, Lakonians to whom certain rights had been granted, and the children of Spartan fathers of the ruling class and alien mothers. These different classes were carefully separated by designations, and doubtless also by different conditions. Below the Equals (*ὄμοιοι*), who formed a narrow oligarchy, were the Inferiors (*ὑπομείονες*), or Spartans excluded from the public tables, the Helots enfranchised for service to the State (*νεοδαμώδεις*), and lastly, the Perioikoi. All these men, who had no share in the government, had nevertheless a keen sense of their importance and their services. Among these sons of Spartan fathers and Helot mothers were such men as Lysandros, Gylippos, and Kallikratidas. The Thebans said at Athens, in a spiteful address against Lacedæmon, that the Spartans selected their military governors from among the Helots;<sup>1</sup> that is to say, from among men hav-

TETRADRACHM.<sup>2</sup>

ing Helot blood in their veins. Moreover, many of these persons had amassed wealth, which gave them the ambition to emerge from the status in which custom retained them. When Kleomenes III. offered liberty to every Helot who would pay six minai (about ninety dollars) into the treasury, six thousand presented themselves.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenics*, ii. 5, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Coin attributed to Kleomenes III. Diademed head of the king, left profile. Reverse: AA, first letters of the name Lacedæmon. Archaic statue of Apollo of Amyklaia, to the right, holding a bow and a javelin; at his side a goat: the lower part of the statue is ornamented with an akrostelion and a cock. In the field, a wreath. (The royal head on this coin has been successively attributed to Kleomenes III., to Antigonos Doson, and to Aon, son of Poseidon, a Boiotian hero.)

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Kleomenes*, 23.

Sparta still retained, however, her two royal houses, whose principal duty seems to have been to maintain order in the State. But the increasing authority of the ephors and the new wealth of Sparta had diminished the power of the kings. Reduced to the rôle of hereditary generals and no more, these royal functionaries never went on a military expedition without being accompanied by ten

BRONZE COIN.<sup>2</sup>

inspectors, disguised under the name of counsellors, who in reality directed the operations of the army.<sup>1</sup> In the later years of the Peloponnesian war the great blows were struck by sea; and the men who commanded the fleets, sold captives, levied fines upon cities, and received the subsidies given by the Great King were not Spartans *pur sang*; their rank of admiral is called, however, by Aristotle in his *Politics* "a second kingship."<sup>3</sup>

Lysandros was not, therefore, indulging in a mad ambition when, having become the foremost citizen in Sparta, he proposed to himself to reconstruct for his own advantage the political system of the city.

"He could not but feel displeasure," says Plutarch,<sup>4</sup> "when he saw that a city whose fame he had so increased was governed by kings who were no better men than himself; and he formed the plan of depriving the two reigning houses of their dignity, and making it common to all the Herakleids.<sup>5</sup> Others say that he wished to extend this right, not only to the Herakleids, but to all Spartans; so that it might belong to any man who should render himself worthy. As this hero himself had risen by his own merit to the highest rank in the public esteem of Greece, he hoped that when the kingdom should be the reward of virtue, no Spartan would be judged to have a higher claim to it than he. He had already employed Kleon of Halikarnassos to compose for him a persuasive address, by which he hoped to gain over the Spartans; and he also sought to bribe the oracles

<sup>1</sup> . . . δεκα γὰρ ἄνδρας προσείλοτο αὐτῷ (the king) ξυμβούλους (Thucydides, v. 63, for the year 417).

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Lacedæmon. ΚΟΙ ΛΑΚΕ (κοινὸν Λακεδαιμονίων) ΚΥΠΑΡΙΣΣΙΑ, ΤΙ[μάριστος], name of an ephor and the monogram of a magistrate's name. Artemis, standing, shod with boots (*endromides*), her bow and quiver on her shoulder, and in her right hand a branch of cypress. (Reverse of a bronze coin, on the face of which is the head of the goddess Roma. Struck near the close of the Roman republic.)

<sup>3</sup> Σχεδὸν ἐτέρα βασιλεία. But this important position, which inspired jealousy, could not, according to an express law, be given twice to the same man (Xenophon, *Hellenics*, ii. 1, 7).

<sup>4</sup> *Lysandros*, 25.

<sup>5</sup> He was the son of the Herakleid Aristokritos.

of Delphi, Dodona, and of the temple of Zeus Ammon, to make responses favorable to him."

The assistance of the gods, though obtained by corrupting their priests, was something; but the assistance of men was more needful. Now, long before this, Lysandros had attached to his fortunes a numerous party, by re-establishing everywhere the oligarchy which, with the sacrilegious servility later so common in Greece and in the Roman Empire, had erected altars to him, and paid him during his lifetime the worship of a hero. He caused himself to be called by his poets the new Agamemnon, "the strategos of Hellas;" and on the coast of Asia as well as in the islands he affected the manners of a king. His offerings at Delphi after the battle of Aigospotamoi showed him crowned by Poseidon in the midst of an attendant group of divinities; and he was co-recipient in the sacrifices made to Zeus Liberator. At Sparta this luxury and insolence gave offence. Without comprehending his secret designs, men were jealous of his power and fame; it was said that for a mere citizen he had too much of both,—too much wealth also, no doubt; and he alarmed those who had formerly exiled Gylippos, the liberator of Syracuse.

At the head of this opposition was Pausanias the king, whom we have already seen at Athens, in 403 B. C., overthrowing the work of Lysandros. Four years later Derkyllidas did the same thing, or allowed it to be done in the colonies, which freed themselves from



EX-VOTO TO THE DODONEAN ZEUS.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bronze from the Collection Carapanos (from Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*, pl. xiv. No. 1.) Mænad in a chiton and a skin of an animal. Her gaze is fixed on the ground, apparently on some object which has disappeared.

the oligarchies that the victor of Aigospotamoi had imposed upon them, and returned to their former laws. However, when Agis died in this same year, 399 B. C., Lysandros had influence enough to cause Agesilaos, one of the brothers of Agis, to be proclaimed king instead of the son of Agis, whom Lysandros maintained was only the son of Alkibiades.

Agesilaos was small of stature and lame in one foot, — which gave his adversaries occasion to say that among a race of vigorous soldiers he could not have kingly qualities; there was even set in circulation an oracle of Delphi which threatened Sparta with great woes on the day when she should have a lame king.

GOLD COIN.<sup>1</sup>

Lysandros was not the man to be deterred by sacerdotal intervention. He accepted the oracle as genuine, and then explained it to mean that the god, wishing to preserve the purity of the Herakleid race, condemned by it the illegitimate claimant, and not the man against whom could be urged only an accident of nature. The dull Spartan intellect was gratified at so subtle a distinction, and Agesilaos was made king. Lysandros expected to reign under his name; but it soon appeared that the *protégé* was a man of ability, who on the first opportunity freed himself from control, and Lysandros was obliged to recommence his intrigues.

BRONZE COIN.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile a conspiracy of the most serious character had been formed by a man named Kinadon, who did not belong to the class of Equals. The man who gave information as to this plot related to the ephors that he had been taken into the agora by Kinadon and asked to count the Spartans who were there. There proved to be, the informant said, less than forty, including one of the kings, the ephors, and the senators. "Consider these your enemies," Kinadon had said to him; "and all the rest, more

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Kyrenaika. Zeus Ammon, standing to the right, half-nude, leaning on a long sceptre; at his side, a ram; legend: KYPANAION. Reverse: woman in a quadriga, the horses galloping to the left; in the exergue, ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΑΣ, a magistrate's name.

<sup>2</sup> Reverse of a coin of Lacedæmon with the effigy of Commodus. ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ. Apollo of Amyklai standing, wearing a helmet and drawing a bow; the lower part of the figure, a hermes; in the field, two monograms of magistrates.

than four thousand in number, are your friends." In the streets also, he bade him notice, here and there would be an unfriendly person, and likewise in the rural domains outside the city; but everywhere the great majority would be ready for a change.

The ephors then sought to ascertain the number of the conspirators. The informant said that he had been told it was not as yet large, but that Kinadon expected the sympathy of all the inferior classes as soon as they were appealed to. These men were understood to bear the most vindictive hatred towards the Spartans. He was further asked if any provision had been made for securing weapons. He replied that Kinadon had led him through the quarter of the smiths, and had shown him great quantities of daggers, swords, spits, hatchets, and scythes, which were to be used.<sup>1</sup>

Kinadon was arrested, with a few of his accomplices. When questioned as to the motive of his action, he said that he was unwilling to have any man his master in Lacedæmon. He was cruelly put to death (399 B. C.). This conspiracy had revealed an abyss of hatred lying beneath the surface of Sparta, and also an alarming sympathy among the inferior classes, free as well as slaves. From this a social war might easily spring up. But Sparta was able to baffle all plots against her, with that vigilance which continual distrust gives to all oligarchical governments.

Notwithstanding this hostility among classes, and many other difficulties, such as the strife of the kings with the senate and with the ephors, who had reduced them to a subject condition,<sup>2</sup> the mutual jealousy of the two kings, and the like, the government of Sparta was no less strong for action against other States on account of this concentration of the authority in a few hands. At home the ephors, abroad the military governors,—those so-called *conciliators* (*harmostai*),—exercised a permanent dictatorship; there were Spartan garrisons in Megara, Aigina, Tanagra, Pharsala, Herakleia in Trachinia, at the entrance of the pass of Thermopylai; and Dionysios of Syracuse was an ally. But this power, so widely extended, was scarcely more than influence, since Sparta herself had few resources, having few citizens; and already this influence was lessening.

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenics*, iii. 3, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Agesilaos rose when they passed him (Plutarch, *Agis*, 4).

Her claims gave offence to those who still loved liberty, and who had not, to console themselves for its loss, all those things which Athens had given to her subjects, — the compensations of an immense commerce, the splendor of games, of arts and of poetry. Sparta, equally selfish and more oppressive, took everything. Annually she levied a tribute of more than a thousand talents, which disappeared in Sparta and was never again seen;<sup>1</sup> and those who had given her soldiers, like Achaia and Arkadia, vessels, like Corinth, and auxiliaries, like Thebes, received nothing in return.

It was soon felt that this heavy Dorian rule was insupportably oppressive; and the Athenian supremacy, really mild even when



VASES FROM AIGINA.<sup>2</sup>

most arbitrary, was regretted by many. That the Greeks of Thrace or of the Asiatic coast, those populations who had never known how to say no, should tremble before the Spartan symbols of authority was not marvellous, for they had been accustomed to obey. Yet two servitudes at once were much, even for them. — to obey the oligarchs, friends of Lysandros, and the military governors placed over them by Sparta. But in Greece Proper, Sparta could not expect very much docility. She had not hesitated, in the matter of the Athenian exiles, to speak as mistress, and to make decrees for all Greece; but we have seen how Thebes replied to this arrogance.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diodoros, xiv. 10.

<sup>2</sup> From the *Mittheil. d. d. archäol. Instit. in Athen*, vol. iv. (1879), pl. 19. Porcelain vases, called Egyptian, in form of a sphinx and of a human head with animal's ears.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 402.

Thebes, a continental power, had long aspired to play in Central Greece the *rôle* which Sparta played in the Peloponnesos. Between herself and Athens there might be jealousy, but there



BAS-RELIEF OF MEGARA.<sup>1</sup>

was not necessarily a conflict of interests, as with Lacedæmon. In the intoxication of victory Sparta had believed herself freed from all obligations towards the Greek States; she had been

<sup>1</sup> Marble discovered at Megara, now in the Museum of Berlin (No. 729 of the *Catalogue*), from the *Archäol. Zeitung* (1873), pl. 6, and p. 55. At the left two women, standing, and leaning against each other, present an offering to an old man. It seems that this is rather a dead person than a god, and in that case the bas-relief is only a funeral monument.

angry because the Thebans had taken to themselves at Dekeleia Apollo's tithe, and she had scornfully rejected their claims on the subject of the spoils and the treasure brought back by Lysandros, the remains of the advances made by Cyrus.<sup>1</sup> Corinth, no better received, was on good terms with the Thebans, which gave another cause of complaint to Sparta against the latter. The Argives, in a dispute concerning boundaries, asserted that their reasons were more cogent than their adversaries'. "The man who is strongest with this argument," Lysandros said, laying his hand on his sword, "knows best about the boundaries of States." A Megarian in a conference speaking in a loud voice, "My friend," the Spartan said, "your words need a city behind them."

With the Eleians Sparta dealt more unceremoniously. During the Peloponnesian war they had inflicted evident wrongs upon her;<sup>2</sup> these she remembered after the fall of Athens. In 402 B. C.



she required from them what had been fixed as their share of the expenses of the campaigns they had refused to make against the city which Sparta had called "the common enemy;" and she also summoned them to relinquish their authority over the townships dependent on them. On their refusal Agis invaded their territory. Stopped on his march by an earthquake, and deterred from further operations at that time, he returned the following year, accompanied by contingents from all the allies, even from Athens. Thebes and Corinth alone refused to share in this invasion. Numerous volunteers from Arkadia and Achaia, urged by the hope

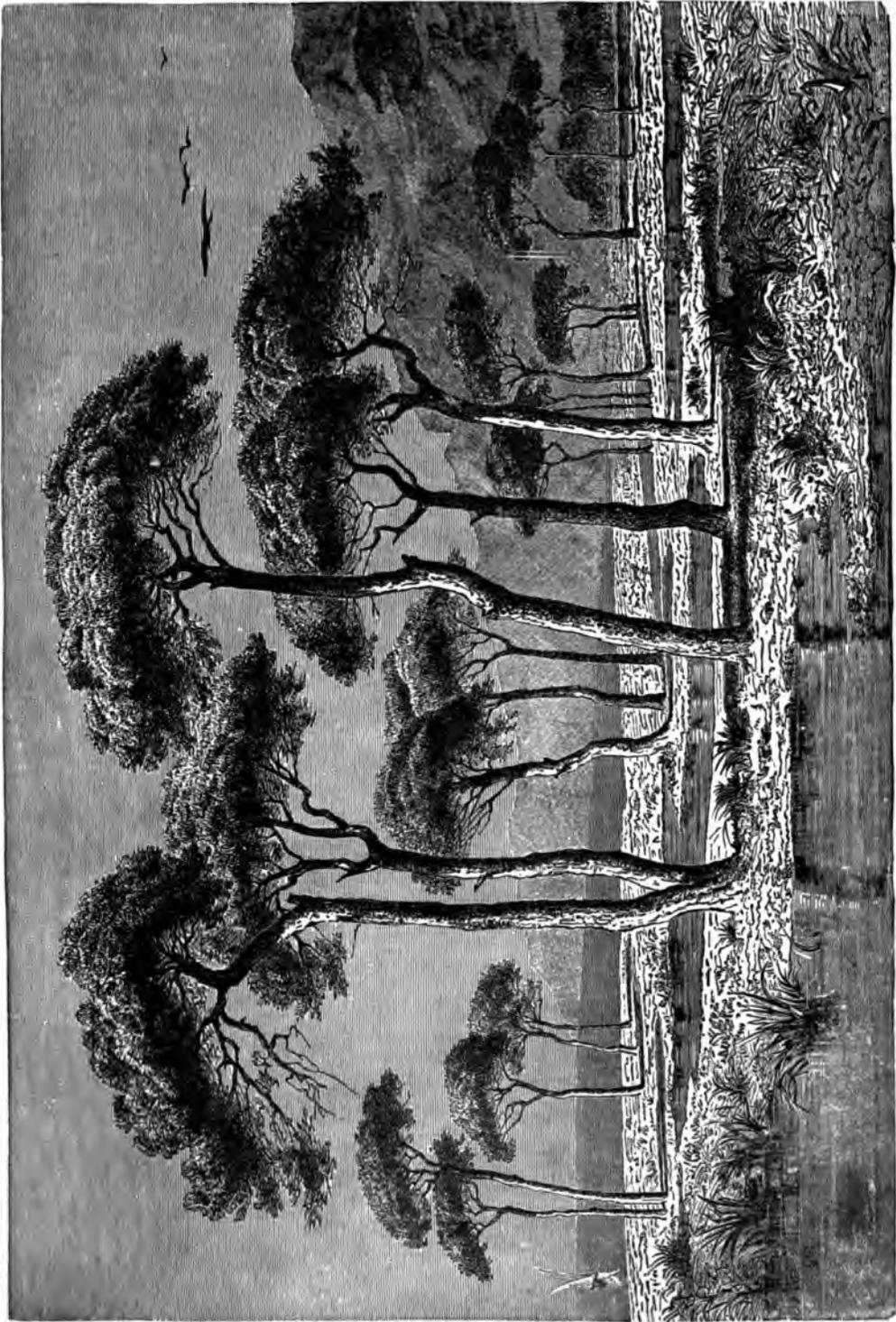
<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenics*, iii. 5, 5; Plutarch, *Lysandros*, 27.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. II., chap. xvii., § 3.

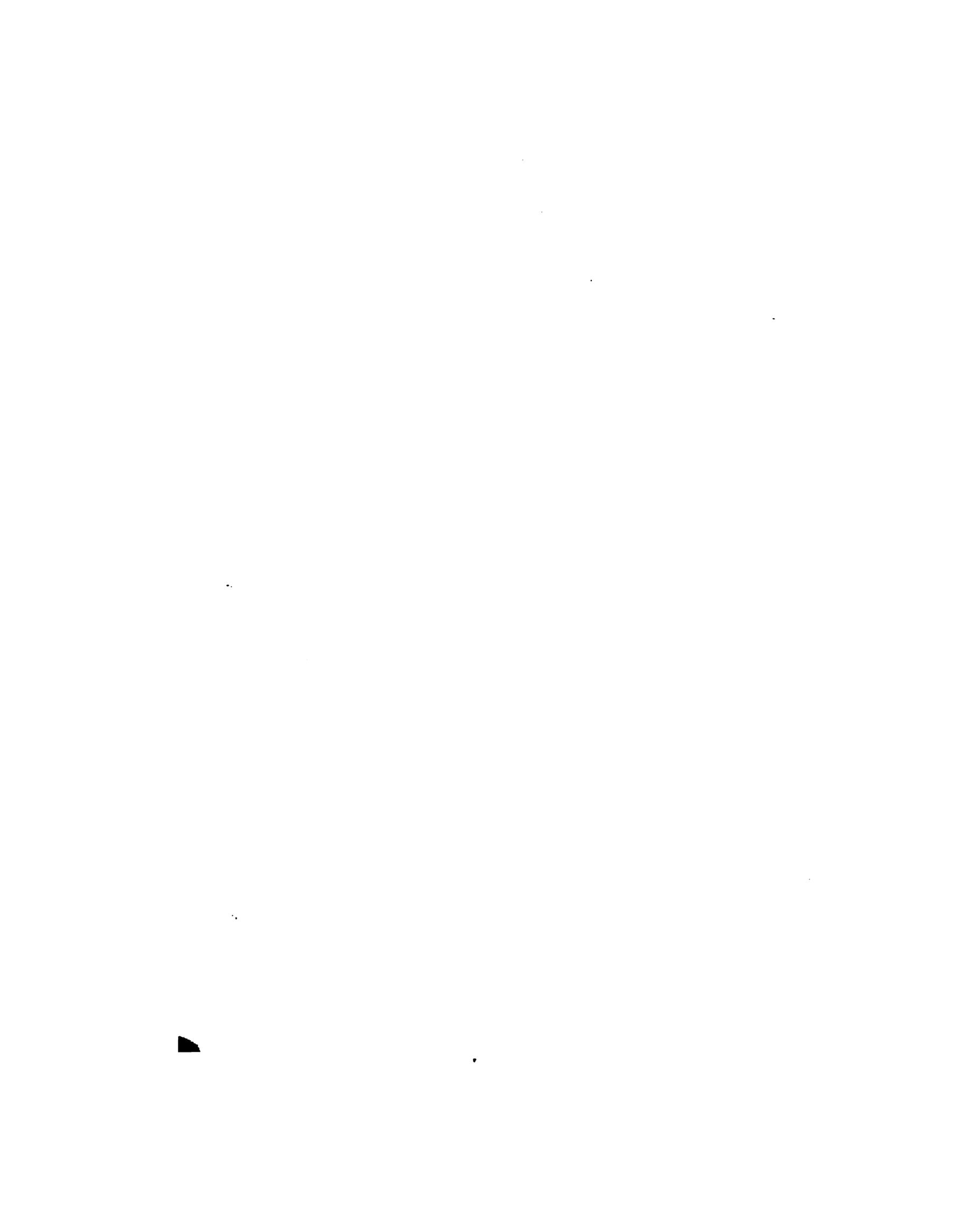
<sup>3</sup> Coin of Thebes. The Boiotian shield. Reverse: ΘΕΒ[αίων]. Herakles, bearded, standing to the right, holding the club in his right hand and the bow in his left.

<sup>4</sup> Coin of Elis. Eagle's head to the left. Reverse: ΕΛ[αίων]. Winged thunderbolt.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a view on the coast of Elis. From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxvii. 317. In the background are seen the mountains of Triphylia.



PINES ON THE COAST OF ILLIN.



of plunder, joined the expedition. Xenophon asserts that the pillage of this wealthy State, spared from war for centuries, spread abundance throughout the rest of the Peloponnesos. Elis was compelled to set free the Triphylean towns dependent on her, to surrender her harbor and war-galleys, and to raze her walls; after which the Spartans consented to receive her among their allies, —

GIRLS AT A FOUNTAIN.<sup>1</sup>

that is to say, their subjects (400 B. C.). This triumph permitted them to extend their influence in the Ionian Sea; and they also gratified an old animosity by driving out the last remnants of the Messenian colonies established by Athens at Kephallenia and Naupaktos.

To the imperious demands of the Spartan government were added acts of violence done by individuals, — which often are more odious, because a single victim, even though obscure, excites more pity than a nation bowed under defeat; and there is less danger to the aggressor who violently attacks the national independence, in which all are concerned, than to him who, in contempt of right and justice, does injury to the individual.

<sup>1</sup> Vase-painting (from the *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königl. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, 1878, pl. v. 1). Two girls, of whom one is seated on the fountain and the other is standing, converse, while their water-jars, placed on the ground, are filling. Cf. *Berichte*, p. 143, No. 8 (H Heydemann).

“Vengeance is said to have come upon the Lacedæmonians,” says Pausanias (ix. 13, 3), “in consequence of the daughters of Skedasos. Skedasos lived at Leuktra and had two daughters, Molpia and Hippo. They were very beautiful, and two Lacedæmonians, Phrouarchidas and Parthenios, iniquitously violated them; and they forthwith hung themselves, for this outrage was more than they could bear. Skedasos, when he could get no reparation at Sparta for this outrage, returned to Leuktra and committed suicide.”

A few incidents like this have been recorded; but how many escape us! It is easy to see that they must have been numerous when we reflect on the hatred that Sparta inspired, even in the Peloponnesos.

The Arkadians and the Achaians served her only from motives of fear. She was, they said, placed beside them like a citadel, keeping guard over the whole peninsula. At Sparta there was no lack of comprehension as to their sentiments. On returning from an expedition in which a Spartan corps had been cut to pieces, in the Corinthian war of which



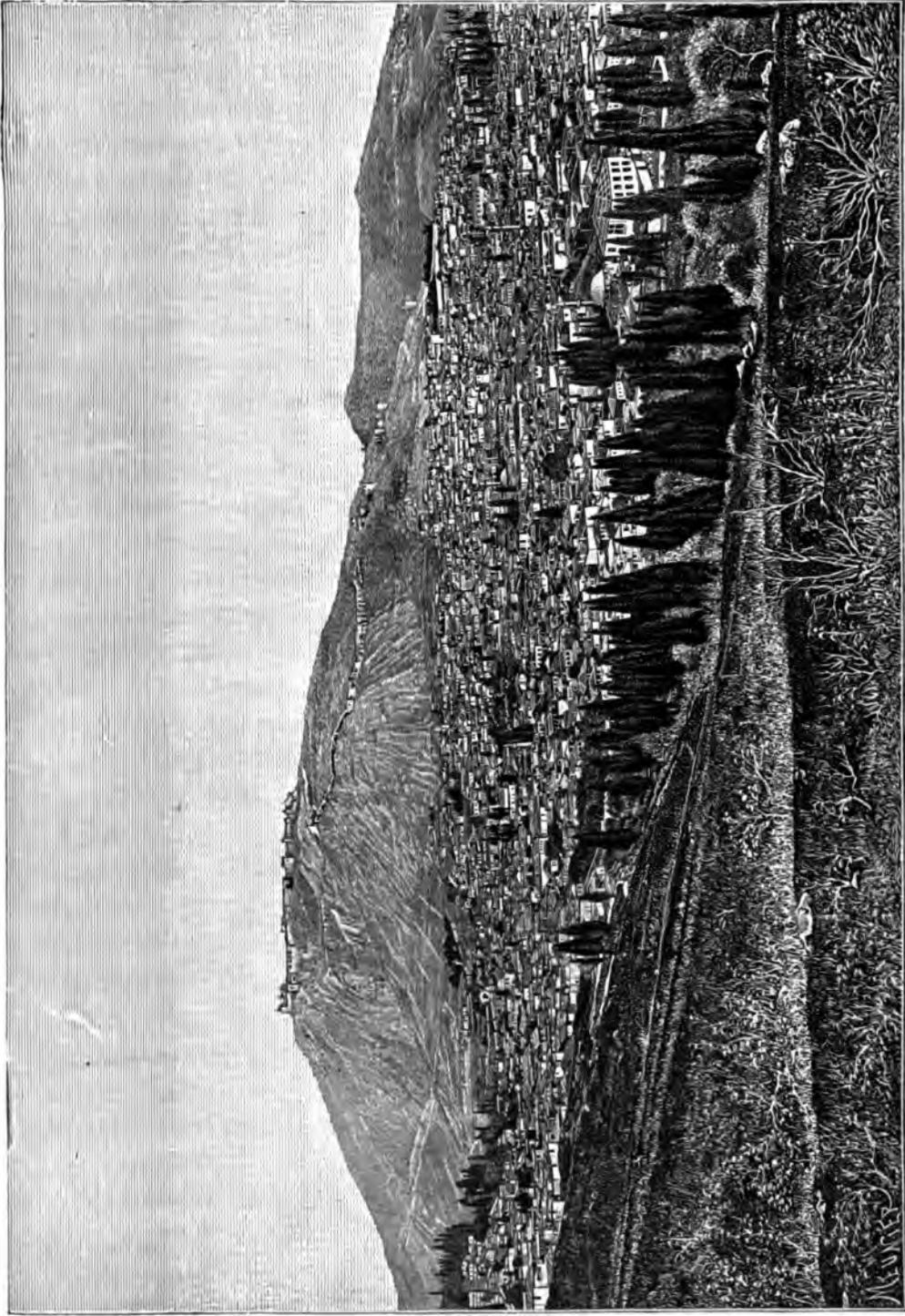
OBOLOS.<sup>1</sup>

we shall shortly give the details, Agesilaos entered the cities by night, and went away again at daybreak, that his men might not see the secret gratification caused to the inhabitants by this disaster.

At last the Persians had ceased to be the allies of Sparta, since the latter, becoming mistress of Greece, had taken up the national quarrel. Before and after the battle of Aigospotamoi she had cared nothing for the independence of the Asiatic Greeks, leaving them no alternative except to obey either Cyrus or Tissaphernes. They had all declared for Cyrus except Miletos, which the young prince had besieged on beginning his expedition. Tissaphernes, returning from the pursuit of the Ten Thousand, having attempted to subjugate the Milesians, they sent for aid to Sparta, and received thence Thimbron, with a thousand emancipated Helots, four thousand Peloponnesians, three hundred Athenian horsemen, and three

<sup>1</sup> Obolos of Delphi. Ram's head to the right, under it a dolphin. Reverse: goat's head, front face, with a dolphin at each side; the whole in an incused square.

NOTE. — The view of Pergamon on the opposite page is taken from *Die Alterthümer von Pergamon*, vol. ii., atlas, pl. 1. In the foreground is the modern city Bergamah, and above it the akropolis of the ancient Pergamon.



VIEW OF PERGAMON.



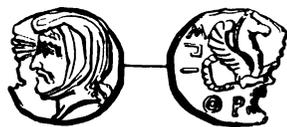


thousand Ionians. To this force was joined the remnant of the Ten Thousand under the leadership of Xenophon, who was now a mere soldier of fortune (400 B. C.). Thimbron took Pergamon and a few other places; but the disorderly and pillaging character of his troops having excited the complaints of the allies, he was recalled, was fined, and being unable to pay the fine, went into exile. His successor, Derkyllidas, who by his extreme craftiness had gained the name of Sisyphos, took advantage of the rivalry between Pharnabazos and Tissaphernes. He made a truce with



SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>

one, and was thus enabled to carry on war with the other. Under him discipline was excellent, and victories followed each other in rapid succession. A rich district in the neighborhood of Mount Ida,



SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

called the Aiolis of Pharnabazos, and a part of Bithynia were conquered or ravaged. Making another truce with Pharnabazos, he passed over into the Thracian Chersonesos, which was devastated by frequent incursions of neighboring tribes; and he protected this fertile country with its eleven cities by restoring the old wall of Miltiades and Perikles, crossing the isthmus with a length of thirty-seven stadia. Returning, he carried the war into Karia, where Tissaphernes had his own personal possessions. A battle was imminent. Tissaphernes had Greek mercenaries, of whom at this time there were always some in every army, and Barbarians in so great number that the Asiatic Greeks of Derkyllidas showed an alarm which made their general hesitate. An interview took place. Derkyllidas insisted that the Persians should allow the Hellenic cities to be ruled by their own laws; Pharnabazos and Tissaphernes demanded the withdrawal of the Spartan troops from

<sup>1</sup> ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΗΣ. Persian archer, kneeling to the right; on his head, the kidaris; in the left hand, a bow; in the right, the short lance, topped by a ball, which characterizes the archers of the royal guard of the Achaimenid kings. The name Pythagoras is doubtless a magistrate's name. Reverse: an incused square, with striated and granulated surface. (Coin of an unknown satrap.)

<sup>2</sup> Head of the satrap Spithridates, wearing the tiara, left profile. Reverse: ΣΠΙΘΡ; front part of a winged horse galloping to the right. This satrap seems to have governed Lydia and Ionia shortly before the time of Alexander (*Numismatische Zeitschrift* of Vienna, iii. 424).

Persian soil, and of the military governors from the cities where they had been placed. The two parties could not agree, and the matter was referred to their respective governments (399 B. C.).

### III. — EXPEDITION OF AGESILAOS; CORINTHIAN WAR; TREATY OF ANTALKIDAS (387 B. C.).

IN the year 396 B. C. Lysandros caused to be decreed to Agesilaos the command of the army of Asia. As if to re-awaken memories of the Trojan war, the king embarked at Aulis, taking with him two thousand enfranchised Helots and six thousand allies. Again Corinth and Thebes refused their contingent, — Thebes without offering any reason; Corinth excusing herself on the ground of an evil omen, the destruction by fire of her temple



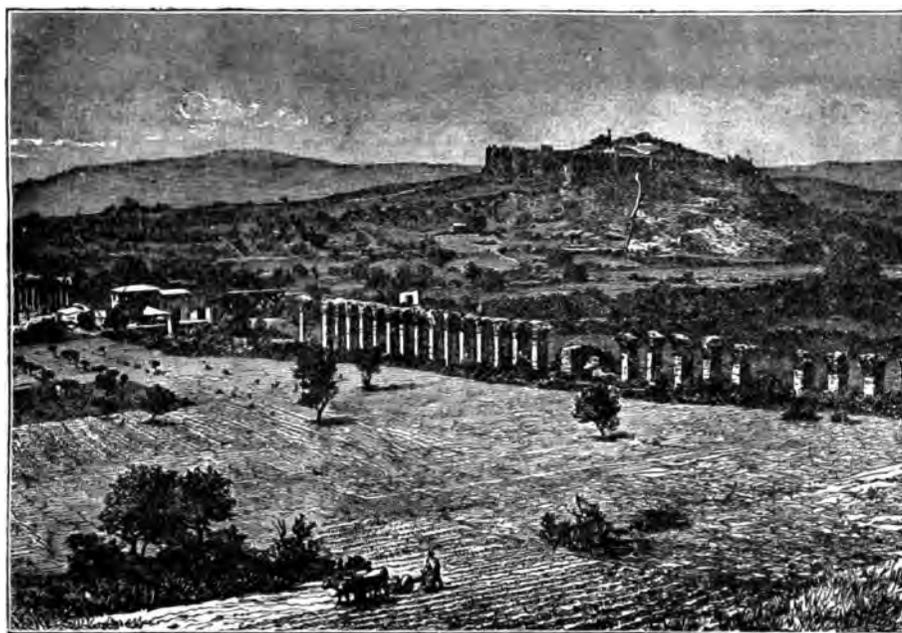
of Zeus. Athens was still too feeble to take part in the enterprise. At the seaport a quarrel arose between Agesilaos and the Boiotians, who plucked from the altars and threw away the flesh of a victim offered by him, because he had employed for the sacrifice, contrary to usage, a diviner foreign to the country where the sacrifice was offered. Agesilaos departed, however, without avenging this insult, and sailed for Ephesos; he was accompanied by Lysandros and a council of thirty Spartans.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Ephesos. Head of Artemis, right profile, a diadem on the head, a quiver on the shoulder. Reverse: fore-part of a stag, to the right, with reverted head. In the field, a magistrate's name, ΠΑΡΑΣΙΟΣ, the two letters ΕΦ, initials of the name of the city, and a bee, — the usual symbol of Ephesos.

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Orontobates, satrap of Karia. Head of Apollo, laurelled, front face, with scattered hair. Reverse: ΠΟΝΤΟΠΑΤΟ. Zeus of Labranda, walking to the right, carrying a double-bladed axe (*labrys*) over the right shoulder, and holding the sceptre in the left hand. Arrian calls this satrap *Ἰσχυροβάτης*, and the coin *Ἰσχυροβάτης*. He reigned at Halikarnassos in the time of Alexander (*Revue numism.*, 1887, pp. 89 *et seq.*).

<sup>3</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenics*, iii. 4. It will be seen that but a very few Spartans of the first

The Greek cities of Asia were at this time in a condition of disorder; no one party was dominant in them, neither the democracy, formerly protected by Athens, nor the aristocracy, established by Lysandros. The latter, who had come into Asia in the hope of turning the scale in favor of his partisans, hoped to guide the king at his will, not as yet having any knowledge



GENERAL VIEW OF EPHEOSOS.<sup>1</sup>

of the great qualities of Agesilaos. Not even taking pains to conceal his arrogance, he gathered about him all who came to solicit his protection, and lived in royal state. "It seemed as if the king was but a subject, and Lysandros king." Agesilaos at last was offended, and he took pleasure in showing it. To conceal his inferiority from those who had seen him master of all things, Lysandros asked finally to be despatched on a mission to the Hellespont.

Availing himself of the truce concluded with Derkyllidas, Tissaphernes had brought together a numerous army, protecting

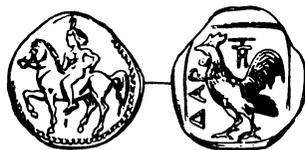
rank accompanied Agesilaos; and these were rather a council than a part of the army. In his *Life of Agesilaos*, Xenophon (?) speaks of three thousand enfranchised Helots.

<sup>1</sup> From a photograph. See the plan of Ephesos, Vol. II. p. 239.

Karia. The Spartan left him unmolested there, and made a rapid descent upon defenceless Phrygia, where he captured a vast amount of booty (396 B. C.). The lack of cavalry compelling him to retreat, he organized this arm of the service from among the Asiatic Greeks, and established his headquarters at Ephesos, where he spent the winter in drilling the army. He presided in person at their military exercises, and filled the soldiers with ardor and confidence.

“To increase their contempt for the Persians, Agesilaos caused those who had been taken and were to be sold as slaves to be put up for sale entirely divested of their clothing. The soldiers, seeing the very white skin of these prisoners, who were never accustomed to be exposed to the sun, and their limbs relaxed and feeble, like those of persons accustomed to be borne in carriages instead of walking or running, at once felt that the enemies with whom they had to contend were no more formidable than women.”

In the spring, when the new campaign began, Tissaphernes, again deceived, awaited the Spartan king in the plain of Karia; but the latter marched directly against Sardis. Three days he advanced without meeting an enemy; on the fourth the Persian cavalry came up with him, the infantry being left far behind. Agesilaos attacked them promptly, put them to flight,



SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>

and took their camp, with a booty of more than seventy talents. This reverse ruined Tissaphernes with his master, and Tithraustes received the order to take the satrap's place and his head (395 B. C.).

Tissaphernes having been put to death, the new general feigned to believe that there was no further ground for war between Sparta and the Great King; he even offered the entire recognition of the independence of the Asiatic Greeks, with the one condition of their paying the former tribute to Persia; and he gave thirty talents to Agesilaos to induce him to transfer his army

<sup>1</sup> Woman, her hair in the *opistosphendone*, her forehead surmounted by two plumes, seated on a horse trotting to the left; she guides the horse with the right hand, and holds the left hand to her side. Reverse: ΔΑΡ; cock standing, to the left; above it, a monogram. This coin is attributed by the Duke de Luynes to Mania, widow of Zenis, satrap of Aiolis (Duc de Luynes, *Numismatique des satrapies*, p. 48).

into the neighboring province, while he awaited the decision of Sparta as to the overtures for peace. Agesilaos accepted the money and marched into the satrapy of Pharnabazos, greatly to the satisfaction of Tithraustes, who cared only to remove the army from his own province, with a perfect indifference what attack might be made on any other part of the empire. These satraps, jealous of each other, to the satisfaction of the court of Susa, which would have greatly dreaded a good understanding among them, reduced their entire system of government to the levying of tribute, and all their policy to the endeavor to keep their own provinces in peace; the Great King asked no more of them than this. Tithraustes, however, interested himself in ridding Asia of Agesilaos. His surest means of doing this was to kindle a conflagration in Greece; and he sent thither Timokrates, a devoted agent, supplied with fifty talents.

BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>

Agesilaos, however, continued his advance. He gained to his alliance Otys, a Paphlagonian prince, and penetrated into the neighborhood of Daskylion, the residence of Pharnabazos, who solicited an interview. "Agesilaos and the Thirty, reclining on the grass, awaited the satrap. Pharnabazos arrived, splendidly attired; his slaves placed cushions upon the ground, to make him a luxurious seat; but seeing the simplicity of Agesilaos, he was ashamed of his effeminacy, and himself sat down in his rich garments on the bare ground." Agesilaos advised him to shake off the authority of the Great King. He did not agree to this, but the Spartan could understand by what Pharnabazos said that it would not be difficult to detach Asia Minor from the empire, and to interpose a crowd of petty States between Greece and Persia. Accordingly, his designs grew more ambitious day by day. His army also became more numerous. The Spartans had lately, contrary to the law, placed the fleet under his orders, and in a short time he had increased it to a hundred and twenty galleys.

In the midst of his hopes and preparations he received the order to return into Greece, where a war had just broken out

<sup>1</sup> Persian archer, with drawn bow, to the right. Reverse: alpine goat to the right; in Aramaic legend, אַרְיָרַת, (*Ariarath*?). This reading is doubtful, and the attribution of this coin to Ariarathes I., of Cappadocia, is very conjectural. (Museum of Berlin.) There will be found in the course of this work many Persian coins bearing archers.

which rendered his presence necessary. "This news distressed him greatly, for he saw great glory escape him; nevertheless, he convoked the allies, and showed them the orders of the State, saying to them that he must fly to the succor of the country. 'If the matter is quickly settled,' he said, 'know, my friends, that I shall not forget you; I will return to you in accordance with your wishes.'" At these words the assembly broke out into lamentations, and passed a decree that they would go with him to the assistance of Sparta. He appointed a military governor of Asia, with whom he left four thousand men; after which he crossed over into the Chersonesos, and took the route by which Xerxes had marched into Greece (394 B. C.).

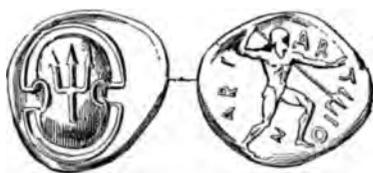
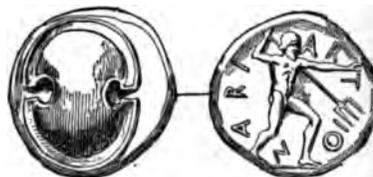
"Thirty thousand of the king's archers drive me out of Asia," said Agesilaos, making allusion to the stamp upon the thirty thousand gold pieces received by the orators of Thebes, Corinth, and Argos, who had instigated the war.<sup>1</sup> Tithraustes had been right in his calculations; his envoy had found the Thebans greatly excited against Lacedæmon. A quarrel between the Phokidians and the Lokrians, who were supported by Thebes, was the cause which brought on hostilities. Lysandros induced the Spartans to send him to help Phokis; and the king, Pausanias, was to meet him at Haliartos. On the day appointed, Lysandros was alone at the rendezvous. It was not in his disposition to withdraw or to wait. He attacked the city, was repulsed and killed. Pausanias, who perhaps had no great confidence in the devotion of his allies, dared not risk a battle, and asked for a truce in order to bury his dead. The Thebans granted it. "But proud of their success, if they saw a soldier of Pausanias wander from the main body ever so little, to reach a farm-house, they brought him back with blows to the highway. On his return to Sparta the king was condemned to death; he took refuge at Tegea, and died there of a malady." This sentence was a satisfaction offered to the national vanity. The Spartan oligarchy has no right to reproach the Athenian democracy in respect to political crimes.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon can see no other cause for the war than these thirty thousand gold pieces. He will not see all that made ready for hostilities. The Thebans did not sell themselves to Tithraustes. They took his gold as an assistance offered them by the Great King, as before he had given it to Sparta and to Athens.

<sup>2</sup> Grote (ix. 416) goes farther: "Out of the many cases in which this reproach [of unju

In 404 B. C. the Thebans had showed a violent animosity towards Athens. Two or three years of the hegemony of Sparta had sufficed, however, to turn her former allies into foes. Between States, neighborhood is often a ground for hostility, and there had been long quarrels between the two slopes of Parnes. But from the moment when danger came from the Peloponnesos, Thebes and Athens were bound to stand by each other, since at bottom their interests could not conflict, one being an inland and agricultural, the other a maritime and commercial State. By their union they kept Sparta shut up within her peninsula.

Before the battle at Haliartos a Theban deputation had been sent to Attika to ask for assistance. Athens, enfeebled though she was, without vessels and without walls, showed no hesitation.

SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

It was voted to grant aid to Thebes, Thrasyboulos proposing the resolution, and afterwards communicating it to the envoys. "A wise and heroic resolution," Demosthenes said later, in referring to this occasion; "for the heart of man ought always, whatever be the danger, to undertake the great enterprises that honor commands."<sup>3</sup>

The Athenian army did not arrive until the day after the battle of Haliartos; but it had effected a junction with the Thebans when Pausanias appeared, and this intervention of Athens decided the Euboians, the Akarnanians, the Ambrakiots, Lokris, Corinth, and Argos to enter into the new alliance. It was decided to have a common treasury and a federal council, hold-

condemnations at Athens] is advanced, there are very few wherein it has been made good; . . . hardly a single instance of Athenian condemnation occurs which we can so clearly prove to be undeserved as this of a Spartan king

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Haliartos. The Boiotian shield; on it, a large trident. Reverse: AΠIAPTION; Poseidon Onchestios, nude, fighting with his trident.

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Haliartos. The Boiotian shield. Reverse: AΠIAPTION; Poseidon Onchestios, nude, armed with the trident, and fighting to the right. (A variety of the preceding coin.)

<sup>3</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenics*, iii. 5; Demosthenes, *On the Crown*.

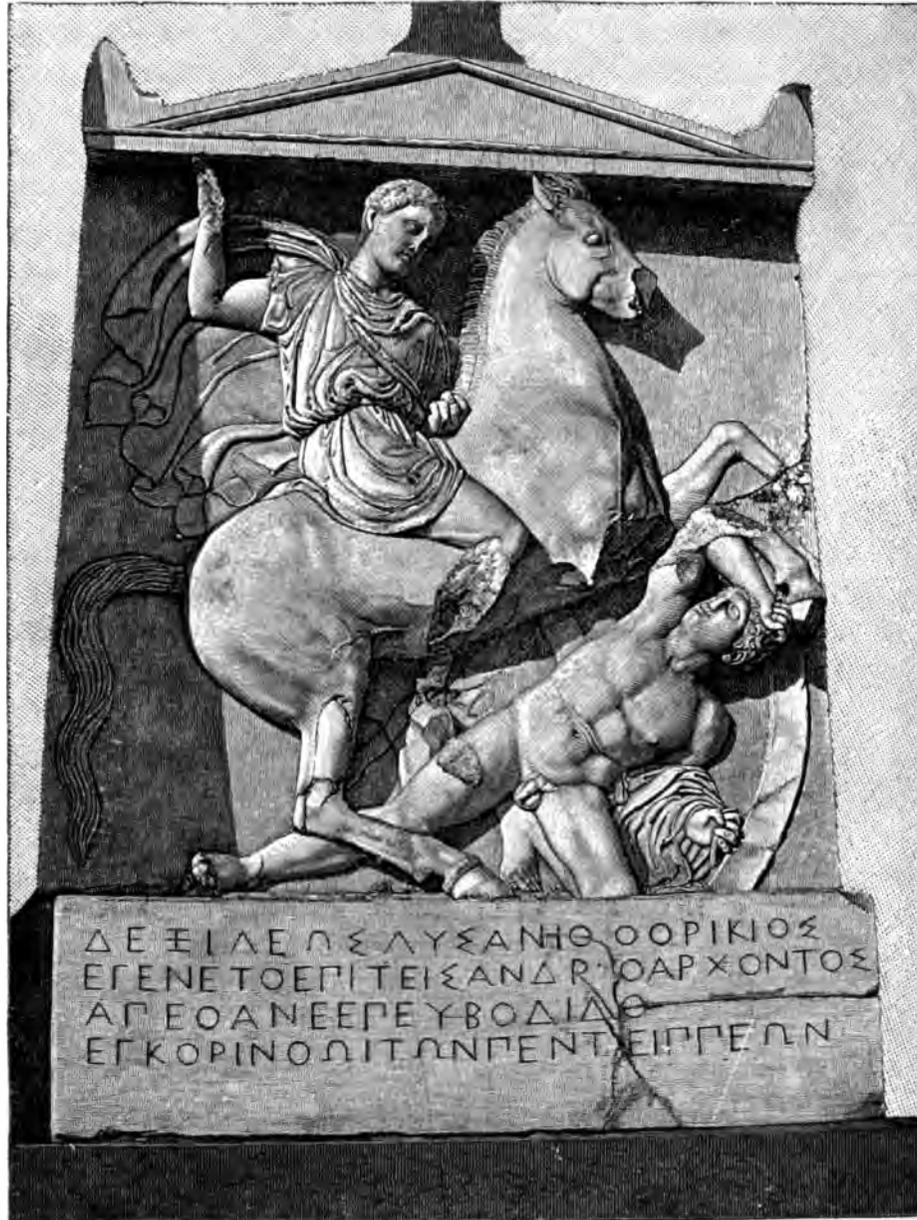
ing its sessions at Corinth. At the first meeting of this assembly the Corinthian, Timolaos, made a violent attack upon Sparta, urging an immediate advance into the Lacedæmonian territory. The Spartans were wasps, he said, to be destroyed in their nests. The Lacedæmonian power was like a river, very small at its source, and becoming larger only as it received affluents along its way. The advice was good, but it was not well followed; every confederation suffers from fatal slowness of action. When the allied force was ready to take the field, the Spartans had advanced into Sikyonia; it was necessary to accept battle in the plain of Nemea, near Corinth. The allies had 24,000 hoplites and 1,550 horse, and the Spartans but 13,500 men in all.<sup>1</sup> The delays of the Thebans and the lack of harmony among the generals caused the defeat of the confederates, with a loss of 2,800 men. The victorious force lost 1,100, of whom but eight were Spartans of the first rank (July, 394 B. C.). As in the time of Perikles, Athens paid honor to her dead who had fallen in battle; in 1862 was discovered the funeral monument of Dexileos, killed at Nemea.<sup>2</sup>

This success was not, however, a decisive victory for Sparta, for the allies retired unmolested to their camp, and in Northern Greece Sparta had experienced severe defeats. The Thessalians had taken Pharsalos and Herakleia, where they had put to death all the Spartans whom they had taken, and the Phokidians, though under Spartan officers, had been defeated at Narykos. But

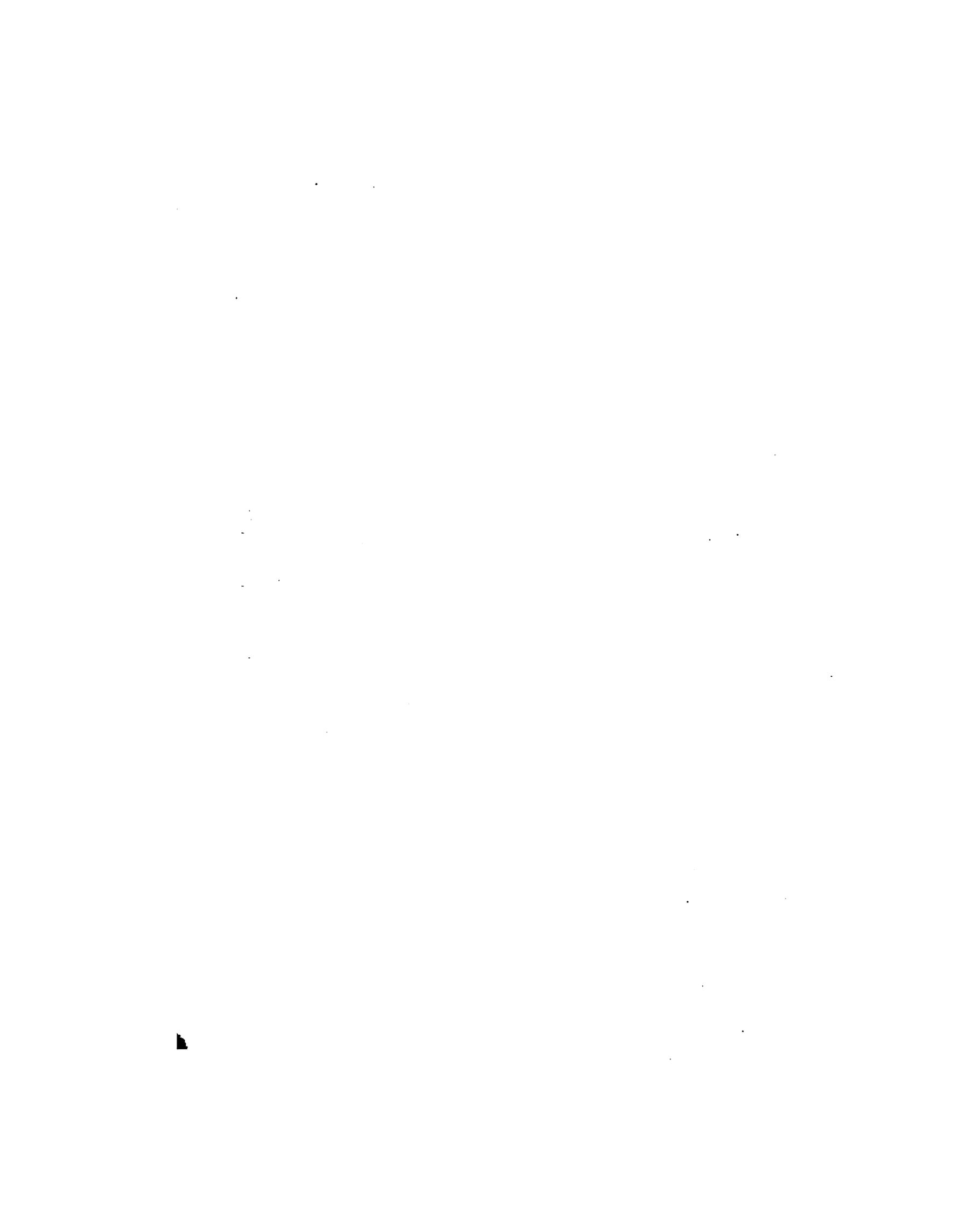
<sup>1</sup> 6,000 from Athens, 7,000 from Argos, 5,000 from Boiotia, 3,000 from Corinth, 3,000 from Euboia. Sparta sent into the field 6,000 hoplites, Elis, with Triphylia, 3,060; Sikyon, 3,000; Epidauros, Troizen, Hermione, and Halicis, 3,000. Xenophon does not mention the number of the Tegeans, Mantineians, and Achaians, who fought on the Spartan side.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription records that he died at the age of twenty. He was one of the five horsemen mentioned in the inscription engraved upon his tomb (see next page) to whom special honors were paid on account of their gallantry on that fatal day.

NOTE. — From a photograph. (The monument to Dexileos is yet standing; see View of the Kerameikos, above, p. 225.) Dexileos, on horseback, to the right, is about to strike an enemy who is under his horse's feet. The inscription makes known that he was born in the archonship of Teisandros, 414 B. C., and died at Corinth in the archonship of Euboulides, 394 B. C. The inscription is as follows: Δεξιλέως Λυσανίου Θορικός ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Τεισάνδρου ἀρχοντος. ἀπέθανε ἐπ' Εὐβουλίδου ἐν Κορίνθῳ τῶν πέντε ἰππέων (L. von Sybel, *Katalog*, No. 236). The names of his companions are known to us from another inscription in the Central Museum at Athens (see Kavvadias, *Catalogue of the Sculptures of the Central Museum*, 1887, in Greek, No. 163 α). This inscription was engraved on the monument that the State erected in honor of its soldiers, while the one given above is on a private monument which the family of Dexileos had placed on their own land.



MONUMENT TO DEXILEOS.



Agesilaos now came up in the rear of the allies. He had arrived by way of Thrace and Macedon, fighting as he advanced. The



ALKMENE SAVED BY ZEUS.<sup>1</sup>

Thessalians, who sought to oppose him, were put to flight, and he reached Koroneia, where the allies awaited him. The opposing

<sup>1</sup> Vase-painting (from the *Nouvelles Annales de l'Institut. de Corresp. archéol.*, published by the French Section, i. 487; *Monuments*, pl. 10). In the centre of the foreground, on a funeral pile of which the upper part is shaped like an altar, is seated Alkmene (AAKMHNH). On one side of the pile is Amphitryon (AMΦITPΥΩN), and on the other a person designated as Antenor (ANTHNΩP). Both hold torches, and are setting fire to the pile on which the faithless wife is to perish. Zeus (ΖΕΥΣ), however, interposes to save her, appearing at the left. He has called up a storm, and two of the Hyades, represented as water-carriers, are extinguishing the fire. The rainbow is seen, and ΑΩΣ, the goddess of the dawn, appears at the right. The paint-

forces met with a tremendous shock, the Thebans showing military virtues of evil omen for Sparta. Agesilaos, covered with wounds, held the field; but the victory was no more decisive than that at Nemea had been, and twice the allies had made a good resistance against troops that a few days before they would not have dared to look in the face (Aug. 14, 394 B. C.).<sup>1</sup>



VALLEY OF THE ALPHEUS.<sup>2</sup>

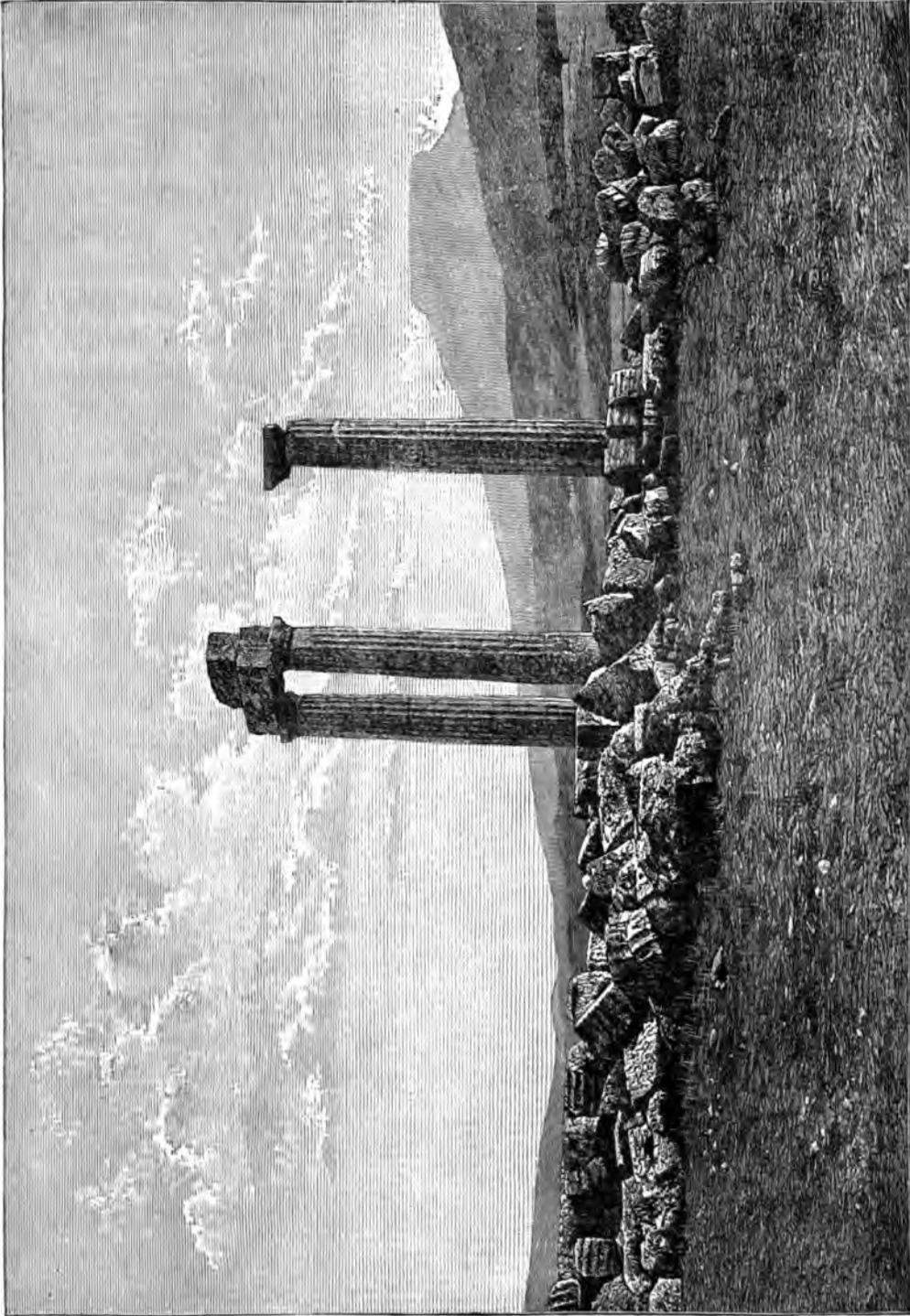
Agesilaos, however, brought back a trophy from Boiotia. Near Haliartos was a tomb said to be that of Alkmene, beloved of Zeus; he caused this to be opened, and carried away with him to Sparta the bones of the mother of Herakles, — to the Herakleids a pledge of victory and sovereign rule. The Spartans were not the men to doubt the authenticity of such relics, and Agesilaos felt it useful, the situation being what it was, to raise their hopes.

ing is signed by Python (ΠΥΘΩΝ ΕΓΓΡΑΦΕ). Cf. Engelmann, *Annali dell' Instit.*, 1872, pp. 7 *et seq.*

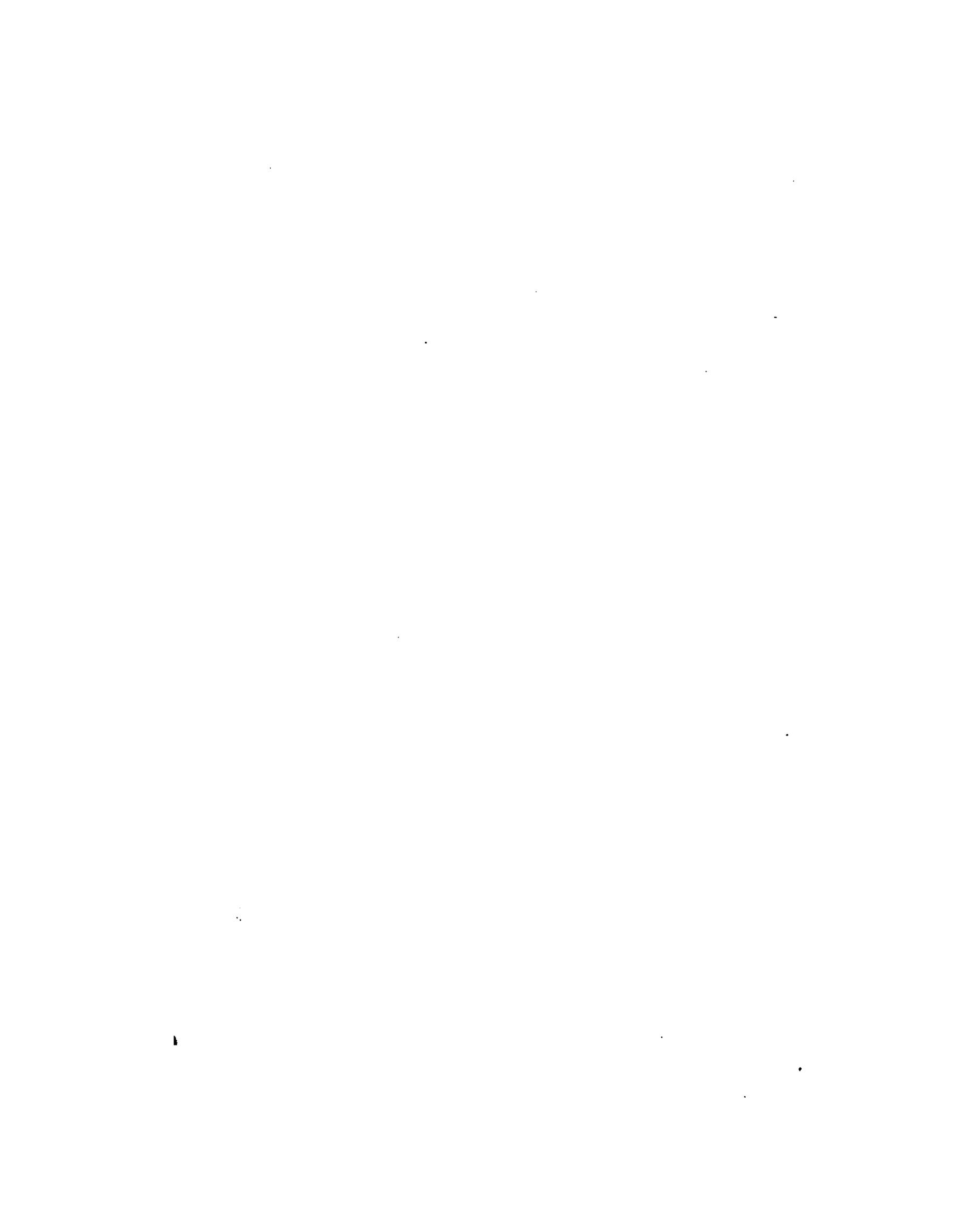
<sup>1</sup> This date is given by the eclipse which Xenophon mentions, *Hellen.*, iv. 3, 10.

<sup>2</sup> From the *Tour du Monde*, xlvii. 225.

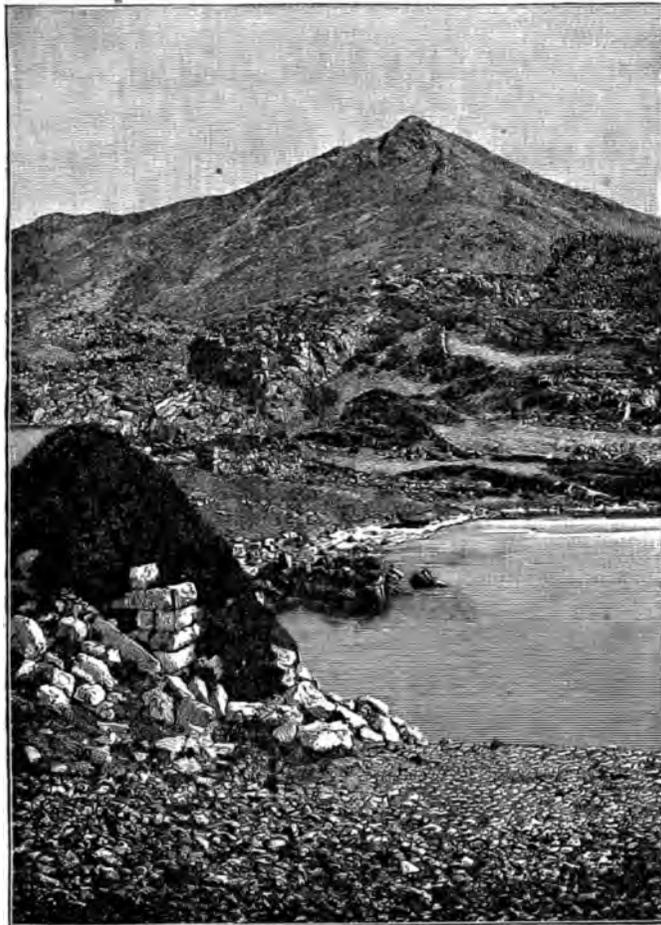
NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a view of the ruins of Nemea; from a photograph. At the right is Mount Apesas (Phouka), which shuts in the valley on the east. It is 2,865 feet high, and the flattened form of its summit is singular. For the columns of the temple of Nemea, see Vol. II. p. 381.



RUINS OF NEMEA.



At Koroneia, Xenophon, who had returned from Asia with the Lacedæmonian army, had fought under Agesilaos against the Thebans, — which was to fight against Athens, the ally of Thebes. Sparta testified her gratitude to him by the gift of a vast domain



VIEW OF THE TWO HARBORS OF KNIDOS.<sup>1</sup>

in a charming valley of the Alpheus, near Skillous, in Elis. Thither he carried the booty obtained in war, and lived there many years, employed in the cultivation of his land, in the worship of Artemis, whose temple was near, and in the pursuit of letters.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From Benndorf and Niemann, *Reise in Lykien und Karien*, vol. i. pl. 5. The view is taken from the promontory of Triopion, which overlooks the two harbors of Knidos. — the southern at the right, the northern at the left. The ancient city lay on high ground above the two.

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon, who seems to have been born in 431 B. C. (see Vol. II. p. 577, note 3), died

The day before the battle of Koroneia, Agesilaos had received news of a great disaster, which he concealed from his army. The Athenian Konon, who had taken refuge in Cyprus with eight galleys after the battle of Aigospotamoi, had been kindly received by the king of the country, Evagoras, and from Salamis he had with an attentive eye watched the progress of events. What he did in the service of his country is not known, although it is said that he made a journey to the court of the Great King. But suddenly there was seen a revival of activity in the Phœnician seaports, the putting to sea of a large armament, the appearance of Pharnabazos, and the acceptance by Konon of the command of the Persian fleet.

BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>COIN OF CORINTH.<sup>2</sup>BRONZE COIN.<sup>3</sup>SILVER COIN.<sup>4</sup>

He had already instigated a revolution in Rhodes, which overthrew its oligarchical government, and he captured a numerous fleet of wheat-transports sent by the Egyptian Nopherites to the Spartans. Uniting his force with that of Pharnabazos, he destroyed the Spartan fleet off Knidos, making capture of fifty out of the eighty-five triremes. The admiral, Peisandros, brother-in-law of Agesilaos, would not abandon his stranded galley, and was killed (July, 394 B. C.).

in 355 or 354, reconciled with Athens, when that city again became the ally of Sparta. Cf. A. Roqueth, *De Xenoph. vita*, 1884, p. 31.

<sup>1</sup> Head of Aphrodite on a coin of Knidos. Reverse: ΚΝΙΔΩΝ; Fortune standing, with her customary attributes.

<sup>2</sup> Helmeted head of Pallas, left profile; behind, the radiate head of the Sun, front face; underneath, Δ, a mint-mark. Reverse: Pegasos galloping to the left; underneath, the *koppa*, initial of the name of Corinth. See p. 453 a coin of the same type.

<sup>3</sup> The Isthmic Poseidon, on a coin of Corinth. Poseidon standing to the left, leaning on his trident and holding a dolphin in his right hand. Legend: COR SE. Reverse of a bronze coin; on its face is the radiate head of the Sun. The interpretation of the letters SE is not certain. (See Eckhel, *Doctrina num. vet.*, ii. 239.) This coin is of the Roman period.

<sup>4</sup> Coin of Thebes. The Boiotian shield. Reverse: ΘΕΒΑΙΩΝ; Herakles, nude, stepping to the right; in the right hand he brandishes a club, and with the left he holds the tripod which he takes away from Apollo.

Thus the Lacedæmonians had lost all superiority at sea, excepting in the Hellespont, of which Derkyllidas held the keys at Sestos and Abydos. Their superiority on land they retained for a much longer time. The war, which hitherto had been carried on in Boiotia, now for the next six years gathered about

BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>

Corinth, which the allies defended with all their forces, barring the two roads over the isthmus, that they might keep the Spartans shut up in the Peloponnesos. But at Corinth were repeated almost the atrocities of Korkyra. One

party, taking the occasion of a festival, fell upon its adversaries and slew a large number of them, even where they had taken refuge in the temples and at the feet of the statues of the gods (392 B. C.). These outrages brought disaster ; the Spartans, accompanied by

many Corinthians who had gone into exile, and being aided by the treachery of the peace-party within the city, broke through the Long Walls and made themselves masters of the sea-port Lechaion, whence they held Corinth as it were besieged (391 B. C.). One of the roads over the isthmus was thus re-opened, and Athens and Thebes were rendered very

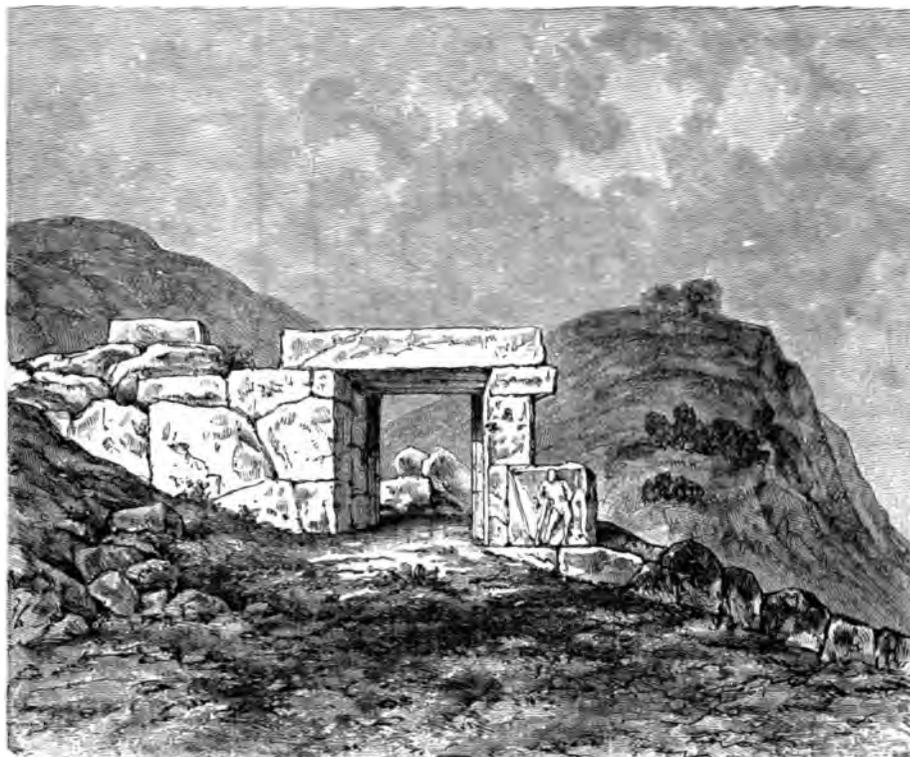
PELTAST.<sup>2</sup>

uneasy. An attempt to make peace ensued. Sparta consented to allow Athens to rebuild her walls and her navy ; the possession of Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros was granted her, but that of the Chersonesos was refused. The people, however, refused to ratify the engagements their deputies had made, Thebes also disagreed, and the war continued.

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Imbros. Head of Artemis, right profile. Reverse: IMBPOY. Hermes Imbrosos, bearded and wearing the petasos, standing to the right, before an altar. In his lowered right hand he holds a branch, and with the left pours perfumes upon the altar ; in the field is the caduceus (Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 48, No. 45).

<sup>2</sup> Painting in the bottom of a cup in the Vatican (from the *Museo Gregoriano*, vol. ii pl. 72, 1). The mercenaries were for the most part natives of Thrace, and it is especially by the Thracians that the Greeks knew the *pelta*. The soldier represented in the painting is clearly a Thracian, recognizable by his fur cap and straight mantle hanging from the shoulder. On his left arm is the *pelta*. See the article *Clipeus* in the *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, of Daremberg and Saglio. [Also the article *Pelta* in *Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.—ED.]

Among the leaders was the Athenian Iphikrates, who commanded a corps of mercenaries. We have already seen mercenaries in the Asiatic armies and on board the vessels of every country; we now find them an organized institution in Greece. Formerly the citizens of every State, trained from youth in warlike exercises and in the gymnasia, furnished the heavy armed infantry, around



REMAINS OF THE ANCIENT FORTRESS OF KASTRI (ALYZIA), IN AKARNANIA.<sup>1</sup>

whom were grouped the light-armed troops furnished by the allies, and the slaves. Military service was at that time a part of civic obligations,—the trade of arms was not a thing by itself: that which the head had conceived or accepted in the senate, the arm executed upon the battle-field; and with how much power! But this changes at the period of which we now speak; and these paid men, these soldiers at the service of the

<sup>1</sup> From Heuzey, *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie*, pl. 11, p. 406. The view is taken from the interior of the fortress. The bas-relief on the wall at the right of the gate represents Herakles, the protecting divinity of Alyzia.

highest bidder, no longer brought into war the ardor and patriotic passion which had animated the citizen. An art of war all manœuvre and tactics took the place of the older war, which was less scientific, but more heroic,—as in modern times strategy originated with the Italian *condottieri*. Iphikrates took an active part in this revolution. He also changed the armament of a part of the Athenian army, giving great importance to the peltasts, who, wearing light corselets of linen, and armed with small shields, strong spears, and long swords, united the advantages of heavy and light armed troops, the absence of the coat of mail allowing the soldiers to move with much greater rapidity. Iphikrates also came very near anticipating the tactics which, later, on the other side of the Ionian Sea, gave the Romans so many victories; he kept his troops incessantly on the alert, never encamped, even in a friendly country, without throwing up intrenchments, and had established the use of a double countersign, the first word being given by the officer, and the second by the sentinel.

An affair in which the peltasts of Iphikrates attacked the formidable Spartans and killed two hundred and fifty of their men, established their reputation and that of their general (390 B. C.). From this time forward they were able to carry their plundering expeditions throughout Arkadia, without the allies of Lacedæmon venturing to attack them. Was it, however, courage that was lacking to these subject peoples? When we see Agesilaos with his troops traversing by night the Arkadian cities to avoid the ridicule of the inhabitants, we may well believe that this people did not grieve over the humiliation of the Spartans.

BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>

The following year, 389 B. C., Sparta made a great effort. The Achæians were seeking to extend themselves along the northern shore of their gulf; at their request, Agesilaos invaded the country of the Akarnanians, which he ravaged as if it had been a barbarian country, cutting down fruit-trees and driving off the cattle, the only wealth of this pastoral people, but taking none of the cities, which were protected by cyclopean walls. The Akarnanians resigned

<sup>1</sup> ΔΕΛΦΩΝ. Apollo, clad in a long peplos, standing, to the right, and playing the lyre. Reverse of a bronze coin of Delphi, with the effigy of Hadrian.

themselves to entering the Peloponnesian league. The other king, Agesipolis, attempted to obtain like results in Argolis. Argos and Sparta, though both Dorian, had been enemies for four or five hundred years; they had fought numerous battles, but neither had been able to give the other a mortal blow. Recently Argos had become the leading power in the northern league; the Spartans had replied to this by threats of invasions, which the Argives had more than once arrested by sending heralds to announce the opening of religious ceremonies which put a stop to the war.



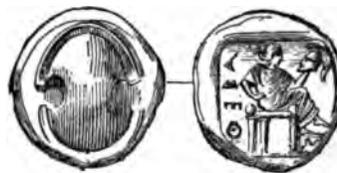
GULF OF MESSENIA, AT THE MOUTH OF THE NEDON.<sup>1</sup>

When Agesipolis approached, they endeavored to stop him again, alleging the approaching celebration of the Isthmian Games and the sacred truce. But the king had already settled matters with the gods. Before entering on the expedition he had consulted the priests of Olympian Zeus, who had not been averse to replying as he desired, and he had sent them to inquire of the Pythia at Delphi if Apollo was of the same mind with his father. Apollo had shown himself a dutiful son, and Sparta, sending away the deputies of Argos with the response of the gods, proceeded to ravage Argos.

During these operations, which caused so much destruction of property and made the harvest of Death so large without any

<sup>1</sup> From the *Tour du Monde*, xxxv. 357. The river is the Nedon; the modern city at its mouth is Kalamata.

compensation for all these evils, an event of importance took place in Athens. The Persians, encouraged by the victory of Knidos, had boldly taken the offensive. Konon and Pharnabazos drove out the Spartan governors from the islands and the Greek cities of Asia, which they then wisely allowed to choose their own form of government, and proceeded with their fleet to the gulf of Messenia, where they ravaged the rich valley of the Pamisos. Kythera also was taken, and Konon placed there an Athenian garrison. Thence Pharnabazos went to the isthmus to confer with the council of the League; he urged an energetic carrying forward of the war, and supported his advice with a subsidy. As he was preparing to return into Persia, Konon made a proposition, if Pharnabazos would leave him the fleet, to maintain it, without calling upon the Persian treasury, and to rebuild the Long Walls of Athens, which would be the most serious blow that could be dealt to Sparta. Strong walls were at this time a matter of the greatest importance. These Greeks, so brave and eager to fight, knew no other way of taking a city than by stratagem or famine. Their fathers, the story was, had remained ten years before Troy, and as long before Kirrha; they themselves had no more skill: long after this came the scientific siege.<sup>2</sup> To rebuild the Long Walls was therefore to secure the independence of Athens, and to restore to her, with security, a desire to recover her power. Pharnabazos saw in Konon's project only a desire to create embarrassments for the proud city which twice in a few years had humiliated the Great King. He urged the Athenian to execute his design, and that the work might be more rapidly carried forward he gave what money he had left. Konon came to Peiraieus with eighty galleys. His crews, the workmen whom he employed, together with those sent by Thebes and other cities, aided the people in reconstructing the work of Themistokles,

SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Thebes. A Boiotian shield. Reverse: ΘΕΒΑ[ION], retrograde legend; Harmonia seated to the right on a bench; she wears an ample chiton, her legs are crossed, and her feet placed on a footstool; she is looking at a Corinthian helmet which she holds in the left hand.

<sup>2</sup> Perikles had already used engines of war at Samos (see Vol. II. chap. xix. § 2); but the defence or attack of fortifications by these engines dates only from the fourth century B. C.

Kimón, and Perikles. Unfortunately this time it was the Great King who paid the workmen (393 B.C.). A sanctuary built to Aphrodite in Peiraiens by Kephisodotos, the father of the great Praxiteles, commemorated Konon's victory and the royal assistance.<sup>1</sup> By the same artist was the group of Peace and Wealth, — an allegory very appropriate in a city where, for many of the citizens, these two words summed up the whole of statesmanship; the same which Aristophanes had recommended, and Isokrates at a later day advised.

Athens had no sooner rebuilt her walls than she began to reconstruct her empire, which had been destroyed with the walls. Her rapid advance alarmed the Spartans, who determined to

SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>SILVER COIN.<sup>3</sup>

negotiate with Persia and sacrifice to that power the Asiatic Greeks. They sent to the satrap of the western provinces a Spartan of the school of Lysandros, adroit, eloquent, and unscrupulous, and directed him to represent to the Persians that they had made

<sup>1</sup> This Aphrodite was called *Εὐπλοία*. — she who gives prosperous voyages (Paus., i. 1, 3).

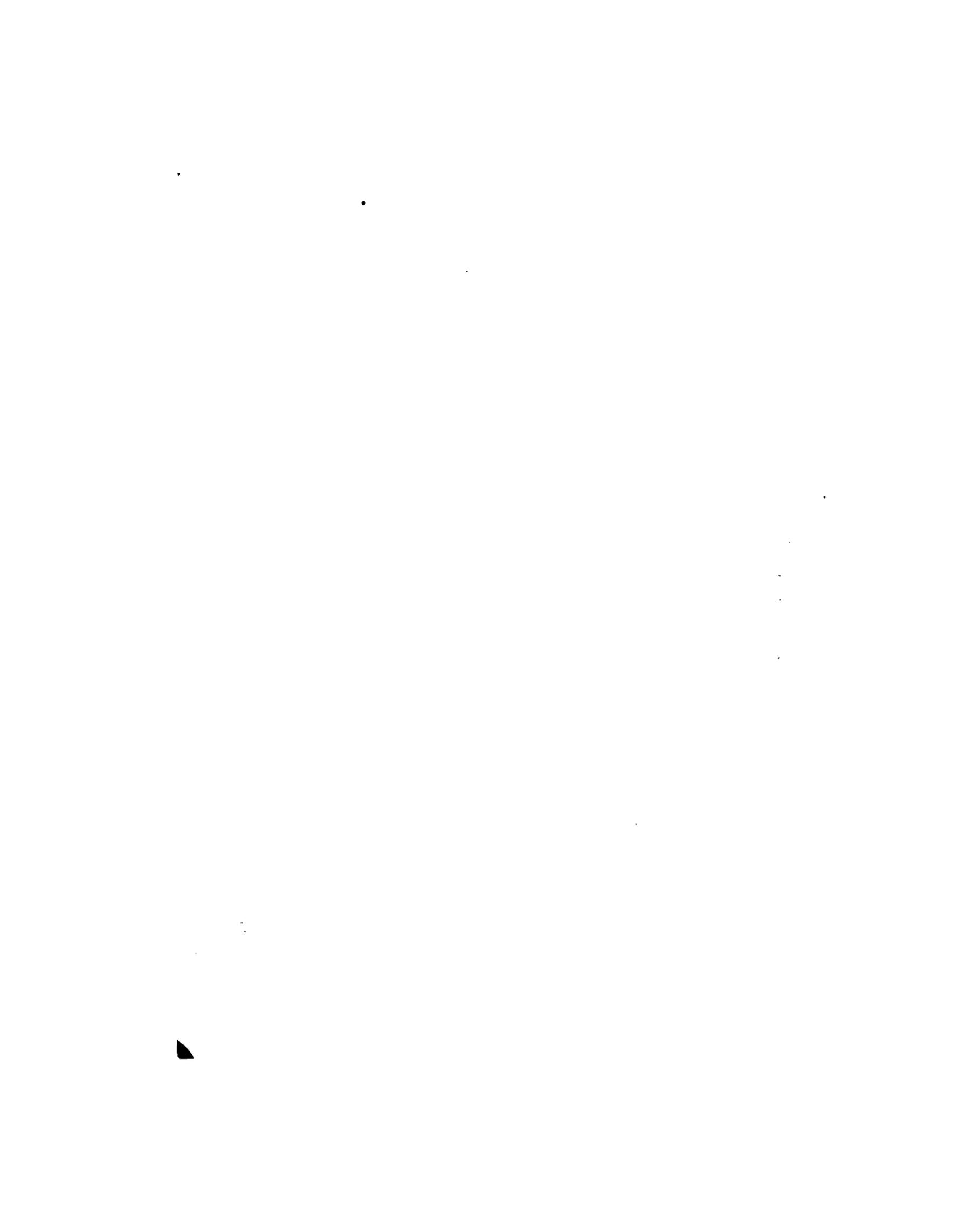
<sup>2</sup> Coin of Euagoras I., king of Salamis. Bearded head of Herakles, right profile, covered with the lion's skin; before it, in Cypriot characters, *ΕὐΨαγόρω*. Reverse: ibex couchant to the right; above, a grain of barley. Legend: *EY* (Euagoras), and in Cypriot characters, *βασιλέως*. Euagoras I. was king of Salamis from 410 to 374 B. C.

<sup>3</sup> Horseman, on a coin of Aspendos, riding to the right; his peplos is blown back from his shoulders, and he brandishes a javelin in the right hand. Reverse: *ΕΣΤΦΕΔΙ[ΥΣ]*, Pamphylian name of Aspendos. Wild boar running to the right.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is the design of a marble group in Munich, from the photograph of a restored cast in the Museum of Berlin (No. 527). This group, in a good state of preservation, has long been known as the Ino-Leukothea and Dionysos; consequently there has been given to the child whom the goddess holds in her arms a vase, and thus the original has been restored in Munich. But the comparison of the marble with an Athenian coin which will be represented later, and the very recent discovery at Peiraiens of the torso of a child resembling this one (*Mittheil. d. d. arch. Inst. in Athen.*, vol. vi., 1881, pl. 13 and p. 363), leave no doubt as to the name to be given to the group or as to the attributes of the two figures. Ploutos, the god of riches, holds in the left hand a cornucopia; Eirene, Peace, holds a long sceptre with the right hand. It is manifestly a copy of the group by Kephisodotos. (See Pausanias, i. 8, 2, and ix. 16, 2.) The original work was perhaps in bronze, and seems to have been dedicated in the year 375–374 B. C., after the victory of Timotheus at Leukada, and the conclusion of peace between Athens and Sparta. (The torso found at Peiraiens is represented on page 530 of this volume.)



**EIRENE AND PLOUTOS: PEACE AND WEALTH.**



a great mistake in restoring the power of Athens, a city which had always been their tireless enemy. The negotiations seemed at first to be unsuccessful; but when the Athenians and their allies sent deputies to Sardis to oppose the Spartan envoys, Tiribazos had already made his decision. Konon, chief of the embassy, was seized and thrown into prison, under pretext that after having been appointed by Artaxerxes admiral of the Persian fleet he had betrayed the interests of Artaxerxes (389 B. C.).<sup>1</sup> Athens, in fact, encouraged by the alliance of Persia, began to defy that empire. With generous imprudence, the Athenians gave aid to Euagoras, the king of Cyprus, who had revolted against the Great King. She gave to Thrasyboulos, the restorer of liberty, forty galleys, and he took into alliance two Thracian princes, Byzantion, Chalkedon, and a part of Lesbos; he re-established the tolls



SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>



TETRADRACHM.<sup>4</sup>

paid in the Euxine,<sup>3</sup> and levied contributions on all the cities of the Asiatic coast as far as Pamphylia. Unfortunately, he perished at Aspendos (389 B. C.), in a quarrel between the citizens and soldiers. But Iphikrates, arriving in the Hellespont with his

peltasts, maintained there what Thrasyboulos had begun.

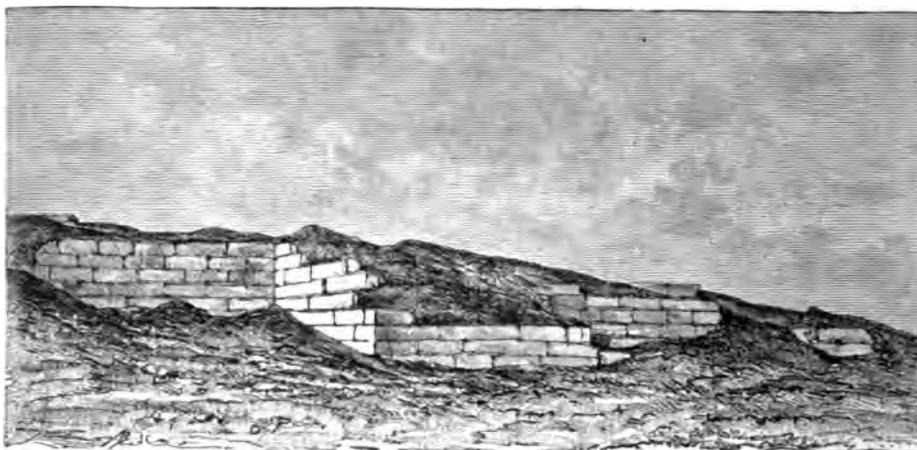
<sup>1</sup> Lysias (*Disc.*, xix. 39) says that Konon died at Cyprus, — probably in 389 B. C. He then either had made his escape or had been released. Athens in her gratitude erected to him, near the image of Zeus Liberator, a bronze statue, the first which had been decreed to a citizen since the time of Harmodios and Aristogeiton (Demosthenes, *Leptinus*, § 70; Isokrates, *Euagoras*, 56–57). I make no mention of the incident brought about in 391 B. C. by Andokides, — the treaty of peace negotiated by him at Sparta. The authenticity of his speech has been contested. Moreover, general history is not required to make mention of all facts, however isolated and sterile, since these often hinder the story and harm the comprehension of the whole; I hasten to arrive at greater men and greater things.

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Aspendos. Fighting soldier; he is armed with helmet, spear, and shield. Reverse: ΕΣΤΡΕΔΙΗΣ, Pamphylian legend; incused square, in which is the triquetra on a lion, to the left, with open mouth.

<sup>3</sup> . . . τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλεόντων (Xenophon, *Hellen.*, iv. 8, 27).

<sup>4</sup> Coin of Perga, in Pamphylia. Laurelled head of Artemis, right profile, with the bow and quiver slung to her shoulder. Reverse: ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΓΑΙΑΣ; Artemis standing to the left; she wears a short chiton, holds a wreath in her right hand, and leans with her left upon a sceptre; beside her is a hind; in the field, a monetary mark.

This strength, so quickly returning to a people just now beaten down and disarmed, gave anxiety to the Great King as much as to Lacedæmon. Antalkidas, sent a second time into Asia, was well received at Susa. Sparta and Persia agreed on the terms of peace to be dictated to the Greeks. The continual expeditions of the Aiginetans, who one night surprised Peiræus, the success of the Spartans in the Hellespont, where their fleet of eighty galleys intercepted the commerce of Athens, forced that city to accept the



TOWER AND WALL OF THE AKTE AT PEIRÆIUS.<sup>1</sup>

treaty which bears the name of Antalkidas. Tiribazos convoked the deputies of all the belligerent States and read to them his master's orders.<sup>2</sup> The king made known that he expected the Asiatic cities, with the islands of Cyprus and Klazomenai, to remain his dependents, and the other Greek cities, great and small, to be free, with the exception of Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros, which should belong, as formerly, to the Athenians. Those who refused to act in conformity with his wishes would be treated by him as enemies; and in alliance with those who accepted his sway, he

<sup>1</sup> From the *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königl. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig* (1878), pl. 2 (Hirschfeld). Tower and wall built in the time of Konon. In respect to the fortifications of Peiræus in 394-393 B. C., see an article by P. Foucart in the *Bull. de Corr. hellen.*, vol. xi. (1887), pp. 129 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon (*Hellen.*, v. 1, 28) gives only an abridgment of the letter of Artaxerxes; the text itself is lost. It may be that the decree which declares Phanakritos of Parion a guest-friend and benefactor, and invites to "the repast of hospitality," refers to one of the last incidents of this war. Cf. Foucart, *Revue arch.*, December, 1877.

should make war upon them by sea and land, with ships and treasure (October, 387 B. C.).

Such was "the shameful and impious thing"<sup>1</sup> accepted by the sons of those who had conquered at Salamis and Plataia, the very men who had but recently twice traversed with impunity the Persian empire. This treaty was now to be engraved upon stone and brass, and set up in the temples of the gods.<sup>2</sup> To Sparta



ARGOLIS, SEEN FROM TIRYNS.<sup>3</sup>

especially belonged this disgrace. "By the battle of Leuktra," says Plutarch,<sup>4</sup> "she had lost influence; but by the peace of Antalkidas she lost honor." After having instigated this arrogant interference of the Barbarians in the affairs of Greece, she now caused their sentence to be executed. The Asiatic Greeks were abandoned to the Great King, and every league, every union of Hellenic States, was broken up. The Thebans refused to accept a clause detaching the cities of Boiotia which had long been

<sup>1</sup> *Αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἀνόσιον ἔργον* (Plato, *Menezenes*, 17).

<sup>2</sup> Isokrates, *Panegy.*, 180.

<sup>3</sup> From a photograph. The road to the right, in the foreground, is that which goes from Nauplia to Argos; the mountains seen in the horizon shut in Argolis on the west.

<sup>4</sup> *Artaxerxes*, 22, 2.

dependent upon them; Agesilaos gathered an army to compel obedience, and Thebes submitted. The oligarchic faction, devoted

BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>BRONZE COIN.<sup>2</sup>SILVER COIN.<sup>3</sup>

to Sparta, returned to Corinth, while the chiefs of the opposite party in turn went into exile, and Argos withdrew the garrison

TORSO.<sup>4</sup>

she had there. But Sparta made no application to herself of the treaty, and did not give back Messene to the Messenians. It had been her intention to enfeeble and divide all the other States in Greece, herself remaining alone strong and united. It was said to Agesilaos that Sparta *per-sized*. "No," he rejoined, "it is Persia that *laconizes*." Unfortunately both statements were alike true.

An Athenian orator, mindful of the turbulence of his fellow-countrymen, acknowledged that it was with justice that Sparta had the hegemony in Greece; and he assigned many causes for this persistent fortune,—the courage of the Spartans and their military discipline, which had preserved their country from the ravages of invasion

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Plataia. Youthful head, left profile. Reverse: ΠΑΑΤΑΙ[α], in two lines in the field (Prokesch d'Osten, *Inedita meiner Sammlung*, etc., pl. ii., fig. 58).

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Corinth. Under a round temple, the cupola of which is supported by columns, is seen Palemon, lying upon a dolphin; behind him, a tree. Two dolphins form the acroteria of the temple. Legend: C. L. I. COR. (*Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus*.) Reverse of a coin of Corinth with the effigy of Marcus Aurelius. Palemon is the name which the Corinthians gave to Melikertes. (See Pausanias, ii. 1, 7.)

<sup>3</sup> Coin of an unknown Cypriot king. Lion standing to the left, with reverted head; behind, a caduceus; the legend, in Cypriot characters, is uncertain. Incused square, ornamented with milling. Reverse: Hermes kneeling to the left, raising the right hand, his shoulders covered with the chlamys; behind, a caduceus (Museum of Vienna).

<sup>4</sup> Torso of a child discovered at Peiraeus. (See above, p. 525, and note, p. 524.)

while they had no fortresses to defend it; and their obedience to the laws and customs of their ancestors, which had prevented domestic discords.<sup>1</sup> This ever-living image of a remote past inspired respect, and this immobility in the midst of the perpetual changes of the other States was a power in itself; but immobility is contrary to the nature of human institutions, and the power of Sparta was too often placed at the service of injustice. Nevertheless, posterity will always keep the memory of this city, which so long despised luxury, and instead of ramparts of stone had only the courage of her sons to protect her.

<sup>1</sup> *Lysias, Disc.*, xxxiii. § 7.

<sup>2</sup> Bronze statuette of the Collection Oppermann, in the *Cabinet de France*; height, 135 millim. The goddess holds an owl on her right hand; on her breast is the ægis, and the aigrette of her helmet rests on a couchant sphinx; the left hand, which held a spear, is mutilated.



ATHENE.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### DECLINE OF SPARTA; TRANSIENT GREATNESS OF THEBES (387-361 B. C.).

#### I.—HIGH-HANDED CONDUCT OF SPARTA; SEIZURE OF THE KADMELIA.

“THE Peace of Antalkidas,” says Xenophon, “gave the Spartans much glory.” History has not ratified this judgment of the panegyrist of Lacedæmon. Under the supremacy of Athens Greece had risen to the highest degree of power; under the sway of Sparta she had fallen, in less than twenty-seven years, at the feet of Persia,—not the powerful and glorious Persia of Darius and Xerxes, but a tottering empire, distracted by attempts at independence on the part of the satraps, and enfeebled by the revolt of Cyprus and of Egypt. Sparta had derived from her victory only the power for oppression, without the grandeur of despotism. Not thus do supremacies justify themselves and prove enduring. Accordingly, her fall was speedy. It is true that while the Greeks were hostile to her they were divided, and hence powerless. She needed only to be wise, as she had been in the time of Pausanias, and in this humbled Greece she might long have remained the first power.



SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>

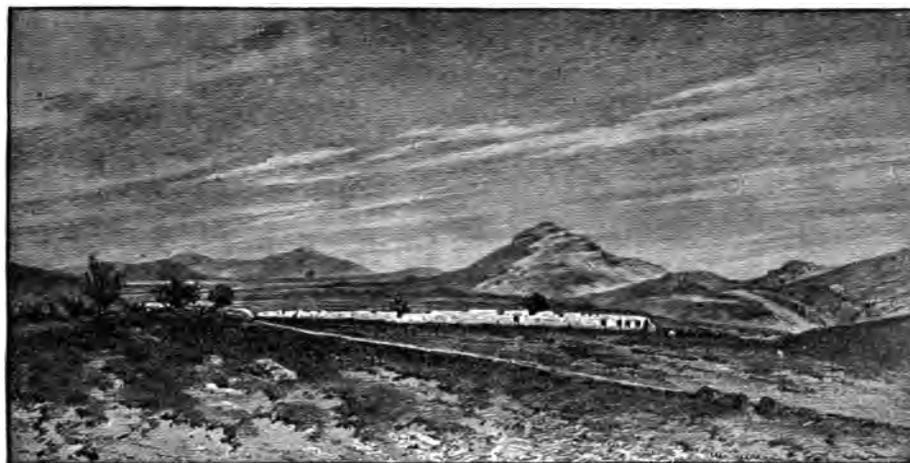
Peace being proclaimed, each man returned to his labors,—the farmer to his fields, the trader to his vessel, the artist to the temple abandoned for many years by art. But one people had other cares than these peaceful ones: the Spartans intended to draw out of the treaty of Antalkidas that which lay at the bottom

<sup>1</sup> Coin of the satrap Orontas. A soldier kneeling to the left and preparing to fight. He is armed with helmet, spear, and shield. Reverse: OPONTA; fore-part of winged wild boar, to the right. Orontas was satrap of Mysia and Ionia about the middle of the fourth century; his coinage was minted at Klazomenai, and bears its type on the reverse.

of this agreement; namely, the hegemony in Greece of the friends of the Great King. By the enfeeblement of Athens, by Spartan garrisons established at Orchomenos and at Thespiæ, they held the supremacy in Central Greece, while Corinth and Argos, submissive to an oligarchy, left them without dangerous rivals in the Peloponnesos.



However, not far from the frontiers of Lakonia, one city, Mantinea, dared to maintain a democratic constitution. During the war she had furnished a little wheat to the Argives, and had shown

VALLEY OF PHLIOS.<sup>3</sup>

a rather lukewarm zeal in sending to the Spartans her military contingent; moreover, she had not manifested sufficient regret at the reverses of Sparta. Deputies were sent to summon her to pull down her walls, and on the refusal of the inhabitants, Agesipolis ravaged their territory and besieged Mantinea. He took it by building a dam across the river Ophis, which flows through the city,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Corinthian coin. Head of Aphrodite, left profile, the hair covered with a *kekryphalos*; under it, A. Reverse: Pegasus galloping, under him the koppa.

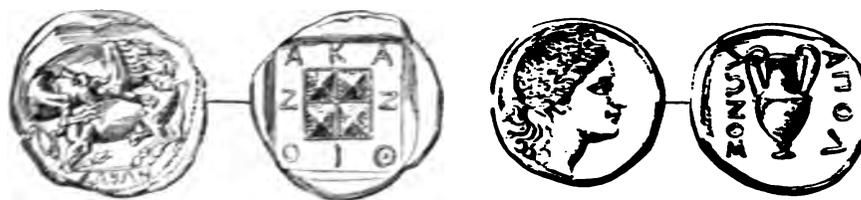
<sup>2</sup> Coin of Mantinea. Acorn in the centre of a wreath. Reverse: M; under it, MAN[τινέων].

<sup>3</sup> From Lebas, *Itinéraire*, pl. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch and Pausanias place here two events of which Xenophon makes no mention, — the sending of succor to the Spartans by the Thebans, and a battle in which Epameinondas saves the life of Pelopidas after the latter had received seven wounds.

thus causing the water to rise about the walls of unbaked brick and undermining them. He dispersed the inhabitants into four villages, which Sparta affected to treat as independent States, and placed them under the direction of "the friends of peace,"<sup>1</sup> whom he had recalled. "They lived there," says Xenophon, "happier than before." The pupil of Sokrates finds only this reflection with which to conclude the story of this act of rapine: "Thus ended the siege of Mantinea, which teaches us that a river should not be made to pass through a city" (385 B. C.).

Phlious had also expelled its oligarchic faction: the exiles repaired to Sparta, where they represented that, so long as they

SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>BRONZE COIN.<sup>3</sup>

had been masters, their city had been docile and submissive. The ephors demanded of Phlious that the banished citizens should be restored and placed in possession of their property, which had been confiscated; and this was granted through fear of the Spartan power (383 B. C.).

Sparta, which destroyed Mantinea, restored Plataia, permitting the Plataians who yet remained in the city to rebuild their walls. It was the same policy under different forms,—to destroy every great city, every centralized power in the Peloponnesos, that nothing might remain to cause fear; and to create independent communities, on the other hand, in the territory of rivals for the purpose of enfeebling them. As in the other Boiotian cities, a harmost and a Spartan garrison were placed in Plataia to defend it against Thebes; that is to say, to keep it under the influence of Lacedæmon.

<sup>1</sup> Or "the honorable men," βέλτιστοι, as Xenophon (*Hellen.*, v. 2, 6) calls them.

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Akanthos. Lion devouring a bull; in the exergue, ΣΩΚΩΝ, a magistrate's name. Reverse: ΑΚΑΝΘΙΟΝ; in the centre a square, divided into four compartments in relief. The whole in an incused square.

<sup>3</sup> Coin of Apollonia (Chalkidike). Head of Apollo, right profile, with a broad diadem. Reverse: ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ. Amphora.

The ambition of Sparta soon extended beyond the limits of Central Greece. Events, which, it is true, she had not brought about, called her attention and her arms to the other extremity of the Hellenic world. In 383 B. C. the ambassadors of Akanthos and of Apollonia came to ask aid from Sparta against Olynthos, which threatened their independence. The cities of Chalkidike, united by a community of origin and of interest, had formed, to defend themselves against Athens and against the Macedonians, a confederation on a very liberal plan: each city retained its own constitution, but all the allies had, each in the city of every other, the enjoyment of civil rights, the power of holding property and of contracting marriage. Olynthos—to which Amyntas, the king of Macedon, encroached upon by the Illyrians, had ceded the coast of the Thermaic Gulf—was its capital; the important city of Pella, and also Potidaia, which commanded the entrance to the isthmus of Pallene, made part of this league. Defended by eight thousand hoplites, numerous peltasts, and a thousand horse, the League was on good terms with the Thracians, and had Thebes and Athens for its friends. Possessing many resources,—

SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>

useful alliances, a well-filled treasury, a numerous population, valuable timber, and near by the gold mines of Mount Pangaion,—Olynthos was in a position to become a power of the first rank. But the neighboring cities Akanthos and Apollonia considered themselves too important to consent to be merged in a confederation. They had repulsed the offers of Olynthos, and, menaced by her, had sought support from the Spartans.

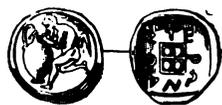
“We wish,” their deputies said, “to preserve the customs of our fathers and to remain our own masters.”<sup>2</sup> It was not difficult to induce Lacedæmon to do in Chalkidike what she had done in Peloponnesos and Boiotia,—to divide in order to weaken, and herself to reign alone. She promised an army of ten thousand men, which the allies were for the most part, to furnish; but before it had been collected, Eudamidas set out with what hoplites

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Olynthos. Horse leaping to the right, with dragging bridle. Reverse: ΟΑΥΝ- [θίων]; eagle, with wings displayed, holding a snake in his beak and claws; incused square.

<sup>2</sup> Ἡμεῖς δὲ βουλόμεθα μὲν τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι καὶ αὐτοπολίται εἶναι (Xenophon, *Hellen.*, v. 2, 14). These words are a truthful expression of the deepest feeling of a Greek city.

he could find, and was in time to protect the two cities against the attack of the Olynthians, and even to induce the defection of Potidaia. Phoibidas, his brother, followed him with the other troops; reaching Thebes, he stopped to render assistance to the polemarch Leontiades, chief of the aristocratic party in that city, and to bring to completion an atrocious intrigue. On the day of the festival of Demeter, while the citadel was abandoned to the women exclusively, for the performance of their religious rites, and the streets of the town were deserted on account of the extreme heat of the summer noon, Leontiades introduced Phoibidas into the Kadmeia with all his troops. Then, descending into the town, he went to the assembled senate, where Ismenias, the other polemarch, presided, made an accusation against his colleague as "the great inflamer of war," and caused him to be arrested and carried as a prisoner to the Kadmeia (383 B. C.).

This outrage caused general indignation, in which the Spartans, while still holding the Theban citadel, appeared to join. They deprived Phoibidas of his command and condemned him to pay a fine;<sup>1</sup> but doubtless executed the sentence with much consideration for the offender, since we know that Sphodrias, not long after, followed his example. Agesilaos had defended the guilty man, setting aside the question of justice, and laying down the principle that a citizen should not be condemned for any act which was a service to his country. Aristeides and the Athenians had been governed by a nobler principle when Themistokles proposed to them a profitable but unjust deed. A commission, chosen by the



SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

Spartans and their allies, proceeded to Thebes, where they condemned to death Ismenias, on the pretext that he had received Persian gold: he was a brave man and a good citizen. Sparta took this cowardly revenge for the terrors caused her by the late war. About three hundred of his partisans had left the city and sought refuge in Athens.

<sup>1</sup> According to Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 6; but Xenophon, *Hellen.*, v. 2, 32, does not mention it.

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Torone. Silenos, nude, to the left, with horse's ears and tail; he grasps a large oinochoë filled with wine, and seems falling upon it eagerly to drink its contents. Reverse: ΤΕΡΩΝΑΟΝ, around an incused square whose four compartments are each ornamented by a globule. (Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 92, No. 120.)

This surprise of the Kadmeia, this judicial murder of Ismenias, were one crime the more in Sparta's history; the war against the Olynthians was thus rendered easier. This lasted three years, and cost the Lacedæmonians two generals and one of their kings. Eudamidas was killed in battle; his successor, Teleutias, after some brilliant successes to which the Macedonians contributed, fell before the walls of Olynthos; the king of Sparta, Agesipolis, arriving with a large force, had time only to make some few ravages and take by storm the city of Torone, when he perished by fever, after an illness of seven days: his body, immersed in honey, was carried to Sparta. The hardest, Polybiades, at last succeeded in reducing Olynthos. Beleaguered by sea and land, the Olynthians sued for peace, which was granted them on condition that they should take for friends and for enemies the friends and enemies of Sparta, and that, as faithful allies, they should go to war whenever Sparta summoned them (379 B. C.). This destruction of the Olynthian Confederation gave up to Macedon—in the more or less remote but certain future—Chalkidike and Thrace, as the ruin of the Athenian empire had given Asia Minor to the Persians.

At the same time, the exiles restored to Phlious having complained of ill-treatment, Agesilaos had besieged that city; after about a year's blockade he took it, and left a garrison there (379 B. C.). Sparta thus imposed upon herself another burden; and while obtaining a footing everywhere, and seeming to increase her power, she in reality exhausted her strength and rendered herself odious. Moreover, hatred grew against this city which took all and gave nothing, against this ally of the two great foes of Greece,—the Persian king, who, thanks to Sparta, had been able to make the Asiatic Greeks tributary, and Dionysios of Syracuse, who was bringing into subjection the Greeks of Sicily and Italy.<sup>1</sup>

Diodorus Siculus feels it his duty to begin his Fifteenth Book by citing before the tribunal of history the Lacedæmonians, "guilty of having lost by their own errors a sway wielded by

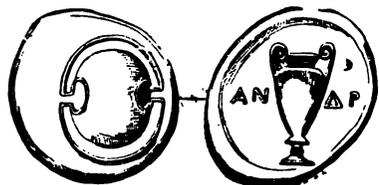
<sup>1</sup> Lysias, *Olymp. fr.*, contrasts with the generous acts of the earlier times this hegemony of the Spartans, who *καυμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιρῶσιν* (7). Not to break the unity of the narrative, I leave to chapter xxxix. a brief history of Sicily after the Athenian expedition; this is but an episode in Greek history, and without serious importance to the destinies of Hellas.

them over Greece for five hundred years." Xenophon sees in this event the hand of the gods.

"It would be easy," he says, "to mention many facts of that time which prove that the gods keep watch upon the impious and wicked. Thus the Spartans, who had taken oath to leave the cities autonomous, having violated their oaths by seizing the citadel of Thebes, until that time invincible, were now punished by the very men whom they wronged."<sup>1</sup>

The gods had nothing to do with the interests of Lacedæmon or the affairs of Greece; but Sparta had placed herself in opposition to two still powerful forces: by her unjust acts she had offended the moral sense; by her acts of violence in the support of the oligarchical principle she had angered the lovers of free institutions,—and these two forces were about to unite for her punishment.

For three years the Spartans had held the Theban citadel, and confiding in their support, the oligarchical chiefs, Leontiades and Archias, had tyrannized unscrupulously over their fellow-citizens. Prisons were full, and there were numberless executions, as in Athens in the time of the Thirty. A suspicion, however, came into the minds of the chiefs that the refugees in Athens were wearying of their exile, and possibly would form a conspiracy to



SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

return to their country. They resolved to rid themselves of this anxiety by causing the exiles to be put to death. In this design Leontiades sent emissaries to Athens. They succeeded in assassinating one only of the refugees, Androkleidas; and the rest took

warning. Their lives were no longer secure; even in exile their only safety consisted in seeking to overthrow their adversaries. It is evident that the sway of the Lacedæmonians at Thebes produced the same results as at Athens: they had extremely dangerous friends.

Among the exiled Thebans was Pelopidas, a man of heroic

<sup>1</sup> *Hellen.*, v. 4, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Theban silver coin bearing the inscription ANΔP. The Boiotian shield. Reverse: ANΔP[οκλειδας] (?). magistrate's name; amphora. Coin of about 380 B. C. This Androkleidas is perhaps the Theban refugee who was assassinated at Athens.

courage, rich and noble, the enemy of tyrants, and bound to Epameinondas by a friendship which had already been proved upon battle-fields. The example of Thrasybulos, who went from Thebes to deliver Athens, inspired him with the design of going from Athens to deliver Thebes. The Athenians, remembering with gratitude the asylum that they had found in Boiotia in the time of the Thirty Tyrants, had refused to obey the demand of Sparta that the Theban exiles should be expelled from the city. Pelopidas conspired at Athens, while Epameinondas, whom his poverty and obscurity had preserved from exile, exhorted the Theban youth to contend in the gymnasium with the Spartans and to learn to get the better of them. The conspirators had many friends at Thebes; even in the house of the polemarchs was a very important confederate, the secretary Phyllidas, who had sought for the office which he held, in the view of serving the cause of liberty. The day being fixed, the conspirators, disguised as hunters, and leading dogs in leashes, each man with a concealed dagger, made their way across Kithairon, and entered the city by different gates at nightfall. They met at the house of a rich Theban, Charon, where they were joined by others of their partisans, and remained concealed there until the evening of the next day, when a banquet had been arranged by Phyllidas for the two polemarchs on the expiration of their term of office. The secretary had promised the presence of some women of remarkable beauty and noble family to do honor to this festivity. The two polemarchs were already at table when word reached them that the exiles were in the city; they sent at once for Charon, but his composure dispelled their suspicions, and they allowed him to withdraw. Later, a messenger came with a letter from Athens to the polemarch Archias, in which all the details of the plot were made known. But the polemarch, now half-intoxicated, thrust it under his pillow, — “serious matters to-morrow,” he said, — and called upon Phyllidas to bring in the beautiful guests whose presence had been promised. Upon this the conspirators were introduced, three of them dressed to represent ladies of rank, and the other four following as attendants. As they sat down, they lifted the veils with which their faces were covered, and at the same instant drew their daggers. Archias and Philippos, overcome with wine,

were easily killed; Kabeirichos, the archon, also present at the banquet, attempted to defend himself with the sacred spear which he carried, but was quickly despatched. Others of the conspirators sought for Leontiades and Hypates, and after a desperate struggle they also were slain. Phyllidas then opened the prison; and arming the prisoners with weapons found hanging in the neigh-



VIEW OF THEBES AND OF THE KADMEIA.<sup>1</sup>

boring porticos, placed them in rank near the temple of Amphion.

Epameinondas, at the first rumor of what had happened, armed himself and, accompanied by a few Theban youth, hastened to the market-place. To increase this little band the conspirators made proclamation by trumpeters throughout the city that the despots were slain, that Thebes was free, and that all should assemble in arms in the market-place. Surprise and alarm, however, prevailed in the city; torches were lighted and the streets soon filled with

<sup>1</sup> From Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece*, ii. 148. Dodwell travelled in Greece in the beginning of the present century (1801-1806); his sketches are usually very accurate. The modern city of Thebes is built on the site of the Kadmeia, which is clearly seen.

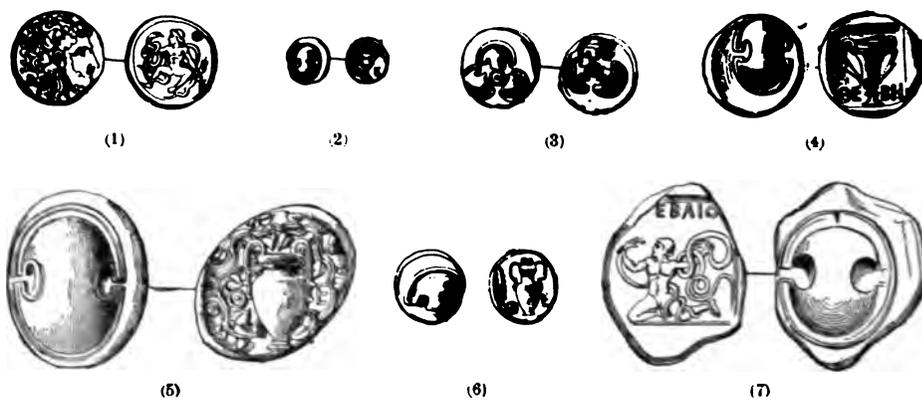
an agitated crowd inquiring what had happened, and eagerly waiting for the day to reveal what was still uncertain in the darkness. The fifteen hundred men who garrisoned the citadel might easily have destroyed the conspirators, had they at once made an attack. But the shouts of the people, the unusual lights in the houses, and the sound of the trampling multitudes below, alarmed them, and they remained where they were, content to guard the Kadmeia until daylight. In the morning, before sunrise, the other exiles arrived, and with them a body of Athenian volunteers and two Athenian generals. An assembly was called together. Epameinondas presented Pelopidas and his fellow-conspirators to the people; the priests crowned them with wreaths and thanked them for what they had done in the cause of liberty, and the three most active leaders of the plot, Pelopidas, Charon, and Melon, were saluted by acclamation boiotarchs,—a title announcing that with her liberty Thebes would resume her former rank among the cities of Boiotia.<sup>1</sup>

They at once prepared to storm the Kadmeia. Some Spartan troops at Plataia and Thespiæ set out to reinforce the garrison; but they were met at a distance from the city by the Theban cavalry and put to flight. The garrison were not provisioned for a siege, and the allies, who formed its larger part, refusing to defend themselves, the Spartan commander obtained terms and marched out of the fortress. Some Thebans of the philo-Lakonian party accompanied them; some of these were seized by the people and put to death, and even their children shared their fate. They would probably have been all murdered, had not the Athenian auxiliaries interfered to protect them. Sparta condemned to death two of the harmosts who thus abandoned the Kadmeia, and the third, who was absent at the time of the attack, was heavily fined: not being able to pay, he went into exile (379 B. C.).

The deliverance of Thebes was the first in a series of events which broke, says Plutarch, the chains which Sparta had laid upon Greece. We shall now inquire what were the causes which in so

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Pelopidas*. The story of Xenophon differs a little from that of Plutarch. The former speaks of seven conspirators, the latter of twelve. Xenophon does not even mention Pelopidas, and is evidently hostile both to him and to Epameinondas. In the whole course of the *Hellenics* Pelopidas is mentioned but once.

short a time raised a city, hitherto only noted for its treason in the Median wars, to the degree of power which Thebes possessed. That which characterized the Boiotians was a certain dulness of mind which became proverbial, — something of coarseness and sensuality. Thebes was the native city, in mythologic times, of Amphion, and later of Pindar. But this glory was of the past. If we may believe Ælian, she imposed upon her artists the obligation

THEBAN COINS.<sup>1</sup>

of making their work beautiful, and fined the man who should disfigure his model; but the arts were none the more prosperous for this. From early times there had been that custom of common banquets, public feasts, which is peculiar to the Greeks. But while these gatherings became refined elsewhere, and had music, dancing, poetry, philosophy even, for their ordinary accompaniments, by a beautiful blending of the most refined pleasures of the mind with those of the body, in Thebes they were only the occasion for

<sup>1</sup> (1) Head of Dionysos, wreathed with ivy, right profile. Reverse: ΘΕ[βαίος]: Herakles, a child, struggling with the serpents (*Revue numismatique*, 1863, pl. xi. 3). Gold.

(2) The Boiotian shield. Reverse: ΘΕΒ: Dionysiac *kantharos*, above it, a club. (Tetramorion.)

(3) Three half-shields, arranged as a star; in the centre, the letter Θ. The reverse is the same. (Tritemorion.)

(4) The Boiotian shield. Reverse: ΘΕΒΗ: Dionysiac *kantharos*, above it, a club. (Hemidrachma.)

(5) A Boiotian shield. Reverse: ΘΕ: Dionysiac *kantharos*, in a wreath of ivy and vine. (Didrachma.)

(6) A Boiotian half-shield. Reverse: ΘΕ: Dionysiac *kantharos*; at the left, a club. (Hemiobolion.)

(7) A Boiotian shield. Reverse: [Θ]ΕΒΑΙΟ[Ν]: Herakles, a child, struggling with the serpents (*Revue numismatique*, 1863, pl. xi. 2). (Didrachma.)

exhausting all the resources of coarse sensuality and vulgar extravagance. Men ate and drank excessively, like those polemarchs whom we have just now seen surprised at their banquet by the friends of Pelopidas. A very fertile soil<sup>1</sup> easily cultivated, a dense atmosphere, very few handicrafts, no commerce, because the soil gave everything that was necessary, neither the stimulus of poverty as in Attika, nor of peril as in Lacedæmon, — such are the reasons why Thebes, remote moreover from that sea so stimulating to men's minds, had remained in the shade. Life was so comfortable there without making any effort; why exert oneself? To these causes must be added the political weakness produced by their divisions; the contempt into which they fell after the Median wars; finally the attraction exercised by Athens upon all men of merit, which acted necessarily at the expense of the other cities, especially of those nearest her. When Athens had fallen, when Sparta had rendered herself odious, Thebes, which had not exhausted her strength in quarrels, derived advantage from the ruin of the one as from the insolence of the other. There is no reason to doubt that the emigration of Athenians, driven out by the Thirty Tyrants, and that of many Italiot Greeks, who, according to Plutarch, brought into Boiotia the doctrines of Pythagoras, contributed to awaken the Theban mind. The disciples of Sokrates also taught in Thebes. Influences of this kind and the political circumstances of the time produced a certain activity in these Boiotian natures, whose solid depths would have borne rich harvests had this good ground been suitably cultivated, — had the ploughshare been driven deeply enough in it. In Boiotia we find docility, accuracy, strength, earnestness; but we find neither the exquisite refinement, nor the acumen, nor the sweet and gracious vivacity of the Attic mind.

<sup>1</sup> The wheat of Boiotia was, next to the African, the heaviest known at Rome; that is to say, it contained the most nourishment (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xviii. 7). This country did, indeed, touch on three seas, *τριθάλαττος* (Strabo, ix. 400), but had no important city on the coast.

II. — EPAMEINONDAS AND PELOPIDAS; TREATIES OF 374  
AND 371 B. C.

ONE man, Epameinondas, sums up in himself all the good qualities of this people. He was of distinguished family, of the race of Spartoi, "sons of the dragon's teeth." He was, however, poor, and remained so all his life. In taking command of an army to invade the Peloponnesos, he was obliged to borrow twenty-five drachmas to complete his equipment. On another occasion, as the time for a festival approached, he was obliged to remain at home for several days, that his only cloak might be washed. Far, however, from suffering on account of this poverty, he congratulated himself on thus being rid of many cares. His frugality was that of a Pythagorean;<sup>1</sup> he took no wine, and often his food was only a little honey. His education was superior to that of his fellow-countrymen. The Greeks, even the most serious of them, united the training of the body to that of the mind; to letters were added gymnastic exercises, to philosophy the arts. Sokrates had been a sculptor, and Polybios attributes astonishing political effects to the general teaching of music. Epameinondas omitted none of the studies which make the perfectly trained man; he learned to play the flute and the lyre, to sing, accompanying himself on some instrument, and even to dance.<sup>2</sup> He devoted himself with enthusiasm to the exercises of the gymnasium and the use of weapons, less solicitous, however, in acquiring strength than agility, regarding the one as the virtue of the athlete, the other as that of the soldier. To this body, which he had rendered supple and vigorous by exercise, nature had joined the best qualities of the mind, and these he developed by serious thought. His teacher in philosophy was the Pythagorean, Lysis of Tarentum. When scarcely more than a

<sup>1</sup> When the Pythagorean school had been persecuted in Southern Italy, one of its most eminent masters, Philolaos, had taken refuge in Thebes, and there himself established a school, which found disciples in the midst of this self-indulgent population. Another disciple of Pythagoras, Lysis, came thither from Krotona during the Peloponnesian war, and had Epameinondas for a pupil.

<sup>2</sup> The Pyrrhic was a military dance, with sword and spear. See above, p. 149.

boy he might be seen following this sad and stern old man, even preferring his society to that of youths of his own age. Prudent, skilful in taking advantage of circumstances, of lofty soul and indomitable courage, he knew how to command and how to obey, which, in Aristotle's<sup>1</sup> judgment, and in that of history, is the distinctive trait of good citizens, — at one time victorious over Sparta at Leuktra, later a soldier in the ranks, or an inferior magistrate of the city, and enduring without complaint the injustice of his friends or of the people. His respect for truth was so profound that even in pleasantry he would not say what was false. He knew how to keep a secret, he spoke little, and listened attentively; he was, however, a powerful and able orator, who more than once served Thebes with his voice as well as with his arm.

Such was the education of distinguished Greeks, and such were the gentle and grave virtues of the Theban hero; in respect to moral character Greece has had none more pure and lofty.<sup>2</sup> When Pelopidas conspired, he refused to share in the plot, — not, certainly, from cowardice, but from an aversion to intrigue and a preference



ATHLETE RUBBING HIMSELF WITH OIL.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Polit.*, iii. 2, 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Epaminondas, princeps, meo judicio, Graeciae* (Cic., *Tusc.*, i. 2, and *De orat.*, iii. 34).

<sup>3</sup> Statue of Pentelikan marble, in the Glyptothek at Munich (No. 165 of the *Description* by Brunn); from the *Monumenti dell' Instit.*, vol. xi. pl. 7. The lifted right hand held a small *aryballos* filled with oil, which the athlete poured into his left hand to rub his body. This is the best reproduction of a celebrated original, often copied, which Brunn is disposed to attribute, if not to Myron himself, at least to some sculptor of his school. The head seems to have

for fighting openly. While the refugees were devising their schemes, Epameinondas was busy training the young Thebans to act as men when the decisive day should come. These virtues did not prevent him from having a great ambition for his country. He it was, above all other men, who sought to break down the supremacy of Sparta, and who, after having accomplished this, strove to humble Athens. We see him even at Tegea approve as general of a proceeding which as a private individual he would have condemned. Let us say, however, that wherever it was possible for him to do so he lessened the evils of war.<sup>1</sup>

Pelopidas was especially a man of action. The gymnasium and the chase had more attractions for him than books and the lessons of the philosophers. The son of a rich and noble family, he shared his wealth with his poorer friends, and himself lived in great simplicity. A lofty and generous soul, eager for fame, ambitious as much for himself as for his country, he became a brilliant general, prompt in forming and executing plans; but in point of genius he remained far inferior, it would seem, to Epameinondas. The greatness of Thebes was to last during the lifetime of these two men.

Their first care was to prepare their country for the formidable struggle which they foresaw. Sparta had just decided to send an army against Thebes, and Agesilaos had refused to take the command, urging his extreme age. His colleague, Kleombrotos, took his place, and made a rapid incursion into Boiotia (January, 378 B. C.). At Athens there was great alarm when it became known that the Spartans were so near. The oligarchical party profited by the public dismay to obtain the condemnation of the two generals who had accompanied the Theban conspirators without the order of the assembly, and had thus risked engaging Athens in war with Lacedæmon. One was put to death, the other banished. This was a concession to fear, and an act of submission towards Sparta, who had sent three deputies to Athens with sharp remonstrances against the secret assistance given to the Theban refugees.

served as a model, or, to speak more exactly, a type, to Praxiteles for his Hermes recently discovered at Olympia. See Kekulé, *Ueber den Kopf des Praxitelischen Hermes*. Stuttgart, 1881.

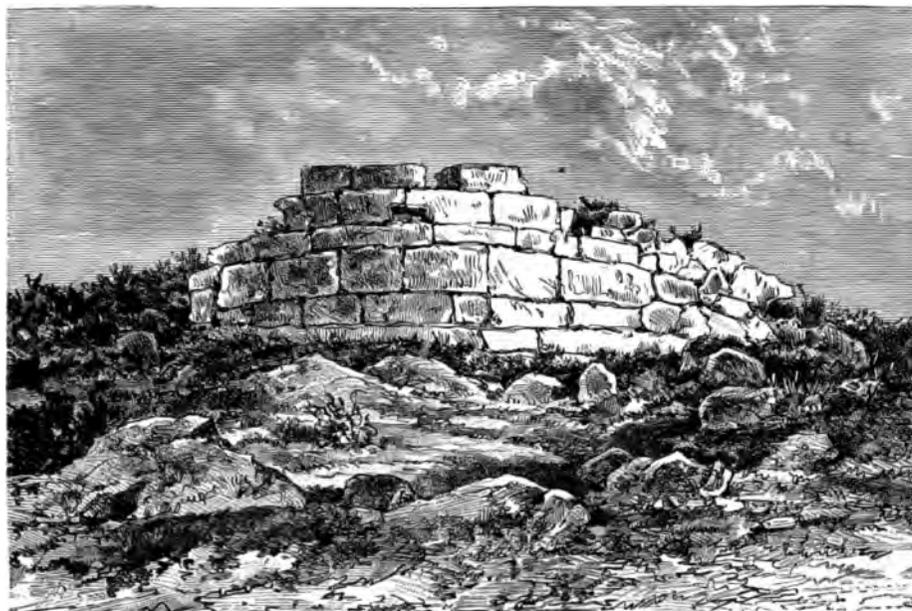
<sup>1</sup> A decree of the Thebans had ordered all Boiotian deserters who should be taken to be put to death. Having found, on one occasion, quite a number of these, he evaded the law by calling them natives of other States, and sent them away unharmed (Pausanias, ix. 15, 2).



.....



An act of perfidy brought Athens to a more self-respecting attitude. Kleombrotos had left at Thespiæ Sphodrias with a body of troops: the example of Phoibidas tempted him; he resolved to make a dash upon Peiraieus, hoping to compensate Sparta for the loss of



RUINS OF A ROUND TOWER ABOVE EETIONEIA (PEIRAIEUS).<sup>1</sup>

Thebes. In the evening he set out with a force large enough to promise success, but daylight surprised him near Eleusis, and so the expedition failed. He was accused at Sparta of having disloyally schemed against an allied city; Agesilaos, again defending a bad cause, obtained his acquittal, on the ground of his previous good conduct. Athens, indignant, broke with Sparta and prepared for war. Every effort was made to obtain means for completing Peiraieus and rebuilding a navy; and a hundred galleys were put upon the stocks (378 B. C.).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the *Berichte der könig. sächs. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1878, pl. 5. This tower was part of the works constructed by the Four Hundred. Concerning the walls and towers which defended Peiraieus on the side of Eetioneia, see the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. xi. (1887), pp. 129 *et seq.* and 201 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> A census was taken at this time which gives the value of taxable capital in Attika as six thousand talents. A distribution of the citizens was then made into twenty classes, called *symmories*, each representing the same amount of taxable capital, and containing both rich and poor; that is to say, different classes, who were taxed on a varying scale, according to

Sparta inflicted no punishment on Sphodrias; she would have recompensed him if he had succeeded, for she was greatly disturbed at the revival of the Athenian power. Konon and Thrasy-



GROUP FROM THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT DELOS.<sup>1</sup>

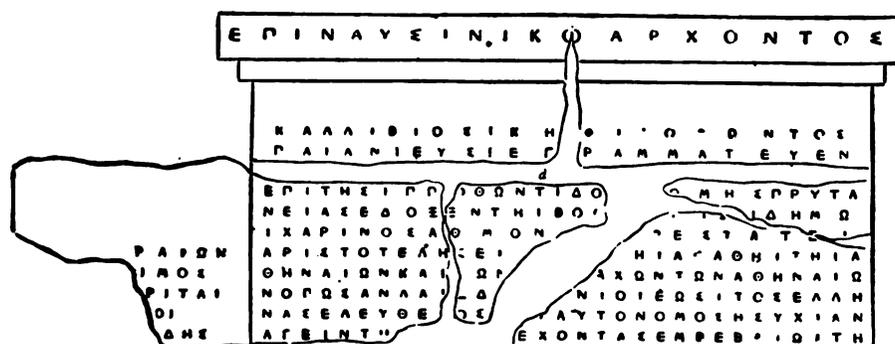
boulos had given back to their city a part of its former tributaries: these had been again taken away by the peace of Antalkidas;

their means, the rich paying a larger percentage than the poor. This was a system adopted in all the democratic cities of Greece, very useful to the public treasury, and having its origin in a very honorable sentiment, — the solidarity of the citizens one with another. The twelve hundred richest members of the ten tribes had the duty of assessing and levying the tax in their respective tribes, and fifteen of these, selected from each of the twenty classes, had the obligation of furnishing the required sum, as an advance made to the State, *προεισφορά*, in case it could not be obtained otherwise. Hence the assessors often overcharged those who paid the tax, in order to spare themselves; and abuses arose which required new reforms. It has been already said, and may again be repeated, that these heavy burdens, laid on the more prosperous classes, had the serious disadvantage of constituting in the State a discontented party, eager for peace, and always seeking to escape from a sometimes crushing weight by financial irregularities, political intrigues, and an opposition to even the most legitimate war. The *εισφορά* was due from the *metoikoi* as well as from the citizens; but this tax was levied only in extreme cases.

<sup>1</sup> From the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. iii. (1879) pl. xi., and the *Archäol. Zeitung*, vol. xl. (1882) pp. 339 *et seq.* (A. Furtwängler). We give here, indicating the portions preserved, the restorations proposed by Furtwängler; he believes that the group decorated the summit of the eastern pediment of the temple of Apollo, and represented the abduction of Oreithyia by Boreas.

but as no power now kept guard over the seas, pirates swarmed everywhere again,<sup>1</sup> and the islanders, who needed the Athenian market and the wheat which Athens was accustomed to bring from Tauris, became more closely attached to the only city which could secure to their commerce the products and the security of which they had need.

Athens had just recovered the superintendence of the temple of Delos, the sanctuary of the Cyclades and of the Ionian race, lost



FRAGMENT OF THE STATUTES OF THE SECOND ATHENIAN CONFEDERATION.<sup>2</sup>

to her after the battle of Aigospotamoi. To change this religious tie into a political one would not be at all difficult if circumstances were in any degree favorable. Impelled towards Athens by their interests, by their pride, and by the injustice of the Spartan governors, Chios, Byzantium, Rhodes, Mytilene, and almost the whole of Euboeia, — seventy insular or maritime cities, — came voluntarily to ask her to renew that confederation which for more than sixty years had given them peace, security, and riches.<sup>3</sup> Athens, more-

<sup>1</sup> Isokrates, *Panegyri.*, 115: καταποντισται μὲν τὴν θάλατταν κατέχουσιν.

<sup>2</sup> From the *Corp. inscr. Attic.* We read as follows: 'Ἐπὶ Ναυσινίκου ἀρχοντος· Καλλίβιος Κηφισοφώντος Παϊανιεύς ἐγραμμάτευεν· ἐπὶ Ἰπποθωντίδος ἐβδόμης πρυτανείας· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Χαρίνος Ἀθμονεύς ἐπεστάτης· Ἀριστοτέλης εἶπεν· τύχη ἀγαθὴ τῇ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως ἂν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐῷσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν τὴν χώραν ἔχοντας ἐμ βεβαίῳ τὴν ἑαυτῶν. . . . "In the archonship of Nausinikos (378-7) Kallibios, son of Kephisophon, of the demos Paiania, being secretary, the tribe Hippothontis holding the prytaneion, which was the seventh, the council and the people have decided; Charinos, of the demos of Athmonon, was epistates. Aristotle proposed: May it profit the Athenians and their allies! That henceforth the Lacedæmonians leave the Greeks to enjoy in peace liberty and autonomy, and to possess their territory in all security. . . ." On the margin are engraved the names of the allies: *Κερκυραίων ὁ δῆμος, Ἀβδηρίται, Θάσιοι, Χαλκιδῆς* [ἀπὸ Θράκης].

<sup>3</sup> For the inscription discovered in Attika which enables us to read this monument of

over, had the wisdom to revert to the plan of Aristeides. All the members of the league, remaining independent as to their interior constitution, sent representatives to a federal congress which met at Athens, and in which the least State had a vote, and the greatest, even Athens, no more than that. This assembly voted the general contribution, and determined the contingent of each city. The *klerouchoi* had left unpleasant recollections; these Athens effaced by an act of moderation, relinquishing all claim to lands on the mainland or the islands which had formerly been held by the Athenian colonists, and of which they had been dispossessed at the close of the Peloponnesian war. A law prohibited even any Athenian from acquiring domains and taking mortgages outside of Attika.<sup>1</sup> The admission of Thebes changed the character of the confederation, which, hitherto exclusively maritime, was now obliged to support land-forces in large number. In the first ardor of the new zeal it was voted to arm twenty thousand hoplites, five hundred horse, and a fleet of two hundred galleys.

In the presence of this league Sparta felt a necessity of treating her allies more considerately, and making a more equitable arrangement as to the contributions she imposed on them. The new confederation was divided into ten sections: 1, The Spartans; 2 and 3, the Arkadians; 4, the Eleians; 5, the Achaians; 6, the Corinthians and Megarians; 7, the Sikyonians, Phillasians, and the inhabitants of Akte; 8, the Akarnanians, Phokians, and Lokrians; 10, the Olynthians and the Thracian allies of Sparta. The share of each section was determined; and to avoid arbitrary action in the levying of contingents it was decided that one heavy-armed soldier should be regarded as equivalent to two light-armed, and four hoplites to one horseman. For each hoplite missing to the quota, the State must pay three Aiginetan obols [about thirteen cents], and four times as much for a cavalryman. A city furnishing neither men nor money should pay a fine of four drachmas, multiplied by the number of soldiers she should have furnished, and the number of days the campaign lasted; Sparta was

wisdom, see *Corp. inscr. Attic.*, ii. 17, 25-30, 34-41, and Böckh's appendix to the second edition of his *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, p. 20.

<sup>1</sup> Diodoros, xv. 28 and 30.

party to a great effort against Thebes. It was in vain, however, that he carried on this war with his usual ability; he obtained no other advantage than that of destroying the farms, cutting down fruit-trees, and burning the harvests, — a barbaric war, which exasperated the people, and had not the excuse of a noble purpose. The Thebans had not, as had the Athenians of Perikles, the sea to compensate them for their losses by land, and they began to suffer from want; at the same time, however, they grew more



BAS-RELIEF COMMEMORATIVE OF THE ALLIANCE OF ATHENS AND KORKYRA.<sup>1</sup>

warlike. They did not remain behind their walls, where the enemy might easily blockade and starve them; they kept in the field, following the Peloponnesians at a little distance and on higher ground, after the manner of Fabius in his campaigns against Hannibal; and they became accustomed, in frequent skirmishes, to meet the Spartans face to face. Agesilaos himself being wounded in one of these encounters, a Spartan said to him: "You see the fruit of the lessons you have given them." Lykourgos had wisely advised not to make war too long against the same enemies.

<sup>1</sup> From the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. ii. (1878), pl. xii. The inscription of which this bas-relief is the heading is in the *Corp. inscr. Attic.*, ii. 49 b. The Athenian People (*ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων*) is seated at the left upon a rock; before him stands Korkyra, as a veiled woman, and Athene, who is the witness of the oaths which have just been interchanged.

In the spring of the year 376 B. C. it fell to Kleombrotos to lead the Lacedæmonians into Boiotia. He had not, like Agesilaos, the prudence to secure in advance the passes of the Kithairon, and in attempting to force them was defeated.

The Athenians contributed much to render this war difficult for Sparta; it was they whom the Peloponnesians always found defending the defiles. Sparta resolved once more to make a direct attack upon her perpetual rival;

BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>

she sent sixty galleys to cruise among the Cyclades in order to intercept convoys of wheat on their way to Peiraieus. Athens thereupon armed eighty, under the command of Chabrias, who had lately

distinguished himself at Cyprus in the service of Evagoras, and in Egypt under Akoris, a native king who had revolted against the Persians. In a battle near Naxos the Spartans lost forty-nine vessels. Their defeat would have been much more disastrous had not Chabrias, remembering the battle of Arginousai, stopped to gather up the dead and rescue

BRONZE COIN.<sup>2</sup>

the crews of eighteen of his galleys which had been wrecked (September, 376 B. C.). He brought back to Athens three thousand prisoners, and the spoils were a hundred and ten talents.

Since the Peloponnesian war this was the first naval victory gained by the Athenians. It raised them in the opinion of the allies, and — which was still more advantageous — in their own esteem. A number of cities immediately sought their alliance. The following year, while the Lacedæmonians were preparing to renew their periodic invasion of Boiotia, Athens put in execution again the bold plan first conceived and executed by Perikles. Timotheos, son of Konon, sailed round the Peloponnesos, brought back into the

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Hierapolis (Phrygia), having on the reverse an imitation of the group of Kephisodotos. *IEPAΠOAEITΩN*. Head of Dionysos, with an ivy wreath, right profile. Reverse: *EYΠO CIA*; Euposia standing to the left, the right hand on a rudder; she holds with the left hand a cornucopia, and on the same arm the child Ploutos, who lifts his right hand to grasp the fruit in the cornucopia (Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 401).

<sup>2</sup> *ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ*. Eirene standing, holding a sceptre, and carrying on her left arm the child Ploutos. (Reverse of an Athenian coin; this monetary type reproduces almost exactly the work of the sculptor Kephisodotos; see above the note on p. 524, and the engraving, p. 525.)

Athenian alliance Korkyra, Kephallenia, the Akarnanians, and Alketas, king of the Molossians, and defeated the Spartan admiral in sight of Leukadia. These successes gratified the pride of Athens, but the expenses of the fleet exhausted her resources. Timotheos had received from the public treasury thirteen talents, which had been quickly expended; an advance of seven minai, made by each one of his sixty trierarchs, could not long maintain him. Athens, urged by him to send further subsidies, addressed herself to the allies, whose interests had been greatly served by the naval operations. Whether from actual inability, or—which is more probable—from ill-will, Thebes would give nothing. This decided the Athenians, who were now again—notwithstanding some piracies of the Aiginetans—masters of the Ægæan Sea, and, consequently, of commerce, to negotiate with Sparta. This power, much disturbed by seeing the coasts of the Peloponnesos exposed to marauders by sea, desired peace; the two cities concluded a treaty, by which it was agreed that one should possess the hegemony of the Peloponnesos,



DIDRACHM OF ORCHOMENOS.<sup>1</sup>

and the other the direction of the maritime confederation (374 B. C.). The Athenians still loved to invite religion and the arts to solemnize the important acts of their political life. They now instituted an annual sacrifice and a festival to recall the close of the days of warfare, and a sculptor celebrated at that time, Kephisodotos, who for the grand style of Pheidias and the serene beauty of his gods had begun to substitute a more human and living grace, made for one of their temples a goddess of Peace, carrying in her arms Ploutos, the god of wealth, with the cornucopia.

This agreement seemed to promise a long period of tranquillity; but its duration was extremely brief,—such was the sad condition of this quarrelsome race, wearing out its strength in endless conflicts, and finally destined to fall exhausted at the feet of a foreigner! Before leaving the Ionian Sea, Timotheos instigated a revolution at Zakynthos; Sparta strove to cause one at Korkyra, which called on Athens for assistance; and Thebes attacked the Boiotian cities, which

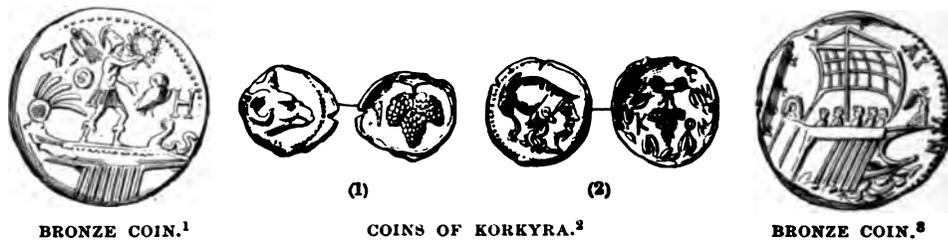
<sup>1</sup> Boiotian shield. Reverse: ΕΡΧ[ομηρών]; a bridled horse, galloping to the right; in the field, ΕΥΔΟΡΟ, a magistrate's name; above, a wheat-ear. (Coin struck about 380 B. C.)

had been, since the peace of Antalkidas, points of support for foreign influence, Thespiæ, Plataia, and Orchomenos. Pelopidas, who year after year had been elected boiotarch, marched with the sacred battalion against Orchomenos, which the Spartan garrison had just left to go into Lokris; but another corps had taken its place, and the attempt was unsuccessful. On his return Pelopidas unexpectedly met the Lacedæmonians near Tegyra: "We have fallen among enemies," a Theban said to him. "Why not say the enemy have fallen among us?" he rejoined. He had but three hundred foot, and a very small troop of cavalry; but the Spartans, though much more numerous, were completely defeated. The sacred battalion on that day won its fitting renown. This was a picked band of men, united among themselves by ties of friendship. It had existed for a long time, but it had been usual to disperse these soldiers through the front ranks of the army; Pelopidas caused them to go into battle as a corps isolated from the rest of the army, that their valor and discipline, being massed, might be irresistible.

"This battle," says Plutarch, "taught the Greeks for the first time that not only on the banks of the Eurotas brave men are born, but that wherever the youth are able to blush for that which dishonors, and rush eagerly to what is glorious, wherever blame is dreaded more than danger, — there are men who are to be feared."

Korkyra, closely besieged by the Spartans, sent despairing appeals to Athens. There was lack of money for a maritime armament; in the hope of obtaining it, Timotheos was instructed to visit, with a few galleys, the allied cities. The mildness of his character prevented him from taking by force that which was not offered him freely, so that he lost much time on this mission (373 B. C.). Meanwhile Korkyra was ready to surrender, and Athens, employing her last resources, even using the sacred galleys, gathered a fleet; but she punished her general, whose delays had been unendurable to her, by the loss of his command, and brought him to trial. Two powerful intercessors, Alketas, king of Epeiros, and Iason, the tyrant of Pherai, saved him; both came to Athens and lodged in the modest dwelling of Timotheos, who was obliged to borrow money and plate to entertain them suitably. This man was of the pure and noble type of Aristeides, of whom Athens had a few representatives. His enemies denied his merit, speaking

only of his good fortune; they represented him as sleeping under a tent while Fortune went about gathering up cities for him in a net. "What would there be for me to do if I were awake, then?" he said. He proved that he had pledged his own possessions for the maintenance of the fleet, and was acquitted; but he at once left the country, and for several years lived in Persia, in a voluntary exile (373 B. C.). Again the democracy of Athens deprived themselves of a good servant. Iphikrates and Kallistratos, his rivals, took his place. We know little concerning the second, who, however, was esteemed the best orator of his time; but the military

BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>COINS OF KORKYRA.<sup>2</sup>BRONZE COIN.<sup>3</sup>

skill of Iphikrates is matter of history: this he devoted to the navy. He had only raw sailors, and he trained them on the voyage. On approaching Korkyra, he perceived ten vessels, sent by Dionysios of Syracuse to the Spartans, and of these he captured nine; meantime the Korkyraians had saved themselves by a victory (372 B. C.).

Since the war had become maritime, the Athenians bore all its weight, while Thebes received all the advantage from it. This city had seized Plataia, to whose inhabitants Athens a second time gave shelter, and had razed it to the ground; Phokis was menaced. The Athenians, displeased by the cruelty with which the Plataians had been treated, and also, jealous of seeing a new city claiming the rank of a first-class power, made overtures of peace to Sparta. Kallistratos, their favorite orator, desired the close of a war which made military men the most important

<sup>1</sup> Athenian galley, on which stands a warrior (Themistokles) holding a trophy and a wreath; on the vessel's prow the serpent Erichthonios; in the field, an owl and the legend ΑΘΗ. (Reverse of a coin of the Roman period commemorating Themistokles. See also those represented in Vol. II. p. 77.)

<sup>2</sup> (1) Ram's head to the right. Reverse: Κ and a bunch of grapes. (Silver.)

(2) Helmeted head of Pallas, right profile. Reverse: ΚΟ[ρκυραίων], and a bunch of grapes in a wreath of vine-leaves and ivy. (Silver.)

<sup>3</sup> ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙΩΝ. Sailing-galley with steersman and five rowers. On the prow a Victory holding a wreath. (Reverse of a coin of Korkyra with the effigy of Julia Domna.)

in the State; Iphikrates and Chabrias wished it, in view of the brilliant advantages the king of Persia offered them if they should enter his service. According to Diodoros, Artaxerxes himself made an endeavor to establish peace among the Greeks, that he might be able to take the disbanded soldiers into his own pay and employ them in the subjugation of his rebellious provinces. It was said also that Antalkidas was at the Persian court, and that Athens had reason to make haste with her negotiations, lest a new alliance should be formed between Sparta and the Oriental Empire. Kallias was sent as ambassador to Sparta, and with him six colleagues; Kallistratos accompanied the embassy, to lend to the negotiations the aid of his eloquence.



KORA, HOLDING A PLOUGHSHARE IN HER HAND.<sup>1</sup>

The speeches made at this time, of which we have the substance in Xenophon, have many interesting passages. The oration of Kallias is ridiculous; it shows the abuse that the Greek orators were apt to make of mythological allusions. According to him the reason that Sparta and Athens ought to form a close alliance is that the Athenian Triptolemos "offered to the Peloponnesos the first gifts of Demeter, and that it is most wrongful for Sparta to destroy the harvests of a country to which she owes her own." Autokles lingers less upon legend, and goes direct to history.

"Lacedæmonians," he says, "you continually declare that States should be free, and yet you oblige your allies to follow you wherever you may

<sup>1</sup> Fragment of a vase-painting, from Lenormant and De Witte, *Élite des monum. céramogr.*, vol. iii. pl. 64. Kora, standing behind her mother, witnesses the departure of Triptolemos.

choose to lead them. Without consulting them you declare war, you order levies, so that often peoples who are called free are obliged to march against their best friends. And is it not the last outrage against the independence of cities to place, in one ten, in another thirty men, not so much to rule them with justice, as to restrain them by violence? When the king of Persia declared that all the cities of Greece should be free, you say that the Thebans would act in contravention of the treaty if they did not leave the Boiotian cities to govern themselves; and you have seized the Kadmeia and deprived Thebes of its liberty."

These words, harsh to Spartan ears, were not adapted to facilitate negotiations. The third Athenian envoy, Kallistratos, more

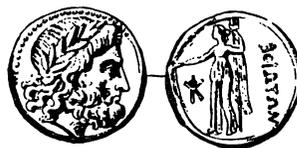


TETRADRACHM.<sup>1</sup>

adroit, reminded his auditors that although both Athens and Sparta had committed many errors, wisdom is derived from experience, and experience comes from a knowledge of the errors by which we have suffered; and he added: "According to certain enemies of peace, that which brings us to Lacedæmon is the fear lest Antalkidas, your envoy at the court of the Great King, should return laden with gold; but this monarch desires the independence of the Greek States, and as we wish the same, we have nothing to fear from him." It is plain to see how contemptible was the figure made at this time, in the eyes of men inheriting the glory of Salamis, by this figure-head of a king and this empire which had nothing great but its list of rebellious provinces. Kallistratos was more in the right when he said: "All the cities are divided between us and you; in every city there is a party favorable to Sparta and one favorable to Athens; if we become friends, what adversary could we have cause to dread? Strong in your friendship, we should be secure by land; strong in ours, you would have no enemies by sea." For the second time Athens and Sparta seemed to consent to divide between them the empire of Hellas. Peace was concluded, the main conditions being that the Spartan harmosts and garrisons should be everywhere withdrawn,

<sup>1</sup> Reverse of an Athenian tetradrachm, with the magistrates' names, EYPYKAEI[δης]. AΠI-APA[δης]. ΗΡΑΚΑΕ . . . (?) It is said by ancient authors that Sokrates was a sculptor; and many archæologists, following Raoul Rochette, have recognized on this tetradrachm a copy of the three Graces that Sokrates is said to have carved according to Diogenes Laertius and Suidas, — a group seen by Pausanias in the Propylæia of the temple of Athene. Sokrates represented them clothed, according to the archaic custom, and as we see them on the coin. See Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 298, and Vol. II. of this work, p. 95.

that the military forces on both sides should be disbanded, that every city should enjoy full autonomy, and that if any city should fail to observe these conditions, all were at liberty to take arms to defend the injured party; while, however, no one should be obliged to take arms who did not wish to do so. Sparta, for herself and her allies, swore to observe the treaty; Athens and her allies took the oath severally, each city for itself. When it was the turn of Thebes, Epameinondas, the Theban envoy, insisted that the city should act as the representative of all the Boiotian cities. The Spartans strenuously opposed this, and Epameinondas was asked whether each Boiotian city was not as truly autonomous as Thebes. To this he rejoined that there was as much justice in the claim of Thebes to a superiority in Boiotia as in that of Sparta to like rights in Lakonia. Upon this Agesilaos caused the name of the Thebans to be struck off the list (June, 371 B. C.). Thus was made a declaration of war, at the very moment when a general peace seemed to have been determined upon.

BOIOTIAN COIN.<sup>1</sup>

### III. — LEUKTRA (371 B. C.); MANTINEIA, MEGALOPOLIS, AND MESSENE; EPAMEINONDAS IN LAKONIA (370–369 B. C.).

BEFORE the opening of the congress at Sparta, Kleombrotos had advanced into Phokis with an army for the purpose of protecting that province from the Thebans who menaced it. He was ordered to proceed at once into Boiotia; and twenty days had scarcely elapsed after the signing of the treaty when he stood in the plain of Leuktra, face to face with the Theban army, having, as Diodoros perhaps too liberally gives him, a force of ten thousand hoplites and a thousand horse. In this plain stood the tomb

BOIOTIAN COIN.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laurelled head of Poseidon, right profile. Reverse: BOIΩTON; a Victory standing to the left, holding in her right hand a wreath, and in her left a trident; in the field, the monogram of a magistrate's name. (Bronze.)

<sup>2</sup> Beardless head of Herakles, right profile, the lion's skin upon his head. Reverse: BOIΩTON; a Victory stepping to the right, carrying a trophy; in the field a wreath. (Bronze.)

of the two daughters of Skedasios, who had perished by their own hands in their grief and shame at the injury a Spartan had done them. This monument of the crime of their enemies was regarded by the Thebans as an omen of victory; they decorated



THE FIGHTING HERAKLES.<sup>1</sup>

with garlands "the virgins' tomb," and the army doubted not that the Erinyes would avenge them. From Thebes the priests sent word that the doors of the temple had opened without human agency, and that the armor of Herakles had disappeared

<sup>1</sup> Bronze statuette in the *Cabinet de France*. Its origin is unknown. Herakles moves rapidly forward, and is preparing to strike his enemy with the club which he holds in his lifted right hand; the left arm is extended, and the hand holds the bow (partly broken), which the god seems to be using to parry an attack. O. Rayet (*Monuments de l'art antique*) regards this bronze as a copy of the Herakles of Onatas, consecrated by the Thasians at Olympos between 510 and 465 B. C. The statue was of bronze and had the same attributes with the figurine here represented. The copy dates from the early part of the fifth century B. C.

from his sanctuary, and that these prodigies revealed surely that the gods had gone forth to fight the invaders, as Theseus had been seen to do on the day of Marathon, and the Aiakids at Salamis.

The Thebans had but six thousand foot; but their cavalry was superior to that of the Spartans, and Pelopidas was in command of the sacred battalion. It was not unanimously agreed, in the council of the Theban leaders, to fight. Epameinondas, one of the seven boiotarchs, thought it best that the battle should take place; his colleagues hesitated; but he finally secured a majority. The Spartans had made no change in their habitual tactics; their order of battle was always the solid phalanx, twelve

SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>

deep, and presenting an impenetrable front of spears and shields. But by a violent attack upon one point in this wall it was possible to break through it, and Epameinondas drew up his army with that idea in view. He arrayed his troops obliquely, engaging his left wing, a column fifty men deep, having the sacred band in front of it, and holding back his right in an attitude of defence. Thus giving the brunt of the action to his chosen troops, massed in superior numbers at the point of attack, he easily broke the Spartan line, which, moreover, was elsewhere endangered by the Theban cavalry. Kleombrotos vainly sought to surround this terrible wedge which was driven into his line of battle; Pelopidas charged impetuously with his band, and the king fell, mortally wounded. He was with great difficulty carried off the field and sheltered in the Spartan camp, whither also the army now retreated. Fourteen hundred Lacedæmonians, of whom four hundred were Spartans of the highest class, remained dead upon the field, and a request for a burial truce was made by the vanquished, who thus, after the custom of the times, acknowledged their defeat. The Thebans granted it, and at once erected a trophy on the battle-field. When Epameinondas was congratulated on the event of the day his reply was: "I rejoice chiefly because my father is yet living; this victory will give him delight" (July 6, 371 B. C.).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Boiotian shield. Reverse: ΘΕ; youthful head of Herakles, right profile, wearing the lion's skin. (Herakles, on a Theban coin.)

<sup>2</sup> In 1877 was found, near Thebes, an inscription dating from this day: "When the Spartan's spear reigned, Xenokrates received the order of the lot to offer to Zeus the trophy, fear-

When news of this disaster reached Sparta, the festival of the Gymnopaïdia was going on. The ephors were fully aware that it meant the loss of the Spartan supremacy in Greece; they would not, however, order the chorus to withdraw from the stage, nor suffer the decorations to be taken down in the city. The names of those who had fallen were made known to their relatives, but an order was issued that the women should abstain from the cus-



tomary lamentations over the dead; and on the following day those whose relatives had been slain were seen in the public streets with cheerful faces; while of those whose kinsmen were reported as surviving, scarcely one showed himself, and the few who were abroad had an air of shame and grief.<sup>3</sup> How false this ostentation of heroism! Could this joy and this grief possibly be sincere? Was it not rather a part which Sparta forced herself to play?<sup>4</sup> Under this mask the father, the son, the brother, might, indeed, hardened by the law, feel no wish to weep; but there was also the citizen, who could not fail to be aware that another death had taken place, not mentioned in the lists, over which every man might weep, — the death of Sparta herself.

The Spartans had fled; their law condemned them to disgrace and contempt. But to enforce this law would have been dangerous at such a time; Agesilaos proposed that, in this single case, the usual penalties should be omitted, with the reservation that in all future cases the law should be strictly enforced.

ing not the army from the Eurotas nor the Lakonian shield. The Thebans are proclaimed victorious by the trophy of conquering spears reared at Leuktra" (*Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, ii. 24).

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Thebes. The Boiotian shield. Reverse: ΕΠΑΜΙ; amphora; above it a rose in full bloom. Epameinondas was boiotarch in 371 B. C.

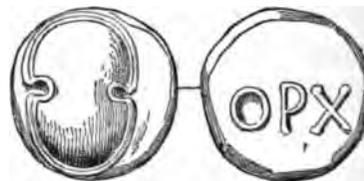
<sup>2</sup> Coin of the Boiotians. Helmeted head of Pallas, right profile. Reverse: ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ; trophy.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Agesilaos*. Xenophon does not even mention Epameinondas in his account of this battle.

<sup>4</sup> This Xenophon himself proves. He shows (*Hellen.*, vi. 5, 21) Agesilaos making a brief visit to Arkadia to encourage his fellow-citizens: *ἐκ γὰρ τῆς πρόσθεν ἀθυμίας εἶδόμεναι τι ἀνεπιληφέναι τὴν πόλιν.*

Thebes, a few days later, made a shameful use of her victory. Under pretext of an aristocratic plot, she caused all the male inhabitants of Orchomenos in Boiotia to be put to death, the women and children to be sold, and the city to be razed to the ground.<sup>1</sup> This act of atrocious jealousy was committed in the absence of Epameinondas, who had on a former occasion prevented the commission of a similar act. To the charge of Thebes already lay the crime of an attack upon Plataia, and the destruction of that city, in a time of complete peace. The massacre at Orchomenos was a kindred act to the condemnation at Athens of the captives from Mytilene, and of the defenders of Plataia by the Spartans; at certain periods all these Greeks were of savage temper.

When a great event disturbed the balance of power in Greece there always followed a series of convulsions, beginning among the larger States and being repeated down to the pettiest. This was seen after the fall of Athens, and it was even more noticeable after the battle of Leuktra; for this time it was the oldest power in Greece, and the least contested, that had received a blow.



COIN OF ORCHOMENOS.<sup>2</sup>

The Spartan supremacy in the Peloponnesos was shaken to its foundations, and perhaps not a village in the whole peninsula escaped the shock, because everywhere the two parties, aristocratic and democratic, were in an attitude of hostility towards each other; and as one or the other saw its standard victorious on some battle-field, it at once derived advantage from the event in its own increased power at home.

Never had the Spartans been so completely vanquished on land; compared with Leuktra, Sphacteria was as nothing. Athens believed the moment favorable to seize upon a part of their possessions. The insulting reception she gave to the Theban messenger who came to announce the victory was a burst of jealousy and regret that it had not been herself who struck the blow at her ancient rival,

<sup>1</sup> Koroneia seems to have suffered the same fate. At Thespiæ and at Plataia the population had at least time to make their escape (Diodoros, xv. 79).

<sup>2</sup> The Boiotian shield. Reverse: OPX[ομηῶν] in the field. (Bronze.)

and by no means proved that she felt compassion for the vanquished. Her first care was to seek to supplant her enemy in the Peloponnesos, by taking upon herself the execution of the treaty of Antalkidas. She convoked an assembly in which the deputies of many cities, those of Corinth among others, swore to observe the treaty "sent by the Great King," and to fight any power that should attack a city which had shared in this oath. This was nothing less than a new league, no longer of the maritime cities only, but of the inland cities as well, and at whose head Athens stood opposed to Sparta and also to Thebes.

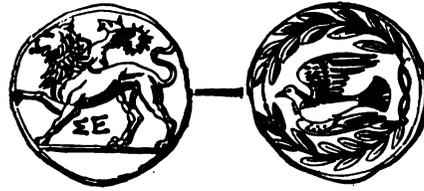


FRAGMENT OF THE FRIEZE OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO EPIKOURIOS, NEAR PHIGALEIA.<sup>1</sup>

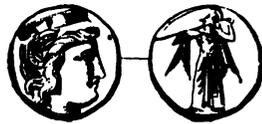
The Mantineians evidently joined it, for we find that they immediately gave up the villages in which Sparta had established them, and began to rebuild their city. Agesilaos summoned them to suspend these operations, giving them to understand that Sparta, too enfeebled to employ force, would herself aid them in rebuilding their walls if they would abstain from giving all Greece the spectacle of Lacedæmon defied with impunity. They did not obey, and it was impossible to compel them; many cities sent workmen to assist them, and the Eleians gave them three talents (370 B. C.).

<sup>1</sup> From a photograph. The frieze, now in the British Museum, represented the conflict between the Lapiths and the Centaurs, and a battle between the Athenians and the Amazons. (See in Vol. II. p. 195, an Ionic capital, and in the present volume, p. 113, the ruins of the temple of Apollo Epikourios.)

At Phigaleia the exiles of the oligarchical party made a sanguinary attempt to recover their former power, but were unsuccessful. The democratic exiles from Corinth did the same; and failing, killed each other to avoid the vengeance of their enemies, who set on foot a close search for them. Scenes of a like character took place at Sikyon and at Megara. At Phlious the leaders of the democratic party endeavored to accomplish their return by the aid of mercenaries. They killed three hundred of the opposite faction, but lost six hundred of their own, and escaped to Argos.

COIN OF SIKYON.<sup>1</sup>

This city was still more unfortunate; she had welcomed all the Peloponnesians banished as adherents to the popular cause, and had thus become a centre of incoherent democracy, incessantly agitated by demagogues. A plot, either real or imagined, of the aristocratic party having been discovered, opened the way to the most cruel acts of vengeance.

COIN OF ARGOS.<sup>2</sup>

Some of the accused immediately committed suicide; thirty, seeking to save their lives by the betrayal of their companions, gained not even the respite of a few hours; twelve hundred others, according to Diodoros, were arrested, and as the forms of justice seemed too slow, the populace armed themselves with clubs and massacred them. This horrible slaughter was called *skytalism*, from the word *σκυτάλη*, "a club." The demagogues became in their turn victims to the passions they had roused, and it was not until the city had been deluged with blood that Argos at last was pacified. Never had Athens seen tragedies like these. "The fact

COIN OF ARGOS.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Chimaira, stepping to the left; in the field above, a wreath; below, the letters ΣΕ[κρωίων]. Reverse: a dove flying to the left, a laurel-wreath surrounding it. (Silver.) Friedlander and Sallet, Nos. 1,291, 131, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Here, right profile, with a high crown, on which is the word ΑΡΤ[είων]. Reverse: Athene Promachos, facing left. (Bronze.)

<sup>3</sup> Laurellid head of Zeus, left profile. Reverse: ΑΡ, monogram of the name Argos; below, a syrinx; the whole in a wreath of oak-leaves. (Bronze.)

shows clearly," says Niebuhr, "the superiority of this privileged people." Another proof of this superiority appears in the effect produced by news of these horrors. For having heard merely the story of them in a public assembly, the Athenians believed themselves polluted, and had recourse to expiatory ceremonies (370 B. C.).<sup>1</sup>

We ask ourselves how existence was endurable with so many massacres in the cities, and devastations in the country; and we end by thinking that these destructive and profitless tumults justify



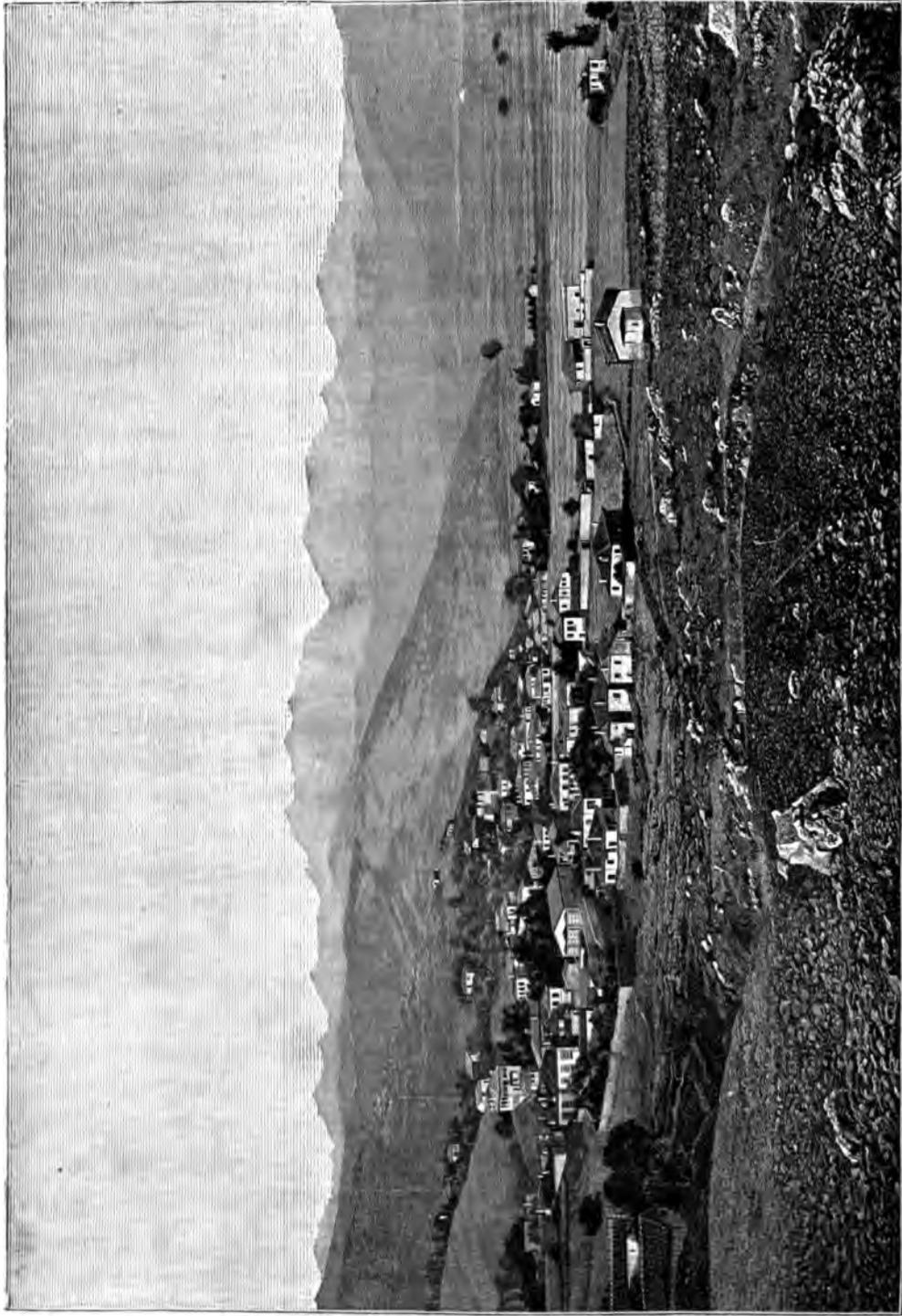
VIEW OF THE SITE OF THE RUINS OF MEGALOPOLIS.<sup>2</sup>

Sparta and Athens in seeking to seize a mastery which at least gave peace to Hellas, unless when the two took up arms against each other.

The only revolution which had any considerable result was that which changed the political situation of Arkadia. With a territory more extensive than any other State of the Peloponnesos, with a robust and warlike population, Arkadia had never had any influence upon the affairs of Greece. Her territory was but a highway for the Spartan armies, and she suffered her sons as mercenaries to sell their careless courage in every land. Thus her best blood was shed, and she made no gain in power. While Arkadians

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Political Precepts*, 18. It is impossible to fix the date of all these events.

<sup>2</sup> From the *Expédition de Morée*, vol. ii. pl. 36. The view is taken from the upper part of the valley of the Helisson. In the background is Mount Lykaïos, at whose base are the ruins of Lykosoura, "the first town the sun saw" (Pausanias, viii. 38, 1).



**VIEW OF ARKADIA.**

**From a photograph. Kalavryta (the ancient Kynaitha) and Mount Erymanthos.**



were helping foreign kings to obtain victory and dominion, Arkadia herself remained at the mercy of Sparta. Many patriotic Arkadians wished for a change, and the battle of Leuktra gave definite form to ideas hitherto vague. A Mantineian named Lykomedes, a man of wealth and rank, proposed to unite the inhabitants of Arkadia into an organized body, like the Spartans and the Athenians.

SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>

“The Spartans,” he said, “have never invaded Attika without our assistance. Would they have been able to take Athens without us?” He desired to found a metropolis, establish a national council which should be invested with supreme authority as to foreign affairs, especially questions of peace and war, and, lastly, to organize a military force for the safety of the State.

Sparta was alarmed at a scheme which thus threatened to place on her northern frontier a formidable and hostile power. But Thebes welcomed it with delight; and if Epameinondas was not, as has been conjectured, the author of the project, he encouraged it with all his efforts. When the foundations of the new city were begun, he sent a thousand picked troops to protect the laborers. Within a few months after the battle of Leuktra an assembly of Arkadians met, and soon after was begun the building of Megalopolis (the Great City), in a vast plain in the southwest of Arkadia, on the banks of a branch of the Alpheus, not far from the Messenian frontier and from one of the main roads into the valley of the Eurotas. The city, laid out on an extensive plan, had the largest theatre in Greece.

YOUNG MAN'S HEAD.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laurelled head of Zeus Lykaios, left profile. Reverse: MET[αλοπολιτων]; Pan, nude, seated on a rock, to the left; he holds a *pedum*, and has the right hand lifted; before him is an eagle about to fly, and the monogram of a magistrate's name. (Coin of Megalopolis.)

<sup>2</sup> Man's head, in marble; from the pediment of the temple of Tegea,—the work of Skopas; from the *Mittheilungen d. d. archäol. Instit. in Athen*, vol. vi. (1881), pl. 14. This head is now in the Central Museum of Athens.

and forty cities, according to Pausanias, or rather forty villages, contributed to furnish its population. Four districts alone refused their concurrence in this plan. Three of them were compelled to give their adherence; the fourth, in which stood Lykosoura, which boasted of being the most ancient city in the world, kept for that reason its autonomy. Orchomenos and Heraia also remained aloof (370 B. C.).

The new constitution of Arkadia seems to have been a first draft of that which later the Achaians adopted; but documents are wanting by which to understand it. An inscription mentions a council (*βουλή*), composed of *demiourgoi*, deputies sent by the cities making part of the Arkadian league; and there is frequent mention of a body called the Ten Thousand, which met first at Megalopolis, and



COIN OF THESPIAI.<sup>1</sup>

later in the other cities successively, at fixed dates and as often as the public interest demanded. What was this Ten Thousand? Doubtless an assembly thus indicated in large numbers merely to show that there were many members.<sup>2</sup> These members were to be what we should call active citizens,—those, namely, who, by their age and their fortune being able to serve as hoplites, formed in war the army of the State, and in peace its legislative body. The council, like the senates in the other Greek cities, had probably only a right of preliminary discussion (*προβούλευμα*); it was the assembly which decided all important matters,—peace and war, alliances, taxation, the contingent of each district, cases of high treason and the like; and its decisions were obligatory for all the cities. Neither is it clear as to the executive; we see only a strategos,



SILVER COIN.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Boiotian shield. Reverse: ΘΕΣΠΙΑΚΟΝ; head of Aphrodite, right profile; under neck and in front of the face a crescent. (Silver.)

<sup>2</sup> These Ten Thousand have been thought to be representatives and delegates of the voters; but there could not have been in all confederated Arkadia a much larger number than this of men of suitable age and condition, and having the wish to be members of this assembly. Two important cities, Orchomenos and Heraia, were not at any time members of the league, and a part of the population of Tegea had become residents of Sparta. The public assembly at Athens never had so many as ten thousand members.

<sup>3</sup> Three grains of wheat; under them. ΕΡ[χομενίων]. Reverse: unbridled horse, galloping to the right. (Coin of Orchomenos.)

or general, who commanded the army and presided over the grand council, archons with administrative duties, and a body of paid soldiers, as in all Greek cities, the *eparittoi*, to execute the orders of the assembly and magistrates.

Orchomenos and Tegea were the only cities in Arkadia which made a serious resistance to the new state of affairs. The first received a Spartan garrison; the latter was the scene of fierce conflicts between the two parties. The democrats, at first defeated, took their revenge, and eight hundred partisans of the oligarchy perished. Sparta, however, could not abandon her friends or put up with insults like these in silence. Agesilaos for three days ravaged the territory of Mantinea; but on the approach of a Theban army he fell back, to put Sparta in a state of defence (369 B. C.).

After her victory at Leuktra, Thebes had taken Thespias and Boiotian Orchomenos, in order to bring the entire country under her sway; and her envoys had gained for her the alliance of Euboia, of the two Lokrids, of the Malians, and even of Phokis. Iason of Pherai, of whom we shall speak further, had offered the alliance of Thessaly, and his death, which occurred soon after, had freed the State from a too-powerful ally; lastly the Pythia, up to this so docile towards Sparta, had become Boiotian. Denounced before the Amphyktionic council for breaking the peace by the seizure of the Kadmeia, the Spartans had been condemned to a fine of five hundred talents, and excluded from the sacred festivals. The political centre of Greece had changed. To fix it at Thebes, Epameinondas brought forward and caused to be accepted a plan of invasion of the Peloponnesos. A large army was gathered. With the exception of Attika, almost all the peoples north of the Corinthian Gulf had contributed to form it, and when it had crossed the isthmus, the Eleians, the Argives, and the Arkadians brought to it their contingents. Writers who use figures lavishly say that this army consisted of fifty thousand men, or even of seventy thousand, — Diodoros being our authority for the former statement, Plutarch for the latter. Masses so numerous only marching upon it would have crushed under their feet "the unwalled city;" but we shall see that Sparta required but very few troops to foil this formidable invasion. The more the peril was increased, however, the greater, in the eyes of posterity, the honor of the people who were able to avert it;

the general conviction of Sparta's eminent merit was thereby much strengthened.

Epameinondas had undertaken the task of restoring to political life two peoples of the Peloponnesos, — the Arkadians, who were now showing unexpected activity, and the Messenians, whom Sparta had almost destroyed, but of whom vigorous offshoots still remained in various places of exile. An invasion of Lakonia had not been included in the plan of the campaign, for the entrance to this valley, possible only through the gorges of Mount Taygetos, was easy to defend, and after a defeat an army would be taken there as in a snare.

BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>

Epameinondas decided upon it, however, on learning that the passes were not all guarded, and on receiving secret invitations from Lakonia itself. The army, in four separate divisions, penetrated Lakonia by four roads, and met at Sellasia.<sup>3</sup> Thence it

BRONZE COIN.<sup>2</sup>

advanced, following the left bank of the Eurotas, and crossed by a ford at Amyklai, about three miles distant from Sparta, which now for the first time since she had become a Dorian city saw the light of hostile camp-fires. Terror was extreme, and the larger part of the population, both free and slave, refused obedience. Fortunately for Sparta, Agesilaos was an old soldier, accustomed to preserve his composure in the midst of dangers. A promise of liberty was made to those Helots who would put on the heavy armor of the hoplite and serve in the ranks, and six thousand presented themselves. A nearly equal number of allies arrived by sea from Corinth, Sikyon, Pellene, Epidauros, Troizen, Hermione, and Halieis.

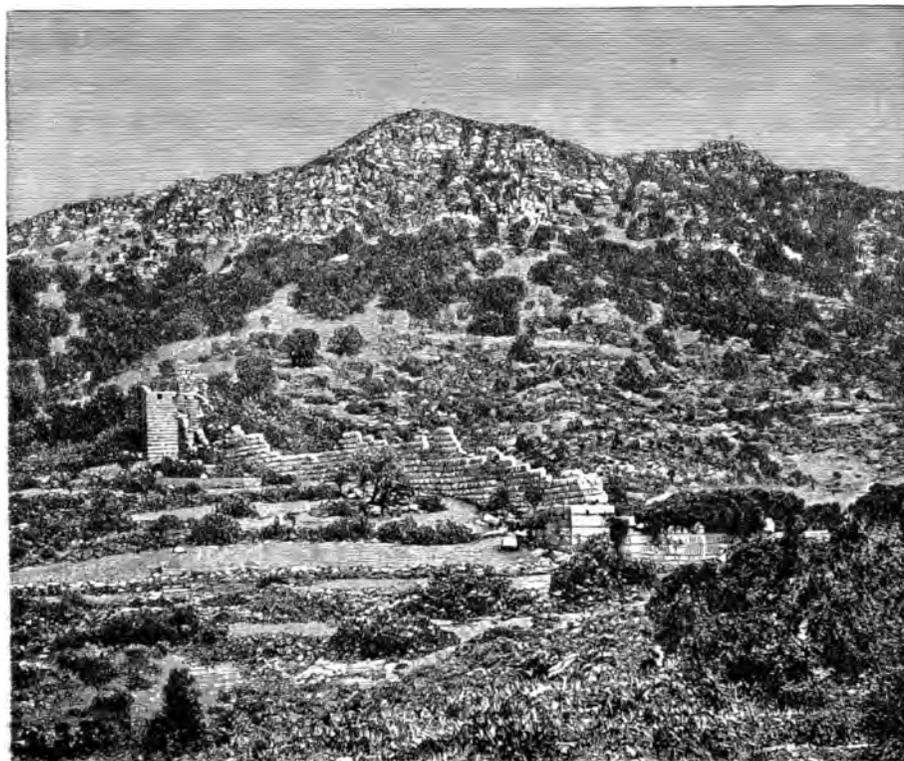
Epameinondas had ravaged all the left bank of the river on his march, and after his arrival at Amyklai he hoped to induce

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Gytheion. ΓΥΘΕΑΤΩΝ. Asklepeios standing to the left and sacrificing on an altar; with the left hand he holds his staff, around which is coiled a serpent. (Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of Septimius Severus.) There was a statue of Asklepeios in the temple of Gytheion (Pausanias, iii. 21, 7.)

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Gytheion. ΓΥΘΕΑΤΩΝ. Herakles standing to the left, leaning upon his club and holding the lion's skin on his left arm. (Reverse of a bronze coin with the effigy of Septimius Severus.) The statue of Herakles stood in the temple of Gytheion. (Pausanias, iii. 21, 7.)

<sup>3</sup> See, in Vol. I. p. 435, a map of the valley of the Eurotas (Lakonia); the site of Sellasia, however, has never been satisfactorily determined.

his adversary to fight, by ravaging the plain under his very eyes; but the king did not move. A cavalry attack had no better success, although the Thebans effected an entrance into the city. It is possible that they were thus thrown forward for the support of a band of traitors, two hundred Spartans, who had seized a strong post called the Issorion. The Thebans fell into an ambush,



MESSENE: THE CITY WALL AND MOUNT ITHOME.<sup>1</sup>

and made a disorderly retreat; Agesilaos was urged to attack the traitors. An outbreak of civil war in the presence of the enemy would have induced other malcontents to take arms, and would have proved fatal to the city. Agesilaos feigned to be unaware of their evil designs; unarmed, and accompanied only by one soldier, he went to them, called out that they had mistaken his orders and should be elsewhere, and indicated the points at which their services were needed. They, supposing that nothing had been discovered, listened, and obeyed his orders. Upon this Agesilaos

<sup>1</sup> From a photograph.

occupied the Issorion with his most trustworthy men, and in the following night seized and put to death fifteen leaders of the conspiracy. Other traitors were executed at the same time; it was as important for Agesilaos to watch his own troops as the enemy's.

However, the means of reducing a position were so defective that the Thebans dared not attempt to storm the city, upon whose hills, in whose streets, and along whose buildings there was such an opportunity for men to lie in ambush. Moreover this lion's den inspired terror in the minds of those who had so long trembled at the very name of Sparta.

ARKADIAN COIN.<sup>1</sup>

Epameinondas moved away, following the valley, ravaging towns and villages, and finally assaulted Gytheion, the seaport of Sparta.<sup>2</sup> But ravaged as it had been, the exhausted country could no longer furnish subsistence to the army. The allies, laden with booty, wished to return home, and by degrees slipped away: it was imperative to withdraw. Epameinondas, however, left to Sparta a terrible memento of his passage in the construction of Messene, on the western slope of Mount Ithome. The best architects laid out the city and the best masons built its walls, of which the ruins still excite admiration. Pausanias, as usual, adds to this great political fact miraculous circumstances. A dream made known

BRONZE COIN.<sup>3</sup>COIN OF TEGEA.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Zeus Lykaios standing to the right; he holds with the left hand his sceptre, resting on the ground. Reverse: [AP]KA[ΔΙΚ]ON; head of Artemis, three-quarters to the left. (Silver.)

<sup>2</sup> According to the commission for the scientific exploration of the Morea, the distance between Sparta and Gytheion is only about twenty-seven miles. Curtius represents Epameinondas as taking the place, and his statement is doubtless on the authority of Polyainos, ii. 9: but Xenophon says (*Hellen.*, vi. 5, 32) that his attack lasted three days, and does not add that the city was taken.

<sup>3</sup> Head of Zeus Ithomatas, beardless and laurelled, left profile. Reverse: ME[σσανίων]· Zeus Ithomatas, standing to the right, brandishing a thunderbolt with the right hand, and having an eagle on the left arm; behind, a tripod; before, ΔΙΩΝ, a magistrate's name, and a wreath. (Messenian coin.)

<sup>4</sup> ΑΛΕΟΣ. Head of the hero Aleos, bearded and diademed, right profile. Reverse: ΤΕΓΕΑΤΑΝ; Pallas and Kepheus, standing, facing each other: Pallas presents to Kepheus the head of Medousa: between them, Sterope is catching the blood in an amphora; in the field, two monograms of the mint. (Bronze.)

to the Messenian Epiteles the place where Aristomenes had buried the regulations concerning the early rites; a roll of tin was found on which these mysteries were engraved, and at the laying of the foundations of the new city the sacrifices were performed as they had been nine centuries before. The Great Goddesses, Demeter and Persephone, resumed possession of their rites, at the same time that their people again became masters of their ancestral



THE GATE OF MEGALOPOLIS, AT MESSENE.<sup>1</sup>

home.<sup>2</sup> The Arkadians, in memory of their ancient alliance with the companions of Aristomenes, held it a point of honor to offer the first sacrifices, and prayers to Zeus Ithomates were united with those addressed to Zeus Lykaïos, as were now to be united the destinies of the two peoples.

Epameinondas had called together all of Messenian race who yet remained, and to them he added, with equal rights of citizenship, those of other nationalities who wished to become inhabitants of the new city. The Messenian Helots, descendants of the

<sup>1</sup> From a photograph. This view is taken from the town. For a restoration of this gate, see the drawings of Abel Blouet, in the *Expédition de Morée*, vol. ii. pl. 44 and 45. Cf. Rochas d'Aiglun, *Principes de la fortification antique*, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, iv. 8, and 26, 27. For a view of Mount Ithome, see Vol. I. p. 481.

ancient masters of the country, undoubtedly favored this enterprise by an insurrection on their part, and they formed the larger portion of the new population. The rich valley of the Pamisos was thus separated from Lakonia,—and this example brought about other defections. The Skiritai, on the north, made themselves independent; Sellasia, in the immediate neighborhood of Sparta, did the same, but was able to retain her liberty only three or four years.



THE GATE OF MEGALOPOLIS, AT MESSENE.<sup>1</sup>

After plunging this dagger into Sparta's side,—after having hemmed her in by Messene on the west, as on the north by Megalopolis and by Tegea, where he placed a garrison,—Epameinondas could contentedly depart from the Peloponnesos, which was now forever changed. The able general had proved himself a great statesman also. But upon the isthmus he met an unexpected enemy. Sparta in her extreme distress had invoked, as she had done in the time of Tyrtaios, the support of Athens; after some stormy discussions in the Agora, and much less from love of Sparta than from jealousy of Thebes, the assembly decided

<sup>1</sup> From a photograph. The view is taken from the court of the gate, and on the horizon are seen the mountains of Arkadia.

that aid should be sent. Envy is an ignoble feeling, and usually a bad counsellor; there was wisdom, however, in that of Athens. Thebes was becoming formidable; she was supreme in Central Greece; she had allies in Thessaly, and almost subjects in the Peloponnesos, and she would soon have a fleet in the Ægæan Sea. Let this power become stronger, and the Athenians will be in danger; for Thebes seems to aspire, in her turn, to the supremacy which Athens and Sparta had hitherto wielded alternately. These well-founded apprehensions explain why, at the appeal of Lacedæmon, Athens enrolled twelve thousand men to guard the passes of the isthmus; but Iphikrates, who was in command of them, dared not risk a battle, and Epameinondas returned into Boiotia.

According to Plutarch, who loves a tragic story, his return, which Thebes ought to have welcomed with enthusiasm, was met with a capital accusation,—he had retained his authority four months beyond the legal limit. Pelopidas, also accused, sought to excite the sympathy of his judges, and later avenged himself upon the rhetorician who had instigated the charge. Epameinondas made no defence, declared himself willing to suffer death, and desired only that the words Leuktra, Sparta, and Messene should be inscribed on his tomb. Both were acquitted (369 B. C.). Pausanias<sup>1</sup> speaks more briefly of the matter; according to him, the trial was a simple formality which Epameinondas probably himself required in his own interest, and the judges would not even go so far as to vote upon the case.

The first care of Sparta when the enemy had departed was to send envoys to Athens to cement the alliance between the two States; it was agreed that both on land and sea the command should belong alternately to each, for five days at a time. Megara, Corinth, Epidauros, and Dionysios of Syracuse promised auxiliaries; but the Arkadians a second time called the Thebans into the Peloponnesos. A Spartan and Athenian army vainly tried to bar their way upon the isthmus, and Epameinondas compelled Sikyon to enter the Boiotian alliance. An attempt upon Corinth, defeated by Chabrias, and the arrival of the promised succor from Dionysios, made it expedient for Epameinondas to retire (summer of 369 B. C.). With the customary justice of democracies, he was accused on his

<sup>1</sup> ix. 14, 7.

return home because he had not in this campaign fulfilled the ambitious hopes of his fellow-citizens, and his command was taken from him.

During these operations in the north of the peninsula the Arkadians had been emboldened to undertake their own affairs, as Lykomedes advised them to do. "Let us follow no man's lead," he said, "but take our own course. In former days we built up the power of Sparta by serving in her armies; and now, if we submit to follow the Thebans without demanding alternate headship for ourselves, we shall presently find them to be Spartans under another name."<sup>1</sup> The Arkadians listened to his advice, and made an invasion of Lakonia on their own account, where they ravaged with impunity several districts. The following year, as they were about to repeat this expedition, the son of Agesilaos, Archidamos, anticipated them. On learning that he had crossed their frontier, they hastened to meet him, drove him back into Lakonia, and attacked him near Mideia. The Spartans charged so furiously that the Arkadians fled, making scarcely any resistance. This "victory without tears" cost not one life in the Spartan ranks, it was said. Xenophon extols the courage of the Gallic mercenaries sent by Dionysios.<sup>2</sup> This is the first time in Greek annals that mention is made of the Gauls (368 B. C.).

#### IV.—INTERVENTION OF THEBES IN THESSALY; BATTLE OF MANTINEIA.

THE affairs of Thessaly, in which Thebes concerned herself, gave some respite to Sparta. This country, long distracted by domestic feuds, had three principal cities, — Larissa, Pharsalos, and Pherai, — which disputed for the supremacy. At Pherai the authority was seized, no doubt during a struggle against the aristocracy, by Lykophon, who the same year with the taking of Athens gained an important victory over the Thessalians, who had united for the purpose of overthrowing it. Larissa, however, remained friendly.

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, *Hellen.*, vii. 1, 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vii. 1, 20 and 31.

Medios, the dynast, of the family of the Aleuadai, aided by a corps of Boiotians and Argives, seized upon Pharsalos. Agesilaos, on his return from Asia, restored its liberty to this city, where Polydamas, a man of wealth, "hospitable and ostentatious, after the Thessalian manner,"<sup>1</sup> ruled for some time with wisdom and integrity, by the consent of the inhabitants. The rivalries of the cities and the weakness of the country itself, thus divided, had lasted long when Iason, the successor and perhaps the son of Lykophon, formed the plan of changing this situation. "If Thessaly were united under one *tagos*," he said, "she could compel her



neighbors to obey her; for she can easily bring into the field six thousand horsemen and ten thousand hoplites."<sup>5</sup> Nor were these vain words. He enlisted six thousand mercenaries, whom he drilled with extreme care, and whose fidelity he secured by liberal gifts. He compelled many cities to accept his alliance,—that is to say, his supremacy,—concluded with Alketas, king of Epeiros, a treaty which made the Epeiros a vassal of the Thessalian king, and as Pharsalos relied upon Sparta, he entered into relations with Thebes, but refused the friendship of Athens, fearing lest that alliance might interfere with his maritime projects. His attention had already been turned towards the sea,—perhaps by reason of the Argonautic port, Pagasos, being near by.<sup>6</sup> But Pharsalos was a

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, *Hellen.*, vi. 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Larissa, left profile. Reverse: ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΩΝ; horse galloping to the right. (Coin of Larissa.)

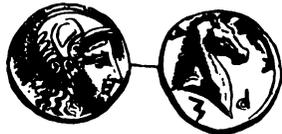
<sup>3</sup> Head of the nymph Larissa, three quarters to the left, the hair bound with a diadem. Reverse: ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΩΝ; horse feeding to the right. (Coin of Larissa.)

<sup>4</sup> Head of Hekate, with a myrtle-wreath; in front, a torch. Reverse: ΦΕΡΑΙΩΝ; lion's head to the right, serving as orifice to a fountain; under it, a fish. (Coin of Pherai.)

<sup>5</sup> Xenophon, *Hellen.*, vi. i. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Pagasos, of which some ruins may still be seen near Volo, was on the Pagasetic Gulf. — a large sheet of water, which a long bend of the Magnesian peninsula protects from the waves of the open sea. There yet remain some fragments of the aqueduct built by the Romans to bring into the city water from the mountains.

great obstacle in his way. He persuaded Polydamas to meet him, showed the Pharsalian his forces, explained his plans, and obtained

SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>

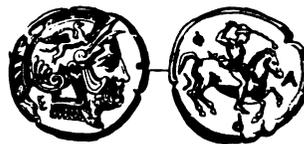
from him a promise that if Sparta did not come to his aid he would cease further resistance. Sparta refused her help. Polydamas and Iason acted upon the agreement they had made; the former surrendered his city, and

the latter, accepting the surrender, treated it as an ally (374 B. C.).

Thus becoming master of all Thessaly, Iason caused himself to be chosen *tagos*,—supreme and legal ruler of the country. He

increased his army to twenty thousand hoplites and eight thousand horse, not to mention a large number of light troops.

He desired to have also a powerful navy, and his secret hopes in other ways went beyond his ability. After the battle of

DRACHMA.<sup>2</sup>

Leuktra, being invited by the Thebans to aid them in completing the destruction of Sparta, he had hastened thither with a large

force, and craftily brought about a truce whereby the wreck of the army of Kleombrotos had been saved. It suited his designs that

neither of these two cities should be superior to the other, to the end that their rivalry

might open to him an easier road to the supremacy of all Greece. Returning from this expedition, where he had figured

as mediator between two powerful States, he had seized upon Herakleia, the key to the pass of Thermopylai, and also had

made himself master of Hyampolis, on the confines of Phokis and Boiotia. This was to secure roads in various directions. At

one time he announced that it was his intention to go to Delphi to sacrifice, and to preside at the Pythian games. He there-

fore required from his subjects a contribution of a thousand oxen

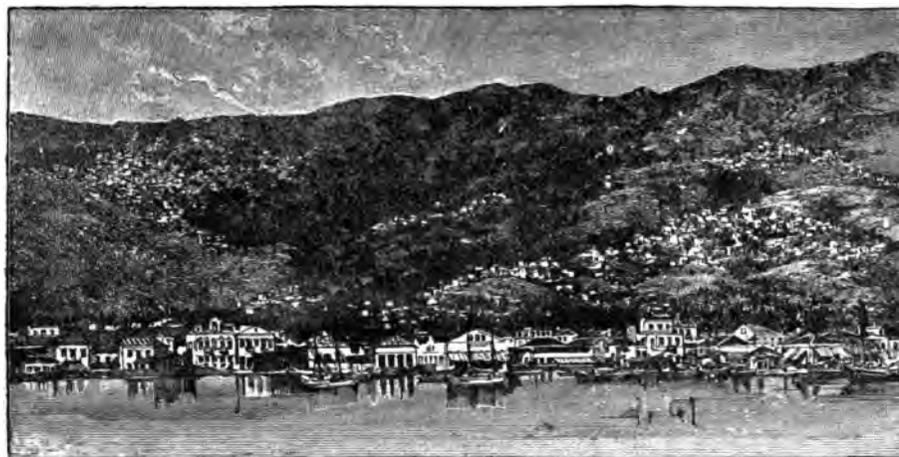
BRONZE COIN.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Helmeted head of Pallas, right profile. Reverse: ΦΑΡΣΑ[λίωv]; horse's head to the right. (Coin of Pharsalos.)

<sup>2</sup> Helmeted head of Pallas, right profile; the helmet is ornamented with a griffin and has cheek-pieces; in the field the letter E, mint-mark. Reverse: ΦΑΡ[σαλίωv]; horseman on a horse galloping to the right; the rider brandishes a whip. (Coin of Pharsalos.)

<sup>3</sup> Thessalian coin, *in genere*. ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ. Helmeted head of Achilles, right profile. Reverse: ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΟΥ, a magistrate's name; a horse to the left.

and ten thousand head of smaller animals, — a prodigious offering, calculated to amaze and to intimidate Greece by showing the extent of the resources of Thessaly. But as before his departure he was giving audience to all persons who might wish to speak to him, seven young men approached him, under pretext of seeking his decision in respect to a dispute among themselves, and killed him. Some time before, the Delphians, anxious about this visit on account of the treasures of the temple, had consulted the oracle to know how



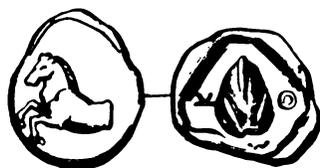
VIEW OF THE NORTHEAST COAST OF THE PAGASETIC GULF AND MOUNT PELION.<sup>1</sup>

they should repulse Iason. "The god will be his own protector," the priests had made reply, and the god had done as they had promised. Those of the assassins of Iason who escaped from his guards were honorably received in the Greek cities, which had felt themselves menaced by the ambitious Thessalian. His great designs perished with him (370 B. C.).

Polydoros, one of the brothers of Iason and his successor, was accused of instigating the crime. Polyphron, another brother, killed him, and was then himself assassinated by his nephew, notable among cruel tyrants by the name of Alexander of Pherai. He devoted to the gods the spear with which he had slain Polyphron, killed the wise Polydamas, and caused the massacre of all the inhabitants of two cities which had offended him. The

<sup>1</sup> From a photograph. The modern city is Volo, situated between the ruins of Pagasos on the west, and of Iolkos on the east.

Aleuadai of Larissa called to their aid Alexander II., king of Macedon; and as he was too much occupied at home to listen favorably to their appeal, they addressed themselves to Thebes. Pelopidas was sent to them, and his firm language alarmed the

THESSALIAN COIN.<sup>1</sup>

tyrant so much that he fled precipitately with his guards (369 B. C.). Thence Pelopidas passed over into Macedon, where he had been once already, after the death of Amyntas (370 B. C.); his object now was to overthrow the Athenian influence

dominant in Pella, and he obliged Ptolemy, who had just murdered Alexander II. and assumed the authority as tutor to the young king, Perdikkas III., to make alliance with Thebes. To secure the fidelity of Macedon, Pelopidas took away as hostages Philip, the king's brother, and thirty boys of the noblest families.

COIN OF PHERAI.<sup>2</sup>

"Greece could then see," says Plutarch, "to what a point the greatness of the Thebans had risen, the opinion men had of their power, and the confidence that was inspired by their upright dealing." The last point is doubtful, but not so the two others (368 B. C.).

Meantime, as in the period when the peace of Antalkidas was made, foreigners occupied themselves in establishing peace among the Greeks. Ariobarzanes, who had reasons of his own for extricating Sparta from her embarrassments, proposed a meeting of deputies of the different States at Delphi. He sent thither a citizen of Abydos, Philiskos by name, with a large amount of money; but Thebes refused to abandon Messene, nothing could be determined, and Philiskos began to levy troops for the service of the Lacedæmonians. It was important to break up this alliance, and Pelopidas was sent to the Great King. Other deputies arrived from Sparta, Athens, Arkadia, Elis, and Argos, so that the court of Susa presented the disgraceful spectacle of Greece prostrate at

<sup>1</sup> Fore-part of a horse, galloping to the left. Reverse: ΣΚΟ[ροισαίων]; a pod of hellebore; the whole in an incused square. (Drachma of Skotousa in Thessaly.)

<sup>2</sup> Thessalian hero, nude, his *kausia* caught on his shoulder, holding by a bull leaping to the right. Reverse: ΦΕΡΑ[ίων]; horse stepping to left, with dragging halter; behind a lion's head, the orifice of a fountain. The whole in an incused square. (Drachma.)

the feet of those whom she had formerly vanquished (368 B. C.). Artaxerxes was greatly interested in the man who had cowed Sparta, and he found the Theban's probity — a rare virtue in Greece — to be as great as his courage. While one of the Athenian deputies accepted Persian gold, Pelopidas refused all the king's presents; but, for his country, he obtained the recognition of the independence of Messene, the order for Athens to at once disarm her fleet, and a threat of immediate attack upon any city refusing to acknowledge Thebes as the head city of Greece.

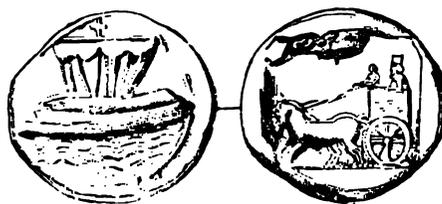
It was easy for the Persian king to send these orders, but more difficult to obtain their execution. Athens condemned to death the deputy who had betrayed her interests; and when the allies had been convoked at Thebes to swear, before a Persian envoy, to observe the conditions imposed, they all refused to do it, and the Arkadians immediately withdrew from the city. Antiochos, who had been their envoy at the Persian court, spoke disdainfully of what he had seen there.

There were plenty of bakers, cooks, cup-bearers, and ushers, he said, but not a man capable of fighting with the Greeks; as for the king's magnificence, it was an empty show, and his famous golden plane-tree was not large enough to shelter a grasshopper. These words were of bad augury for Persia. For many years the Persian armies had ceased to cause alarm to the Greeks; and now all the display of the court of Susa was turned into ridicule by these scoffers. The treaty was a failure. "Thus ended," says Xenophon, "the Theban attempt at supremacy in Greece."

The same year Thebes experienced a defeat in the north. To induce Alexander of Pherai to accept the treaty dictated by Persia, she had sent Pelopidas to him. The tyrant, seeing that the Theban envoy was unaccompanied by a military force, had seized him and thrown him into prison.

"At first," says Plutarch, "Alexander allowed the citizens of Pherai to visit Pelopidas, but his conversation was too exciting, and he sent a

<sup>1</sup> Galley under full sail. Reverse: in an incused square, a Persian king wearing the *kidaris*, and accompanied by a charioteer, both standing in a car drawn by two horses; above, the fore-part of a goat, in intaglio. (Silver.)

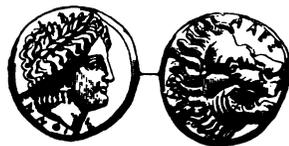


PERSIAN COIN.<sup>1</sup>

message to the tyrant, moreover, saying that Alexander would be a fool if, when he was accustomed to put to death so many innocent people, he should now spare him who, when again at liberty, would not fail of taking revenge for this imprisonment."

The tyrant wished to know why Pelopidas was so eager to die. The Theban replied: "So that thou, thus becoming more an enemy of gods and men, shouldst the sooner perish." Henceforth no one was allowed to approach Pelopidas. Alexander's wife, Thebe, came however in secret to see the hero. He led her to feel ashamed at allowing such a monster to live, and influenced by Pelopidas, she formed the project which she executed later.<sup>1</sup>

About this time we read of two dishonorable deeds on the part of Athens: her fear of Thebes led her into an alliance with the tyrant. She erected a statue in his honor, and sent him thirty galleys and a thousand soldiers; then judging the useful better than the honorable, she endeavored to surprise Corinth,—a city at that time her ally,—to secure her communications with Arkadia.<sup>3</sup> In this attempt she failed, but in the former was successful. An army that Thebes sent out to deliver Pelopidas was defeated by Alexander and the Athenians, and would have been entirely destroyed, had not Epameinondas, who was serving as a common soldier in the ranks, responded to the appeal of the army, who had deposed their generals. He planned a retreat with great skill, took command personally of the rear-guard, and brought the troops safely back to Thebes. Being placed at the head of a second expedition, he returned into Thessaly, where he so intimidated Alexander that the tyrant set free his prisoner in return for a truce of thirty days (368 B. C.).



SILVER COIN<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to vouch for the truth of these anecdotes, which Plutarch probably embellishes to do honor to the Theban hero.

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Alexander of Pherai. Head of Hekate, right profile, with a wreath of myrtle; underneath, ENNOIOS, name of the artist-engraver. Reverse: ΑΑΕΞ[άνδρου]; lion's head to the right, with open mouth.

<sup>3</sup> To these two ill-advised acts she added, some years later, a third: Python and Herakleides, having killed Kotys (359 B. C.), the murderers were celebrated at Athens as heroes. Concerning murders of kings and tyrants, see Aristotle's long enumeration, *Politics*, v. 10. It has already been said that the Greeks had not the same ideas on these subjects that we have.

The following year Epameinondas was sent on a third expedition into the Peloponnesos, to put an end to Sparta's rejoicing over her "tearless victory," and also to restrain the Arkadians by establishing against them a point of support in Achaia and Elis. The Achaians, whom he succeeded in bringing into alliance with Thebes, abandoned to their new friends Naupaktos, on the northern coast of the Corinthian Gulf, which thus became a Boiotian sea; and they received into their cities Theban harnosts. But the aristocratic families of Achaia suffered from this alliance. Driven out of their dwellings, despoiled of their property, they formed bands of exiles, very numerous in those days, in the neighborhood of many of the Greek cities, desolating the fields and keeping the townfolk in constant anxiety. The Arkadians, neighbors of Achaia, were much harmed from these marauders, and the little gratitude they had retained towards Thebes was sensibly lessened thereby. Thus, through the rivalry of factions in the interior of the cities, and through that of the States one with another, it became impossible that anything great could be done, anything lasting established in this unhappy country, where ignoble passions stifled any feeling as to the common interest.

The influence of Thebes, now diminishing in the Peloponnesos, was lost in Thessaly, and consequently in Macedon. Athens, on the contrary, was quietly building up again her empire. Timotheos, after ten months of siege, had just subjugated Samos, an insecure dependency of the Great King (365 B. C.); the following year the revolted satrap of Phrygia ceded to him a portion of the Chersonesos, and at the same time Athens again attached to herself the cities of Chalkidike. Corinth, alarmed at this reviving importance, and at the intentions Athens had recently manifested towards herself, wished to withdraw from the conflict; she sent to ask the Spartans if they would be willing to make peace, and to say to them that in any case it was necessary for herself to

DIDRACHM.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Elis, *in genere*. Head of the Olympian Here, right profile, ornamented with a broad diadem, on which is the word *FAAEIQN*; in the field, the letters *FA*, initials of the same word. Reverse: eagle standing on a rock with wings displayed; around it, an olive-wreath.

do so. Upon this a separation took place between Sparta and several of her allies,—Epidauros, Phlious, and some other States imitating the action of Corinth in making terms with Athens.

Thebes was not of this number; she continued to carry on war, though at much cost, for the sake of keeping the rank that



VIEW OF THE AKROKORINTHOS.<sup>1</sup>

she had gained, and making it still greater. Epameinondas, whose patriotic ambition had grown with his victories, pointed out to his fellow-citizens the maritime empire they could hope to obtain, and the spoils of Athens one day to adorn their own Kadmeia. It was the advice neither of a wise man nor of a clear-sighted patriot. That Athens was rapidly refilling her arsenals and rebuilding her war-fleet was due to the resources furnished by her extensive commerce. Thebes, on the contrary, an inland city, without manufac-

<sup>1</sup> From a photograph. The view is taken from the north; the columns of the temple of Here may be distinguished at the foot of the rock. See engraving, Vol. II. p. 79.

tures, with no exports other than the products of her soil, and having never had a vessel, could not secure to herself upon the sea a durable dominion. It was therefore impossible to impel her into a path for which she had no fitness. Epameinondas persuaded her to build a hundred galleys, — a thing easily done; and with this fleet he cruised in the Ægean Sea and in the Hellespont, without notable successes, but also without reverses, and brought back to his country the alliance, unprofitable for her, of Rhodes, Chios, and Byzantium. It was during his absence that the Thebans murdered all the male inhabitants of Orchomenos.<sup>1</sup>

Another expedition, set on foot some months earlier, had better results for the honor and fortune of Thebes. She again sent Pelopidas with an army into Thessaly. He encountered Alexander near Pharsalia, in a plain covered with hillocks, called the Dogs' Heads (Kynoskephaloi), attacked him furiously, defeated him, but was himself slain in trying to reach his foe in person, who concealed himself among his guards (364 B. C.). The Thessalian cities who had invoked the aid of Pelopidas now paid him unsurpassed honor in funeral rites, if we judge that neither gold nor ivory make the noblest ornaments, but the honest tears, the deep and sincere regret of a whole nation; and a Theban army of seven thousand men, sent immediately against Alexander, forced him to relinquish all the cities he had taken, and to swear allegiance to Thebes both by land and sea.

SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

Thessaly being brought back under her influence, Thebes now sought to re-establish it in the Peloponnesos.

The disorder there was extreme. The Eleians and Achaians were at war, and events had been so far unfavorable to the former, although the Spartans had attempted in their favor a diversion which proved unsuccessful. The Arkadians seized upon Olympia, when the Pisatans, their allies, now proposed to re-assert their

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 565.

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Alexander of Pherai. Head of Hekate, three quarters to the right, the hair disordered and crowned with myrtle; at the left a lighted torch. Reverse: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ; warrior on horseback, galloping to the right, and holding his lance in rest.

ancient rights and take charge of the festival. This excited the Eleians to the highest pitch. In the midst of the pentathlon



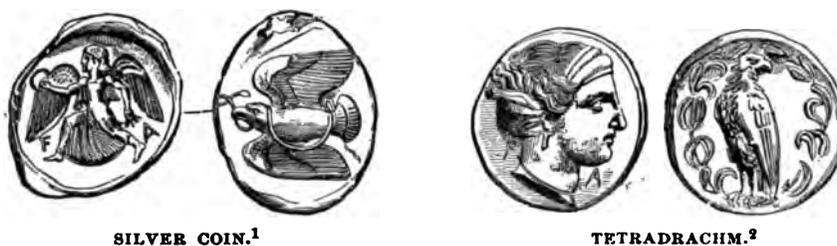
ATHENIAN HORSEMEN.<sup>1</sup>

they entered the sacred enclosure in arms and attacked the Arkadians, who, besides their own troops, had the aid of a thousand hoplites from Argos and four hundred Athenian horse.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Athenian bas-relief from Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, No. 7. Athenian horsemen parading before the council. For explanation of the subject, see the *Archäolog. Zeitung*, vol. xxxviii. (1880) p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> There has been found at Argos an inscription containing a list of fines inflicted by the Argives on a certain number of cities, notably the Arkadian cities Alea and Stymphalos, and on the whole Arkadian community, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων. Lebas concludes from this that

The action was sharp, and resulted brilliantly for the Eleians, although they had been up to this time regarded as the poorest soldiers in Greece. But Olympia remained in possession of the Arkadians, with the treasures of its temple (364 B. C.). Since war was now made by the aid of mercenaries, and had become never-ending, it was extremely expensive, so that governments which were not wise enough to avoid it found themselves reduced to dangerous expedients. Athens had taken the money of her allies, and had thus lost their affection; Sparta had laid heavy taxes upon hers, and thus provoked revolts. The Arkadian archons, to pay their mercenaries, seized without scruple the sacred gold

SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>TETRADRACHM.<sup>2</sup>

of Olympia. This was the ruin of the Arkadian confederation. The devout clamored against this sacrilege; the city of Mantinea, which saw Tegea receive a Boiotian garrison, and Megalopolis support in every instance the ambitious policy of Thebes, put herself at the head of this opposition, at once religious and political, but at the same time offered to pay her share of the money necessary to keep up the Arkadian army. Being summoned before the Ten Thousand, with the accusation of wishing to break up the confederacy, the Mantineians refused to appear, and being threatened with an attack, closed their gates. The Ten Thousand themselves prohibited the use of the sacred money for

reference is made to the ancient amphiktyony of Argos (to which the humiliation of Sparta after the battle of Leuktra had restored its vigor), including, besides Argolis, eastern Arkadia. But he is only able to place this document between the years 371 and 147 B. C., without giving it a more exact date.

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Elis, *in genere*. Victory stepping hurriedly to the left; in the field, FA[λείων]. Reverse: eagle flying to the left, holding in its beak a serpent, which seeks to strangle it in the folds of its body.

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Elis, *in genere*. Head of the Olympian Here, right profile, set off by a band; in the field, FA (for FAÆION). Reverse: eagle standing, at rest, in a crown of olive-leaves.

profane purposes. Upon this the mercenaries dispersed, and the archons, dreading some charge of sacrilege, followed by a decree for restitution, called in the Thebans.

Meantime the Arkadian patriots concluded peace with Elis and promised to restore the sacred money. They were celebrating this peace at Tegea when in the midst of the festivities the Boiotian harmost, who had a band of three hundred men at his command, seeing in this peace the destruction of the Theban influence, seized the whole assembly and committed them to prison,



BAS-RELIEF COMMEMORATIVE OF THE ALLIANCE OF ATHENS WITH SPARTA.<sup>1</sup>

feigning to believe in a plot to deliver the place to the Spartans. Public indignation compelled him to release his captives and to escape to Thebes, whither deputies followed him demanding his punishment. Epameinondas justified the harmost, reproaching the Arkadians for having violated the alliance in signing a treaty of peace with Elis without the consent of Thebes. Here the man of honor disappears in the citizen who believes himself required to sacrifice everything to the greatness, even though it be unjust, of his country.

When the response of Thebes was known, a part of the Arkadians took arms and asked help from Sparta and from

<sup>1</sup> From the *Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, vol. ii. (1878) pl. 11, and the *Archäologische Zeitung*, vol. xxxv. (1877) pl. 15, note 1. The inscription beneath is in the *Corp. inscr. Attic.*, ii. 57 b; it is dated from the archonship of Molon (362–361 B. C.). In respect to the date, cf. the commentary of Köhler in the *Mith. d. d. archäol. Instit. in Athen*, vol. i. (1876) pp. 197 *et seq.*

Athens, recently become their allies.<sup>1</sup> To put a stop to this defection of the Peloponnesos, Thebes sent thither in 362 Epameinondas, who established his camp in Tegea, that his movements might be concealed from the enemy. Then learning that Agesilaos, called in by the Mantineians, had quitted Sparta with his whole army, Epameinondas by a rapid night march threw himself into Lakonia. Had not a Kretan runner brought word to Agesilaos, Sparta, absolutely defenceless, "like a nest of unprotected young birds," would have been taken. The old king returned in all haste and put the city in a condition of defence; Epameinondas was a second time repulsed from the unwalled city. He had expected to surprise it; he did not hope to take it by a siege, house after house, and he had not the necessary provisions to do this; moreover it was not safe to allow himself to be shut up in this narrow valley, between the city and the army. He returned into Arkadia by forced marches, preceded by his cavalry, who sought to surprise Mantinea; but the Athenian cavalry had just arrived there: they bravely dashed out to meet an enemy whom, nevertheless, they had been accustomed to regard with apprehension, and they were successful. In this action fell Gryllos, the son of Xenophon. When the news of his son's death reached him, the father was sacrificing in the temple of Artemis; in sign of mourning he took off the wreath which the celebrant usually wore, but on learning that his son had died gallantly he replaced it without a tear, saying: "I knew that my son was mortal." If the story be true, the remark is too Spartan.<sup>3</sup>

ARTEMIS.<sup>2</sup>

The time fixed for the close of the expedition was approaching. Epameinondas was unwilling to depart leaving any shadow on the

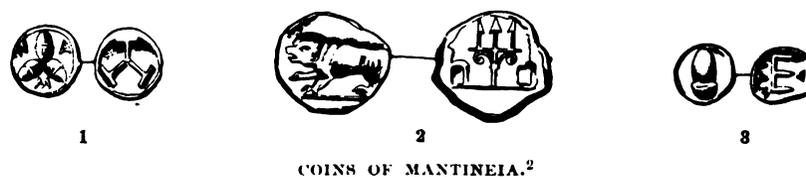
<sup>1</sup> We have here (p. 592) the fragment of a stela on which was inscribed the treaty of 362 B. C.; it is surmounted by a bas-relief representing two women standing before Zeus and serving as witnesses. One of these is Athene; the other the Peloponnesos, — or rather a personification of the four peoples, Arkadians, Eleians, Achaians, and Phliasians, with whom Athens had contracted alliance.

<sup>2</sup> Artemis Stymphalia, on a coin of Stymphalos. On the reverse of this coin is represented Herakles killing the birds (see Vol. III. p. 416). Gardner, *Types*, pl. viii. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Since Athens was again in alliance with Sparta, the decree of banishment against the friend and comrade-in-arms of Agesilaos had no doubt been rescinded. But it is probable that Xenophon never returned to Athens. Expelled from Skillous by the Eleians, he apparently withdrew to Corinth and died there.

Theban arms. He went to seek the enemy near Mantinea, in a plain where the roads of Arkadia cross those that come from the isthmus, from Argolis, and from Lakonia, and where the fate of the Peloponnesos had many times been decided. Of five battles fought here,<sup>1</sup> the one of which we now speak was the most famous; "for never before did Greeks against Greeks set in array so many men," — twenty-two thousand on the Spartan side, and thirty-three thousand with Epameinondas, if we may accept the figures of Diodoros.

He followed the same tactics as at Leuktra: he surprised his adversaries, who were not expecting an engagement, brought into action only his best troops, and concentrated at one point a dense



mass that overthrew everything in its advance. He himself remained in the first rank; for in these jealous republics the leader must be soldier as well as general, of the greatest personal bravery as well as military skill. Epameinondas suffered himself to be borne along too far in front of his troops. Surrounded by enemies, he fought long, though wounded, until he received in the breast a spear-thrust so violent that the wood broke off and the point was left in the wound. The Thebans with difficulty rescued him from the enemy and carried him, still breathing, into the camp. The surgeons declared that he would die when the spear-point should be withdrawn. Upon this he called his attendant to know if his shield were safe, and was shown it. He next inquired on which side had been the victory; and being told it was with the Boiotians, "I am willing to die, then," he said, and bade them draw out the

<sup>1</sup> In 418 B. C., a victory of Agis; in 362, of Epameinondas; in 296, of Demetrios; in 243, of the Achaians; in 206, of Philipoimon over Machairidas.

<sup>2</sup> (1) MAN[τρίων]. Three acorns arranged in a star. Reverse: three T's, united at the base (the three T's are the sign of the tritaimorion). Silver. (2) Bear stepping to the left. Reverse: trident in an incused square. Silver. (C. R. Fox, *Engravings of Unedited Greek Coins*, 4<sup>o</sup>, No. 102.) (3) Acorn. Reverse: MAN τριών; in the field, a large E, sign of the hemiobolon, and the letter Δ, a mint-mark. Silver.

spear. At this moment his friends broke out into lamentations, one of them crying out, "Alas! Epameinondas, must thou die childless?" "No," he said; "I do not die childless, by the immortal Zeus! I leave behind me two daughters, the victories of Leuktra and Mantinea" (362 B. C.).

In his last moments the general had called for two of his lieutenants, Iolaïdas and Diophantos, whom he desired as his successors. On learning that they had been killed, he recommended that Thebes should make peace. The State had in fact lost all its leaders, and the victory of Mantinea was in no sense decisive. The Athenian cavalry had gained some advantage over the Theban light troops; on both sides the left wing had remained unbroken on the field; hence both claimed the right of burying their dead, and two trophies were erected on the field.

COIN OF MANTINEIA.<sup>1</sup>

"The battle," says Xenophon, "left as much confusion in Greece as there had been before." It was the last blow given to

ZEUS AND ATHENE.<sup>2</sup>

the Spartan empire, but it did not consolidate the Theban. All agreed in signing, the following year, a treaty of peace which recognized the independence of Messene and secured that of the other Peloponnesian States. Sparta protested,

but in her isolated condition she could do nothing.

The work of Xenophon stops with the battle of Mantinea. After Plataia we lose Herodotos; Thucydides in 411 B. C.; Xenophon fails us with Epameinondas. The great men and the great historians are dead, and Greece herself is about to die.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Helmeted head of Pallas, right profile. Reverse: MANTI[*μάντι*]; head of the nymph Kallisto, right profile. (Silver.)

<sup>2</sup> Bronze coin of Thouria in Messenia. Diademed head of Zeus, right profile. Reverse: ΘΟΥ[*θούρα*]. Athene standing to the left, helmeted, the ægis on her breast, holding her spear and shield; in the field, a wreath of wheat-ears and a magistrate's name, ΝΙΚΟΝΥΜΟΣ.

<sup>3</sup> It must be owned, however, that the *Hellenics* is an inferior work, without the charm of the *Muses* of Herodotos or the profundity of the historic books of Thucydides, that it contains many inaccuracies, is marked by offensive partiality, and gives an endless mass of petty facts, without interest or importance, which conceal the great outlines of the history of this time, and have therefore been omitted here.

## CHAPTER XXX.

### CONDITION OF GREECE BEFORE THE MACEDONIAN SWAY.

#### I. — CONTINUED SPLENDOR OF THE ARTS.

THE time of great men and of great events had passed, but it might be hoped that Greece, at least after the peace signed in 361 B. C., would recover tranquillity.

During almost a century she had torn herself with her own hands. Some Hellenic States had taken arms to secure the supreme power, others to break down usurpation. Sparta, Athens, Sparta again, then Thebes, had exhausted themselves in the endeavor to support a fortune which was too great for them. Each in her turn had seen, on the day after victory, her allies turn against her. The spirit of municipal independence had vanquished the spirit of union. The experience was ended. Obedient to invincible instincts, Greece would never become an empire.

Of all these overthrown supremacies one only was worthy of regret, — that of the Athens of Perikles. So long as this sway had lasted there were fewer deeds of cruelty and injustice, more splendor and prosperity than Greece had ever known. Sparta had laid a heavy yoke upon all. The conduct of Thebes in regard to Thespiæ, Plataia, Orchomenos, and even Tegea, the habit which she was beginning to adopt — she also, as well as Sparta — of sending military governors into the allied cities, promised no gentle sway. Moreover, she had no lofty plan or aim; like Sparta, she desired power for power's sake merely. This supremacy, therefore, like that of Lacedæmon, had not in itself its *raison d'être*, for Greece would have gained nothing by accepting it. The time had gone by when a coalition was necessary. On the

morrow of the Persian invasion there was reason to fear another attack on the part of the Great King, as men had seen the armies of Xerxes follow those of Darius; and this well-grounded fear it was which had justified the dominion of Athens. It is also because this dominion arose naturally out of the situation that it was for so long a time undisputed, and that notwithstanding so many misadventures there remained of it respectable *débris*.<sup>1</sup> But at the moment of which we now speak, what dangers could the clearest vision discover? In the East, Persia was convulsed with that long death-struggle of Oriental States, so scantily alive, and yet so slow to die. In the West, the Romans were still engrossed in rebuilding their city, which had lately been burned by the Gauls. On the North, what was there to fear? Iason was dead, and his great designs had perished with him. As to Macedon, so distracted, and for centuries so feeble, idle indeed would have seemed the prophecy of its approaching fortune.<sup>2</sup>

A friend to Greece would have seen, therefore, at this time without alarm the close of that sanguinary experience which had filled the last three or four generations. The Greeks, not being able to unite, seemed at least to have arrived at general conditions of existence more equitable and advantageous. There was no longer any one State ruling over any other,—hence, no longer masters and subjects,—but the country was somewhat less subdivided. Many little States had formed alliances in which were included the cities of whole regions,—a means more likely to succeed, inasmuch as it was less contradictory to the manifest tendencies of the Greek mind, of arriving some day, perhaps by the union of these provincial leagues, at a confederation of the whole Hellenic body. Moreover these leagues were made on more equitable terms. All the allies of Athens, the feeblest no less than the most powerful, had a voice in the general council, and all the members of the Arkadian confederation, like those of the Achaian league, had equal rights. In the new alliance between Sparta and several of the Peloponnesian peoples it was agreed that each State should be supreme in its own territory.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 551, 552.

<sup>2</sup> See in Arrian, *Expedition of Alexander*, vii. 9, 2, and in Quintus Curtius, x. 10, also later in this work, the representation Alexander gives his troops of the wretched condition of Macedon on the accession of Philip.

The Messenians, reduced by Sparta to the condition of Helots in 668 B. C., had recovered their independence; the city of Messene occupied a secure position, and Sparta was strictly limited to the valley of the Eurotas. Arkadia, renouncing her ancient divisions, had gathered almost all her villages into the Great City (Megalopolis), and formed a State capable of keeping in check the ambition of Sparta by protecting against her all the rest of the Peloponnesos. Corinth, wearied by destructive wars, aspired only to peace, commerce, and pleasure. Argos, lately torn by hostile factions, had seen

SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>

them die out and some respite granted her. The Achaians renewed their old confederation. with ideas of equality and justice which were to give them the distinction of being the last survivors of the Greeks. The Boiotian league obeyed Thebes, but now without too much restraint. Lastly, Athens was recovering her commerce as well as her naval strength, and by the wisdom of her conduct had brought back to herself her former allies.

What was there to prevent these States, their earlier boundaries being in most cases restored, from now living in peace, after having been convicted of powerlessness when they had attempted to overpass these limits? Why should they not again become what they had been a century earlier, — each a centre of light? Notwithstanding so many battles, they had not been greatly reduced in population, and had lost nothing in physical or intellectual activity. Greek soldiers were still the best in the world; the Roman legion, it is true, had not yet manifested its superiority, nor the Macedonian phalanx. Greek scholars, Greek artists, were numerous. In art, philosophy, and eloquence, the age of Perikles continued.

BRONZE COIN.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coin of the Achaean league struck at Megalopolis. Laurelled head of Zeus Homagyrios, left profile. Reverse: eagle standing on a thunderbolt; in the exergue, ME, initials of the name Megalopolis; in the field two monograms of magistrates' names.

<sup>2</sup> Coin of the Achaean league struck at Argos. Zeus Homagyrios, standing, turning to the left; with the left hand he leans on a long sceptre, and on the right he holds a Victory, who is placing a wreath on his head. Reverse: ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ ΑΧΑΙΩΝ; Demeter Panachaia seated on a throne, to the left, holding a sceptre and a wreath; in the field, ΦΑΗΝΟC, a magistrate's name.

Pheidias, Polykletes, Zeuxis, Parrhasios, were dead; and in the hands of their successors art became transformed and its splendor dimmed. In the frieze of the temple of Apollo Epikourios, near Phigaleia,<sup>1</sup> Iktinos had given his figures more vivacity than is seen in the bas-reliefs of the Parthenon. One generation later we see passion animate the marble, as it agitates the tragedies of Euripides. Dionysos feels the intoxication that he inspires, Aphrodite the sensual pleasure that she promises; the style, less severe, is more human, and the movement of life replaces the calm serenity of the Pheidian gods.

BRONZE COIN.<sup>2</sup>BRONZE COIN.<sup>4</sup>

Sculpture is upon the road which will lead artists to design iconic statues, to subordinate art, in too many cases, to a vulgar realism. By an endeavor after detail, an excess of finish, and a too servile exactitude, the sentiment of ideal beauty is lost. Lucian expresses this tendency by saying of Demetrios, an artist of this period, that he is no longer a maker of gods, but a maker of men, οὐ θεοποιός τις, ἀλλ' ἀνθρωποποιός ὤν.<sup>3</sup> Or men strive for the tragic, the gigantic, constructing colossi of bronze which are marvels of industry. Chares of Lindos constructs, about 280 B. C., the Colossos of Rhodes; Lysippos, a Zeus forty cubits (about sixty feet) high; and the sculptor Demokrates makes a proposition to Alexander to hew Mount Athos into a statue, one of his hands holding a city, and a river flowing from the other.<sup>5</sup> The hero had better taste

<sup>1</sup> This temple is, after the Theseion at Athens, the best-preserved of the temples of Greece. The frieze of the naos is in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> HAEIΩN. Dionysos standing, clad in an ample peplos, holding the thyrsos in his left hand, and a rhyton in his lifted right hand; at his feet a panther, and the tympanon (reverse of a coin of Elis, with the effigy of Hadrian). This type is an imitation of the statue of Praxiteles described by Pausanias, vi. 26, 1 (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, vol. xiii. 1866, p. 384).

<sup>3</sup> *Philopseudes*, 18-20.

<sup>4</sup> KNIΔION. Aphrodite standing, holding a wet garment, which she is withdrawing from a vase. This type is an imitation of the statue of Praxiteles. (Reverse of a coin of Knidos, with the effigy of Plautilla.)

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, *Alex.*, 72, and Lucian, *Memoirs*, § 9.

than the artist; he refused. To each, his own work; let man leave to God his mountains.<sup>1</sup>



APOLLO SAUROKTHONOS, OR KILLER OF LIZARDS.<sup>2</sup>

But before artists occupied themselves with the representation of tragedy, which is not the appropriate work of sculpture, there was

<sup>1</sup> For beauty in an object, Aristotle requires three qualities, one of which is limitation, or the measure which an artist must not overpass, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ μέγιστα εἶδη τάξις καὶ συμμετρία καὶ τὸ ὀρισμένον (*Met.*, iii. 3). See above, pp. 123-127, a discussion of the subject of colossal statues.

<sup>2</sup> Statue of Parian marble, now in the Louvre (Fröhner. *Notice de la sculpture antique*, No. 70, p. 94); from a photograph. This is a copy of one of the most graceful works of Praxiteles. There are many replicas of this figure, one in bronze in the Villa Albani, another in marble in the Vatican.

for Greek art a period full of attraction, the graceful school, which took pleasure in giving the gods effeminate youth instead



EROS.<sup>1</sup>

of Olympic majesty. Two Athenians, Skopas and Praxiteles, who were at its head, originated the type of the modest and timid Aphrodite, the representation of a woman rather than of a goddess.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Marble statue known as the Eros of Centocelle, from the name of the place where it was discovered, in the neighborhood of Rome, near the Via Labicana. It is now in the Vatican, and is here represented from a photograph. It has long, but mistakenly, been considered a copy of an Eros of Praxiteles. An Eros by this sculptor was one of the treasures of Thespiæ, and there was another at Parion.

<sup>2</sup> Skopas was a native of Paros, but the island at that time belonged to the Athenians (Strabo, xiii. 164).

The great artists of the fifth century never represented the nude female figure, at least in their greatest works.<sup>1</sup> Critics perhaps too ingenious have even supposed that when Praxiteles,<sup>2</sup> in his Aphrodite of Knidos, "the moist-eyed," τὸ ὑγρόν, left her quite unveiled, he placed near her a vase, which, suggesting the idea of the bath, justified the nudity of the goddess by giving a reason for it. The charm of her beauty was always very strong,

BRONZE COIN.<sup>3</sup>BRONZE COIN.<sup>4</sup>

and is so still, even in the imitations of this statue which we possess. "Olympos," says an epigram in the *Anthology*, "has no longer the Paphian goddess; she has gone down to Knidos." And it is said that Nikomedes of Bithynia vainly offered the Knidians the payment of all their debts in exchange for their Aphrodite.

Skopas surrounded Aphrodite in the temple of Megara with three statues.—Love, Desire, and Persuasion. It is at this time, we are told, that a courtesan famous for her beauty, Phryne of Thespiai, took part in the festivals of Eleusis, emerging from the sea as an impersonation of

BRONZE COIN.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An Aphrodite emerging from the waves, and hence nude, was sculptured on the pedestal of the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias at Olympia. It is especially in the fourth century that sculpture delighted in thin draperies, "the mirror of the body;" but Sophokles also alludes to this in his *Trachinians*. Cf. S. Reinach, *Gaz. archéol.*, 1887, pp. 270 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Born about 390 B. C.

<sup>3</sup> ΝΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ. Aphrodite crouching between two Loves; their attributes (palms, or arrows?) are uncertain; one of them seems to be offering Aphrodite either an apple or a mirror. (Reverse of a coin of Nikaia, with the effigy of Marcus Aurelius. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, vol. viii., 1881, p. 80.)

<sup>4</sup> Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.—a rude imitation of Praxiteles. ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ. Apollo Kitharaidos standing between Leto, who holds a long sceptre, and Artemis, who holds her bow in the left hand, while with the right she is drawing an arrow from her quiver. The statues of these three divinities, executed at Megara by Praxiteles, are mentioned by Pausanias, i. 42, 5. (Reverse of a coin with the effigy of Septimius Severus.)

<sup>5</sup> ΚΥΖΙΚΗΝΩΝ ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ. A winged Eros standing, the left hand resting on fillets heaped upon a cippus, and holding an arrow in the right hand. (Reverse of a coin with the effigy of Commodus, in the Museo Brera in Milan. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, vol. viii., 1881, p. 88.) A poor imitation of Praxiteles.

NOTE.—On the opposite page is represented the Aphrodite of Knidos, a statue of Parian marble now in the Glyptothek of Munich (H. Brunn, *Beschreibung*, p. 166, No. 131); from a photograph. This is one of the copies of the most celebrated work of Praxiteles, which we also know by coins. See above, p. 599.

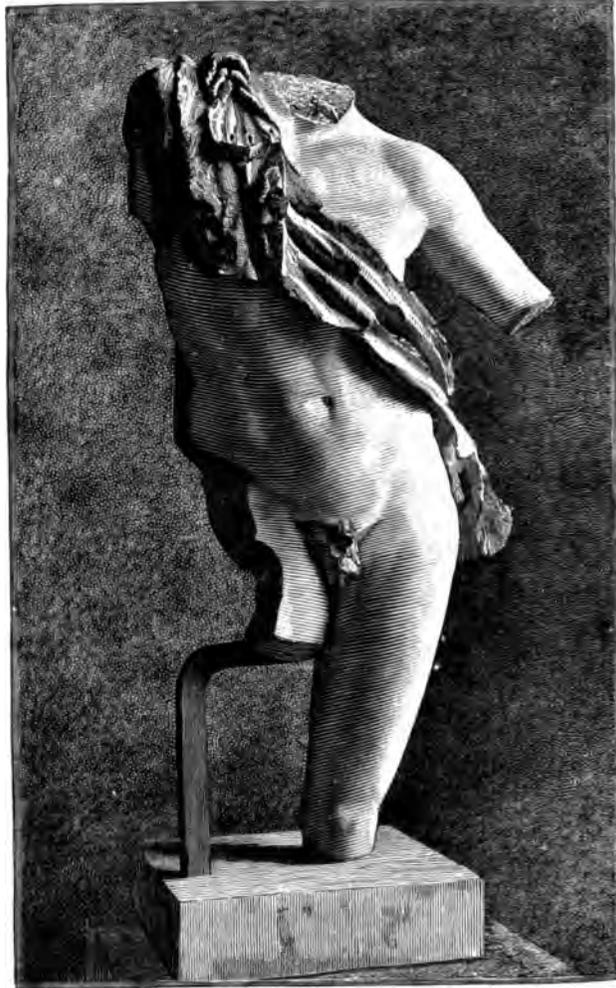


THE APHRODITE OF KNIDOS.



.....

Venus Anadyomene; at this time also it was that Greece, no longer



TORSO OF A SATYR.<sup>1</sup>

dreading the Mede, and not as yet the Macedonian, sought in art and life all the graces and all the pleasures.

<sup>1</sup> Torso of Parian marble discovered in the excavations of the Palatine made by order of the Emperor Napoleon III., and now in the Louvre; from a photograph. This torso, attributed by H. Brunn (*Deutsche Rundschau*, vol. viii., 1882, p. 200) to Praxiteles himself, and regarded by this critic as superior to the Hermes, which is thought to be a work of his youth, is in all probability nothing more than a very remarkable copy of a famous original of which there are numerous replicas in European galleries, notably in the Museum of the Capitol. See Friederichs-Wolters, *Die Gypsabgüsse antiker Bildwerke in historischer Folge erklärt*, No. 1,216, p. 418, and Baumeister, *Antike Denkmäler*, article *Praxiteles*, in which the photograph of the Satyr of the Capitol is placed with that of the torso of Paris.



THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES.

Of Praxiteles we have copies of the Apollo Saurokthonos<sup>1</sup> and of the Aphrodite of Knidos, for which Phryne served as the model.<sup>2</sup>



HEAD OF THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES.

But we have apparently only imitations of his figures of Eros, representing the Olympian ephebos “who lived among the flow-

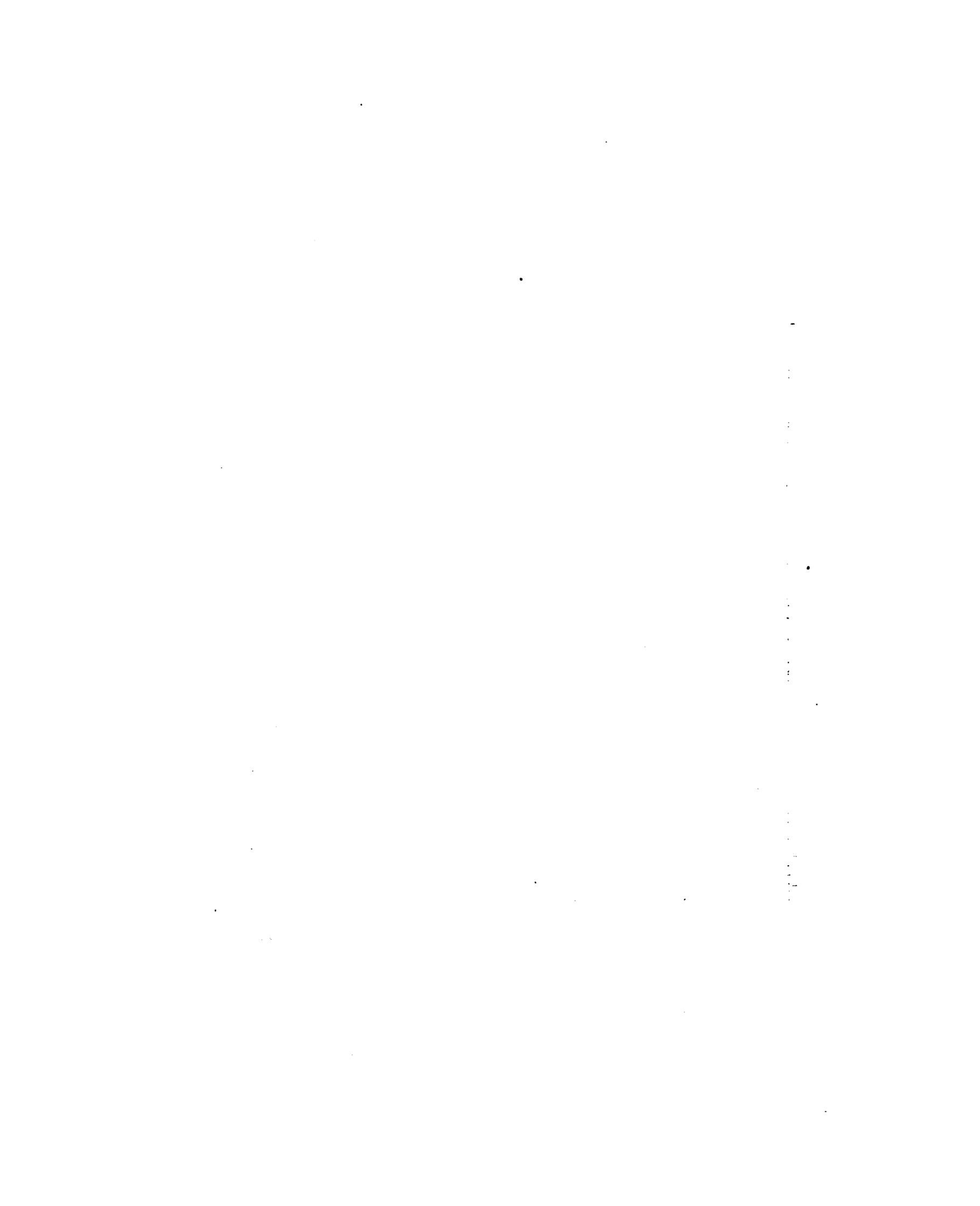
<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 600.

<sup>2</sup> Many replicas or imitations of this statue are extant, some even among the figurines of Myrina (S. Reinach, *Gazette des beaux-arts*, February, 1888, *la Vénus de Cnide*). That of the Louvre is represented in the *History of Rome*, ii. 396. See the replica from the Glyptothek in Munich, p. 603. The goddess is also represented on coins of Knidos struck in honor of Caracalla and Plautilla (*History of Rome*, vol. iii. p. 111, and in this volume, pp. 181 and 518), and also on engraved stones.

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented the Hermes of Praxiteles, from the restoration by the sculptor Schaper, of Berlin. Statue of Parian marble, discovered May 8, 1877,



THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES.



ers," and of his Satyr, unless the torso found on the Capitol is a fragment of it. It is said that he had promised to Phryne one of his works. To know which one the master preferred, she



NIobe AND HER DAUGHTER.<sup>1</sup>

caused him to be told one day that his studio was on fire. "Save," he cried, "the Eros and the Satyr!" She took the former, which in every respect was most suited to her, and consecrated it in a

in the temple of Here at Olympia, just in front of the fragments of the base on which it stood. This is, past all doubt, the work of Praxiteles himself, which was seen by Pausanias (v. 17, 3) in the Heraion of Olympia.

<sup>1</sup> Marble group in the palace of the Uffizi in Florence; from a photograph. Concerning these marbles, see Vol. I. pp. 371-373, and in this volume, later, p. 614, n. 1.

temple in Thespiai. Two of the most fortunate discoveries recently made are the bas-reliefs found at Mantinea, a work doubtless



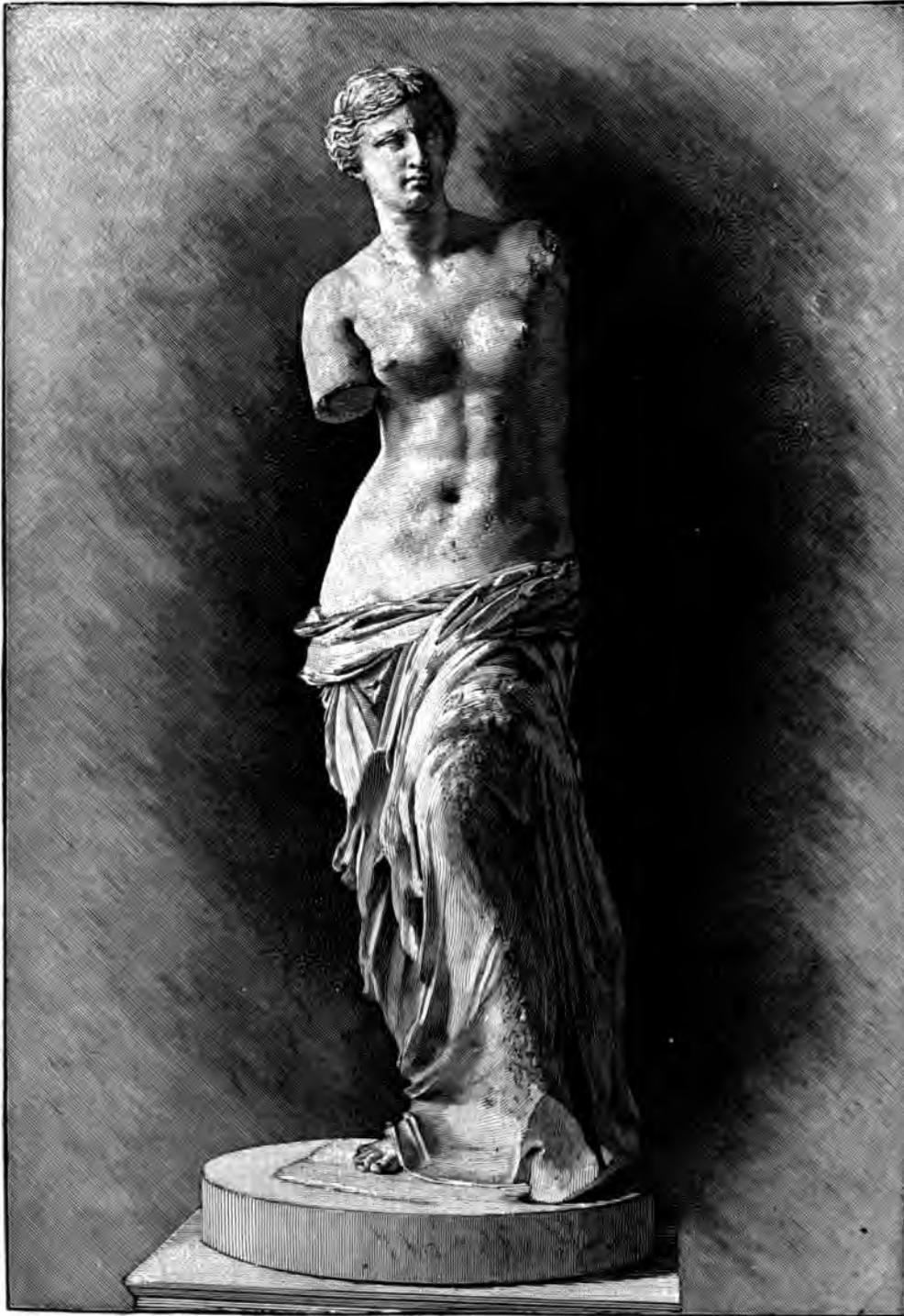
FRAGMENTS FROM THE FRIEZE OF THE MAUSOLEUM OF HALIKARNASSOS.<sup>1</sup>

inspired by Praxiteles, and his Hermes, discovered at Olympia in 1877 on the very spot where Pausanias saw it.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From photographs. The frieze is now in the British Museum. Greeks fighting with Amazons.

<sup>2</sup> It is believed that we are justified in attributing to Praxiteles a beautiful head of Eubouleus, the Eleusinian Pluto, discovered in 1885 at Eleusis (S. Reinach, *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 1888, vol. i. p. 69).

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented the Venus of Milo, a statue of Parian marble discovered in February, 1820, in the island of Milo (Melos), now in the Louvre; from a photograph). For bibliography, see Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique*, p. 168, No. 136, and Friederichs-Wolters, *Die Gypsabgüsse antiker Bildwerke*, p. 560, No. 1,448. Few statues



THE VENUS (APHRODITE) OF MILO.



1

.....

Praxiteles — and this is his greatest charm — does not forget grace, in seeking to express passion too clearly; his figures have the reserve and the moderation which were the characteristics of the Greek genius in its best days. Of Skopas there remains to us little, or perhaps nothing, unless the group of the Niobids and especially the Aphrodite of Melos are his, — in which case we must regard him as one of the first of Greek sculptors, and the equal of Pheidias. It seems probable that the Apollo of the Museo Pio-Clementino is a copy of his Apollo Kitharaidos, to which Augustus built a temple in his house on the Palatine. This is not the haughty god, slayer of the Python, who might have been worshipped at Rome in the Emperor's house as the destroyer of the monsters of the civil war, but the god of the arts and of harmony, he who leads the choir of the Muses, and whom Augustus made the symbol of that Roman Peace (*Pax romana*) which he wished to secure to the world.<sup>3</sup>

NEREID.<sup>1</sup>BRONZE COIN.<sup>2</sup>

About 350 B. C. Skopas received a commission to carve the eastern face of the frieze of the tomb of Mausolos. An architect as well as a sculptor, he rebuilt at Tegea the temple of Athene-Alea, of which the outer wall was bordered with Ionic columns, and the inner decorated with the two orders, one above the other, the Doric and the Corinthian.<sup>4</sup> It is possible, also, that he had a share in building the temple of Ephesos which Erostratos burned in 356 B. C.

have been more admired, few have given rise to more attempts at restoration; but no reconstruction of the statue, or of the group of which it is supposed to have made part, can be regarded as certain. Whatever has been said to the contrary, this beautiful work can hardly be of later date than the time of Alexander the Great. A head known as the Venus of Tralles will be represented later, which presents a striking resemblance to that of the Venus of Milo.

<sup>1</sup> A nereid seated on two hippocampi, which bear her over the waves. Her light veil floats around her head; an Eros is swimming under the feet of the sea-horses. (Cameo on sardonyx of two layers. Collection de Luynes in the *Cabinet de France*, 18 millim. by 22.)

<sup>2</sup> HAEION. Aphrodite veiled, seated on a goat leaping to the right. (Reverse of a coin of Elis, with the effigy of Septimius Severus. This monetary type is an imitation of a marble group by Skopas.)

<sup>3</sup> See *History of Rome*, ii. 44, the Apollo Kitharaidos.

<sup>4</sup> There have been found at Tegea some fragments of pediments carved by Skopas.



Apelles was destined to carry painting to the highest degree of perfection that antiquity ever gave it, and Lysippos to deserve that Alexander should grant permission to him only to reproduce in bronze the royal likeness.<sup>1</sup> No authentic work of this great sculptor remains to us, but it is believed that the Apoxyomenos of the Vatican and the Farnese Hercules are replicas of two of his statues.<sup>2</sup> He followed Skopas, while giving his figures a more energetic life, with a material fidelity carried very far. Propertius indicates clearly the character of his talent in this line: *Gloria Lysippost animosa effingere signa.*<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, Pliny says that his figures were more slender and his heads smaller than was usual.<sup>4</sup> This also is noticeable in the works of Michael Angelo. Both of these artists, to obtain more elegance, gave the body ten lengths of the head, — which destroyed the effect desired, as is seen in the Florentine *Penseroso*, of which the head is too small and the neck too long. In other respects Lysippos may also be likened to Michael Angelo. In this connection we may note that while the great Buonarotti was the contemporary of Raphael, Lysippos was almost of the same period with Praxiteles, at both epochs the graceful school and the school of strength being contemporaries. In the case of Greek art, we may say that it had its highest expression in the bas-reliefs of Pergamos.<sup>5</sup>

From Pheidias to Lysippos, we have followed in respect to statuary a declining path: first, the serene majesty of the gods;

been explored by MM. Rayet and Thomas, who have brought thence to the Louvre important fragments. This temple was the seat of a renowned oracle, and was constructed around a *χάσμα*, or cleft in the rock, and its interior arrangement is particularly interesting. The *pro-naos* opens by a single door into the *oikos*, — a sort of room where those who came to consult the oracle awaited their turn. From the *oikos* there was access by a smaller door into the *naos*, to which a staircase gave access. In the centre of the *naos* was the *chasma* unpaved, properly speaking, the *adyton*, — the place into which the worshippers did not enter. At the back of the *naos* stood the statue of the god. As has already been said, very beautiful fragments of this temple remain. In the *History of Rome*, vol. vii. p. 417, a bas-relief; on p. 419, fragments of the entablature; and vol. iii. p. 713, magnificent bases of columns, now in the Louvre.

<sup>1</sup> Horace, (*Epist.*, II. i. 239) and Pliny (vii. 8) refer to a decree of Alexander authorizing Apelles to be the only man to paint his portrait. Lysippos the only sculptor in bronze, and Pyrgoteles the only engraver who should represent him.

<sup>2</sup> The Farnese Hercules is represented in the *History of Rome*, vi. 450.

<sup>3</sup> iii. 7, 9.

<sup>4</sup> xxxiv. 65.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ravaisson, *Gazette archéol.*, 1885, pp. 29–50 and 65–76.

then, sensuous beauty; lastly, strength, represented by the Farnese Hercules, the head so small, the shoulders so broad, the muscular development so powerful. For architecture, the century is that of the most brilliant achievements of the Ionic art. The temples of Priene and of the Didymaean Apollo, of which we have magnificent fragments, are of this epoch.

Art shows, then, certain changes of character, but not as yet the symptoms of failure.

## II. — PLATO.

ELOQUENCE and philosophy reach their highest point at this time. Lysias,<sup>1</sup> Isokrates, and Isaios write for the pleaders orations which, while belonging to a secondary rank, reveal the elegance of the Attic dialect; and the Athenian arena rings with the impassioned and determined accents of Demosthenes, of Lykourgos, of Hyperides,<sup>2</sup> and of Hegesippos. Thither Aischines brings his grace and versatility, and Phokion his virtue. Later we shall give fragments of their orations, which were of political importance, and as such are within the domain of history.

But let us leave the Pnyx, and go down into the gardens of Akademos;<sup>3</sup> we find there men from all lands, who listen with rapt attention to the words of a disciple of Sokrates. We listen also; for this man is the Homer of philosophy, and an inspired teacher of the human race: he who speaks is Plato.

<sup>1</sup> Lysias, who was born in 459 B. C., lived eighty years. He was the son of a rich Syracusan whom Perikles had induced to settle at Athens. Dionysios of Halikarnassos places him above Isokrates for purity of language and melody of style. In respect to this orator, see the *Lysias* of Jules Girard.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero admired Hyperides almost as much as he did Demosthenes. As late as the ninth century A. D. there were extant fifty-five orations of Hyperides, which have all since that time disappeared. A few fragments of the most celebrated, the funeral oration upon Leosthenes, were discovered in 1848 and in 1856 on rolls of papyrus found at Thebes, in Egypt.

<sup>3</sup> The gardens of the hero Akademos were distant less than a mile from the Gate Dipylon, and very near an estate belonging to Plato. Shady alleys, fountains, and noble plane-trees made these gardens a delightful promenade, especially in the summer, when the sun had scorched the neighboring fields. The altar of Eros and the statue of the god stood near the entrance, but within the gardens there were altars to many other divinities. Plato came thither daily and taught there, whence his school has been called the Academy.

The Greeks, lovers of legend,—a graceful veil which they delighted to throw over history,—related that Apollo was his true father; that as he lay in his cradle the bees of Hymettos deposited their honey on his lips; and that on the day when he was led to Sokrates for instruction, the philosopher beheld a young swan, which, rising from the altar of Eros, flew into his arms, where it remained a moment, and then soared into the sky with a song which delighted gods and men. The men who repeated these pleasing fables knew that they were only fables, but it delighted them thus to testify their admiration.

Plato was of the noblest Athenian race; his father claimed descent from Kodros, and his mother from Solon. He undertook at first an epic poem, but abandoned verse in favor of philosophy, remaining, however, all his life more a poet than he was conscious of being.

After the death of Sokrates his scattered disciples had founded several schools:—

Eukleides, the school of Megara, so justly named “the disputatious,” who returned to the dialectics which the master had despised, and by his absolute confidence in logic and his contempt for the perceptions of the senses prepared the way for Pyrrhonism;

Aristippos, the precursor of Epikouros, the school of Kyrene, who proposed happiness as man’s aim, and the pursuit of it in pleasure, instead of in virtue, as was taught by Sokrates;<sup>1</sup>

Antisthenes lastly, the Cynic school, which with an evil exaggeration of Sokratic simplicity despised reason, returning to what was called nature, and sacrificed society and all its laws, esteeming decency a prejudice, and maintaining that nothing was ugly but vice, nothing beautiful but virtue, however shameless. This would have



ARISTIPPOS OF KYRENE.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Epikouros, who was born near Athens in 341 B. C., and died in 270, has undoubtedly been much misjudged, his idea of pleasure involving the control of one’s self, hence of one’s passions. But this doctrine was harmful at a period when the idea of country and of sacrifice in case of need had been replaced by a sensual egotism.

<sup>2</sup> Glass, published by the *Gazette archeologique*, 1878, p. 48.

been to take away from Greece her most precious virtues, — poetry, art, eloquence, and to give her, instead of active citizens, ragged monks showing a foolish pride through their torn garments.

Of these philosophers Plato was the greatest, by his literary talent superior to the others, and by his doctrine, whence so many systems have been developed.<sup>1</sup> After the catastrophe which dispersed the disciples of Sokrates, he travelled in Magna Græcia, Sicily, Kyrenaïka, and Egypt, studying all the schools, interrogating all the sages, or those who believed themselves such, even the Egyptian priests, who related to him the submersion of the Atlantic<sup>2</sup> continent, and told him, in the pride of their civilization five thousand years old, “You Greeks are only children.” Returning to Athens, he opened, about 388 B. C., the famous school of the Academy, and taught there forty years. He had taken a road broader and higher, but also more dangerous, than his master’s. While, like Sokrates, he studied the human soul, this knowledge was for him only the point of departure of a system which, beginning on the solid ground of consciousness, assumed to rise by dialectics and the imagination to the knowledge of all beings and of the divinity, their common principle.

We cannot here speak of the Platonic trinity, — God, who does not create the world, but organizes it; matter, which receives from him the germ of all good and of all life; the world, son (τόκος) of the other two principles, — nor of the three souls attributed to man, of which one, the reasonable, survives the body, retaining a memory of past actions for chastisement or reward, or else is sent, without that memory, into another body for a second trial; nor of the two kinds of love, the one coarse and sensual, the earthly Aphrodite, the other the heavenly Aphrodite, the principle of the higher instincts of humanity, which through exterior beauty discerns the beauty of the soul, and makes the divine harmony of the world, “by giving peace to man, calmness to the sea, silence to the wind, sleep to grief.”<sup>3</sup> From the Platonic doctrine sprang the charming allegory of Psyche, the human soul, which, purified by love, enters at last into the enjoyment of all blessedness.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plato was born in 430, 429, or 428, B. C., and died in 348.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Kritias*.

<sup>3</sup> See, in the *Symposium*, the discourse of Agathon.

<sup>4</sup> See in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, books iv. and v., the adventures of Psyche. For

Neither shall we speak of his famous theory of "ideas," or the eternal types of being which reside in God, their common substance. The eye cannot perceive them, but they are revealed to



PSYCHE.<sup>1</sup>

the mind. When Pheidias represented Zeus and Athene, he did not copy a living model, but had in his mind an incomparable image of beauty; in the same way we conceive an image of

figured representations of this myth, cf. the *Mythe de Psyché* by Collignon, and the *Nécropole de Myrina*, by Pottier and S. Reinach, pp. 364, 456, and 539.

<sup>1</sup> Marble discovered in the amphitheatre of Capua, and now in the Museum of Naples. The head and arms are antique; there were other portions of the figure, which are now lost. The name Psyche, which is conjectural, is not, it appears, justified by the two holes in the right shoulder, where wings were evidently attached. For the myth of Psyche, see note 4 of the preceding page.

perfect eloquence, of which our ears hear only the faint and distant echo. These forms of things are "ideas," *ιδέαι*. The conceptions of mind, they are of all time, while the rest is born, changes, passes by, and disappears.

Each object has, then, above its phenomena, where all is in perpetual flux, its supreme type, which it strives to approach. In our earthly prison, this gloomy cave where prejudices fasten upon us so many chains, we see only passing shadows: it is the world, which we take for a reality. In following these perpetual changes, the mind is disturbed and stumbles, like one intoxicated, *ὡσπερ μεθύουσα*. But let the fetters fall from the prisoner, let him emerge from the dark cave, and then, escaping from the corruption of the body, he rises towards that which is pure and eternal, he separates truth from illusion; he possesses wisdom, and approaches the dazzling light in which the soul shall contemplate that which has real existence, — *τὰ ὄντως ὄντα*, ideas, the eternal types of the true, the beautiful, and the good.<sup>1</sup>

It is not my task to investigate the philosophic value of this theory of ideas, whence has been drawn the magnificent and fruitful formula, — the beautiful is the radiance of the good and the true. But to make duty the principle of morals; to proclaim as a dogma the divine providence and the immortality of the soul, which the Mysteries had taught only in a poetic manner; to place in God all perfections and to give it as the aim of our moral activity to seek to resemble him, so that virtue is only obedience to the divine precepts,<sup>2</sup> — this was to propose to man the constant search after an ideal perfection. Hence, so long as lofty minds exist, there will be disciples for the master whose soul has received the gift of wings.

Plato in the *Phaido* calls man a religious animal; his philosophy answers to this definition. Constantly he reverts to the necessity of looking up, expressing this thought with an endless variety of images. "Like the god Glaukos, whose divinity is not recognized

<sup>1</sup> In the seventh book of the *Republic*. To Plato, beauty, proportion, and truth are the three aspects of the good; and this good is God himself, — all terrestrial beauties are but the reflection of the divine thought.

<sup>2</sup> In the fourth book of the *Laws*. In the same book he says that God is the just measure of all things, thus contradicting Protagoras, who says that man is this measure. (See above, p. 424.)

when he emerges from the waves, his head disfigured by the sea-plants which cover it, the human soul is polluted by the impurities of the body. Let her detach herself then from her jailer by virtue and by the comprehension of the absolute good." "Thus," he says, at the end of his *Republic*, "we shall be at peace with ourselves and with the gods; and having in this world received the prize of virtue, like victorious athletes led to the triumph we shall be again crowned above."

In this hope he cares little for the trifles of life; he goes even so far as to wish to abandon them at the earliest moment. The Greeks loved "the sweet light of day" and all the pleasures of existence; Plato already brings forward the shroud with which the religion of death later enveloped humanity. According to him, the wise man should despise the things of this world and aspire to the separation of soul and body as to a deliverance.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, though he would have men, by this disdain of perishable good, render themselves worthy of at last beholding God and truth, he does not counsel the utter loss of self in the divine love. Life, on the contrary, should be active and industrious, and that death may cause no terror, it is fitting that the mind has received its becoming adornments,—thought and knowledge. These two words belong also to modern civilization, but in another sense than that which Plato gave them when he made virtue the result of knowledge, without showing—and for this fault Aristotle reproaches him—the tie which must unite the perceived good to the will of performing it.

PLATO.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Marble bust in the Museum of Berlin (from the *Jahrbuch des kaiserl. deutschen Instituts*, vol. i. 1886, pl. 6, No. 1). Cf. the bust without inscription of the Museum of the Louvre represented later, p. 628.

<sup>2</sup> Διὸ καὶ περᾶσθαι χρὴ ἐνθύνει ἐκείσε φεύγειν ὅτι τάχιστα (*Theaitetos*, xxv., ed. Didot, vol. i. p. 135). At the same time in the *Phaido* and in the *Gorgias* he speaks of suicide as an act of sacrilege, an offence against the divinity.

In the judgment of Plato, knowledge arising from the senses teaches only things of a transitory nature, mere matters of opinion; true knowledge is that which teaches what must exist, and reveals Being in itself,—Being regarded as essential. How reach this supreme knowledge? By dialectics and the exaltation of all the faculties of the soul, or enthusiasm. These are two powerful forces, capable also of leading, by diverse roads and with the aid of many subtilities, over perilous slopes. Thus we see Plato taking up the metaphysical speculations—the “bare discourse,” as one of the interlocutors of the *Theaitetos* calls it—for which Sokrates had no affection. Plato restored to the imagination the rights his master had denied it, and expiated this imprudence, at once rash and successful, in employing by turns pure gold and base lead in the building which he reared.

This great sower of ideas scattered them far and wide, so that from his school sprang doctrines the most diverse,—the spiritualism of the first Academy, the scepticism of the second, that which may be called the “probableism” (*probabilisme*) of the third, and lastly Alexandrian mysticism, which in a degree extended into Christianity. Zeno even finds in the teaching of Plato some elements of Stoicism.<sup>1</sup> It would be possible, therefore, to say that all the Greek schools, Epicureanism excepted, are the more or less legitimate offspring of that teaching, as from Christianity have sprung the countless sects which cover the world. But the tree must be indeed sturdy and the sap rich which can bear and nourish so many different branches.

In his ambition to grasp all things,—God, man, and Nature,—Plato returned to the physical studies which Sokrates condemned, writing the *Timaios*,—the first essay we have in physics, since the works of Empedokles and Herakleitos are lost;<sup>2</sup> but he does not stop here. He sees the order established in the world; and from this thought he derives the great argument of the spiritualists

<sup>1</sup> Zeno, born at Cittium, in Cyprus, about 360 B. C. (?), and died probably in 263, does not belong to the period which we are treating. Moreover Stoicism should be studied at Rome rather than at Athens, and I refer in this matter to my *History of Rome*, vi. 360–441.

<sup>2</sup> In this treatise Plato speaks at times as a fervent polytheist would have done,—book ii. pp. 203, 209, 210. . . . οὐράνιον θεῶν γένος, etc. Saint Augustine, who knows him well and loves him, argues with Plato as though the Greek really admitted a plurality of gods: *Habemus sententiam Platonis dicentis omnes deos bonus esse, nec esse omnino ullum deorum malum, etc.* (*De Civ. Dei*, viii. 13.)

of all ages, representing the Kosmos as the work of a good God and of a Providence preserving general harmony and aiding man in his efforts towards the good.

We have noted the uncertainty expressed by Sokrates;<sup>1</sup> we may also observe in Plato singular hesitations in the midst of very positive assertions, showing that on fundamental questions he has more hope than certainty. In the *Phaido*, which, it is probable, he composed some years after his master's death, we find these words, "Like yourself, Sokrates," says one of the interlocutors, "I believe that it is impossible, or at least very difficult, to arrive at the truth as to what occurs after death;" and elsewhere, speaking of the immortality of the soul, "To believe it is to incur a noble risk; but there is great hope." In the *Laws*, the work of his extreme old age, and the expression of his latest thoughts, he again says, "Let us suppose that we are animated machines made by the hand of the gods, but whether for their own amusement or with some serious design, we know not."<sup>2</sup> These questions, in fact, by their very nature cannot receive a positive solution, like a problem in geometry. Plato is then a poet occupying himself with philosophy, who imagines as much as he reasons, who, in a word, retains the freedom of art and of genius while seeking to establish a train of reasoning to construct a science. And still, though not always consistent, he is, in the general scope of his teaching, the philosopher of hope and of the ideal.

HERAKLEITOS.<sup>3</sup>

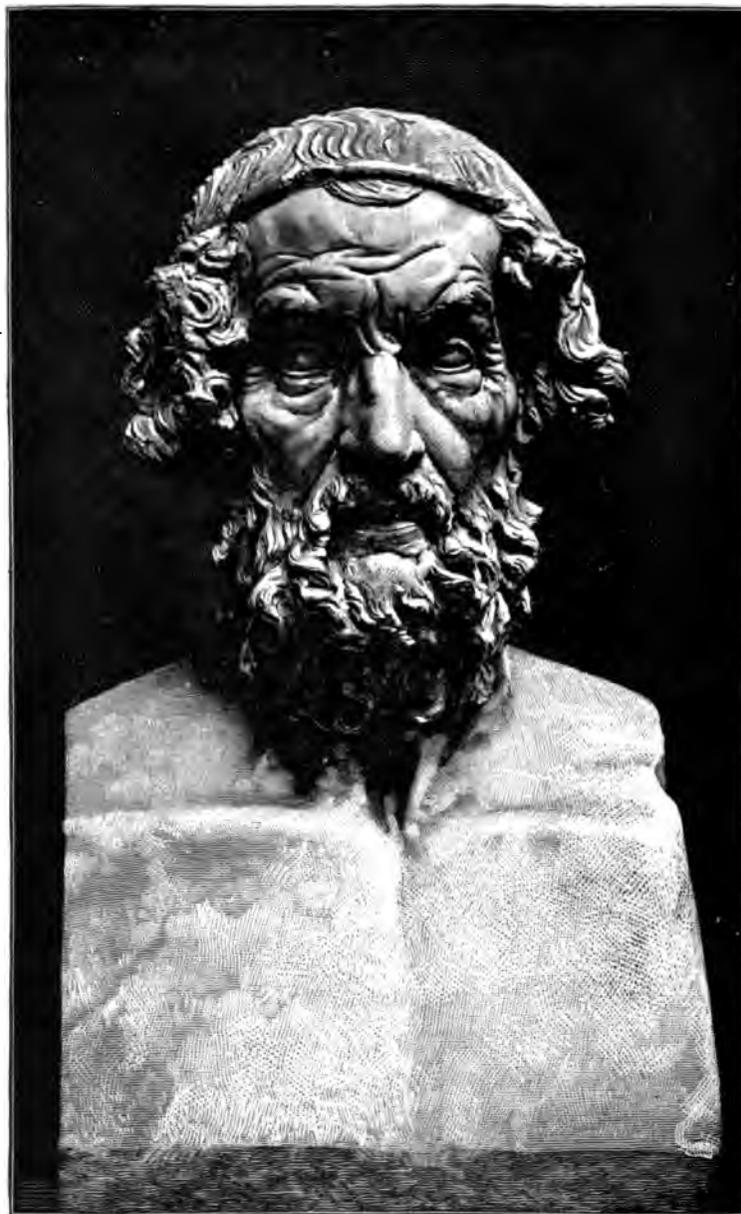
As a social reformer he also unites contradictions. The immortal dreamer is wise when he soars above this world to seek in a Divinity who is eternal and unites all perfections in himself the principles of individual and social ethics, which lead him so far as to think of reforming the criminal while punishing him. But he falls below the most ordinary of legislators when he seeks to embody his conceptions. A disciple at once of Sokrates and of

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 455, 456.

<sup>2</sup> *Laws*, book i. p. 277, edit. Didot: οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε γινώσκωμεν. This doubt as to a future recurs a little later in the peroration to an address by Hyperides: "Is death a nothingness like that which precedes birth?" From Cicero to Marcus Aurelius many among the most illustrious Romans asked the same question. See *History of Rome*, chap. lxxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ. The philosopher Herakleitos standing, a club in his hand. (Reverse of a bronze coin of Ephesos, with the effigy of the Roman Emperor Philip I.)

Lykourgos, by a sublime effort he raises the soul to the feet of Eternal Justice; and then, asking more of her than her nature can



HOMER.<sup>1</sup>

furnish, he lets her fall into the midst of the pollutions of a life where all the conditions of the social order are reversed. He gives

<sup>1</sup> Marble bust in the British Museum; from a photograph.

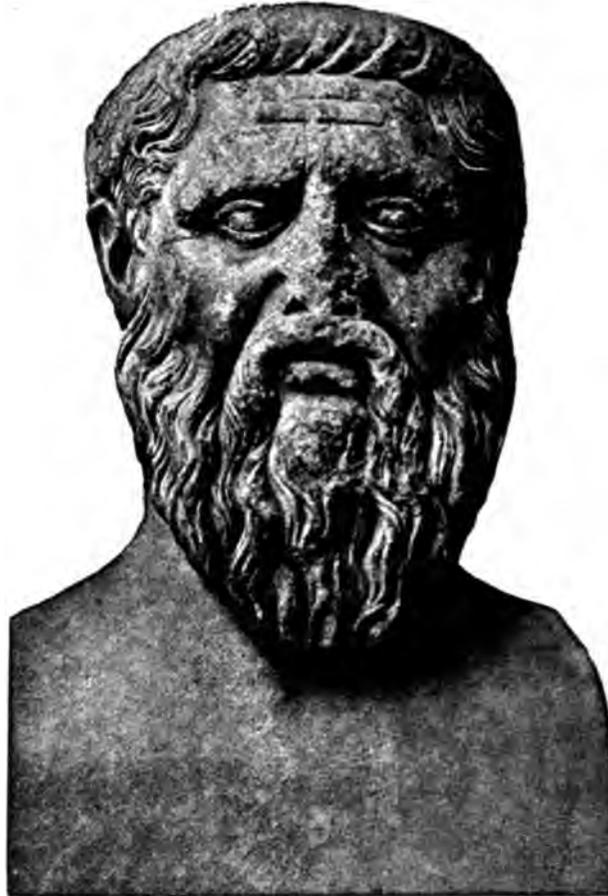
to conscience its rank above all vicissitudes, and to the soul its immortality. He sees happiness in virtue, even though mocked and crucified; he sees misery in crime, even though prosperous and honored. He is Christian in his morals, I could almost say in his dogma, before Christianity; and his *Republic* is, like that of Aristophanes, built in the clouds, — with this difference, that the conception of the poet is an amusing satire which deceives no one, while that of the philosopher presents a monstrous union of existences and laws contrary to nature: a community of goods, of children, and of wives; the death of infants who are deformed, or who bring the number of citizens above the limit immutably fixed; slavery and system of castes established, with censorship of literature and limited instruction; lads taken to the battle-field, “that they might, so to speak, taste blood, like young hunting-dogs;” and the city closed against foreigners, dramatic poets, Sophokles, Aischylos, Hesiod, Homer even. He brings the blind old man before the judge of his republic, accuses him, condemns him, and breaking inexorably but sadly with the much-loved poet, he scatters perfumes upon him, adorns his head with fillets, and leads him out of the gates as a corrupter of the State. He proclaims God, his providence, his infinite goodness, but he offends this goodness; and the pupil of Sokrates justifies his master’s death when he acknowledges in the authorities of the State the right to banish him who has not the same opinions in regard to God that are held by the government.<sup>1</sup> But we must not too greatly reproach this intolerance, which has long prevailed in France as a maxim of State. Montesquieu and Rousseau thought in this matter as Plato did, and to-day a certain class of minds hold the same view.<sup>2</sup>

History, which cannot show indulgence to any, not even men of the most brilliant genius, is indeed compelled to assert that

<sup>1</sup> In book v. of the *Laws* (vol. ii. p. 341) he prohibits all change in that which has been regulated by the oracles of Delphi, Dodona, and Zeus Ammon, or by ancient traditions. But in this treatise he has given up many of the irrational ideas of the *Republic*. We may note in passing that Plato places his ideal city far from the sea, — remote, that is, from the democratic temptations that Athens had found in manufactures and commerce.

<sup>2</sup> Montesquieu: “I have not said that heresy must not be punished; I say only that there must be great circumspection used in punishing it” (*Esprit des Loix*, xii. 5). Rousseau: “It is the duty of the citizen to accept the dogma and the forms of worship prescribed by law, . . . and it belongs to the sovereign, and to him only, in each country to determine this.” Cf. Edme Champion, *Esprit de la Révolution française* (1887). Kant, who died in 1804, was himself censured on account of his *Critique on Religion*.

while Plato pointed out to ethics the paths which to this day we strive to follow, he was in his *Republic* a poor legislator, and in his political life a citizen far from good. Rich and of noble birth, he had his place in the aristocratic party, and we know that he was a friend of the younger Dionysios, tyrant of Syracuse. His



PLATO.<sup>1</sup>

birth, the circumstances of his life, above all, his genius, excuse him, and his thought, ever seeking to rise higher, prevented him from descending to the commonplace cares with which the Agora busied itself. He understood neither the historic development of Athens nor the efforts of her greatest men to secure her maritime power. Like all the Sokratic school, he was opposed to democratic

<sup>1</sup> Marble bust discovered at Smyrna and brought by Reinach to the Museum of the Louvre (from a photograph).

institutions, which ruined the great by *leitourgiai*, and enriched the lower classes by trade. The lofty doctrines of Plato kept up the irritation against a government which established equality "between hares and lions." "Why speak," says Sokrates, in the *Theaitetes*,<sup>1</sup> "of those who apply themselves but feebly to philosophy? The true philosopher, from his youth, knows not the road to the Agora, or that to the tribunals and the senate. He sees not and hears not laws or decrees. He has no thought of factions or of candidatures for public office. His body lives and dwells in the city, but his mind regards as unworthy all these interests. His concern is to rise into the sky, there to contemplate the course of the stars and to study the nature of beings remote from himself." It matters not that the multitude despise and insult the philosopher. "Detached from terrestrial cares, he is occupied only with that which is divine; and those who treat him as a madman do not see that he has received inspiration from above."<sup>2</sup>

An arrogant philosophy, which leads a man to have no longer any common interests with his fellow-citizens, that is to say, to have no longer a country; which, unmindful of the delights of fatherhood, speaks leniently of the equivocal loves of the *Phaidros* and of the *Symposium*;<sup>3</sup> which, by lifting the soul above fleeting realities, sacrifices a part of human nature,—that in which dwell the pure pleasures given by poetry and art. For him who would study the transformations of thought, Plato is a great initiator. For the historian who is concerned about the destiny of the city, especially when that city is Athens, the indifference of these philosophers, whose minds are always aspiring to the sublime, and who pass among men as not seeing them, is, so to speak, a desertion from imperative duties. Hence it does not surprise him that when they condescend to the things of earth they write so strangely

<sup>1</sup> xxiv. p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> *Phaidros*, xxix. vol. i. p. 714. He repeats nearly the same thing in the *Republic*, book vii. vol. ii. p. 126. See in book vi. p. 113, his severe words as to the folly of those who occupy themselves with public affairs. To live with them would be to the philosopher like falling among wild beasts, ὥσπερ εἰς θηρία ἄνθρωπος ἐμπεσόν.

<sup>3</sup> But it is just to add that in these two dialogues Plato places far above sensual passion the love which should be inspired by the ideal beauty which exists in God. The contemplation of the eternal beauty is the close of the *Symposium*.

concerning the organization of States, and he does not very sharply reproach Isokrates for having turned into derision "republics hatched in the brain of a philosopher."

Plato says that, to be happy, States should be ruled by philosophers; and this saying well expresses the theocratic spirit which in Greece took the place of the sacerdotal castes of the East. But Rousseau has shown us that this claim is no more justified to-day than it was twenty-three centuries ago. Political economy being the science of the relative, not of the absolute, and its method the observation of facts under the supreme rule of justice, it is inconsistent with the *à priori* conceptions of the Utopian dreamer or the sectary. We in turn treat Plato as he treated Homer,—we crown him with flowers, pour perfumes upon his head, and lead him away from the city whose conditions of existence he does not comprehend. An idealized communism, a legal and virtuous despotism, a philosophic theocracy,—contradictory as these terms are,—and the strangest aberrations, because he confounds the State with the family: these in political and social economy are the favorite ideas of the man who, nevertheless, founded spiritual philosophy, and of the theologian who has deservedly been admired by the Fathers of the Church.

How many Christian words were spoken by this heathen who prepared the triumph of the Gospel by making the way easy between it and his philosophy!<sup>1</sup> The first Fathers of the Church were Platonists, and they could read in the *Phaido* that which they read in the Scriptures as to the necessity of divine revelation to obtain absolute certainty. When Plato says in the *Krito*: "Render not injury for injury;" in the *Gorgias*: "It is better to suffer a wrong than to do a wrong;" and when, at the close of the *Sophist*, he gives a demonstration of the existence of God which the Bishop of Hippo borrows from him,—he expresses the pure spirit of the Gospel; and is it not the Augustinian doctrine of grace which is found in this sentence of the *Menon*: "Virtue is not taught, it is a gift of God"? In the righteous man whom he shows loaded with chains, beaten with rods, torn by torture, fastened to the accursed tree, and stripped of everything except his own integrity, the Fathers recognized the prophetic figure of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *History of Rome*, vi. 408.

Jesus Christ.<sup>1</sup> To conclude, from the sinner he asks repentance, expiation even; and what difference is there between the supreme recompense of orthodox Christianity and that which Plato offers to the blessed,—the clear vision of truth, of eternal beauty, and of absolute good?

But these great philosophic and religious creations are fatal to the communities in which they are formed. Christianity was a dis-integrant for the Roman Empire, which during two centuries had given peace on earth, and philosophy contributed to the death of Greek liberty, of which had been born the Age of Perikles. It is true that while the present dies in this travail, the future is born from it. Is not Athens, even though enslaved, glorified by these citizens of hers who were useless to her in the day of her power, but who in the midst of her desolation crowned her with an immortal fame?<sup>2</sup>

### III. — ARISTOTLE.

PLATO filled the Greek world with his ideas; Aristotle was to rule over the Middle Ages and a part of modern times. For this reason, in a general history of the Hellenic spirit and its influence upon contemporary events we must assign different shares to these two great thinkers. The Stageirite will occupy us less than the theologian poet who was the precursor of Christianity.

In 359 B. C., the date which we have now reached, Plato was a man of seventy; but he still had all the plenitude of his brilliant genius, his divine elegance, and his melodious style: Aristotle was twenty-five years of age, and had as yet written nothing. His

<sup>1</sup> *Gorgias*, xxviii. vol. i. p. 345, and in the second book of the *Republic*, vol. ii. p. 24: . . . γυμνωτός δὴ πάντων πλὴν δικαιοσύνης. The tenth book of this famous treatise closes with the account given by Her, the Armenian, of what he has seen among the dead. Plato is not more successful than are Homer and Vergil in the account of what passes in the other world. The torments are varied, the pleasures are not so; and thus it must be in descriptions of the invisible. At least, Plato affirms in these pages his belief in the system of rewards and penalties.

<sup>2</sup> I do not speak of another disciple of Sokrates, Kebes the Theban. His *Πίναξ*, or picture of human life, is a book of high moral tone; but the numerous allegories it contains would seem to justify the opinion of Sevin, in vol. iii. of the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des inscr.*, who believes the work much less ancient than it purports to be.

scientific life belongs, therefore, according to chronology, to a later age; but it is impossible to separate him from Plato, although he was often in opposition to the older philosopher.

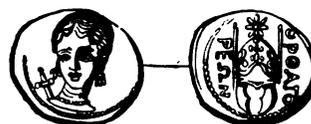
Aristotle was born in 384 B. C. in Stageira, a city of Chalkidike and a colony of Andros. His father was an Asklepeiad, and



COIN OF ORTHAGORIA.<sup>1</sup>

physician to Amyntas II., king of Macedon. Brought up at the court, and being nearly of the same age with Philip, the youngest of the sons of Amyntas and his future successor, he formed with the royal boy a friendship which Philip later bequeathed to Alex-

ander. At the age of seventeen he went to Athens, which still continued to be the home of all the most distinguished Greeks. For twenty years he listened to Plato or to Plato's rivals, and after that for thirteen years, from 335 to 323 B. C., he himself taught in Athens. We are therefore authorized in placing his name in the list of the great Athenians; for if chance placed his birth on the coast of Thrace, the birthplace of his mind was on the banks of the Ilissos. On the death of Plato he left Athens, and five years later he was called by Philip to become Alexander's tutor, the Macedonian prince being then thirteen years old. The plan of education which he determined on was a good one, and would be so now. This philosopher, the most learned man in Greece, at first taught his pupil literature, as it was found in the works of the Greek poets and orators; then ethics, as shown in tradition and in



COIN OF ORTHAGORIA.<sup>2</sup>

human nature; lastly political science, illustrated by history and the study of the constitutions of different States. The natural sciences, or the earth and its productions; physiology, or man and living beings; astronomy, or the sky and the movement of the stars,—occupied only a secondary position. He understood that

<sup>1</sup> Head, right profile, with braided hair; on the shoulder, a quiver. Reverse: OPATO-PEQN; helmet, surmounted by a star, and furnished with cheek-pieces; under it the monogram of a magistrate's name. (Silver.) Eckhel, ii. 73, identifies the city of Orthagoria with Stageira, the birthplace of Aristotle.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Artemis, three quarters to the left; on the shoulder, a quiver. Reverse: OPATOPEQN. Helmet, surmounted by a star, and furnished with cheek-pieces. (Silver.)

it was important first to train the memory, taste, judgment,— in a word, the mental faculties, which are the man,—and to take up scientific studies, which are the applications of the mind, only after the mind itself has been formed, and a force developed capable of being utilized in all the conditions of life and in all scientific researches.<sup>1</sup>

Returning to Athens in 335 B. C., he established his school, the Lykaion (Lyceum), near the temple of Apollo Lykaios, in one of the gymnasia of the city which Peisistratos, Perikles, and Lykourgos had done so much to embellish.<sup>2</sup> He was now fifty years of age, and in the full maturity of his genius; for thirty years he lectured twice daily: in the morning upon the more difficult topics, in



ASKLEPIOS.<sup>3</sup>

the evening upon more ordinary subjects; whence it has been inferred that he taught in two ways,— with secret instruction to the initiated, and public to the common crowd; which is not proved. As he walked while talking, his pupils were named, from the Greek word (*περιπατεῖν*) which expresses this habit, the Peripatetic school.

When, after the death of the conqueror of Asia, a violent

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Alexander*, 9. He takes up in his *Politics* this question of education; the eighth book, of which the close is probably lost, is devoted to it. Like all the ancient legislators, he aimed to mould, in the child, the future man and citizen.

<sup>2</sup> On the south of the Lykaion was another gymnasium, where Antisthenes had already established the Cynic school. Concerning this school, see above, p. 619.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment of a marble relief discovered in 1884 in the temple of Asklepios in Epidaurus, and now in the Central Museum of Athens (No. 101 of the *Catalogue of Kavvadias*; from the *Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική*, 1885, pl. ii. No. 6. The god is represented seated, and the relief is no doubt an imitation of the chryselephantine statue by Thrasymedes of Paros, which was placed in the temple of Epidaurus. We know it by coins of Epidaurus (see Vol. I. p. 420) and by the description of Pausanias (ii. 27, 2).

reaction took place in Athens against the Macedonians, the friend of Philip and Alexander was accused of impiety because he had



ARISTOTLE.<sup>1</sup>

consecrated an altar to his first wife, as, later, Cicero erected one to his daughter Tullia. That he might spare the Athenians from committing a second crime against philosophy, he said, he fled

<sup>1</sup> Marble statue in the Palazzo Spada, Rome; from Visconti, *Iconografia greca*, pl. xx. No. 2. The philosopher's name is engraved on the plinth: ΑΡΙΣΤ[οτέλης.]

to Chalkis, where he died in August, 322 B. C. Thus in the space of a few months Greece lost her last three great men,—Alexander, Demosthenes, and the Stageirite.

In leaving Athens, Aristotle left to Theophrastos his school and his books.<sup>1</sup> The sad fate of the latter is well known, or at least Strabo's story of their being buried in a cellar by an ignorant possessor. It was a Roman, the ruthless Sylla, who has preserved to us such portions of these books as dampness and the worms had spared, by carrying them to Rome as spoils of war.<sup>2</sup> In the Middle Ages the Church condemned certain of these works to the flames; the Arabs saved what fell into their hands;<sup>3</sup> and an enlightened pope, Urban V., caused them to be translated. Then began the supremacy of Aristotle, and in 1629 a decree of the Parliament of Paris forbade under pain of death any attack upon his system. At the present day he shares with Plato the admiration of the world.

He had very early shown the prodigious activity which he preserved till his latest day; Plato said of him that he needed the rein, and not the spur. It was not until after 348 B. C. that he began his travels and formed his collection of a hundred and fifty-eight, or according to some authorities two hundred and fifty-five, Greek and barbaric constitutions. This work we have lost;

<sup>1</sup> Theophrastos, who was born in the island of Lesbos about 374 B. C., and died at Athens about 287, was included in the decree which in 316 banished all philosophers from Athens. But more fluent than eloquent, and without original thought, although he may be considered by his treatise on plants as the founder of the science of botany, he was not a man whose doctrines could be considered dangerous. The law, moreover, was repealed the following year, and he returned to Athens. Diogenes Laertius (v. 2) gives a list of his works, which formed a sort of encyclopædia. Especially regretted is his *Treatise on Laws*, in twenty-four books, of which Dareste has collected and edited the rare fragments, with the remark that the author is the only juriconsult that Greece produced (*Revue de Légis.*, 1870, p. 262). He is mentioned now only for his *Characters*. La Bruyère, who translated and imitated this work, made the reputation of the Athenian moralist, but also gained for himself a much greater renown by this imitation. It is Theophrastos who, dying at the age of eighty-five, or, according to some, a hundred and seven years, regretted leaving the world just when he was beginning to know something, and reproached Nature with having granted to stags and crows a long life, of which they had no need, and having allotted one so short to men, who had great use for time in which to perfect themselves in the arts and sciences (Cicero, *Tusc.*, iii. 28).

<sup>2</sup> It is at least true that the work of Aristotle has come to us in a condition which, for certain treatises, authorizes all scruples and all regrets.

<sup>3</sup> The Arabs derived them from a Syriac translation made by the Jews in the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era, and commented upon them in their schools (E. Renan, *Averroës*, p. 37).

but from it he deduced his *Politics*, which gave Montesquieu the idea of his *Esprit des Lois*,—a great work made of small pieces. Later he composed his *History of Animals*, wherein we find the



THEOPHRASTOS.<sup>3</sup>

“struggle for existence” of Darwin.<sup>1</sup> He could not have accomplished a work like this without the friendship of two kings and the active assistance of Alexander, who gave him, it is said, eight hundred talents for his library, and employed thousands of men in searching out for him the plants and animals of Asia. On the accession of Philip the colossal monument that Aristotle was destined to rear to science had not yet been built, but the artist was at work in the depths of his mind. Coming after two centuries of efforts made by the Greek intelligence to penetrate the secrets of the moral and physical world,<sup>2</sup> Aristotle gathered all into himself, to render it all fruitful. He made out an inventory of human knowledge, carried it at certain points to perfection, and did not scorn the study of the lowest forms of animal life, which have come in our day, and not until now, to such brilliant fortune. “In the works of nature,” he says, “there is always room for admiration; and to them all, without exception, may

<sup>1</sup> Book ix., chap. ii., § 1 (Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, iii. 132).

<sup>2</sup> See, Vol. II. pp. 211–223, and Vol. III. pp. 169–176, what has been said as to those who preceded Aristotle in the study of life.

<sup>3</sup> Marble bust in the Villa Albani (from Visconti, *Iconografia greca*, pl. xxi. 1). The philosopher's name is engraved on the pedestal: Θεόφραστος Μελάντα Ἐρέσιος.

be applied the words of Herakleitos to the strangers who came seeking conversation with him. They had found him warming himself at the kitchen fire. 'Come in,' he said, 'have no fear; the gods are here as everywhere.'"<sup>1</sup>

The *History of Animals*, which Cuvier admired, — a work still admirable,<sup>2</sup> — opens the era of true science; that is to say, of truth sought experimentally in nature, as Sokrates sought it in man. Up to this time there had been only conjectures. Aristotle observed; and almost always he put in practice the principle whence comes all modern science, — namely, to admit as true only what has been rigorously demonstrated. His great work, the *History of Animals*, includes treatises on *Parts*, *Generation*, and *Corruption*; on *Sensation* and *Things sensible*; on *Walking*, the *Motion of Animals*; and on the *Soul*, or rather the principle of life resident in the plant, the animal, and in man, where it rises to an intelligence almost divine. He wrote other treatises, on *Physical Auscultations*, *Meteorology*, the *Sky*, where he falls into the error of not accepting the Pythagorean doctrine of the rotation of the earth. But it is given to no man, however vast his genius, to anticipate the work of the century. Accordingly, in the works of Aristotle we find errors which, however, are less astonishing than meeting truths there which seem of yesterday, and a science which had no precursor, — *prolem sine matre creatam*.<sup>3</sup>

We can only give passing mention to his *Rhetoric* and his *Science of Poetry*, also his *Logic*, — the famous *Organon*, the great instrument which the Middle Ages and a part of modern times have employed so much. What a man he was, of whom Kant and Hegel could say, "Since Aristotle the science of thought has neither gained nor lost anything!"

<sup>1</sup> *Parts of Animals*, i. v. 5.

<sup>2</sup> M. Milne-Edwards, in a report made by him at my request, in 1867, on the recent progress of the zoological sciences, says of the *History of Animals*: "In reading the writings of Aristotle we are astonished at the great number of facts which he must have verified, weighed, and attentively compared, to be able to establish more than one rule that twenty centuries have not overthrown." In his treatise on *Generation* he creates embryology, — a science which waited till the close of the seventeenth century before attracting again the attention of scholars. Cf. B. Saint-Hilaire, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des sciences morales*, December, 1886, pp. 817 *et seq.* Aristotle accepted the doctrine of spontaneous generation; but this doctrine has been abandoned only in our time, and has even now a believer here and there.

<sup>3</sup> See, in the *De Finibus* of Cicero, v. 4, what is said of the Peripatetic school: "There is nothing in heaven or earth or in the sea of which they have not treated."

Aristotle, like his master, embraced in a systematic theory, therefore, the sum of things, but sacrificing less than he the real to the ideal. The younger philosopher seized with a strong grasp the world of actual facts, and deserves by the high range, as well as by the encyclopædic character of his works, to be called, as the Arabs call him, the preceptor of the human mind. A follower of Hippocrates in this respect, he founded the method of observation,—that mighty agent of discoveries; but he made it subject to thought, which analyzes and compares, which finds the principles and proclaims the conditions of life,—here simple, there complicated, as the organism proceeds in development: a matter of fate in the lower scale of being, free and moral in man, but ruled still in this higher sphere by the First Cause, which communicates life and motion to the world. Either through prudence or as a matter of habit, he also speaks of the gods,<sup>1</sup> but avoids discussion of what he calls fabulous traditions. “Substances uncreated and imperishable are,” he says, “beyond our grasp, and we can know very little about them,”<sup>2</sup>—which in reality means we have no knowledge whatever on the subject.

In his *Metaphysics* he writes—in opposition to the God of the *Timaios*, who to Plato is the great architect of the world—words which have been esteemed very beautiful by those who supposed they understood them.<sup>3</sup> Historians, avoiding these obscure depths, prefer simpler formulas. The divinity of Aristotle is to them only a first motor, indifferent to man, in no way sustaining the human being by his providence, or assuring to him a future life of rewards and punishments. Platonism was almost a religion, and aided in making one; Aristotle dispenses with a providential deity and a future life. To him the soul, the principle of mental and physiological life, does not exist without the body; and to the beatitudes of an endless contemplation of the Supreme Mind he prefers the ravishing delights of scientific thought.<sup>4</sup> He closes, therefore, or veils, the broad horizons that Plato opened. Yet in

<sup>1</sup> Demosthenes, who passed his life in giving the Athenians counsel and urging to action, none the less uses the words “fortune,” “the will of the gods,” while relying upon nothing beyond a purely human wisdom. This is a habit of language.

<sup>2</sup> *Parts of Animals*, i. 5, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaph.*, xi. 9: *αὐτὸν ἄρα νοεῖ, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ νόησις νοήσεως νόησις*. It would perhaps be correct to substitute *νοῦς* for the first *νόησις*, which would be more clear.

<sup>4</sup> *Polit.*, vii. 1.

Nature, which he calls divine, he recognizes a sort of providential action when he declares, in the fine passage ending the first book of the *Parts*, that all her works have one end, and that she has made nothing in vain. Also in the *Metaphysics* we see the pro-

ARISTOTLE.<sup>1</sup>

found admiration caused him by the great phenomena of earth and sky. If he is the author of the *Letter to Alexander*, he uses almost the language of the Psalms: "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork."

<sup>1</sup> Head of the statue represented on p. 634 (Visconti, *Icon. greca*, pl. xx. No. 3).

“God is one, whatever he produces. His power is infinite, his beauty unequalled, his will immutable, his life immortal. He sits above the heavens in a place without motion, whence he gives, as it pleases him, their impulse to the heavenly bodies. . . . The world is a great city, whose supreme law is God. By whatever name we call him, Zeus, Fate, Destiny, he is always himself, traversing the world, supported by Justice, who accompanies him to punish those who transgress his law.”

But are these words in harmony with his teaching?

Plato carried ethics to a great height, — too great, perhaps, when he established as an imperative rule the imitation of the divine



COPPER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

perfections; fortunately he reduced the standard to more human proportions when he gave as a principle DUTY, which is the true foundation of morals.<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, in his turn, makes the standard too low. To assign as man's aim in life HAPPINESS (εὐδαιμονία) was dangerous, notwithstanding his precautions that it should be virtue alone

which led to this happiness. Again, his idea of virtue is profoundly Greek, since it requires neither the restraint of nature nor the struggle against feeling; it is that of the citizen rather than of the man. Also it imposes as necessary conditions action and comprehension, — that is to say, a considerate appreciation of what it is fitting to do, *ἐνέργεια κατὰ λόγον*; and it recognizes free-will, or a choice between opposite determinations, — which was enough for minds without transcendent spirituality. But happiness being found also in the satisfaction of the higher instincts of our nature, it may, as well as Duty, require devotion and sacrifice, even that of life, — although there is not, speaking truly, any religion in Aristotle's ethics. Further, we acknowledge indebtedness to the Stageirite for having spoken with proper severity of Greek vices,<sup>4</sup> — for which Plato manifests undue indulgence, — and for describing man as a social



LIBERTY.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See especially the *Kriton*.

<sup>2</sup> ΚΡΑΤΗΙΕ. The allegorical figure of Dominion standing, crowned with laurel; she holds in her left hand a trophy, and on her right hand a little Victory, which is offering her a wreath. (Reverse of a coin, with the effigy of Galba, struck at Alexandria in Egypt.)

<sup>3</sup> ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ. Liberty standing, leaning on a cippus; she holds a sceptre and a wreath. (Reverse of a copper coin of Galba, struck at Alexandria in Egypt.)

<sup>4</sup> *Ethika Nikomacheia*, vii. 5, 3.

being who has need of a family, a country, a fellowship with the whole human race.

In his treatise on *Politics* Aristotle far surpasses his master, although here, again, he considers only the "useful." "The State," he says, at the beginning of this work, "is an association, and the bond of every association is interest." The useful, in fact, sought by honest means, should be the great aim of all governments. No doubt Aristotle, like all the ancient writers, sacrifices too often the individual to the State. He also would limit the number of citizens by methods now acknowledged to be criminal. He tolerates slavery, at that time a universal fact, and a first amelioration of that right of war which gives up to the conqueror the property and person of the conquered; but being unable to find a principle to justify it, he founded it upon the natural inequality of men, of whom some are destined to serve, and others to obey. A Christian sentence overthrows this proposition, and Aristotle knew it. "There are those," he says,<sup>2</sup> "who maintain that the power of the master

BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>BRONZE COIN.<sup>3</sup>

over the slave is contrary to nature, the law only establishing the difference between him who is free and him who is not free; Nature makes men equal: therefore slavery is a wrong, since it results from violence." Unfortunately Aristotle, in order to make the city a community of equals, is led to reserve all manual labor for those whom he calls "the living machines which a man possesses." This error was a tribute paid by him to the age in which he lived. At least he does not, like Plato, confuse the State and the family, — a fatal doctrine, which leads to every form of despotism, that of the multitude as well as of the tyrant, since it supposes the city always a minor, and hence always under guardianship. He does, indeed, derive the community from the family, but he shows that while the principle of the one is

<sup>1</sup> ΔΗΜΟΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ. Bearded and diademed head of the Demos, right profile. (Bronze coin of Laodikeia in Phrygia.) On the reverse, Abundance, standing.

<sup>2</sup> *Politics*, i. 3.

<sup>3</sup> ΔΗΜΟΣ ΑΤΤΑΙΩΝ. Young and laurelled head of the Demos of the city of Attaiia in Mysia. Reverse: ΑΤΤΑΙΩΝ; Asklepeios, standing.

authority, the principle of the other is equality and liberty: in the former there is a royal power, that of the father; in the latter, a democratic power, that of the magistrate, who himself obeys even as he commands. Yet, after all, this great mind could not shut itself up in a narrow system. Aristotle tolerates all



BRONZE COIN.<sup>1</sup>

governments excepting the disorderly, for he already had the idea, which to this day is not universal, that a question of government is above all things a relative question, — a form being suitable to one State which might be fatal to another. It is remarkable that his defence of the principle which we call universal suffrage is the best that can be offered now, and that he foresaw, two thousand years

before it came, the important rôle of the middle classes; the government of his choice is that which has a regard for wealth, for merit, and for liberty, — that is to say, a government of compromises, where these forces counterbalance each other.

Aristotle was too much the man of his time and of his country not to apply to politics that which the Greeks had brought to literature, — proportion, moderation, τὸ μέσον, which was for him, in every artistic production, the necessary condition of harmony. But he knew also that institutions which respect political equality, while at the same time recognizing natural inequalities, are difficult, not so much to create, as to maintain.

“The democratic form of government,” he says,<sup>2</sup> “has dangerous enemies, — the demagogues, who undermine and destroy it, either by calumniating the rich or by stirring up against them the class which has nothing. Of this many examples can be mentioned. At Kos their perfidious schemes caused the forming of a plot by the richer citizens, and the democracy was overthrown. At Rhodes, having charge of the finances, they would not pay the indemnity due to the rich, and inflicted upon them, by prosecutions before the courts, fines which drove them to desperation and to a revolution. At Herakleia also the demagogues brought about the ruin of the democratic government. At Megara they confiscated the possessions of many rich citizens who, driven from the city, returned thither in arms and

<sup>1</sup> ΔΗΜΟC. Laurelled head of the Demos, right profile, on a bronze coin of Laodikeia in Phrygia.

<sup>2</sup> *Politics*, v. 4, edit. Didot, vol. i. p. 570.

established an oligarchy; the same happened at Cumæ, and at Thebes after the battle of Oinophyta.<sup>1</sup> Consider the history of the fall of democracies, and there will almost always be found demagogues making agrarian laws, harassing the rich, that they may make gifts to the people with the property of the prosperous class, whom they pursue with accusations and drive to conspiracy." "The democratic sway," he says elsewhere, "is of all governments the most stable, provided the middle class has the preponderance."<sup>2</sup>

Warnings like these have never prevented revolutions; but it is good to find them uttered by the most profound thinker and statesman-like mind of antiquity.

Unlike Plato, who had only disdain for public life, Aristotle would have all men share in it. According to him, the sole occupation of citizens should be the care of the State; and this was the more patriotic doctrine, since political indifference was for these little States a fatal evil.

When the cold and severe logician speaks of justice, which he places above all other virtues as the true end of political life, he rises to the language of poetry; "Neither the morning star," he says, "nor the evening star is more admirable."<sup>3</sup> And this spirit of justice, which brings order into the State, he makes one with friendship, thus giving the republic for its foundation the reciprocal affection of all its citizens.<sup>4</sup> And this he says because he was as much a man as he was a philosopher. His will, which Diogenes Laertius has preserved to us, is a minute ordering of his domestic affairs, not at all surprising in such a man; but it testifies also to feelings which we should not expect to find in this austere genius.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. II. p. 552.

<sup>2</sup> *Politics*, i. *ad fin.*

<sup>3</sup> *Αὕτη μὲν ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἀρετὴ μὲν ἐστὶν τελεία . . . καὶ οὐθ' ἔσπερος, οὔτε ἑφῶς οὔτω θαυμαστός* (*Ethika*, v. 1, 15). Phoklydes (fragm. 18) had already said: "Justice is the sum of all virtues."

<sup>4</sup> *Ἔοικε δὲ καὶ τὰς πόλεις συνέχειν ἡ φιλία* (*Ethika*, viii. 1, 4).

<sup>5</sup> Diogenes Laertius, v. 21: "Upon my death, Antipater [Alexander's general] shall be the executor of my last wishes; and until Nikanor can take charge of my property, Aristomenes, Timarchos, and Hipparchos shall have the care of it, also Theophrastos, if he be willing, both in respect to my children and in respect to Herpyllis and my estate. When my daughter becomes of an age to marry, let her be given to Nikanor; if she dies unmarried or without children, Nikanor shall inherit all my property, and shall dispose of my slaves and all my other possessions as may be fitting. Nikanor shall then take charge of my daughter and of my son Nikomachos, so that they shall want for nothing, and shall act towards them as a father and a brother. If Nikanor dies before having married my daughter, or without leaving

The human mind, after twenty-two centuries, still follows the two roads opened by Plato and by the Stageirite: religious, moral, and poetic with the one; scientific, rigorous, and severe with the other. It obeys the mighty impulse given by Aristotle in seeking to penetrate, as he does, the mysteries of the physical world and the human soul; but it listens also to the voice of the tuneful swan, and follows the noble inspirations of Platonic spiritualism.

#### IV. — XENOPHON.

BETWEEN these two giants of thought there is no place for Xenophon, struggling feebly and cautiously against "men enamoured of Egyptian mysteries,"<sup>1</sup> and opposing his *Symposium* to the *Symposium* of Plato, his *Kyropedaia* to the *Republic*, in the design of proving that royalty is better than democracy. In a time when the latter form was still the government of all Greece, Sparta alone excepted, the friend of Cyrus and of Agesilaos sought to show in his *Hieron* (if this dialogue is his) that monarchical sway is prefer-

children, what he orders shall be done. If Theophrastos then consents to marry my daughter, he shall have the same rights which I have given to Nikanor; if not, the curators, consulting with Antipater, shall dispose of my daughter and my son as they may think best. I recommend to the guardians and to Nikanor to remember me, and the affection that Herpyllis has always manifested towards me; if after my death she shall wish to marry, they will take care that she marries no one beneath my rank; and in such case, besides the gifts she has already received, there shall be given her a talent of silver and three maid-servants, if she desire, besides the one that she now has. If she wishes to live at Chalkis, she shall have the dwelling contiguous to the garden; or if she selects Stageira, she will occupy the house of my ancestors. I give her liberty to Ambrakis, and assign her for dowry when she marries, five hundred drachmas and a maid-servant; to Thala, besides the slave that she has, I bequeath a slave-girl and a thousand drachmas. Tacho shall receive her liberty when my daughter marries. Also Philo and Olympias, with her son, shall be enfranchised. The children of my servants shall not be sold, but they shall pass into the service of my heirs until adult age, when they shall be enfranchised, if they have deserved it. The statues that I have ordered at Gryllion shall be completed and set up: . . . in my tomb shall be laid the bones of Pythias, as she commanded me. The vow that I made for the preservation of Nikanor shall be fulfilled by placing at Stageira the animals of stone that I promised to Zeus and Athene, saviors."

<sup>1</sup> It should be said that this passage is taken from a letter perhaps apocryphal, and that, according to Böckh, the *Symposium* of Plato is of later date than Xenophon's. But the *Kyropedaia*, which is a treatise on education as well as an apology for royalty, is one of Xenophon's last works. Scholars have been led to believe Xenophon and Plato unfriendly because Plato never once mentions his former school-fellow, and Xenophon names Plato but once, and then in connection with a trifling circumstance (*Mém.*, iii. 6, 1). Ch. Huit opposes this conjecture in the *Annuaire de la Société des études grecques*, 1886, pp. 63-76.

able to a popular government. But he was a good man, although not always a patriot, a pious soul who believed in an ever-active Providence giving revelations from above, and who, subordinating political wisdom to superstition, said to the Athenians, after having given them, as he believed, excellent advice: "But, above all, consult the oracles of Delphi and Dodona, to see if the gods approve."<sup>1</sup> Apollo and Zeus dwelt on the Greek Olympos; but the Phrygian Kybele would have seemed to him to merit equal honor.

His ideas and his style belong to a middle ground, without the animation or enthusiasm of genius. The former are just and reasonable, the latter is pleasing; we must ask from them no more than this. While Xenophon has done nothing for philosophy, — although he gives us in the *Apology* and in the *Memoirs*<sup>2</sup> two portraits of Sokrates which make us love both the writer and the man he writes of, — he has at least taught practical morals which all the world can follow, and that is better than are the dreams of Metaphysics. He shows us virtue as the chief good and the condition of happiness; gives precepts for the life of every day and of every station; condemns cruel treatment

EX-VOTO.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the treatise, *On the Revenues of Attika, ad fin.* Authors of acknowledged authority believe that this treatise *Πόροι ἢ περὶ προσήδων* is not by Xenophon. See Vol. II. p. 577, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 441.

<sup>3</sup> Attic bas-relief in marble (from Stephani, *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg*, sixth series, vol. viii. pl. vii. No. 2). The shrine is divided into two niches, occupied by two seated goddesses; the Mother of the Gods at the left. She holds a patera, and in her left hand a fir-cone; at her feet is a lion. The other goddess, the Syrian Aphrodite, also holds a patera, and in the right hand a dulcimer. On each head are traces of a metal ornament which must have been the modios. Cf. above, pp. 444 and 445; also Foucart, *Les Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, p. 100, note 1.

of slaves, the mental idleness of women, the frivolous amusements of youth, the verbal subtleties of the Sophists, who, he says, have never made any man better. Xenophon cannot be reckoned among the great men of Greece, but in such a land the second place is an honorable one.

Hippokrates, the precursor of Aristotle in the path of scientific observation, was born in 460 B. C., thus belonging to the age of Perikles, under which period he has been already spoken of. But his life was prolonged, if not till 357, at least for many years into the fourth century, which makes him the contemporary of the great men to whom this chapter is devoted. The time when Greece possessed men such as these was not a period of intellectual decline. We find in the works of a writer who will occupy us later, Isokrates, these noble words, "Do not do to others that which you would not wish to suffer from them, and be to them as you would have them be to you."<sup>1</sup> Observe even the beginning of Christian charity. "We must love men," he says; "if we do not love the beings whose fate is committed to us,—men, and even animals,—how can we rule them well?"<sup>2</sup>

#### V.—DECLINE OF POETRY AND OF CIVIC VIRTUES; CONDOTTIERISM.

WHERE then was the decline? At two points, contiguous, and doubtless kindred. Poetry was disappearing, driven away by her two sisters, eloquence and philosophy, and patriotic faith had gone.

Like a gallant army which, steadily advancing, leaves on each battle-field where it has been victorious some of its best soldiers, Greece no longer saw at her side, but only far behind her, those whose songs had delighted her warlike youth. Year by year her sky had grown darker; inspiration, enthusiasm, have failed her. Poetry has vanished: Pindar's lyre is broken, like that of Homer, of Sophokles, and of Aristophanes. The world is growing old, the Muse no longer finds in it new and inspiring aspects; she is ready

<sup>1</sup> *Nikokles*, 61 and 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 15. Euripides had already set forth on the stage ideas greatly superior to those of the popular religion and morals.

to say there is nothing more to be seen under the sun. Instead of poets, there are now men of science, — philosophers who look under the outward shows of things, to analyze and decompose what they find there. They pluck off and tear this veil of Isis that the Muse had embroidered in colors so brilliant. No doubt science gains by this: the mind is enlarged and elevated, conceptions more truly religious take the place of the ancient legends; but a long farewell to the favorite songs which lulled the soul so gently when they fell from the mouth of Homer, which kindled it and inspired it with patriotism and devotion when they escaped from the glow-

INTAGLIO.<sup>1</sup>TETRADRACHM.<sup>2</sup>

ing lips of Tyrtaios or Simonides, of Pindar or of the heroic soldier of Marathon. Aristophanes had already sent the poets of his time to seek in the under-world the secret of genius, which Aischylos and Sophokles had carried thither with them. His messengers had not returned; and in his request to Hiero, Theokritos says: "The love of gain takes the place of the love of the beautiful."

Triumphant democracy is in some degree responsible for this ruin of Greek poetry. The orator's platform, now too full of emotion, kills the theatre. Whoever is conscious of talent or genius becomes an orator, and the irresistible fascination of verbal successes hinders men from seeking any other. A century earlier philosophy would have left Plato to the Muses,<sup>3</sup> and eloquence would have abandoned to them some of its conquests. But if men no longer compose heroic verse, if tragedy, in which the actor has become of more consequence than the poet, is dying, and will

<sup>1</sup> Laurel-wreath above a lyre; two flutes above an oinochoë; a butterfly, the emblem of the soul, flying above a skull. (Engraved stone in the *Cabinet de France, Catalogue*, No. 1,719. Cornelian. Height, 6 millim.; breadth, 8 millim.) It is not possible to determine the date of this intaglio; it lacks, however, the sober taste of ancient art.

<sup>2</sup> The attributes of Isis, on an Athenian tetradrachm. ΑΘΕ. Names of magistrates: ΔΗΜΕΑΣ, ΕΡΜΟΚΛΗΣ, ΚΛΕΙΔΑ[ΜΟΥ]. Owl standing on an amphora. Monetary marks, Δ and ΔΗ. In the field, the solar globe, placed on two wheat-ears.

<sup>3</sup> Before becoming a disciple of Sokrates, Plato had composed poetry and dramas. He destroyed these works, to give himself wholly to philosophy; but did not poetry follow him even there?

live again only after twenty centuries have passed away,<sup>1</sup> prose has improved, and, thanks to those who speak it, the Attic dialect is superior to all the others, becoming, as is its due, the classic language of Greece.

One form of literature was soon to revive, but in conditions other than those of the past. Menander, born in 342 B. C., will



COIN OF KYZIKOS.<sup>2</sup>

not be of the race of Aristophanes. Comedy, deprived by law of the attractive pleasure which political allusions and personal satire gave to it, languished. Menander gave it a new life by creating the comedy of character, which Plautus and Terence, that "half of Menander" (*O dimiale Menander*), as Julius Caesar called him, imitated later at Rome, — a form which in modern times has become

the true comedy. The history of literature gives him a large place, but political history has almost nothing to ask from him.<sup>3</sup>

So far, at least, there is only an exchange among the Nine Sisters; what one loses, another gains. The Greek mind, therefore, has not sunk to a lower level, though one mighty and beloved string has ceased to vibrate. But that which is gone forever is political faith. Athens and Sparta have lost that confidence in themselves which is a people's chief virtue when it is not carried to the extent of a blind infatuation. They have no longer — Athens since Aigospotamoi, Sparta since Leuktra and Mantinea — that confidence, that juvenile audacity, which, tempered by reason,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Foucart, *De Collegiis scenicarum artificum apud Græcos* (1873).

<sup>2</sup> Galley, with one bank of nine rowers: on the prow, a hippocamp blowing a trumpet; in the stern, the helmsman, seated; at his side, two Roman eagles; legend: KYZIKHNQN NEOKO[POV]; under the galley, two fishes. (Reverse of a fine bronze medallion of Kyzikos, with the effigy of Commodus.)

<sup>3</sup> Menander was the nephew of Alexis (Suidas, s. v. Ἀλεξίς) and the friend of Theophrastos, Epikouros, and Demetrios of Phaleros. Words of Alexis, quoted on p. 653, Menander would not have disavowed. Phædrus (v. 1, 12-13) represents him visiting Demetrios of Phaleros.

*Unquento delibutus, vestite alfluens,  
Veniebat gressu delicato et languido.*

NOTE. — On the opposite page is represented a marble statue of Menander, discovered in the same place with a seated statue of the comic poet Poseidippos, and now in the Vatican (from a photograph). There is no inscription on the statue of Menander, while there is one on that of Poseidippos; but besides the fact that they were found together, there is a small bust with an inscription which leaves no doubt as to the name to be given to this statue.



MENANDER.

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especially when reason bears the name of Perikles, makes a people accomplish great things. Formerly, the space which separated the Athenian people from its chiefs was scarcely that which separates two soldiers, one in the foremost rank, one in the second; and to Miltiades, to Kimon, to Aristeides, there was not even granted a place apart for their names upon the trophies of victory. Now, the Athenians have so poor an opinion of themselves that they have returned to hero-worship. For the performance of a duty, for some small exploit in war, they give what once they would scarcely have given but to the gods, — statues of marble or of brass; and the religious sentiment has fallen so low that they have built altars and have offered divine honors to Lysandros, the personification of craftiness. Not much later than the period of which we speak, Demades says: "Athens is no longer the young soldier of Marathon; instead there is a little old woman in slippers sipping her herb-tea." These words are a caricature, and not a portrait, for Athens still has men, whose noble figures will appear in these pages; but they will be the last. And even she yet seems to possess an empire. In 361 B. C. she was able to recover, notwithstanding the opposition of Byzantion, Chalkedon, and Kyzikos, a free passage through the Bosphoros for the cereals of the Euxine. In the islands she had allies, and in 357 B. C. she regained possession of Sestos and the Chersonesos. Unfortunately all this was a show of strength, rather than its reality. Let us listen to Isokrates, who, contrary to the custom of this scrupulous rhetorician, is here both just and profound, —

FIGHTING WARRIORS.<sup>1</sup>

"In Athens there are no longer Athenians. In Egypt, we have lost two hundred galleys and their crews; a hundred and fifty near Cyprus; in Thrace, ten thousand hoplites, of our own and our allies; in Sicily, forty thousand soldiers, and two hundred and forty galleys; latterly, in the Hellespont, two hundred vessels. Who could count besides all that we have lost, a few at a time, of men and galleys? It is enough to say that, suffering new losses every year, we observed every year public funerals. Our neighbors and the other Greeks crowded to these ceremonies, not to share

<sup>1</sup> Horseman galloping, and brandishing his spear; his horse tramples upon a prostrate enemy. Reverse: ΠΕΛΙΝΝΑΕ[ω]; foot-soldier armed with a shield, sword, and javelin; he turns to the left, and seems to be dealing a final blow at a prostrate enemy. (Silver coin of Pelinna.)

in our afflictions, but to enjoy our calamities. By degrees Athens saw her public tombs filled with her citizens, and their names upon the registers replaced by names of foreigners. That a multitude of Athenians perished at that time is proved by this, that our noblest families and most famous houses, who had escaped the cruelties of tyranny and of the Persian wars, were destroyed and sacrificed to that maritime empire which was the object of our desires. And if, from the families of which I speak, we are willing to judge the others, it becomes manifest that the Athenian people has been almost entirely changed.”<sup>1</sup>

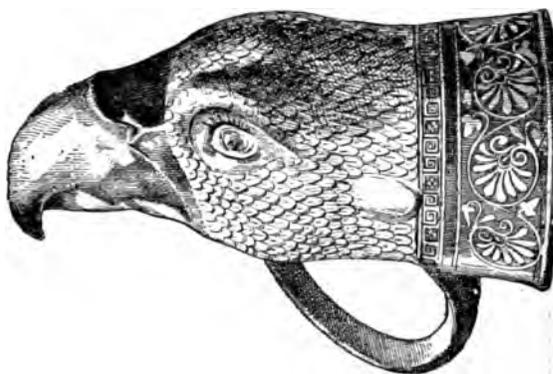
Rome also received strangers, and long found her strength and grandeur in this policy. But Athens, a city of commerce and manufactures, was not recruited, like the Latin city, by men of nearly the same blood, the same manners, and the same ideas. Asiatics and Thracians came to Athens, bringing new and evil manners. Scepticism increased. If the gods were dying, a worship of the country and an energetic feeling of the duties of the man and the citizen might advantageously have taken the place of the old religion, too much scoffed at. But what patriotic ardor could this foreign population have, these sons of whom Athens was not the mother, whom she had not nourished with her words, the lessons of her history? What sort of citizens were these adventurers, these enriched *metoikoi*? Demosthenes complains that he cannot find in the turbulent and laughing assembly to which he speaks the gravity necessary for great affairs. Except for a delicate taste in art—and that for an effeminate art which fascinates and distracts, the art of Isokrates, not the grand art which elevates and kindles, that of Polykletes and of Sophokles—except for this, Athens was no better than Carthage. Gain and pleasure were all that interested her.

We have said regretfully that philosophy, hostile to the existing social order, was a disintegrant for the city. The pupils of Sokrates called themselves, in imitation of their master, citizens of the world. They taught, with Plato, a contempt for national institutions; with Zeno, an indifference towards freedom or slavery; or even, like Xenophon at Koroneia, they fought against their fellow-citizens. What was the State to men of Kyrene, who made

<sup>1</sup> Φανείμεν ἂν μικροῦ δεῖν ἀντηλλαγμένοι (Isokrates, *Upon the Peace*, §§ 86–89, edit. Didot, pp. 112, 113). Isokrates was born in 436 B. C. He was the son of Theodoros, a maker of musical instruments, and the pupil of Gorgias and Prodikos.

life nothing more than a search for pleasure? And what cared Diogenes for all that went on outside of his tub? The declaration of the rights of man just now written by philosophy was fatal to the city.

Athens, invaded by political indifference, was also a prey to Boiotian sensuality. Without having the excuse of Aristophanes when he brought his *Acharnians* upon the stage, the poets of this age extolled in the theatre the delights of peace, of luxurious living, the satisfaction of the lower appetites, and treated with scorn all that the old Athenians had honored. To them the country had been the thrice holy thing; the Middle Comedy despises it. "Let us drink and be merry," says Alexis. "Death

DRINKING CUP.<sup>1</sup>

will turn you into ice on the day the gods have decreed, and what will be left you? Nothing but what you have eaten and drunk. The rest is dust,—the dust of Perikles, Kodros, Kimon." How well these words, worthy of drunken fauns in the procession of Dionysos, correspond to a society seeking to forget in mirth and pleasure its approaching end; and how easy it is to understand the development of Epicureanism in such an environment as this!

The gloomy picture drawn by Demosthenes is still more disquieting than this animal delight.

"How have we fallen so low? For it is not without cause that the Greeks, once so ardent for liberty, have become so docile in slavery. Once, O Athenians, there dwelt in men's souls something which is there no longer, something which conquered Persian gold, which kept Greece free, which caused her to triumph by sea and land; something which, having ceased to be, has left behind it only ruin and confusion. What then was this all-powerful thing? It was the simplest thing possible, and entirely without art.

<sup>1</sup> Rhyton, or drinking-cup, in form of an eagle's head; from the former Collection Castellani, *Catalogue*, No. 105, pl. iii. Of unknown origin.

Any man who received gold from a tyrant or from a corrupter of Greece, was regarded by all with horror. It was in that time a very serious matter



DRUNKEN FAUN.<sup>1</sup>

to be convicted of venality. There was neither excuse nor pardon for the guilty; always the severest punishment. Hence the orators, the generals of

<sup>1</sup> Statue of Parian marble known as the Barberini Faun; discovered at Rome in the moat of the Castle of St. Angelo, and now in the Glyptothek of Munich (No. 95 of Brunn's

that time never sold the opportunities which fortune gives. Then there was no traffic in the harmony which should prevail among citizens, in the distrust which should be felt as to Barbarians, and in so many other things. Now all things are sold, as in the market, and instead of the virtues of other days, we have an evil imported into Greece, an evil which torments her, and of which she is dying. What is it? It is the love of gold. Men covet even the traitor's wages; men smile at the avowal of his crime: pardon is for the guilty, hatred is for the accuser. It is corruption itself, and all its vilenesses. Athenians, you are rich in vessels, in soldiers, in revenues, in resources for war, in all that makes the strength of a State,—richer even than ever before. But all this strength languishes powerless, useless. Athenians, all things are dying among you, because there is traffic in all things.

“Such is our condition. You see it yourselves; I do not need to tell you of it. How different from the past! Here, it is no longer I who speak. I recall to you an inscription engraved by your fathers upon brass in the Akropolis, engraved not for themselves, not for their own encouragement in virtue,—those great souls had no need of that,—but to remind you by an imperishable monument how carefully you should watch against traitors. This is the inscription: ‘Arthmios, the son of Pythonax of Zelia, is declared infamous, an enemy of the Athenian people and of its allies, he and his race.’ Then follows the cause of this sentence, ‘For having brought Median gold into the Peloponnesos.’”<sup>1</sup>

Isokrates, in his *Areopagitika*, thinks with Demosthenes, “At Athens venality in official station and in the decisions of the tribunals corrupts everything.” Montesquieu regards civic virtue as the principle of democracy. It is good everywhere, but in a republic it is indispensable; for there, if disinterestedness and the spirit of sacrifice is lost, everything is lost. It was in this way that the most famous of ancient cities and that Greece herself perished.

Commerce and manufactures in their development had increased the inequality of fortunes; men of ability had gained wealth, others had remained in idleness and poverty, with envy in their hearts, and much indulgence towards the Sophists of the Pnyx and the informers in the Agora. It was not among the idle and noisy crowd of Peiraieus that Antisthenes found recruits for his cynic philosophy, which was in certain respects noble also, but fines and confiscations made men poor who had not always the wisdom of

*Beschreibung*). A satyr asleep on a rock. The work is full of life and expression; it is one of the fine statues of the Gallery of Munich.

<sup>1</sup> *Philippics*, iii. 36–43.

the Charmides of Xenophon. "Formerly when I was rich," he says, "I was constantly anxious lest thieves should rob me, and I paid court to the informers. Every day some new tax was levied, and I had not permission to leave the city for a journey. Now that I have lost everything and my furniture has been sold at auction, I sleep tranquilly. Instead of paying a tax, I receive it; the republic feeds me." Charmides does not complain that he is relieved of the burden of wealth, but he rejoices that he is no longer under obligations. "Having nothing," he says, "I fear no man; and being poor, I cause anxiety to the rich; at my approach they rise and make way for me."<sup>1</sup>

From this decline in public morality arose another evil, which may be called by a name of its own, "condottierism;" for it is a general phenomenon recurring at many epochs in history,—in degenerate Italy as well as in dying Greece, in decrepit Egypt and the exhausted East, at Carthage, and in the chaos which followed the Thirty Years' War: I mean the habit of selling one's blood, one's courage, and taking a share in quarrels where no noble interest calls one. If the right of killing is a terrible one in justifiable war, when the soldier defends his native land and his home, what does it become when he kills for a livelihood, as a trade, as a means of gaining money? The Greeks had long known too well the road to Susa, and the money of the Great King; he always had many mercenaries in his pay; and his intervention in the affairs of Greece had no other object than to bring about peace in that country, so that he could find there soldiers to be bought. He even obtained generals there, employing Chabrias and Iphikrates. The danger was not only in the corrupting gold that these mercenaries brought back, nor in their forgetfulness of their own country, the habits of violence and rapine that camp-life gave them, the vices with which the effeminate East infected them; for while at this time many returned home to display in their native city their ill-gotten wealth, in a very few years this ceased to be the case. These Greek mercenaries ended by abandoning

<sup>1</sup> *Symposium*, 4. Concerning fines and confiscations, see the orations of Lysias, *On the Wealth of Aristophanes*, *Against Eratosthenes*, and the one written by him to defend an Athenian accused of rooting up a sacred olive-tree. In the *Περὶ τοῦ Ζεύου*, Isokrates defends the son of Alkibiades, accused of stealing horses, and charged by the informer with all his father's misdemeanors as well.

their country altogether; and so the evil for Greece was thus continued migration, which took her best blood from her. Every man of activity, courage, and ambition, all the energetic part of the Greek population, hastened into Asia, leaving the mother-country depopulated. At Issos, Darius had thirty thousand Greek mercenaries. Under Alexander and his successors the evil increased tenfold, and Greece was destined to perish, to use the energetic language of Polybios, for lack of men.

This fatal habit of living by war as a trade made its way everywhere. To settle the least dispute the cities no longer depend upon the courage of their citizens, they call in mercenaries. Orchomenos in 371 B. C. hires them to fight a small and obscure city of Arkadia; Athens cannot do without them; the tyrants of Thessaly, like those of Sicily, have no other soldiers; Sparta herself takes them into her pay.<sup>1</sup> Greece is but one great market, where courage is sold at varying prices, — an adulterated commodity, for this venal courage is always mingled with perfidy and treason. With it no victory is certain, no negotiation sure. On one occasion Iphikrates receives from Amphipolis hostages which this great city is at last about to give to Athens. A mercenary succeeds him; he sends the hostages back, himself enters the service of the Thracian king, and Amphipolis is lost.<sup>3</sup> This

SILVER COIN.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In her fleet in 374 B. C. she had fifteen hundred mercenaries, and Dionysios sent others to her, who did good service. There were a number in her cavalry, and Xenophon thinks it well that a fifth of these troops should be paid foreigners (*On the Command of the Cavalry*, 9). In 378 two cities of Arkadia, Klitor and Orchomenos, were at war, and the former had no other troops than mercenaries. In 371 five hundred mercenaries employed by Agesilaos were in garrison at Orchomenos. Jason had six thousand (Xenophon, *Hellen.*, vi. 1, 5). Chabrias was in the service of the king of Egypt; Athens compels his return. Iphikrates then goes to take charge of the operations of the Persians, and brings them twenty thousand Greeks. The king of Sidon, revolting against the Persians, has four thousand Greek mercenaries under the Rhodian Mentor, who had left the Egyptian service. Phokion and Evagoras were at one time in command of eight thousand in the Persian army. At the appeal of Artaxerxes, ten thousand hastened into Persia. These forces united attack Nektanebos, who, on his part, had twenty thousand mercenaries. This was more than forty thousand Greeks fighting in foreign countries under different standards (Diodoros, iv. 4-48. Cf. Xenophon, *Hellen.*, iii. 1-13; 3, 15; iv. 2, 5; 4, 14; 8, 35; vii. 5, 10). Demosthenes and Isokrates inveigh perpetually against this fatal practice.

<sup>2</sup> The Thessalian slinger Phemios, nude, stepping to the left, his sword at his side, and two javelins stuck into the ground behind him; legend: ΑΙΝΙΑΝΩΝ. (Reverse of a coin of Ainianos, in Thessaly, having a helmeted head of Pallas on the obverse.)

<sup>3</sup> On Athenian mercenaries dwelling in Thrace, see Demosthenes, *Against Aristokr.*, init.

lesson was no more profitable to Athens than others had been. Festivals, contests of orators, and games, formerly only a relaxation after the strenuous labors of commerce and of war, had now become the principal occupation of the people. Why should not this refined and witty people, courted by so many flatterers, have—like any potentate of the day—its army of hired soldiers?

“With a numerous population,” says Isokrates, “with exhausted finances, we wish, like the Great King, to employ mercenary troops. . . . Formerly, when a fleet was made ready, foreigners and slaves were the sailors, and the citizens were soldiers. Now we arm foreigners to fight, and we oblige citizens to handle the oar. Consequently, when we make a descent on foreign coasts, these proud Athenians, who assume to command the Greeks, land from the galleys, each man carrying his oar, and it is mercenaries who go forward to the battle wearing our armor.”

“As soon as war is declared,” says Demosthenes, “the people with one voice decree: Let ten or twenty thousand foreigners be called in.” The soldier’s life having become a trade, luxury made its way into the camps, hampered the armies with baggage, and made their support more difficult,—another subject of complaint for Demosthenes.

Thus military habits were lost, and all the virtues which accompany the profession of arms. The armies ceasing to be national, the generals ceased to be citizens; they became chiefs of bands led by their soldiers, rather than being themselves leaders,



SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>

—pre-occupied with establishing themselves advantageously, or gaining as much as possible in a foreign, sometimes a hostile country. Thus Chabrias accepted the command of the forces of revolted Egypt at a time when Athens greatly desired alliance

with the Great King; and he returned from this service with manners so dissolute that even the license of Athens did not suffice him. Iphikrates, who led twenty thousand Greek mercenaries to Artaxerxes, became the son-in-law of the Thracian king Kotys, and seconded him in expeditions against the Athe-

<sup>1</sup> Horseman galloping to the right, holding his lance upright. Reverse: [Πελ]INNA [ἰων]: foot-soldier, fighting, to the left; he is armed with shield and sword, and brandishes his javelin. (Coin of Pelinna.)

nians. All these generals, says Theopompos, even Timotheos, the son of Konon, the most patriotic and unselfish among them, preferred the luxurious life of foreign countries to an abode at Athens. Chares, one of the favorites of the people, dwelt usually at Sigeia, on the Asiatic coast. Agesilaos died, an octogenarian, in the service of an Egyptian king, ending as an adventurer a life which had not been inglorious (358 B. C.).

Greece had even a permanent market for the hiring of mercenaries. At Cape Tainaron, the extreme point of the Peloponnesos, arrived from the three continents surrounding the Ægæan Sea all the soldiers that Europe, Asia, and Africa had to sell.<sup>1</sup> Ambitious adventurers came thither to buy courage against no matter whom, for no matter what cause, and the price was lower or higher according as the supply was greater or less than the demand. War is always a scourge, but with these conditions it was moreover a disgrace.

Thence resulted two unfortunate consequences: the first, a readiness in the public mind of conceiving suspicions as to generals who had too many outside friends to serve, with no other alternative than success or death; the second was the separation — so unfortunate in a small State — of the head which plans and the hand which executes. The great men of Athens in the preceding age had been all in turn generals and orators. Phokion, Plutarch tells us, was the last who found himself no less at home on the platform than on the field of battle. From this fact arose the influence of men who, having never been closely concerned in military movements, often compromised their success for the sake of a well-turned period and the applause of an audience. Iphikrates, on being accused, had no other way of defending himself than to show his sword and the poniards of the young men whom he had posted throughout the assembly.

SILVER COIN.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 323 B. C. eight thousand mercenaries were assembled at Cape Tainaron, and Leosthenes hired them all for Athens (Plutarch, *Phokion*, 22; Diodoros, xviii. 9). A few months later, Thibron found two thousand five hundred there to be bought; in 315, Antigonos sent an emissary with a thousand talents to obtain all he could, and in a short time, according to Diodoros, he enlisted eight thousand men.

<sup>2</sup> Kretan archer, kneeling to the right and drawing his bow. Reverse: ΠΡΑΙΣ (ἰων); eagle flying to the right; the whole in an incused square. (Coin of Praisos, in Kreta.)

There is one virtue capable of making reparation for many faults,—the love of country. The Greeks had two native lands, first, their city, then Hellas. But the patriotism which gave way in the cities did not rally to defend the nation. The fraternal union of the Greek tribes had always been very feeble, even in the best days; then, however, the hatred of the foreigner was vigorous, and many, in case of need, would unite against him. When Mardonios offered to the Athenians the rich presents his master had sent, they repulsed the Barbarian's friendship as they had his arms. A century goes by, and all is changed. Sparta,

BRONZE MEDALLION.<sup>1</sup>

Thebes, Athens herself, courted the Great King, accepted his gold, obeyed his orders. By dint of envying each other, hating each other, and fighting against each other, the Greek cities came to prefer the stranger to the Hellene. To-day it is the Persians whom some Greek people call to their aid; to-morrow, the same State will seek its allies elsewhere: but from this time forward the foreigner will always be concerned in the affairs of Greece. With

habits like these, quarrels and a moral degradation such as this, there was sure to be a master.

We may note also that war is not only between cities, but between the factions in each city. Everywhere are the two parties, of which each has no other aim than to conquer, drive out, or exterminate the other; and to succeed in this, has recourse to every means. In eighty years there were eleven revolutions in Chios; yet the people of this island were among the wisest of the Greeks. Plutarch relates that, after one of these disturbances, the conquerors were making ready to murder or banish the conquered, when Onomademos, one of the victorious party, arose in the assembly and said: "It seems to me best to leave some of our enemies in the city, for if we drive them all out, quarrels must henceforward

<sup>1</sup> Temple of Zeus at Pergamos, three-quarters front; under the portico the statue of the god, seated on a throne. Before it, a priest standing, holding a patera, about to sacrifice a bull which an assistant strikes with a club. Legend: ΕΠΙ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ ΗΕΠΤΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ Γ ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ. (Reverse of a bronze medallion, with the effigy of Caracalla, struck at Pergamos by authority of Attalos, named Neokoros for the third time.)

break out among friends." This Onomademos was a sagacious man; he knew that a Greek city could not last without factions, and he wished to spare his adversaries, so that his own party might have ready objects upon which to vent their anger.

What had been the cause of all these wars? We are interested in the wars of Rome, which, wisely conducted and with great forethought, led the legions, step by step and always advancing, from the banks of the Tiber to the foot of the Alps and the Straits of Messina, and thence to the limits of the civilized world.



THE RONDANINI MEDEUSA.<sup>1</sup>

But these Greeks, so well endowed for works of peace, — what had they gained by all this fighting? They wasted a century in trampling one spot of ground, amid bloodshed and ruins. If in literature some forms were growing feeble, others had profited; if in political life the great States were lessened, it was for the advantage of the smaller; if the population, more hybrid, more enervated, more corrupt, had lost its civic virtues, there were still citizens like Lykourgos and Demosthenes, Hyperides and Euphros — that citizen of Oraia who, not having been able to save his city from the hands of Philip, killed himself because he would not live subject to the Macedonians.<sup>2</sup> The decline, however, had really begun: it might last long without bringing any catastrophe, for

<sup>1</sup> Alto-relievo in Parian marble, in the Glyptothek of Munich (No. 128 of the *Beschreibung* of Brunn).

<sup>2</sup> Demosthenes, *Philippics*, iii. 62.

courage and a military spirit had disappeared neither from Thebes nor Sparta, and we shall find that the Athenians more than once remember the name they bear; moreover, no foreign enemy being at the time menacing, union was not for the moment imperative, and even the habit of calling in the assistance of the Barbarians did not as yet seem to be a danger.

Greece appeared, therefore, to have long days yet before her; and she would have remained mistress of that future but for the phenomenon, unique in history, of two great men succeeding one another on the same throne. Macedon destroyed Greece: Philip reduced her to subjection, Alexander did her still greater harm, dragging her sons away with him and dispersing them over the surface of Asia. After the time of Alexander, Greece was at Alexandria, at Seleukia, at Antioch, at Pergamos, on the banks of the Nile, the Tigris, and the Indos,—everywhere, except in Greece.

END OF VOL. III.







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