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THE
HISTORY OF SICILY

TO THE ATHENIAN WAR;

WITH

ELUCIDATIONS OF THE SICILIAN ODES OF
PINDAR.

BY W. WATKISS LLOYD.

WITH A MAP.

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BOOK I.



THE HISTORY OF SICILY TO THE WAR WITH
ATHENS.

THE
HISTORY OF SICILY.

CHAPTER I.

THE POSITION OF SICILY—SICILY AND HOMERIC
LEGEND AND GEOGRAPHY.

THE island of Sicily lies in the very midst of that Midland Sea that washed the shores of all the most interesting empires of antiquity, and, placed between the southernmost point of the Italian peninsula and an advancing promontory of Africa, seems to divide it into two great gulfs, Eastern and Western. The distance of Cape Boeo, the ancient Lilybæum, from Africa is less than 90 miles; on the north the Faro di Messina at its narrowest is not more than 3971 yards ($2\frac{1}{4}$ miles) across (Smyth). The island, therefore, has some appearance of being an interrupted extension of the peninsula, as the intermediate Lipari islands on the north, summits of submarine eminences, show as links of a volcanic chain extending from Vesuvius on the Campanian coast towards Sicilian Ætna. The natural productions of the island also attest a connection or its semblance with Italy rather than

with Africa ; scientific observation, however, declines to recognise its mountain system as a continuation of the Apennines.

The general form of Sicily may be nearly included in an isosceles triangle, having one of the pair of sides on the north extending due east and west, and the unequal side, which is shorter by about one third, trending from the point of Italy west by south. The superficial extent of Sicily does not exceed 10,600 square miles, but it is not very different from that of Peloponnesus. The prevailing character of the interior is given by a lofty table land supported and bounded by ranges that descend steeply along the northern coast, and slope down much more gradually to comparatively open plains on the southern. The higher district is intersected by ridges, and crowned again by lofty mountains rising higher and still higher ; the site of Henna, on a steep hill upon a central plain, is more than 3000 feet above the sea ; it commands a view over the greater portion of the island, and of lines of mountains beyond mountains that have been compared in appearance to waves under a storm. *Ætna*, itself a volcanic system of 100 miles in circumference, rises independently by the sea on the shorter eastern coast, within a landward semicircle of mountains, as if occupying what at one time might have been a vast bay.

In accordance with such a conformation the streams of the island, of longest course, flow naturally south-

ward and eastward, and must always—the most of them—have been subject to sudden and violent floods ; but in antiquity, before the feeding forests were so generally extirpated, they must also have been less liable than at present to extreme exhaustion, and no doubt they enhanced the wonderful fertility that even yet is inalienable from advantages of natural soil and happy climate. The ancient productiveness of Sicily, in corn especially, and then in wine and cattle, was celebrated, no doubt with some exaggeration, but with a basis of truth that only in Egypt elsewhere might not have been fairly taxed as exaggeration. Nature's bounties may be frustrated by barbarous ignorance, by bad laws affecting ownership and division of land,—by insecurity of life and property arising out of subjection to exhausting tyranny, foreign or domestic—but otherwise rich land makes a rich population, and in the days of Sicily's better constitution these resources gave great command of imported wealth, and a power of supporting labour for works of display or defence, or luxury—such as remain to astonish us in the ruins twice ruined of Agrigentum and Syracuse.

The triple aspects of the shores and promontories of Sicily may seem to symbolize the threefold influences to which it was subjected by its intermediate and central position—at the very crossroads of conflict. Besides the original barbaric occupation, which for the most part comes into evidence less by activity than

inertness — here Phoenicians, Greeks, and Romans appeared in turns as settlers and conquerors ; Greek interchanged merchandise or crossed swords with Carthaginian, Carthaginian with Roman, and Roman with Greek again, in antiquity ; as Saracen, Norman, and Teuton took their turns in later days. The prime advantagé of central position was in this way very seriously qualified, and the confluence of the peoples interfered with political settlement, much as the conflicting currents of the adjacent straits baffled steady navigation.

But it is as Greek, and by its reaction on Central Greece, that the early civilization of Sicily chiefly interests us in its history, and promises to repay research and study. The native historians have perished, and the literary records that might supply their place are unfortunately scanty and fragmentary ; the poets, orators, and philosophers of her palmy days only live in extracts or criticisms, or in references that are less often direct than only to be divined ; brilliant but confused, these glancing rays are unintelligible, or untrustworthy, until corrected in all various ways for reflections and refractions. Sagacity no less than industry is taxed severely to recombine dispersed allusions ; it has to be taxed still more severely to withhold from propounding the plausible as a certainty, or taking pleasure to repeople historical vacuity with phantasms that it will consume the more valuable time of some later historian to exorcise.

Given, however, consciousness of responsibility and confidence in power of self-restraint, enough that is satisfactory can still be gleaned and garnered to reward the student of ancient Sicilian story.

The primitive condition of every country is ever wrapt in delusive mists, and it is well that the explorer should be watchful of the line beyond which half-lights become as hopeless as the utter darkness that sooner or later of necessity comes down. We turn, however, to the Homeric poems—the *Odyssey* particularly—to enquire for traces of early Sicilian history, with an interest that is sharpened by hope that Sicilian antiquities on their part may reciprocate illustration to the Homeric poetry or age.

The very simplicity of criticism could alone expect to elicit from such a poem of wild adventure and unlicensed imagination, how much precisely the author knew of whatever real territories his hero touches. There is no true poetic purpose in making a parade of geographical knowledge—there easily may be in finessing it. When by the plan of the poet we are to be carried, step by step, from the region of the known not merely to the unexplored but the fabulous—we must be prepared to find the border line even gratuitously confused and indistinct. Some certainties as to the poet's knowledge we may gather, but it would be daring to infer how ignorant the ignorance of his hearers might not allow him to be or to pretend to be, or to disallow that he might not on a time

indulge himself by transmuting fact familiar enough to them, into fiction grossly incongruous, yet so treated as to seem even more real than the familiar truth, and certainly—such things have been—far too delightful for the protests of outraged and indignant literal truth to be allowed to interfere with it.

It is immediately after Ulysses, voyaging homewards from Troy, doubles Cape Malea, and misses the Isle of Cythera, that his geographical bearings as he is driven southward become in the highest degree uncertain, hazy, interrupted, and even the points of the compass scarcely to be relied on. Then, after the break, we find him again in some spots that can with sufficient certainty be identified and localised ; but the gleam is transient, and obscurity soon interposes between these and the Phæacian resting-place from which, sleeping, unconscious, darkling, he is borne in a self-guided vessel with mysterious conductors on his latest voyage home.

The general conclusion that has been drawn often before from this can scarcely be contravened—that the original audience of the poet had not the familiarity with the Western regions that comes of perpetual intercourse between kindred tribes—little or none of the familiarity that we find in the *Iliad* has attached descriptive epithets, accurate to this day, to every site and rock that is mentioned in Central Greece or bordering on the Ægean. And history has well authenticated testimony that leaves no doubt on

the point. It was only tardily, at dates certainly long after the composition of the poem—at dates indeed well known, that the overflowing population of settled Greece diffused itself in systematic colonisation westward. Previously, and for long continuance, it had turned to the eastern coasts of the *Ægean*, and even the remoter coasts of the *Euxine*; and these colonies had founded colonies again before Hellenic enterprise undertook systematically to plant a firm and frequent foot either in Italy or Sicily.

But adventure of merchant, of pirate, of merchant pirate, has scope for many a long year before the colonisation that it even discourages while inevitably opening a way for it. Italy and Sicily were probably long to the Greek of the western coasts, and sometimes of the eastern, what the Spanish Main continued to be, for a period, to the English colonisers of North America, to rovers and buccaneers from home. The obscurity that nevertheless continued seems to have owed something to a recognised policy of the ancient trader, who guarded an effectively exclusive privilege to trade, by concealing his route to an emporium or exaggerating its dangers.

Out of such a state of things come some certainties and many wild tales—tales that are sure to be improved as retold, and that tradition and imagination at last are not disposed to resign out of respect to better knowledge and prosaic matters of fact. The poet, like the poetically gifted novelist—I had almost

said historian—of later times, saves them for imagination by combining some verities, while he elaborates the fiction ; and we ought to be aware by this time that when poetical effect is at stake, an historical fact must be notorious indeed if it is not sacrificed by fiction without scruple, and unchallenged too.

Sicels are twice mentioned in the *Odyssey*, and each time in connection with traffic in slaves. The suitors advise Telemachus to ship off his very undesirable and unprofitable guests—one of them happens to be his father in disguise—and sell them to the Sicels, who will give a good market price ; Laertes is tended in his age by an aged Sichel female slave, wife of his servant Dolius. In historical times we find an asylum for the refuge of slaves at the native Sichel sanctuary of Palike in Sicily, and under circumstances that argue a primitive date for the institution. The presumption, however, in favour of identity of races would of course hold good equally, though the seat of the Homeric Sicels were not Sicily—as I think more probable—but Italy or elsewhere.

In the same last book of the *Odyssey* we have Ulysses fabricating a tale how he—Eperitus son of Apeidas, son of Polypemonides, as he styles himself—driven to Ithaca by cross winds, was of origin from Alybas in Sicania, where he assures Laertes that five years previously he had seen his absent son. The string of personal names—mere insinuated evidence that the wanderer belonged to a family that could

boast of grandfathers—have been put to the torture for significant information, but in vain, and they confess nothing. There may be something more in the conjunction of Alybas and Sicania—even an argument that Sicania was the Homeric name of Sicily, unless we are to disallow the originality of this last book, a question that I put aside; Alybas has remarkable assonance with the tribal Elymi, the historical neighbours of the Sicans at the west of the island; and conversely again, the Trojan origin persistently ascribed to these Elymi directs us to an Alybe not remote from Mysia, whence come allies to Hector catalogued as Alizonians.

Remarkable monumental confirmations of the traditional movements of populations from Asia Minor to Sicily will meet us hereafter. But it is by following Ulysses as a navigator that we come upon the clearest traces of a knowledge of Sicily, and also of limiting ignorance—a little uncertain, whether real or assumed.

It is just before passing over into decided fable land that we find on our way unquestionable local allusions in the highly wrought, highly exaggerated description of the perils of a strait which can only be that between Italy and Sicily, the rock of Scylla, the current and whirlpool of Charybdis; that this is a heightened study after the natural scene has never been seriously disputed, however the significance of local knowledge in such a critical instance has been overlooked, even after its admission, not to say eluded. The instance is particularly valuable as giving a certain scale for the

liberty of embellishment the poet allowed himself, even when his information was most exact. Successful navigators through this strait surely knew not only the existence of peninsula and island, but did not make the passage for nothing, and told either truth or falsehood as pleased or suited them, of coasts on either side and beyond; and the poet certainly lay under no obligation to be more scrupulous.

For him the entrance of the strait from the west is between the rocks of Scylla and Charybdis; the rock of Scylla, as he describes it, rises to a sharp peak at an immense height always hidden in clouds; its sides are so smooth and polished as to be inaccessible to man, though clambering with twenty hands and feet. In the middle of the rock, high up beyond flight of arrow, was the cave haunted by the monster Scylla, barking hideously from six dire heads, and watching to extend them, long necked, open-mouthed, to seize in their triple rows of teeth six sailors from any vessel imprudently approaching.

Smyth, as becomes a sailor, makes very light indeed of the terrors of Scylla, and indeed of the navigation of the strait generally, which nevertheless by his own showing, but for his constantly extenuating clauses, would seem to be still troublesome enough. "I as a sailor," he says, "never perceived any difference between the effect of the surges here and on any other coast, yet I have frequently watched it closely in bad weather. It is now, as I presume it ever was, a common rock of

bold approach, a little worn at its base, and surmounted by a castle with a sandy bay on each side." He continues: "A tolerable road leads up, though the steepness of ascent in various places renders many windings necessary; the neighbourhood is exceedingly romantic, and there are many public buildings, but they often suffer so severely by lightning, especially the castle, that fatal accidents are frequent" (pp. 107-8).

The frequency of such storms implies the thunder that would explain perhaps the uproar ascribed to Scylla. "The steepness of the beaches" that is mentioned by Smyth further on seems to have helped the notion of inaccessibility.

The other opposite rock in Homer's description is lower—a wild fig tree is upon it, and below it Charybdis sucks down the dark water; thrice a day she sends it up and thrice sucks it down again fearfully. At this moment not Poseidon himself could save the vessel, and the advice of Circe is that Ulysses should rather hug the opposite shore, and abide the inevitable ravage of Scylla.

The modern hydrographer supplies this description: "Outside the tongue of land, or Braccio di St. Rainiere, that forms the harbour of Messina, lies the Galofaro or celebrated vortex of Charybdis, which has, with more reason than Scylla, been clothed with terrors by the writers of antiquity. To the undecked boats of the Rhegians, Locrians, Zancleans and Greeks it must have been formidable; for even in the present day small

craft are sometimes endangered by it, and I have seen several men-of-war, and even a seventy-four gun ship, whirled round on its surface. It appears to be an agitated water of from seventy to ninety fathoms in depth, circling in quick eddies. It is owing probably to the meeting of the harbour and lateral currents with the main one, the latter being forced over in this direction by the opposite point of Pezzo." (Smyth, Sicily, p. 123.)

Smyth testifies also to the accuracy of the following notice by Thucydides:—

"The strait in question is the sea that is between Rhegium and Messene, where Sicily is at least distance from the continent; and this is the so-called Charybdis where Ulysses is said to have sailed through; it is from its narrowness and the currents caused by inrush from the open Tyrrhene and Sicilian seas, that it has naturally become accounted dangerous." (Thucyd. 4; 24.)

The tone of this paragraph carries a rebuke of the fabulous which, as the original audience of Herodotus were contemporaries of Thucydides, might not be thrown away.

As other incidents of the Channel, we read:—"In settled seasons there is a central stream running north and south at the rate of from two to five miles an hour—on each side there is a counter or returning set at uncertain distances from the beach, often forming eddies to the central current. Though properly speaking only a current, it is governed, when not influenced by strong

winds, by the moon. When the main current runs to the northward it is called the ascending or flood, and the contrary the descending or ebb. There is usually an interval of from 15 to 60 minutes between the changes, and the tide runs six hours each way." Baffling winds and heavy gusts from the mountainous coasts are admitted to endanger smaller vessels.

The correspondence between the poetry and the prose in respect of the frequency of flux and reflux—sucking down and regorging—transgresses no licence that adventurous fiction does not always allow itself with scientific description, and is altogether far too definite to be challenged as not localised with certainty.

The poet makes the very most of the strait and its perils; he takes Ulysses through them, first with his full ship's company, and then back again, as an isolated waif on a mass of drifting wreck; so he obtains a double adventure, with Scylla first, and the second time with the engulfing whirlpool. To this necessity for an artistic object, well-known geography had, I believe, a little to give way, and its lines were blurred accordingly to mask the inconsistency. This will appear if we follow forth, as well as we may, the course of his navigation both before and afterwards.

After doubling Cape Malea, as we have seen, on his homeward voyage, Ulysses is driven then by a north wind on the tenth day, a usual interval, to the land of the lotus feeders, the Lotophagi. Ancient tra-

dition, in accordance with the set of the wind, localised these on the African coast, though Gela and Acragas were also claimants, and have indeed their claims allowed in some modern Atlases.

Then, sailing further on, he comes to the land of the Cyclopes, for anything that appears, and yet not explicitly, a continuation of the same coast—the one argument for Sicilian Lotophagi—fertile, producing barley and wheat, and grapes spontaneously. The Cyclopes neither plough nor sow, they live dispersedly, each with his family apart, occupants of caves at the summits of lofty mountains, and tenders of sheep that yield them milk and cheese. Sons they are called, at least Polyphemus, the chief of them, of Poseidon, and yet they are in no way sea-faring; they are even destitute of craft that would enable them to visit an island quite close to their shores, and living in a land of grapes they are still ignorant of wine. Simple, however, as is their ordinary food, the gigantic one-eyed creatures can be cannibals when they come upon smaller human mortals. Recent discoveries have made traditions of cave-dwelling cannibals about the Mediterranean seem less extravagant than heretofore.

The Cyclops is an impious wretch; he does not deny the existence of Gods—though the inconsistency in such case of praying to his father Poseidon might not have embarrassed him, but he holds himself far superior to Zeus and the rest of them; that he

neglects cultivation, trusting to the Gods (9; 107) is but a phrase to imply that he enjoys carelessly what comes in abundance without trouble.

Some of these characteristics, as dispersed dwellings, mountain seats, non-use of the sea, may be fitted to Sicans or Sicels as we meet with them in later days, but there is no plea for a special appropriation.

Ulysses finds his little fleet of twelve vessels carried into a secluded harbour in an island off the coast, an island of some extent, and of fertility and advantages described in terms that seem designed to stimulate the desires of listeners interested in colonisation; it is the haunt of herds of goats, but otherwise untenanted.

Leaving there the remainder of the ships, he proceeds with his own to visit the cave upon a lofty headland, where he gets into, and out of, his well-known difficulties with Polyphemus. Later traditions agreed very unanimously that the Cyclops dwelt about *Ætna*, but more than one harbour on the coast of Sicily was claimant to be that of Ulysses, as one near the foot of *Ætna*, and somewhat to the north of Catana, obliterated by lava in the middle ages, and another westward of Cape Pachynus. These localisations disregard the fact that Homer certainly disjoins the island with the harbour from the coast of Cyclopsland. The island of Ortygia is no doubt too small, as well as too remote, for the Goat island of the poem, and it only helps to form harbours, does not contain

them—discrepancies, however, that would not embarrass a poet.

The Cyclops of Homer, it need scarcely be mentioned, knows nothing of the thunder-forging function assigned in other mythology—palpable expression of the electric phenomena of a volcanic outburst.

Still, as regards the germinant principle of the fable before it reached Homer to receive still further developments, I state my own belief, though recommending only, without pretending to urge its acceptance by others—it is that this tribe of Cyclopes, each with a single eye, dwelling in hollow caves on mountain summits (Od. 9; 113–114) round about Polyphemus himself, who is “vast as a mountain in bulk that peers above all others” (9; 191), were originally personifications of the clustered cones and craters that surround and make up Mount *Ætna*; in this view the burnt-out eye of Polyphemus, hissing and bored by the heated pine trunk, I do not say is the symbol, but I have little doubt is the suggestion of the crater of the bellowing mountain in violent eruption amidst blazing forests; and the rocks cast by the monster at the ship of Ulysses, are derived in like manner from the masses ejected on such occasions by the volcano, or rocks emergent from the sea believed to have been so on a time. Exact parallelism is not to be looked for in the poem; such may have been traceable with all distinctness in some original personification, but if it had not already long passed out of sight, it would

assuredly have been intentionally overruled and subdued, though still, as in similar cases, not so entirely as to forfeit all the value of original allusions. And thus would vanish the anomaly that has often been remarked on, that Homer disregarded volcanic phenomena.

A feeling for this presumed personification can, I believe, be recognised in the later story of Acis, son of the wood god Faunus, the stream that in this disturbed district has had more than one struggle for existence against invading lava, and the Nereid Galatea—Calm of the Sea. The loving happiness of the pair is destroyed by the ravage of the mountain,—by the devastating lava stream flowing down to the very shore, and by the ejected rocks; in poetical form, by the jealous rage of disappointed Polyphemus, the uproarious, clattering giant, the very prosopopœia of the natural scene as described by Pindar. Appian (Bell. Civ. 5; 141) has a notice of the deprivation of a district of its water sources by the lava.*

There is a great temptation—it has not been uniformly resisted—to connect the name of the Nereid love of Polyphemus with the allusion to the milk (γάλα) that he tends so sedulously. But Galatea is a name so constant among the Nereids that the personification must be native to the sea, and any milky allusion a secondary metaphor invited plausibly

* Since this was written, I find that *Ætna* had already been compared to Polyphemus by E. Reclus—Cf. A. Holm, p. 336.

by the creaminess of surface and margin of a summer sea, and by assonance with Galene—Calm. How naturally an affectionate tie might be feigned between a stream or river Acis and a nymph of the Sea Calm is well shown by the description of the landing of Ulysses in Phæacia. After vain and painful efforts to swim ashore upon a rough and rocky coast, he succeeds at last when he arrives where the gentle flow of a river produces a calm—*galene*—in the waves at its embouchure. (Od. 5 ; 451—3.) Here he owns the service, and returns the scarf of the sea nymph Ino Leucothoe, whose name, like the epithet of Thetis—the Silver-footed—contains the allusion to whiteness that explains the marine associations with that of Galatea.

But the acceptance of Polyphemus as *Ætna*, or of *Ætna* as Cyclops-land, does not help to rationalise the lost log-book of Ulysses. He sails thence to the isle of *Æolia*, where rules *Æolus* Hippotades, controller of the winds. Here again we are met by hints of the natural suggestion of a mythus and traditional localisations. The Lipari islands are, it appears, still held to give forecasts of changing winds, when in truth only exhibiting their effects by changed direction of volcanic vapours. But such navigation as is recorded could only have brought Ulysses hither from *Ætna* by the dangerous straits which, nevertheless, are in this place left altogether unmentioned.

There is a brave alternative for those who will bravely adopt it : let the assumption be that the run

was originally made from Libyan Lotophagi, southward of Sicily, to the Italian coast, that the Goat island is Capri—Capreæ in antiquity—and the Polyphemian volcano, Vesuvius. The Æolian islands are then at hand, and as the miraculous comes into play when the navigator quits them, with every wind that could annoy him tied up tight in a bag, it need not astonish if interposed Sicily is forgotten, and that the one released and favourable western wind carries the fleet easily within sight of Ithaca and an unhappy change takes it back as directly to the isle of Æolus. I could almost believe that the poet of the Mediterranean was here working up rumours of alternate trade winds that had reached him from another sea.

The undesigned confusion of developing mythus or the deliberate contrivance of a poet were equally competent to transfer an adventure from the Sicilian scene to the Campanian, and even back again, with new enrichments taken up in travel. But in any case the poet has now fairly disengaged himself from identifiable geography.

After seven days' hard rowing—since pent up winds once squandered were no longer to be had for beseeching—and it is to be supposed westward again—because ever homeward—the fleet arrives at Lamus, seat of the gigantic Læstrygons; both names are assonant with *λάας*, a stone—; (Laymen of Layfield), and by a tremendous shower of pelted stones all the ships except that of Ulysses himself, that he had

a chance of cutting loose, were smashed by the cannibals.

There is a legendary adventure of Hercules in westward stony lands that is pretty certainly localised in a district of Southern France, where pebble-strewn plains attest the missiles that Jove sent down for the use of his son beset by enemies when destitute of arms. Homeric Læstrygonia,—land where the chief harvest is but stones,—has much the air of having borrowed the characteristic detail.

But the country is otherwise curiously characterised; it is a land “where the pathways of night and day are close together,” where day follows up the arrival of night so immediately, that “one shepherd who finds it time to come homeward, meets another who is sallying forth; where a man who could dispense with sleep might earn double wages, by herding kine and then by tending sheep,” which it is implied would not be so gifted.

The account that the oxen of Leontini were driven out to graze at night, to escape the molestation of the maddening fly of the district, gives no help, as some ancients supposed, to identify as Sicilian a land with only momentary sunset or none at all.

We are not bound to argue that Homer must have travelled to the verge of the Arctic circle, if we hold notwithstanding that his mythus had its origin in an observed truth of travel, or at least in an inference as to its phenomena. Nor are we bound to credit him

with the definite knowledge that may easily have rewarded contemporary observers of the sky. A summer journeyer persistently to the north within a range quite accessible from Greece would find the duration of night shorten so regularly and rapidly beyond home experience, as to suggest that sunset at last would be only momentary. A traveller, as travellers go, might easily have spared a poet the pains of enhancing the marvel by making it constant the whole year through. Tacitus himself is quite as ignorant or as negligent of the counter variation at the winter solstice. And Julius Cæsar betrays how little any scientific knowledge of his own was concerned in his reformation of the calendar, even when he brings scientific observation to bear upon the phenomenon. He thought it worth while or necessary to verify the shortness of nights in Britain by a water-clock, in manifest ignorance that in winter they were correspondingly lengthened—that in every region the total of day must be equal to that of night upon the whole year, and that a glance at the polestar, or even the great bear, would account for intermediate inequalities. “*In Britannia dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram : et nox clara et extrema parte Britanniae brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas.*” Tac. V. Jul. Agr.

“*Orcadas ac minima contentos nocte Britannos.*”

Jul. 2; 161.

Cf. Plin. 2; 75, and Cæsar, B. G. 5; 10.

Sailing thence again—time and direction prudently unspecified—Ulysses, now commander only of a single ship, reaches the isle of Aiaia (10; 135), home of Circe, daughter of the Sun, by Perse, the Radiant, the daughter of Ocean, and where are the sun's risings and choruses—chorus-places. The name of the goddess marks her as personifying the principle of a circled course of the Sun, her father, primarily, and then of Ulysses himself, whose other adventures and exploits are constantly recognised as transferred from a sun-god, and who only at the home of Circe finds the term and turning-place of his wanderings.

Ulysses at the isle of Circe is certainly, as appears from his later course, to the west of the Straits of Sicily, and we seem called upon to infer without being too curious, that he has drifted so far westward to the very back of the world as actually to reach the seat whence the sun starts to rise eastward. Did Homer then recognise the sphericity of the earth? There were no great marvel had he done so, especially as he would not, any more than Plato by the Phædo, be committed to the sphericity of the naturally habitable earth. In the very earliest times, long before the Works and Days, the sun's place among the stars at its rising was a matter of intense interest, and the diurnal revolution of the Zodiac, whatever might be the position of the sun, familiar. That it continued shining in the same sign after sinking below the horizon till it rose again was never doubted, and

fable and poetry naturally took possession of the intermediate region, without farther responsibility either to physics or mathematics.

From the island of Circe Ulysses proceeds, instructed by the goddess, upon an intermediate expedition to the house of Hades ; he is to embark, to set sail, and a wind blowing from the north, Boreas, will carry him across ocean to a shore shadowed by the gloomy grove of Persephone. (10; 505—510.) A single day under sail completes the transit ; there, after sundown, he arrives, at the land of the Cimmerians, where never the sun looks down upon them with his rays, “neither when it proceeds towards the starry heavens, nor when it declines from heavenward back again to the earth.”

This can scarcely mean, “neither before noon nor after noon,” for one case would necessarily involve the other ; we must read it as implying “neither during the half year when the sun is daily rising higher in the sky towards the summer solstice nor when its noonday elevation relatively to the earth is daily lower and lower as it descends to the winter solstice.” The terms are curious as certifying the belief at least if not the knowledge that there are two regions of the earth in opposite directions—the polar circles of astronomy—of which one only enjoys the presence of the sun at all after the vernal equinox and the other after the autumnal.

But here again we have the exaggeration of a half-

year's phenomenon made perpetual,—the absence of the sun from within a polar circle—in this case the Antarctic, as reached by sailing with a north wind,—involving utter and unintermitted darkness. The sun never rises at all in the land of the Cimmerians, as in Læstrygonia it never sets, and the isle of Circe, Aiaia, the seat of the sun is intermediate between the two. To make the return voyage to Aiaia the ship has to pass by sail and oar (11; 639) the river Oceanus—“the wave of the current bore it upon the ocean stream”—then when it quitted the stream of the ocean river it came to the wave of the broad-flowing sea (*thalassa*) and so regained Aiaia—and so it returns into immediate communication with, if not explicitly into, the Mediterranean Sea that contains its subsequent voyage. It is observable that Læstrygonia was reached without passage of the ocean that divides off the correlative Cimmerians; if Læstrygons are to be regarded as dwelling like the Cimmerians beyond a polar circle, the strict implication would be that the ocean stream was conceived as belting the earth southwards and parallel to the equator, in such manner that their country as well as Aiaia, scene of sun-rest and sunrise, would both lie on its hither side; it is not inconsistent with this conception that on the shield of Achilles the ocean stream bounds and engirdles the whole of the habitable earth.

There is much appearance therefore that the notion of a definite cosmical scheme underlay these mythical

stories at their commencement and was still intended to glimmer through ; we cannot but remark, however, how indistinct the lines are designedly left as compared with the quasi-scientific definement of limits in cosmical schemes of Plato, to say nothing of the explicit topography of Dante's Hell and Purgatory and Paradise.

Starting again for his voyage homeward, Ulysses has set before him by Circe the alternative course to avoid the Scyllæan strait and sail between the Shifting Rocks (*Planctai*). In strict geography the alternative would appear to be to venture through uncertain soundings between Sicily and Africa, but this route is ignored by Circe, who indicates, if only to reject, the passage made by Jason on his way to Æetes, by an assumed course round the north of Europe into the Euxine and thence southwards. And so the poet leaves the reader engaged by considerations for his own case, to ask no questions how it might ever be that Ulysses got to Circe at all, if it was only by new ways never brought into notice before, that he can get away again. In his summary of adventures to Penelope, Ulysses includes the 'Shifting Rocks' among the perils he encountered ;—if we are more tender of his exact truthfulness than the circumstances seem to me to demand, we must prepare to receive a charge of interpolation.

At first Ulysses sails with a fair wind, time and direction not stated, to the island of the Sirens, where it falls suddenly and treacherously calm (12; 167)—

bones of men are strewn all over the meadow on the shore. There is some appearance of a natural root for this fable also, in the existence of islands in the Mediterranean covered with bones, whether human and recent or fossil. Ustica an island of volcanic origin, west of the Lipari group, seems to have borne the name Osteodes, bone island, in antiquity. It was said to be covered with the skeletons of 6000 mutinous mercenaries exposed there to die by the Carthaginians. (Diod. 5; 11; Plin. 3; 92; Mela. 2; 7, 18.) The anecdote may easily have been invented to suit a phenomenon of earlier date. Many of these islands are still entirely dependent for fresh water on stored rainfall, and may have been scenes of dire catastrophe at any time whether through deliberate cruelty or by misfortune.

Scylla is encountered immediately afterwards (12; 201). The monster takes her usual toll, her sound dues, of six of the crew, as the ship passes, and the very phrase suggests that poetry may have eked out the rather moderate natural horrors of the rock, by embodying figuratively the lurking onset of at least exacting if not predatory occupants of what in after times was always apt to be a piratical position.

This misery passed, the ship immediately reaches the island Thrinacia, where fed the oxen of the Sun. The sailors station the ship in a harbour near a spring of fresh water, pleading the approach of a violent storm from west or south. Detained here, they commit the

fated fault of satisfying craving hunger with the sacred beeves, and so make forfeit of their return.

That Sicily should not have been the original, in the mind of Homer, of this island of abundant herds in proximity to Scylla, would seem beyond question, but that ingenuity loves to combine an argument in the face of any probabilities.

The south wind blows constantly for a month, or when not the south the east; at last there is a lull and they start again. Then comes a wind from a favourable point—the west, but with the excessive violence that has been before apprehended from wind from this quarter—a full gale (12; 408). “The south-west wind, according to Smyth (compare 12; 289), has great force at the vernal equinox along the shore of Girgenti.” The sky is overcast with clouds—the sea involved in misty darkness; Zeus strikes the ship with a bolt; the impious crew perish, and Ulysses alone survives, to drift clinging to a mass of wreck; and a south wind succeeding to the western hurricane, drives him back direct upon Scylla and Charybdis.

The Sirens, therefore, seem to have their haunt westward of the Strait; the tradition that placed them about the Bay of Naples—Sorrento claims their name and neighbourhood to this day—may easily have only continued into historical times an established local mythus that furnished Homer with materials. After the ship avoided them and cleared the Straits, it must be held to have sailed first southward and then west-

ward to reach the coast whence a reversed succession of west and south blasts carried it precisely back again. The trend of coast lines is always rendered very inaccurately in the geography of the ancients, but in this instance such a course would bear naturally past Cape Pachynus first, and thence along the coast westward. The ancients accordingly found a haven, Odysseion, that seemed to suit the conditions just round the point.

The rude raft is sucked down by the vortex of Charybdis just as Ulysses has time to catch the branches of the overhanging tree; there he hangs on batlike without support for his feet until at last it is regorged, when he drops upon it to get free of the eddy and float away; to which side of the Strait he is carried is unspecified—that he passes Scylla unobserved is inconclusive, as her post was just opposite—and concerns us little, for now again we are in regions of pure fable. After the customary ten days course he is borne to the island of Calypso—the woody Ogygia (1; 51); the characteristic variety of trees in the wooded isle recurs twice, 5; 63 and 238, and suggests allusion to some distant resort for valuable spars and ship timber. At Ogygia is the *omphalos*, the very navel of the sea—its central spot (1; 50). Calypso herself is the daughter of Atlas, familiar with all sea abysses, and who keeps the columns that hold heaven and earth asunder; the terms and tenor of the adventure of Hercules with

Atlas would imply that at some early period the position of Ogygia was considered to be very near the Straits of Gibraltar if not beyond them.

His course from hence on the raft he constructs for himself, to the equally indefinite Scheria, island—if indeed island, of the Phæacians, lies eastward; he steers keeping ever the northern signs to his left (5; 277), and it comes into sight on the eighteenth day. Now, he is descried by Poseidon from the mountains of the Solymi—perhaps equivalent to Elymi and intimating a course to the south of Sicily—who, vengeful for his son Polyphemus, raises a storm to which the winds of all the four quarters contribute: in result the victim is driven far to the north, for he is saved at last when Athene composes all other winds but Boreas, which breaks the force of the waves (5; 385) and carries him to land.

With the claim of Corcyra to be Phæacia we are not here concerned, for here we lose hold of definite geography entirely, and as little with the claim of Britain, so pertinaciously asserted by Welcker. When his sojourn with Alcinous is completed he leaves at last; and in a single night—night that shrouds all the secrets of the course of the miraculous, self-conscious ship of the Phæacians, the distance and direction of the transit,—Ulysses is borne homewards sleeping in a couch made up on the prow, and still sleeping is deposited with all his treasures on the at first unrecognised strand of native Ithaca.

The conclusion from the whole remains that Homer can scarcely have been destitute of the knowledge of Sicily as an island, and of information very possibly considerable respecting details of still remoter western geography ; but that he sung at a time when the current knowledge of western seas, and shores, and islands, that he must perforce respect—with which he was bound to make his wilder inventions square—was wonderfully slight and casual and capricious. But with how much and how definite information on the part of individuals and seafarers, very extravagant and unchallenged license on the part of a popular poet, was consistent under the conditions of ancient society, may be judged when we consider that the great Athenian public even of the time of Pericles, as testified by Thucydides, had not much more accurate knowledge of the Hellenic Sicily than they were straining all their resources to invade than they had of the *Nephelococcygia* of Aristophanes. Sicans pretty certainly, and Sicels and Elymi probably, were already recognised occupants of the island ; vague unconcerted Greek enterprise had penetrated beyond, and had gathered more knowledge than it cared for, or was in the way of, diffusing ; and therefore it is not to be wondered at if airs borne westward over Central Greece were charged with stories only to be paragoned by such travellers' tales as Ulysses presumed to vend for the edification of Alcinous and his court, and of his own confiding, long-enduring wife.

CHAPTER II.

THE PRIMITIVE POPULATION AND HELLENIC SETTLEMENTS OF SICILY.

THE brief account which is given by Thucydides at the opening of his sixth book, of the populations that occupied Sicily at the time of the Athenian expedition against Syracuse, supplies most valuable information respecting both the earliest history of the island and its state in the intermediate period that we are at present more concerned with.

The historian recounts as of knowledge, and with a satisfied precision that cannot be mistaken or mistrusted, the diversity of resident races and their local distribution ; and as regards primæval migrations and successions of settlements, we may safely credit him with well advised appreciation of much evidence and controversy thereon that we know to have existed, but that, except for an occasional echo, have long since perished ; if not exactly the only authority, he is in the most important respects the most important, and his opinions and testimony are the basis of all comparisons.

The interior of the island on the west then, at the date of the historian, was extensively occupied by non-Hellenic Sicans (Sicani), who had once possessed

the whole, and claimed to be Autochthonous; the claim, however, was variously impugned, and Thucydides adopts, as the result of discussions, that they were in truth immigrants who had quitted a river Sicanus in Iberia, under pressure of encroaching Ligurians. The implied contiguity of Iberia and Liguria direct inquiry to the South of France for the earlier seat of the Sicani, and though no river of answerable name is now to be traced there, the Sequani, who seem to have given or owed their name to the Sequana (Seine) flowing to north-west, and who, in Cæsar's time, extended below Besançon, and even Geneva, may have been a cognate tribe. In confirmation of this view the name of the Loire—the Ligur—has been connected with Ligurians. On the other hand it is quite possible that this immigration from Iberia to Sicily may have been but a back flow—a return to rejoin kindred populations.

In any case we are told that the island took from these inhabitants the name Sicania, having previously been named Trinacria—another form apparently of the Homeric Thrinacria, but no observation is made on what this name seems to imply—the familiarity of Greeks at the remoter period with its triangular configuration.

Various names of Sican cities are recorded—Inykon, Hykkara, Omphake, Crastus, Uessa, &c., but their sites are undetermined, and they are quite without significance in later history.

To these earlier days of Sican dominations, Thucydides assigns the settlement of Eryx and Egesta by Trojan fugitives; a third city assigned to them was the smaller Entella. Pausanias (5; 25, 5,) refers to such settlers here as Phrygians from the Scamander and the Troad, and throughout historical times they appear as Elymi. Of the marked distinctive character of this population there can be no doubt; it is a plausible interpretation of the traditions of their origin that they really belonged to one of the dispersing waves of the population that would be propelled by the Achæan aggressions in Asia Minor, of which the war against Troy is a poetical expression, and the Æolian colonisation a certain historical result. With them are associated as fellow colonists, by an incongruity that must have some explanation, as it occurs elsewhere, a band of the assailants of Troy, Phocians, who, it is said, on their return were driven first to the Libyan coast, and passed thence to Sicily.

The populations grouped in this north-western corner of the island, whatever their real kinship, retained down to late times very distinct national and religious characteristics; a cult of Aphrodite that pointed very significantly eastward was in peculiar vogue amongst them. Is it possible that the Elymi may be related to the Solymi, who are noticed in the Iliad as having complications with the Lycians? A startling warning that traditional hints of strange relationships of remote peoples are not to be set aside

too superciliously, is the reappearance on Lycian coins of uninterpreted legends of the barbaric suffix that occurs on those of Segesta—Segesta *Zib*.

The Elymi, however, scarcely come within the range of events that we are now concerned about. The other great division of the non-Hellenic population was the Sicel or Sicilian that came over from Italy in great numbers, pressed upon by the Opicans. The story that they came over on rafts seems a suggestion of the later non-seafaring habits of the race. A remainder was expelled long after by Greek colonists of Locri. They took possession of all the eastern and more valuable districts, and drove the Sicans westward, and Thucydides adds southward, apparently under a mistake as to the orientation of coastlines, such as was habitual with the ancients. Diodorus states that the Sicans had already previously made way by moving westward in alarm at earthquakes and the ravages of *Ætna*, when the Sicels, many generations after, took first their vacated place and then pressed them still farther. Chronology has to be content with marking at large the simple order in time of these migrations, when it appears that Philistus and Hellanicus differ with Thucydides as to dates, to the extent of two hundred years.

The authority of Thucydides is conclusive for the fact that conspicuous distinctions separated these races of Sicans and Sicels, and yet they may not have been deeper than are familiar to us in history, and even

exist before our eyes, between divisions of the great Celtic race ; linguistic relics have been held sufficient for an argument that they are stray branches of the great primæval stem that bore the Greek and Latin races, and intermediate between them. Modern ethnographers have performed the easy feat of proving the two names identical ; they might with less strain be interpreted from conjoint resemblance and diversity, as marking correlatives. The very earliest occupants that Dionysius of Halicarnassus had found assigned to the site of Rome were Sicels ; it is quite in the order of events that the tribe may have been pushed from even farther north in the peninsula to its extremity, before it was driven across the strait ; but other references to Sicans in Italy abound. Virgil, 7 ; 795—8 ; 328, &c. Plin. 3 ; 69. A. Gell. 1 ; 10, &c.

Neither with Sican nor with Sicel does history or tradition associate any of the harsher features of barbarism, neither coarse and savage manners, nor incessant feuds and bloody massacres. Agriculturists, and herdsmen more especially, they seem to have occupied hill stations in the interior of the island, and the higher pasture lands, in guarded, but in the main, friendly independence.

Down to the time then, when Thucydides wrote, the barbarian Elymi maintained their position at the western angle ; Sicans adjoined them, but the mass of the population in the interior of the island, and eastward of the Sicans, was Sicel ; both scarcely less

decidedly than the Elymi, were barbarian in blood, but susceptible of influence from the active Greek settlements that had been so long flourishing along the coasts, and in some parts more closely upon their borders in the interior. How far they may have been affected by antecedent Phœnicians is quite unknown, and only enters into history as note of a possibility.

At an early period the Phœnicians had occupied points and promontories all round the island and the smaller isles adjacent, for convenience of trade with Sicans and Sicels, whose teeming land ministered cattle and hides and corn abundantly for interchange, and ship timber at hand. It may have been due to the greater advantages and prosperity of Carthage, that they did not strike here a deeper root than is faintly indicated by a few apparently Phœnician names of towns away from the coast.

Of intercourse between Etruscans and Sicily at this time we hear nothing. As the maritime enterprise and prowess, to say nothing of the piracy of the Greeks, was developed, Phœnician trade soon found the same interference in Sicily that had already ousted its stations of mineral and mercantile adventure from the Ægean. The time came that difficulties of navigation round the Malean promontory would not deter Greek mariners from western seas that were open to the Tyrians and Cyprians, and still more readily to the Cretans. But an earlier and easier access to the shores of Italy and Sicily was presented

from the Corinthian Gulf and the mouths of the Achelous, from Ithaca and Cephallenia, and islands of the Ionians whose early enterprise conferred an enduring name on the Ionian sea. That Ætolians should in very early days have reached Sicily and the site of Syracuse would be in itself probable enough, without the testimony of a poet of Ætolian connections dating from Alexandria. (Schol. Apoll. Rhod., 1; 419.) The prosperity of the port of Crissa, depending on the trade that passed to Sicily and Italy, may have had very early commencement. (Strabo, 9; 34.)

If history and legend were alike obliterated, some early intercourse between Crete and Sicily would still be to be presumed, though only from their relative geographical situation. The importance that is conceded to Cretan princes in the poetry of Homer is itself an historical fact; their admission to such dignity and in such terms avouches that the secluding cloud that shuts off the island from later Hellas had not yet come down, and implies an earlier Hellenic history reaching up to very remote times; and mythology has a tale to tell that could not but be in some degree indebted to it. Minos, the largest figure in this legendary story of Crete, and the type of a great nautical power, has relations with Sicily still more intimate than with Athens, and interposes indeed, in one sense, through his transactions with Dædalus, as a link between them. Dædalus is a native of Athens, where he stands recorded as the eponymous ancestor

of the gens of Dædalids, well known in historical times, and vindicates for Athens in a primitive age that artistic energy in sculpture, pottery, architecture, construction generally, that is out of view in Homer, but reappears there so gloriously afterwards. At Crete he is a fugitive for a cause that expresses the crudity of the art he represents, but also its capacity for development, and which is justified to nature by the biographies of the Italian revival—he had killed a pupil who threatened to surpass him. From Crete he flies again, this time from the rage of Minos at some imputed complicity with the love intrigues of his daughter—a charge that did not chronology protest, might be thought mere repetition of the fatal slander against Phidias. His name, as personification of erratic artistic energy, is now found even in Italy—as at Cumæ, but especially in Sicily, where vast primæval works, in which Diodorus at least, who knew the island well, recognised Hellenic skill, were ascribed to him : a colymbethra at the mouth of the river Alabon ; a system of vapour baths from natural sources at Selinus ; the basement of the temple of Aphrodite accommodated to a confined precipitous ledge at Eryx ; a peculiarly defensible fortress at Camicus in Acragantine territory, for the palace and treasury of his protector Cocalus, king of Sicilians ;—of all these memorials of doubtless a long period, the historian implies that the remains were still recognisable. Minos, the story went on to say, pursued his artist with a large fleet, reclaimed

him, negotiated and was entertained, only to be insidiously murdered by Cocalus. Discord broke out among his followers, the Sicanians burnt their ships, and so it was that they remained in Sicily, as avouched sufficiently for legend by the abiding name of their district and city—Minoa. Engyon is designated as another Cretan settlement inland, which on its part asserted its reception of new Cretan immigrants, —Meriones and followers—after the Trojan War.

Glimmering through these mists we can just follow a march of events that is parallel to the better certified elsewhere. Hellenic arts as well as other influence had ever a tendency to spread among barbaric populations beyond the margin of positive Hellenic sway. We trace them throughout Etruria, as well as Southern Italy and deep into Scythia, and away again eastward. Individual enterprise and adventure, commerce finding its way through obscure and devious routes, like the feeling filaments of vegetation, make no unimportant progress; then follow political attempts to establish alliances, emporia, if not colonies; some fail disastrously, some blend away into barbaric associations, some stand their ground, and even when but feebly, at least establish a tradition of connection that at a future day has its share in determining the direction of stronger expeditions and more organised adventure, to one site rather than another.

Recorded colonisation spread from Corinth to Corcyra, and thence to Italy; then adventurous

Eubœans from Chalcis, a city ever intimately connected with western trade through the intermediate population that had common access to the Euripus and the Corinthian Gulf, pushed boldly on through the Sicilian Straits to Campania, and planted the enduring and prosperous colony of Cumæ. The Eusebian chronicle, that gives 1051 B.C. for its date of foundation, may be accepted as proving a tradition of very remote antiquity.

Hellenic maritime adventure at least must have had a very early unrecorded story in these western waters, no less than in the Ægean and the Euxine, howbeit not only passing much later into proper history, but making comparatively insignificant figure in mythology. The tendency of mythus is to turn a backward look in space as in time, to develop around ancestral seats as preferentially as to embody or embellish ancestral achievements; and western migrations on considerable scale were only commencing in the mythopœic period, that was engrossed by archaic revolutions and enterprises and national wars. Greek mythology in consequence, when Italy and Sicily are in question, wears, for the most part, no doubt a meagre and hazy and disconnected aspect; but it extends in this direction, nevertheless, and under fostering influences, as about the Phlegræan fields, struck deeply though from a transplanted root; and this secondary and less important scope of primæval antiquity answers to the primary in the

direction of the Troad and Colchis ; even the Colchian story was not competed without the typical earliest navigators being brought round into the western waters by a route of which Homer betrays consciousness (Od. 12 ; 70), and the Iliad would have remained to the Greek a one sided representation but for the romantic reflex of the other that takes poetical form in the supplementary Odyssey. Diodorus avouches that Hesiod knew the Pelorian promontory connecting it with the story of Orion, and Strabo that he mentioned both *Ætna* and *Ortygia*.

We may observe indeed the finesse that is involved in the allusion to Eubœa by the Phæacians in the Odyssey ; the mysterious people seem to move away into still more shadowy remoteness when they are made by the poet to allude to Eubœa, the island of Chalcis, the most notorious westward of all others, as known to them indeed but barely known. (7 ; 321). The literal, pragmatizing critics are wont to translate Homer's *chiar'oscuro* as ignorance, but the indubitable localisation of his Scylla and Charybdis is proof sufficient, as we have already argued, that his most extravagant inventions may be superinduced on reports of fundamental accuracy.

For the interests of Cumæ it was evidently of the utmost importance that the passage of the narrow strait between Italy and Sicily should be secured against interruption and molestations. Pirates, as might be expected, and of Cumæan origin indeed, are

the first recorded Hellenic occupants of the remarkable haven on the Sicilian side ; but these had to give place at an early uncertain date to a formal colony, and Chalcidians, according to what accounts remain, take important part in the settlement of the towns Zancle and Rhegium on opposite shores. Naxos, a little to the south, was founded by Ionians from Chalcis B.C. 735 ; this was the commencement of a great systematic colonisation—the true back wave of that great set of migration that ensued during the progress and still more upon the settlement of Greece after the Dorian conquest, and had by this time occupied all the favourable positions eastward on the shores of the Ægean and the Euxine. Thenceforward colonies spread rapidly in the west and, as on the coast of Asia Minor, a new Doris was soon planted by the side of the new Ionia, but in Sicily with a destiny of predominance.

Within a year of the foundation of Naxos, a Heraclid from Corinth, Archias, expels Sicels ; the Phœnicians seem already to have disappeared from Ortygia, and so Dorian Syracuse has its commencement on the little island, but soon to spread to the adjacent and very defensible promontory of the mainland. (734 B.C.) In this settlement, as at Potidæa in Thrace, we recognise a true Corinthian predilection for an isthmus and double harbour.

Strabo (6, 22) quotes from Ephorus a detailed and different account which made the leader of the colony an Athenian with Chalcidian followers, a notice which

stands too much alone to help us to an historical inference.

The intermediate stations of Leontini and Catana are then occupied by the Naxians, again to the deprivation of Sicels, and Hyblæan Megara, by aid it is said of a traitorous Sicel king, Hyblon (728 B.C.) The fertile plain of Leontini for once tempted the Greeks away from the coast, as the fertility of the slopes of Ætna encouraged the settlement of Catana, an important city to this day, to risk the perilous proximity of the volcano.

Not until five and forty years after the foundation of Syracuse, when the western coast of the island with its more favourable ports and the fertile neighbourhood of Ætna had been so closely and rapidly settled, colonisation at last, and starting from new centres, rounded the southern promontory; Antiphemus of Rhodes—some said Deinomenes, and Eutimus of Crete took possession, not without some native opposition—in this case of Sicani, of a beautiful plain traversed by a stream and backed by a semicircle of mountains. There they founded 689 B.C. a city with Dorian institutions which was first named Lindii after the Rhodian metropolis, but ultimately Gela, native name of the river on which it was seated. Settlers from other islands off the coast of Caria besides Rhodes took part, and most importantly from Telos, for from Telos came the ancestor of Gelon and Hiero,—of the family which was to mould so much of Sicilian history to momentous reaction on the history of the world.

Syracuse, seventy years after its own foundation, founded Acræ, and Casmenæ twenty years later—it may be as outlet for an influx of refugees from Corinth which was in revolution about this time (664—644 B.C.) by the fall of its aristocracy and the tyranny of Cypselus. Casmenæ continued the series of settlements from the western towards the southern coast of the island; Acræ has a certain significance as exceptionally remote from the sea—it was twenty-four miles inland from Syracuse—but neither city ever became important.

Two of the very latest settlements were now advanced towards the westernmost promontory of the island, one south, one on the north side. Himera, on the north, was founded from Zancle, 648 B.C., and Selinus, on the south, by Hyblæan Megara, but under leadership of Pammilus from the Nisæan metropolis (628 B.C.). Beyond these points independent Hellenic encroachment never advanced. Camarina was founded by Syracuse (599 B.C.), and lastly Acragas, a most important settlement in a position of great natural strength, by Gela (581 B.C.), both on the southern coast but within the previous limit. The 50th Olym., 580 B.C., witnessed the failure of an attempt by Rhodians and Cnidians to establish a colony still farther westward; diverted by Carthaginian opposition they fixed at the Lipari isles. (Paus. 10; 11; Diod. 5; 7—9.)

The Doric section of these Sicilian colonies was the most important and powerful; it comprised Syracuse, Hyblæan Megara, Gela, and their colonies—Acræ,

Casmenæ, Camarina, Selinus, Acragas. The Ionian section includes Naxos, Leontini, Catana, Zancle, Himera. The extruded Phœnicians, on whose part we scarcely hear of opposition actively, concentrated at Motye, Soloeis, and the noble harbour of Panormus, so valuable for refuge and security of their fleets in passage between east and west. Here they held on firmly, strong in alliance with the barbarian Elymi, and the proximity and support of kindred Carthage. Carthage, indeed, was certainly mistress of this district in 509 B.C., when they conceded to the Romans by treaty, equality of commercial privileges in their Sicilian domains. This was such an opening of the emporia that Gelon in after times made it an object to exact in favour of the Greeks.

There is a vague notice of a successful Sicilian campaign waged by a certain Malcus as early as 550 B.C.

From this fatal basis of operations the Carthaginians wrought the Sicilian Greeks, Siceliotai, as they called themselves, unnumbered mischiefs and miseries, and an ambition might well count upon considerable support from public feeling, even apart from occasional panic, and so far as unalloyed might claim the honours of patriotism, that should strive to counter-vail, if not to root out the offence, by consolidating Hellenic resources, how easiest, so best. Unless as conducing to this end the subjugation of inland barbaric tribes, Sican and Sicel, was comparatively of no urgency. Destitute of formidable organisation,

they were no source of alarm ; and as they gradually adopted Greek habits and even language (Diod. 5 ; 6), they would not be more valuable as subjects than as allies, subserving as they did, industrial interchange and readily taking service as mercenaries.

The strength of union was important again for the maritime Greeks, as against the naval power of the Etruscans, constantly annoying piratically, and sometimes threatening political ascendancy. With what partial and temporary, indeed, but still very brilliant and honourable success the Greeks advanced or were guided towards this object we shall presently see ; conclusive success was forbidden, not alone by the failure of political genius that may live on for centuries when an aristocracy, more or less numerous, of families or of tribes, is its depository, but is liable to die out suddenly in a single very limited family—but by the conditions of the case at large, by the hampering contentiousness and incapacity for combined operations for any considerable length of time, that were inherent in Greek municipal constitutions,—in the very conditions indeed of the happiest independence and activity of the Greek mind.

One other and final remarkable attempt was made to plant a Greek city upon this outlying territory that deserves notice though it failed disastrously.

It was under the leadership of Doricus, brother of Leonidas, King of Sparta, who died at Thermopylæ. Doricus, the story runs, was borne by his father's first

and beloved wife, after, in despair of progeny by her, he had under pressure of the Ephors, consented to take a second wife, and by misfortune had had by her an eldest son, Cleomenes. Impatient of a second place under such circumstances, Dorieus led a colony first to Libya, but failing to make good his footing, was compelled by the jealous opposition of the Carthaginians to retire, and then to Sicily with still worse success, being defeated and slain in battle against Phœnicians and Egestæans. Herodotus takes great pains to protect the Pythian oracle, which colonisers were held bound to consult, from any blame in the matter;—Dorieus had not consulted it at all, or he had only followed its instructions after an intermediate enterprise.

One only of his four fellow-founders, Euryleon, escaped; and he, with the survivors of the force, took possession of Minoa, a colony of Selinus, then aided the Selinuntines to slay their tyrant Peithagoras, in usual order took the tyranny himself, and was in a short time himself slain as he sought refuge at the altar of Zeus Agoraios. (Herod. 5; 50.)

These events cannot be dated exactly; but as Leonidas, the elder brother, died at Thermopylæ, B.C. 480, they may easily have occurred any time within the preceding twenty years; there is even a faint intimation, as we shall see, that they occurred as recently as after the rise of the power of Gelon, who had entertained a project of making the death of Dorieus a ground or pretext for severe reprisals.

CHAPTER III.

THE SPIRIT OF HELLENIC COLONISATION.

THE pressure of superabundant or the mere irritability of closely crowded population—such have ever been the great exciting causes of remote colonisation. In earlier days the difficulty was reduced by destructive wars in which princes sought to obtain the wealth and glory which they valued at the expense of lives to which they were indifferent or only pleased to put an end. The war of Troy presents itself to us in this light; there is no hint, in the story at least, of any design to occupy conquered town or territory. “The plunder of the good things the well-stocked town contains,” captives—men and women for sale when not for ransom—even the spoil of the dead, their horses and accoutrements meanwhile, are sufficient incitements and rewards, whatever presumable injury or point of honour may be the pretext. Under other circumstances leaders and people made common cause to dispossess another tribe of land that by nature or improvement was of tempting fertility or of advantageous situation, and to take it into their own occupation, extirpating, expelling, or enslaving,

according to the resistance or character of the enemy.

The legendary history of Greece abounds in such contests and migrations, of which we read how one wave constantly drove forward another until, wavelike again, expulsion from time to time was countervailed by reaction and return.

The great Dorian conquest, which claims to be such a return—the return of the Heracleids—comes just intermediately between legend and history.

The tendency of this process as prolonged was for conquest to remain with the bravest, or at least the strongest, so that ultimately the most desirable districts were pretty strongly held, and a check was given to its renewal. This was the epoch that Greek history refers to as that of the final settlement of Hellenic populations. Something also was due to a growth of sympathy and common feeling among states of no diverse origin, and that, relatively to their surroundings, mutually respected and understood each other.

The same sympathy, of which we have an example in modern times in the story of the Crusades, was favourable to confederate enterprise. The Achæan temporary settlement was followed by expeditions that are represented in poetical form in the *Iliad*;—the Dorian, in accordance with a vigorous re-establishment of order concurring with a higher development of arts, commerce, and industry, introduced a period of orderly and systematic colonisation.

From the scattered notices that remain, it is clear that many of the early settlements were only made good after great conflicts with the occupants of the invaded countries; in other cases the warlike immigrants were welcomed and associated as allies against native enemies, and allowed most advantageous terms; while still other openings occurred for entering on unoccupied districts and developing resources unappreciated by or useless to comparative barbarians.

A mixture of race that had very important consequences on character ensued when colonists relied on seizing not only territory but native wives. It was more or less considerable in various cases, according to the aptitude of natives for Hellenisation—for the adoption of Greek language, habits, and interests.

Scarcely secondary in importance to this fusion, was that of pure Hellenic tribes—Achæan, Dorian, Ionian, and their modification, through liberal association for the advantage of recruited numbers, even when one still preserved unquestioned predominance.

The Greek colony was founded in preference, and in the immense majority of instances, on the coast; the sea was the best basis of a secure military position, a port was indispensable for the commerce, which was the main reliance of a city that only by degrees became responsible for outlying settlements and widely dispersed population. What development in these directions might afterwards accrue was influenced and limited by the temper and sympathy of

neighbours,—by lay of land and facility of communication.

Homer's account of the Phæacians may be considered the earliest description of a regular colony of the Greek type; their migration from Hypereia—an indefinite region—was due to their molestation by a more powerful race, "Cyclopes—men overweening," (Od. 6; 4—11). Their king transports them, a society full grown, to Scheria, a country remote from men; there "he builds a wall round his city, erects houses, establishes temples for the gods, and makes a distribution of the land." The cultivated land lay in immediate proximity to the city, as we learn—it would be implied independently—from the described approach of Ulysses (6; 259); beyond this belt it remained wild. The ports, docks, and freshwater supply of the city are duly indicated.

The care taken here for providing temples for the gods represents accurately the concern for religious influences in historical times. The sanction—it usually appeared as the suggestion—of the oracle (of Delphi in most cases) was obtained for the site of the colony; sacred fire was taken from the pyrtaneum of the mother city; if the leader of the enterprise was not himself invested with some traditional sacred office, he associated a member or members of some priestly families commanding general respect and awe. The colonists themselves came together chiefly under the influence of national and family

relationships, which, however remote, appear in these times as still cherished in memory with the greatest solicitude, and especially for the cause, and indeed by the very means, that they were ever connected with tribal rites,—with anniversary celebrations of ancestral dead, and with traditional claims to the valued favour and protection of some peculiar divinities.

The central principle of Greek systematic colonisation, in founding a new city in a new country, was in the same way to re-establish society complete at once and in itself; for the most part also on the model of the social system that was quitted, and, natural sympathy apart, in political independence. The cordiality of the future relation might doubtless vary with circumstances that originally induced the emigration; but the effective tie was usually not trifling, even after lapse of centuries, that depended on family relationship and tribal sympathy, on most frequent intercommunication, on common reverence for the religious sanctions evoked for the undertaking and the sacred offices of the conductors of the colony,—perhaps above all on the time-honoured attachments of legendary glories and poetical associations.

In the disputes that ushered in the Peloponnesian war, satisfactory illustrations occur of the theory of fitting relation between colony and metropolis at the very epoch that allegiance to the theory was already losing the hold that it had evidently possessed in earlier times. The historical incident referred to is so

varied, yet so concise and comprehensive, that its simple details will be more instructive than any comment.

The city of Epidamnus. (Durazzo), on the right-hand shore of the Ionian Gulf, was a colony founded from Corcyra, itself a colony of Corinth. The *Oikistes*, or leader of the Epidamnian colony, was in consequence, "according to the antique rule," obtained from Corinth, as the true metropolis, a member of an heroic race—Phalius, son of Eratocleides, one of the descendants of Hercules. Corinthians naturally, and with them others of Dorian race, took part in the enterprise. Prosperity and populousness increase; then ensue wars, factions, and at last the demus expels the aristocratical party, but is still so hard pressed by it as to be driven to appeal to Corcyra for assistance; their envoys address the religious sentiment by applying as supplicants in the Heræum—the temple of Juno.

Repudiated by the party in power at Corcyra, unsympathetic with an insurgent demus, they turn their thoughts to Corinth, and, fortified by a Delphic response to their desire, apply there for aid and for commanders. They offer to deliver or transfer their city to the Corinthians as having quite as fair a claim to be their founders, and so Thucydides agrees, as the Corcyræans. The transference implied, and no doubt carried with it, some material advantages; but it might have operated as a powerful motive, though it

had involved only honourable distinctions. The politic consent of Corinth is given from professed equitable considerations, but a pique is also alleged that had little more serious grounds. Corcyra, grown proud from prosperity—it was among the very richest of Greek communities—and confident especially in its naval force, affected to repudiate its Corinthian origin, and to consider itself as derived from the earlier colonisation of the sea-traversing Phæacians of Homer. They did not concede the customary privileges to Corinthians in their public assemblies, nor, like the rest of her colonies, assigned to a man from Corinth the primary function at sacrifices.

The sentimental and religious sanctions, like the several sympathies of Dorian and Ionian, were now fast losing their force, as confronted with material interests and political exigencies ; but the persistency with which they continue to be appealed to, even till they are only insinuated with an apology to be disrated as ridiculous, argues their pristine strength. The Epidamnian refugees apply on their part to Corcyra, and, with better hope of sympathy on other grounds, do not spare any the less to urge consanguinity, appealing to tombs as monumental evidence, as well as symbols of obligation. Reference to this obligation is as little omitted, though sacred motives are already in the background, when, as the quarrel proceeds, Corcyræans and Corinthians vie with each other in urging on the Athenians contrasted motives of

pure political advantage. "We did not send colonists to Corcyra," said the Corinthians, "to be insulted by them, but to be their leaders, and to receive the customary honours. It would become them to make a concession to our displeasure, even in the case that we were in the wrong." The Corcyræans, on the other hand, insist that the claim of a metropolis to honour is forfeited by ill-treatment. "We were not sent forth upon servile conditions, but to be the equals of those who remained behind." (1 ; 33—34.)

The promise of a colony was naturally improved position and advancement for the colonist, and was attractive of the enterprising, while numbers were essential to the success and power of the new city. But the core of such an undertaking, from its scale and dignity and system, was necessarily the band of the wealthiest, who were also the most influential by birth and by serviceableness. To these fell the first choice, if not the largest shares, of the land—the most fertile or most conveniently situated around the city ; and to these also exclusively the highest rights of citizenship, the offices and posts of authority—authority that had such constant and important occasions for exercise. Slavery of course was an element in the social structure, and, besides the more numerous citizens of the less influential class, a class of unenfranchised, of aliens—some aliens in blood—were soon brought in by commerce, and flourished and multiplied. The native occupants, if not expelled,

might, according to circumstances, occupy any position between absolute helotry, or hired labourers and independent cultivators.

The reactions of such elements may almost be reasoned out independently, and indeed revolutions succeeded revolutions with marvellous regularity and analogy, if not resemblance, at one centre after another, throughout colonial Greece. The families of princely leaders, gradually for the most part, lose their authority and become, at last, restricted to functions of religious dignity and some social pre-eminence, but carrying no real power, unless when occasionally turned to advantage by a man of genius as well as ambition. An aristocratical period next ensues, the sway of the privileged colonists, who in their turn become objects of jealousy or hatred to a *bourgeois* democracy, flourishing in numbers, and more or less universally in advancing wealth, till from below rises up a still more numerous democracy, made formidable by its very destitution. And so amidst the conflict of factions, and sometimes the complicating difficulties of foreign wars, ripens the opportunity for the tyrant. The attacks of the poor or the indebted on the wealthy, of commercial wealth on the engrossment of offices by the landed proprietors, of later settlers on the exclusiveness of original colonists or their descendants, gave openings to able and unscrupulous ambition. From whatever rank the tyrant sprang—he was very frequently an aristocrat

who separated from his order to gain power as leader of its assailants, his ulterior aim, repeatedly crowned with success, was to become independent of all parties through disposing of a military or mercenary force dependent solely on himself. This position was sometimes gained by sheer dash, that took every one by surprise, and was held by the mere power of the sword snatched so unexpectedly; at other times the usurpation owed at least its commencement to the assent and support of some considerable party. The forms and varieties of fraud and force, by which the Greek tyrants compassed their elevation, recur with an exactness that savours rather of the analogies of wandering legend; but still we are scarcely entitled to mistrust them on that account, familiar as we are with their recurrence in parallelism as remarkable in modern, in contemporary revolutions. Of old, as in later days, the mischiefs of usurpation were often accepted willingly by many in exchange for those of the supplanted administration, especially when irresponsible power in the hands of an able, an energetic, or a merely resolute man endeavoured to sanctify itself by advancing the better social interests, and was for a time identified with the truest glory of the state. Patriotic and personal interests, however, never escaped conflict long. The careers of the tyrants themselves usually—of their sons invariably—were cut short by revolutions or conspiracies, by private animosity or public outbreak, and so autonomy and equal laws

regained a chance. Nothing, however, it would seem, sufficed to put citizens on their guard, but the very bitterest experience exhausting for every city and in rather rapid succession, every process and mischievous occasion out of which tyranny might take its rise. It is the very youth of the world, and the cities, like very children, profit by no experience that they do not gain for themselves. So even at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, the Corinthians addressing the Athenians, and the Athenians the Lacedæmonians, assume that it is useless to argue from political precedents that are without the personal experience of their hearers: it is much if they can cite those that can be vouched for to the younger men by the elders as eye-witnesses. (Thucyd. 1; 42-73.)

After a cycle of confusions, however, the great difficulty of reconciling vigorous administration with assured political enfranchisement was to a great extent conquered, partly by the vigilance and sagacity engendered at last by such a course of thorough lessons, and partly by advance concurrently in the theory and practice of constitutional legislation. Internal discord, the virulent dissension of class and class, came to be recognised as the great inlet of the mischief and to be spoken of in explicit terms as the specific weakening, when not fatal disease, of the body politic,—a malady predisposing for the most dreaded relapse. The rationalising tendency of the Greek mind was now equal to the emergency; in some cases

it was by a long series of measures that the system of political rights received at last a drastic correction ; in others a much more sudden readjustment on summary and comprehensive principles appears to have been adopted in submission to the wisdom of an individual legislator. Later story may sometimes have over-credited an individual with the work of a period, but in the most important instances the stamp of personal genius rests infallibly upon the handiwork.

Is it necessary to say that those constitutions proved most stable that did not attempt to establish too nice a counterpoise—to presume on the permanence of a settled equilibrium of interests, but that gave stability by collecting weight very closely about the centre of gravity,—by assigning unimpeachable preponderance to one principle or the other, while still guarding the subordinated against dangerous irritation and oppression ?

Some vague and shadowy forms of tyrants flit across the field of Sicilian tradition, in years where no light is thrown by the extant historians ; Panætius at Leontini, said to be the earliest of all :—Peithagoras at Selinus ; and Phalaris, somewhat more defined by date (570—554 B.C.) and characteristics. His power, which is noted as extending over a considerable portion of the island, had its chief seat at Acragas, and then at Himera—a precedent for the later political complications between these cities of the northern and southern coasts. A casual illustration

of Aristotle (Rhet. 2; 20) informs us that the Himeræans first appointed Phalaris their Strategus, with independent power (autocrator), and then found themselves called upon to vote him a body-guard. At this point the poet Stesichorus interposed, and enforced his objections by the fable of the Stag, the Horse, and the Man. Against what intrusive enemy, represented by the Stag, the Himeræan Horse required aid from Phalaris, does not appear; and we are left to infer that the concession of a body-guard gave opportunities within the city that were not conferred by the prerogative of Strategus as exercised without. "In accepting Phalaris as Strategus," said Stesichorus, "you have already taken the bit into your mouth: to allow a body-guard would be to let him mount like an armed man on the back of the horse of the apologue, and to make you slaves for all time of the ally called in to rescue from an enemy." The assonance of Phalaris with *φάλαρα*, as appurtenances of a head-stall, seems to vouch for the originality of the application. The tradition to which Pindar could refer as current and notorious, accused Phalaris of torturing victims with fire within a heated brazen bull. Later accounts fill out the story with details that are of secondary importance, whether true or false: the artist who wrought the bull was an Athenian Perillus, or Perilaus, it is said, who had for his reward to be the first sufferer. This is a common incident in parallel stories of tyrants, and in itself

probable enough to have really occurred more than once. Tyrants have constantly had need of constructions, of which they would be ready, by a motive that does not appear in this case, to secure the secret by such means. As natural is the improvement, or it may even have been actual conclusion, of the story, that the tyrant himself perished by the treatment to which he had subjected others ; his tongue being first cut out, with the design that the cries of agony heard through the perforated nostrils of the figure, should, from inarticulateness, better resemble the roaring of a bull. Other cruelties are ascribed to Phalaris, involving, it is noteworthy, the employment of fire. He was said to have conquered the Leontinians, and cast them into the craters of the adjacent volcanoes ; others into seething cauldrons. Even the accusation of having feasted on suckling infants has much resemblance to an exaggeration of the unnatural rites of Moloch.

The historical lines of Phalaris are so indistinct, that we come upon credible testimony of the existence in later days of his instrument of torture with something of the surprise that would greet such a claim for a fragment of the Trojan horse or the cow of Pasiphaë.

The truth of the tradition was matter of a dispute in antiquity, that was made to turn with a certain inconsequence on the identification of the figure. Some recognized it in an antique metal bull at Acragas, which, according to others, was only a personification

of the river Gela—wherefore set up at Acragas does not appear; and this was admitted by some who still averred that the bull of Phalaris was nothing less than a reality, but had been sunk in the sea after his downfall. It, therefore, in no way authenticated the story. Polybius, ever eager and sometimes hasty in his disproofs of Timæus, relates that the younger Scipio, with whom he was present at the sack of Carthage, found there the very bull of Phalaris, with the door at its shoulder through which the victims were introduced, and gave it back to the Agrigentines. Still, he makes no mention of inscription or adjunct that certified the Agrigentine origin—the question at issue. It may be suggested that an antique effigy of a river-bull, not cast, but formed of beaten and riveted plate after the earlier mode, and in better or worse repair, would lend itself as evidence for such a legend with peculiar readiness.

The quarrel of Polybius with Timæus apart, this antique monument at least existed, and certifies that the tradition of such a contrivance at Acragas may be relied on as proving that at one time Phœnician customs had obtained a prevalence in Siceliot settlements, that revolted the more humane Hellenic sentiment, and induced a revolution which decided the final subjection, if not extrusion, of Phœnician savagery. If such recognition of the cruel rites of Moloch was ever admitted by an Hellenic tyrant, it could scarcely have occurred otherwise than through base subservience to

national enemies, whether political allies and protectors or alien mercenaries, who preserved him in his seat; it may be also, concurrently, to a party of resident Punic aliens.

Contemporary with Phalaris, as dated, was the poet Stesichorus of Himera, who is said, indeed, as we have seen, to have stood in hostile relations towards him. It is, however, quite uncertain how far these appeared, and in what detail, in the twenty-six books of his collected poems.

The following short paragraphs must suffice to intimate here the pitch of Hellenic culture that was already attained in Sicily in these years of neglected history.

It is usually only illusory and presumptuous to attempt to recover the characteristics of a poet from fragments even less insignificant than those that remain of Stesichorus—the longest scarcely extends to three continuous lines; apart from collateral assistance, criticism in such case only misleads by an attempt to expand an accidentally preserved expression into a pervading characteristic, and to forge a theory that will unite a collection of such misapprehensions into a consistent organism. Our chief and better reliance, in such a difficulty, must be on the consenting testimony of the most judicious ancient critics—their descriptions of lost works and appreciations of genius. If fragments afterwards, however short, can be shown happily to corroborate, well and good. In the present

case, we have considerable notices of at least the contents and form of the poems of Stesichorus, as well as of their poetical value, that have sometimes naturally tempted, if they have scarcely justified, at last, very definite characterisation.

His recorded subjects are chiefly mythological, and were treated with great wealth of diction and considerable expansion and detail—the tales of Medea, of Hercules, of the Caledonian boar, &c.—of the destruction of Troy. The substance of the poems was therefore largely narrative, and at the same time their form was lyrical. Some reflection perhaps of this Stesichorean combination may be preserved in the longest of Pindar's Epinicia, the fourth Pythian, that tells at length the story of the settlement of Cyrene. He is even believed to have completed the systematic type of the choric ode by superadding the epode to the strophe and antistrophe. Stesichorus, says Quintilian (10; 1, 62), displays the vigour of his genius in his very choice of subjects,—singing as he does of greatest wars and leaders of highest renown, and sustaining on the lyre the burden of the Epos; his lapse, he adds, is in redundance and diffuseness,—but for this he would seem capable of standing nearest in rivalry to Homer. Longinus associates him with Herodotus and Archilochus, as participant in Homeric inspiration (13; 3); and nothing but very high praise is implied in the “Stesichorique graves Camœnæ” of Horace.

From an inscribed monument, the *tabula Iliaca*,

we obtain most welcome information, that he treated the fall of Troy with especial reference to the story of Æneas, and his migration to Hesperia. The prompting interest is plausibly traced to the connection of Himera with the adjacent Elymi, believed to be of Trojan descent and certainly peculiar votaries of Aphrodite, the mother of the hero. So was prepared the course for all the poetical, not to say political, combinations of Virgil. Like Virgil, Stesichorus excelled in depicting the passion of love. It does not appear how far the personal relations of the poet were displayed by him with a definiteness that would be evidence of the history of his time, and sufficient guarantee to the ancients of what as delivered to us are uncertified traditions.

CHAPTER IV.

HIPPOCRATES AND GELON, TYRANTS OF GELA.

SOME two hundred years after the foundation of Gela—within a few years of the birth of Pindar—its government, which, like that of most of the Sicilian colonies, had been for some time oligarchical, passed into a tyranny under a Cleander, son of Patareus ; he had ruled for seven years when he was slain, B.C. 498, by one of the citizens, Sabyllus. Of the origin or employment of his power we know nothing ; but the succession was secured by his brother Hippocrates, whose reign, also of seven years, was crowded with important events. He not only subjugated many Sicel barbarians, but also brought under his control the Ionian settlements of Callipolis, of which the exact site is unknown, of Naxos, and Zancle, and Leontini, which as early as a century before (608 B.C.), if Eusebius may be trusted, had had experience of a tyrant Panætius (Aristot. Pol. 5 ; 84), the earliest of the Sicilian tyrants. In what order these cities fell under his power we cannot tell ; but the story of Zancle, that we have in more detail, bears traces of a policy of defence inspired by alarm at his ambition. With a view to strengthen

themselves the Zancleans, or their king or tyrant, had invited Ionians from Miletus and Samos, who were flying with their realized wealth from the threatened restoration of their tyrant by the Medes (Herod. 6 ; 24), to found a city in the neighbourhood at Kale Acte. The fugitives touched on their way at Epizephyrian Locri, where they came into communication with Anaxilaus, tyrant of Rhegium, the city on the straits over against Zancle, and who probably was as much an object of alarm to its citizens as Hippocrates. Anaxilaus had himself supplanted an oligarchy ; he was son of Cretines, and fourth in descent from the Messenian Alcidas who had migrated from Messene after the death of king Aristodemus and the fall of Ithome (Paus. 4 ; 23). His long reign, from 494 to 476 B.C., argues a combination of vigour and character with the spirit of unscrupulous intrigue of which we have evidence. He fortified the Scyllæan rock (Strabo C. 257) against the marine of the Etruscans, and in order to bar the passage of the sound to pirates ; and it was probably with a view to complete his command of the straits that he took measures against Zancle on the opposite coast, which itself lies at least under imputations of complicity in piracy in its earlier history.

At the suggestion then of Anaxilaus, and doubtless under some compact of partnership or compensation, the Ionians take advantage of the absence of the force of the Zancleans, who were engaged with their king Scythes in reducing a barbarian town, and seize the

very city that had invited them. The excluded Zancleans appeal for aid to Hippocrates of Gela—from the machinations of one tyrant to another,—and are again betrayed. Their supposed ally makes a secret bargain with the Samians, and, in consideration of receiving half their booty of property and slaves, “seizes Scythes and Pythogenes,” and delivers 300 of the leading Zancleans to be slaughtered: the Samians, however, were more merciful. The control over Zancle among the other Ionian cities, that is afterwards ascribed to Hippocrates, may be held to imply that, as might be expected from his general designs, he retained some political hold over the city, besides sharing its spoil.

Scythes, who had been sent to the city of Inycus, afterwards escaped, and passed first to Himera, a Zanclean colony, and thence to Asia to Darius.

The story of Zancle may be concluded here. It was not very long before Anaxilaus expelled the Samians whom he had designed to make use of, but whose after policy had thrown them into the hands of Hippocrates; he re-peopled the city with mixed colonists—it may have been by their introduction that he brought round the revolution,—and renamed it Messana from his original country. Messana it appears on coins that still carry Samian symbols, and Messina it remains to this day. He seated his son Cleophron there as tyrant. (Schol. Pyth. 2.) This step would place him in opposition either to Hippocrates or his successor Gelon, according

to date. Pausanias relates this conquest of Zancle with many details, some, as of the spared conquered citizens, that are common to the former conquest as told by Herodotus, and under such misconception of date as to make his narrative quite untrustworthy; he carries it back to the 29th Olympiad.

Herodotus (6 ; 164) relates, that associated with the Samians in this enterprise was Cadmus, son of a Scythes, who had resigned an inherited tyranny at Cos—"a remarkably just man,"—it must be said in very inappropriate company. His name appears afterwards, perhaps in consequence of this expulsion, as of a worthily trusted officer of Gelon. It is obvious to conjecture that Herodotus must have confused Scythes the Samian, who may so easily have had relations with the Persians, with Scythes, monarch of Zancle, refugee in Persia; but the Persian court was the common refuge and hope of expelled Greek tyrants at this time, and the coincidence of name may be one of those mere accidents that make the perplexity of research, or due to a family connection that had something to do with the fatal invitation.

That Hippocrates, elected by successes gained by fraud or force over one Ionian city after another, should not have been stopped in his projects of aggrandisement by Dorian relationship, cannot surprise. . He now attacked the Syracusans, and defeated them in a battle on the river Helorus; the severity of the opposition he encountered, which is implied

in all references both of poets and historians to the actual conflict, accounts for his deferment of it to the maturity of his power. His further designs against Syracuse were however checked by the interposition of Corcyra and Corinth, the mother cities, and he had to content himself for the time with the transfer of the territory of Camarina in exchange for his prisoners. The Syracusans had some time before destroyed the city (552 B.C.), a Syracusan colony, after a war—how provoked we know not—in which the Camarinæans, with some Sicel allies, suffered defeat by Syracusans aided by Megara and Henna. (Phil. frag. 8, ap. Dion. Hal., ep. de H., 5.) Hippocrates now re-established their obnoxious neighbour, and took the title of its founder.

Thus, with the exception of Syracuse, which was at least controlled and crippled, Hippocrates already united under one power all the important Greek cities on the eastern coast—all indeed upon the island except Acragas and Selinus westward, and Himera that stood alone on the north-west. Such results imply in themselves considerable powers of political, which is something more than mere military, organisation. We learn from Pindar and his scholiasts that he had discerned the great qualifications of Gelon, son of Deinomenes, to whom he assigned the command of his cavalry at the battle on the Helorus, and who acquitted himself with the highest distinction. Chromius of Syracuse, for whom Pindar wrote two

odes that attest his rare combination of military and diplomatic capacity, and who afterwards married a sister of Gelon, also distinguished himself in the same battle (Nem. 9), but I am by no means certain as to the side on which he was then fighting. The direst opponents of Hippocrates in Syracuse on this occasion were the aristocratical faction; he endeavoured to create a prejudice by charging them with sacrilegious designs on the treasures of a temple of Zeus, including the god's golden robe, that he as much ostentatiously as piously spared. (Diod. frag., lib. x.)

Polyænus has a story of a treacherous stratagem by which Hippocrates gained Hergetion—probably a Sicel town. He weakened it by attracting a large number of its best men into his service as mercenaries by special distinctions and inducements, and then took occasion by a line of march to place them in a position where his other troops hemmed them in and held them inactive while he seized their city. He lost his life at last before a Sicel town, Hybla, leaving two sons, Eucleides and Cleander, as heirs—of what precise age is unknown, but young.

How little the glory and supremacy acquired for Gela by Hippocrates reconciled the citizens for the price paid in subjection to personal rule, appears in the revolt that instantly broke out against his successors. But, after such a career, the disposal of power lay no longer with the city, but with the army. Gelon and Ænesidamus, whom his son Theron now

replaced, had been officers of his body-guard—the ultimate security and instrument of a tyrant's power—and had the influence of brilliant achievements in addition. Gelon, acting as in the interest of Eucleides and Cleander, put down the revolt forthwith, but presently assumed the tyranny himself. How he may have disposed of his wards, or what may have become of them at the hands of the insurgents, is not on record; the expression of Herodotus distinctly implies that he supplanted them, while on the other hand the absence of any imputation of ungrateful cruelty, is presumption in his favour.

The temptation that was presented by the circumstances of the crisis appears in a notice of an intimation to him by Theron, that he himself would have struck for the tyranny but for being forestalled. (Aristot. Rhet., 1 ; 12.)

Any difficulty that the opposition of the citizens could present would seem to be trifling compared with what might have been expected from the army through that loyalty of habit that attaches even mercenary troops to the sons of successful military adventurers, and that is not easily to be countervailed by any military distinction of a subordinate officer.

But the influence of Gelon had a basis other than military, and scarcely less important. He belonged to a family that was the depositary of an hereditary priesthood of the most venerated character, and such as we find constantly enhancing the dignity of the

leaders of colonies to Asia Minor, as of the princes of the heroic ages. Among the founders of Gela, associated with the Lindians from Rhodes, was his ancestor Telines, from Telos, an island off the Triopian promontory of Caria. On the issue of some dissension in the new colony, the worsted faction had fled to Mactorion, an inland city beyond Gela; their return was effected by Telines, not by force of arms—and he himself indeed, was reported by tradition to be more than simply mild, effeminate,—but by his interest in certain sanctities of the Chthonian gods. Whence it was he received these, or how he came into possession of them independently, Herodotus does not pretend to say; but avouches that he made them the means of reinstating the fugitives, only stipulating on his own part, that his descendants should continue to be the hierophants of these divinities. The incident has much general resemblance to the return of Pisis-tratus to his tyranny, conducted by the personated Athene. Herodotus expresses almost as much wonder in one case as in the other, and yet, it seems, a little gratuitously,—the wonder, in fact, that a superstitious man is so glad to express at a superstition that he happens to be indifferent to. The political reactions that were due in the middle ages to a deprivation of the sacraments, only display more grossly how a population peculiarly susceptible of enthusiastic delight in public celebrations, and not exempt from superstitious apprehensions at their interruption, might, at a well-

chosen opportunity, be induced to set aside political differences as of secondary importance. When kingship came to an end at Athens, there were still certain sacred rites that could only be performed by an archon *basileus*, and this nominal king remained to certify how naturally in earlier times political function had been attached to priestly. The temples that Gelon erected after his greatest success were dedicated to Demeter and Koré, and Pindar alludes to the name of Hiero, his brother, as having reference to these family rites: the traditional legends that were connected with them will be matter of independent exposition, and their public acceptance will be most clearly proved by the colouring they give to the poetic celebration of Hiero's victories in the games.

The glory that redounded to a city from a victory in the great games of Greece was indeed another important source of political influence that could not be overlooked by the ambitious. In the very first Olympic festival that came round after Gelon established himself as tyrant at Gela, he contested and gained the chariot victory, his brother and coadjutor Hiero being also victorious with the single horse. Pausanias found a chariot at Olympia inscribed as "dedicated by Gelon of Gela, son of Deinomenes" (6; 9, 2); on the false assumption that Gelon, as being a tyrant at the assigned date, was already tyrant of Syracuse, and therefore would not be proclaimed as of Gela, he denounces a difficulty of his

own making, and, like other harmonists, more careful to conserve than to root out an incongruity, imagines another Gelon of Gela—a private man.

This chariot was the work of Glaucias of Ægina, who also made the statue of Gelon himself. Gelon acquired Syracuse three years after his Olympic victory; but perhaps the inscription, as bound to the record of the actually proclaimed city, scarcely warrants an inference that the sculptor must have finished his work before that date.

The same Glaucias made statues for three pugilistic victors: for Philo of Corcyra, for whom Simonides, son of Leoprepes, provided an *elegeion*, a distich remarkable for completeness, conciseness, and elegance, the qualities that were most valued in such inscriptions:—for Glaucus of Carystus, dedicated by his son; this figure had the attitude that Pausanias calls that of skiamachy, making display apparently of rapid and vigorous movements of the arms, as if sparring with an imaginary antagonist; we shall meet with him presently in an important political position as deputy of Gelon:—a third for Theagenes of Thasos, respecting whom and one of his opponents, Euthymus, Pausanias has supernatural tales to tell, of which the date of origin is too uncertain for us to use them in illustration of the credulities of the time we are concerned with.

CHAPTER V.

GELON, TYRANT OF SYRACUSE, AND THERON OF ACRAGAS.

It was not long before internal dissensions at Syracuse enabled Gelon to resume the projects of his predecessor with better success. The aristocratical party that had resisted Hippocrates—the *Gamori*—the Land-apportioned, representatives doubtless of the original colonists, was weakened by a feud having its beginning in rival loves of boys and women (Arist. Pol. 5; 3). Expelled by the demus with the accepted aid of their own slaves—the so-called Cyllyrii, apparently an almost Helot class,—they had taken refuge at the Sicilian colony, Casmenæ.

Gelon undertook their restoration, but on his advance encountered no resistance; the demus surrendered to him both itself and the city, whether in conscious defencelessness through disunion, or want of military force, or counting not improbably on friendly dispositions in the victor of the battle on the Helorus, the conqueror of the aristocratical party in its day of supremacy.

Even had other circumstances been unchanged,

events now moved much too rapidly for interposition from Corinth to come again in question.

Master of Syracuse (485 B.C.) Gelon apprehended at once all the advantages of the position, and its fitness for a seat of empire. "Syracuse was all in all to him," and he took measures as remarkably effective, as resolute and energetic, to concentrate his power there, and to raise the city to such overwhelming superiority to all others in the island as to insure its lasting supremacy. He had the double care to surround himself in his new seat with a body of supporters dependent upon him and committed to his acts and policy, and to assemble the abundant population that by compact proximity in peace and security, gives to industrial co-operation its fullest opportunity and highest value. The scheme betokens daring confidence in his genius for administration and government that was fully justified by the result.

Identified now in interest with Syracuse, he reversed the policy pursued by his predecessor, as its enemy; he demolished the city of Camarina, that Hippocrates had restored, and transferred all the inhabitants to Syracuse, where he made them citizens; he was not a man to wait for pretexts, otherwise some party in the city had afforded him one for any course that suited him, by putting to death a governor he had established there—Glaucus of Carystus, the celebrated Olympic pugilistic victor (Schol. *Æsch. adv. Ctes.*). More than half the citizens of his native Gela

were similarly transferred, no doubt under conditions that were equivalent to advantageous promotion.

These intrusive citizens probably had their lot cast,—if they were not partially identified,—with the Gelonian mercenaries, on whom citizenship was also conferred, and whose disfranchisement under the restored republic led afterwards to civil war. We shall find them at that crisis able to secure the military occupation of at once the oldest, and the distinctly fortified sections of the city,—the island Ortygia and Achradina. There is much appearance that the new comers had places found for them by extrusion of the earlier occupants into suburbs, that speedily doubled the inhabited area (Diod. Sic. 11 ; 62).

Again, having brought the siege of Sicilian Megara to a successful conclusion, he derived thence another accession of citizens for Syracuse, though on an unexpected principle, and treated some Sicilian Eubœans in the same way ; the party of so-called “Substantial men,” who had provoked the war, and who, as his direct enemies, did not expect even mercy, he transferred to Syracuse with the privileges of citizenship ; the general demus, who were in no way accountable for the hostilities, and might expect rather indulgence than severity, he carried to Syracuse also, but only for the convenience of selling them forth of the island as slaves,—“esteeming,” says Herodotus, “a demus to be an uncomfortable fellow-lodger; and in this manner did Gelon come to be a mighty tyrant.”

We unfortunately do not know enough of the relative treatment of the original aristocracy and demus of Syracuse by Gelon, to gain aid in interpreting his treatment of the Megaræans; the presumption is certainly that while he leaned immediately on the support of his personal adherents and army, besides proper mercenaries, he would favour the more numerous classes, as against the oligarchical whose political power he had extinguished, and whom he could scarcely hope to conciliate. The large force that he commands is better proof than an anecdote of Plutarch (R. et I., apo. 2) that he did not withhold arms from citizens. But a native Dorian demus may have been one thing, an Ionian another, and a very different and much less manageable, while the "Substantial men" brought in from elsewhere to no disadvantageous position might easily recognise that their security was contingent on the security of Gelon, and become, in fact, a check upon the discontent of those, even of like standing, amongst whom they were intruders.

The annexation of Syracuse is dated 485 B.C., five years after the battle of Marathon, and as many before Salamis. It is three years earlier, in 488 B.C., that we read that Theron, son of Ænesidamus, had made himself tyrant of Acragas. Herodotus mentions an Ænesidamus, son of Pataicus, as one of the body-guard of Hippocrates, along with Gelon, and in a manner that implies that he was a well-known person;

it seems highly probable—indeed, I myself have not the doubt expressed by others,—that this was the father of Theron. The genealogies of Theron in the scholiasts of Pindar, it is true, make his father the son, not of a Pataicus but of Emmenides; but omissions are too frequent and too palpable in the periods covered by these very lists, to make such a difference conclusive. We have no notice of relations between Hippocrates, the powerful tyrant of Gela, and Acragas, which was its colony. For anything that appears, Acragas may have been at this time absolutely independent, whether allied or not, or in more or less qualified dependence. The appearance of the Rhodian flower on its coins, while those of Gela exhibit the Minotaur, has been held to favour a presumption that the Rhodian families had separated off in this direction, while a larger proportion of the Cretan elements conjoined in the original settlement of Gela, remained behind; but not much is to be made of this. Acragas became a tyranny early; between 580—540 B.C. (the 50th and 60th Olymp.), nearly one hundred years before Theron. It was to one of his ancestors, Telemachus, that was ascribed the patriotic service of putting an end to the tyrant Phalaris, whose existence cannot be repudiated by history, however legendary are details of his story. Heraclides Ponticus (Polit. 36) has the record that even so the tyranny did not then determine; that Alcmanes succeeded, and that after him the government was administered

by Alcandrus, a man of complying temper—a perfectly consistent sequel to such a catastrophe, as appears in the instance of Hipparchus afterwards, at Athens. In any case there is sufficient warranty in the story for the early political influence of the family of Theron, which, moreover, had all the advantages of aristocratic and reputed heroic descent. That his father Ænesidamus is mentioned as taking service with Hippocrates, as a lieutenant of that body-guard that was the main reliance and support of a Greek tyrant, conveys the impression that he was not in the position of commander of a contingent of Agrigentine allies, or even subjects, but bound by personal connections, and possibly even as a refugee. Pausanias (5 ; 22, 7,) mentions an Ænesidamus tyrant of Leontini, and it seems possible that the father of Theron may have ruled this city, which had been subjected by Hippocrates, even though it were only on such terms as Gelon allowed when committing Gela to his brother Hiero. Pausanias supposes, but from no apparent convincing reason, that it was not this Ænesidamus, but another, who, with two other men of Leontini, Hippagoras and Phrynon, dedicated at Olympia, from private, not public resources, a statue of Zeus, seven feet high, having in his hands “the eagle and the bolt of Zeus, in accordance with the accounts of the poets.”

According to Aristotle (Rhet. 1 ; 12), as already noticed, he signified to Gelon that he himself would

have struck for the succession of Hippocrates had he not been forestalled.

The comrades, Gelon and Ænesidamus, were to all appearance in most perfect political sympathy to the last, nor does any hint whatever occur of jealousy on the part of Gelon at the establishment of Theron as tyrant of Acragas. Polyænus, no very reliable author, it is true, has an account of the means by which this establishment was effected. In concert with a son, Gorgus, it is told, he induces the city to adopt a financial scheme for completing a large temple within a fixed time, obtains possession of the deposited money, and, diverting it to the payment of mercenaries, brings the city into subjection with its own funds; he tells the same tale, however, about Phalaris; it may be true of neither, or—such easy prey remain the confiding many, however warned,—it may be true of both.

Three years after Gelon's occupation of Syracuse, Theron, 482 B.C., directing his power towards the north-western coast of the island, expelled Terillus, tyrant of Himera, and took possession of the city. Such a collision favours an inference that the territories of Acragas and Himera, stretching across the island, were conterminal. At Himera and in its territory, Ionian Hellenism was in contact with the barbarian population on the northern coast, as Dorian was at Selinus, still independent, on the southern. We know little of the politics of these

cities; but the aggressive advance of the allies, Gelon and Theron, could not but throw the ruling powers in either upon schemes of defence by mutual aid, and even more by alliances with the barbarians between whose settlements and the advancing tyrants they were the last barriers. The large plans and vigorous action of Gelon alone, by necessary consequence, must have raised alarm, and disposed the ruling powers or parties among the barbarians to anticipate and prepare, by alliances and arming, to stop a threatened encroachment more formidable than they had brought to an end with the life of Dorieus. The usual opposition of Greek parties would thus be naturally sharpened in these cities, and the course taken by the expelled tyrant indicates clearly enough that he had relied upon the less national,—a confirmation of the policy which we have ascribed conjecturally to Phalaris. How Terillus, son of Crinippus, originally acquired his power is not known, nor what among the many conceivable was his particular provocation of the interference of Theron. There is but a vague story that he had abetted Capys and Hippocrates, factious relatives of Theron, who, driven into exile, first occupied against him the Sicel town Camicus, between Acragas and Selinus, and at last suffered defeat near Himera; another account, which there is no better reason for preferring or rejecting, transfers this complication to the time when Thrasydæus, son of Theron, fomented difficulties with Hiero.

The rapid growth and consolidation of power that may be prompted at first by the mere instinct of self-defence and the simplest aim to assure security, may no doubt breed inordinate ambition out of very confidence in security, and spread just alarm among all around; and in any case, warned or unwarned, with good ground or without, alarm is certain to arise among the neighbours of a power excessively—and still more if suddenly—formidable, and able to be at any moment wantonly aggressive if so disposed. Fears of the weak, or jealousies of the arrogant, hurry on the very perils for the strongly confederated that, the humble or the divided, though always exposed to, might have escaped indefinitely. It is thus that the founders of a powerful state have no sooner completed the task of reconciling its conflicting elements, which may be all they contemplated, than the second trial will ever present itself to combat powers that then fly for the first time into alliance,—reconciled at once amongst themselves by common fear, and encouraged and nerved by the very example of their enemy.

The tyrant of Rhegium, Anaxilaus, was in much the same position eastward relatively to the great Dorian power of Gelon as were Himera and Selinus on the west. He had married Cydippe, the daughter of Terillus; such an alliance is usually a consequence, not cause, of political sympathy; but he now received his exiled father-in-law and espoused his views with such zeal, was party with him to such measures, as to prove

his appreciation of the crisis. It is little safe, no doubt, to speculate over-confidently on motives among these half-lighted districts of history: foolish passion may be the true instigator of the very course that wisest policy would recommend; and manifest interest has before now been turned aside by weakest and most trivial incidents; and personal predilections and character on a time overbear the fellow-feeling and joint advantage even of politicians: but the Greek tyrant of the stamp of Anaxilaus was apt to be a politician above all things. Upon his own Italian ground he was in the way of constant collision with Locri, a colony of kin to Syracuse, and repeatedly found in alliance with the Gelonian dynasty. In Sicily itself a point of contact and collision was Zancle, and he may have naturally expected reprisals for his daring interference in expelling the Samian intruders and founding the newly named Messana.

However this may have been, history charges upon Anaxilaus, jointly with Terillus, the heavy responsibility of inviting the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily. Anaxilaus is even said to have delivered his own children to the Punic chief Amilcar or Hamilcar, son of Hanno, as pledges. We are left to conjecture what might be the aid that he pledged himself to,—assistance with treasure or more probably a diversion on the east of the island. That Hamilcar's mother was a Syracusan is of interest as probably implying sympathies with Hellenic culture as well as mixture

of Hellenic blood in a family that so long provided the most powerful and most gifted public men of Carthage.

But it is scarcely safe to admit so easily that such an expedition as the Carthaginians soon disembarked in Sicily, was due simply to suggestions consequent on the expulsion of Terillus. It has much more the appearance of the execution of a long fostered and matured design which the Himeræan may have been cognisant of and comforted long before; the mere suspicion of its existence—and we may easily credit Gelon and Theron with the sagacity implied in this—would hurry forward their preparations, which certainly prove to have been wonderfully advanced, and inspire jealous precautions of which the dislodgment of Terillus might be only one manifestation.

A manifestation, but it may be not the first; it is to Herodotus that we owe a notice of some earlier difficulties between the tyrant of Syracuse and the Carthaginians in Sicily. He introduces the allusion only within an episode of his main story of that vast invasion of central Greece by the Persians that was advancing to its crisis—sympathetically as it would seem, if not in concert as was believed by many in antiquity, with the great Phœnician armament that at the same time was ready to be launched against Hellenic civilisation and prosperity in the west. The weakness of the parenthetical introduction is extended, it must be said, by difficulties in reconciling

some of its most interesting and circumstantial statements.

Athenians and Lacedæmonians—Ionians and Dorians, —in difficult and precarious accord at home, endeavour under compelling pressure of impending peril, to still further extend the patriotic alliance, and are so sanguine as to essay to engage help from an Hellenic ally for whom this pressure is far more remote. It is scarcely two years after the annexation of Himera by Theron (480 B.C.) that Gelon has to reply to the solicitations of their envoys for his aid against Xerxes. In doing so he brings to their mind that some time previously he had made an application of the very same nature that he listens to—and in vain; he had applied to Hellas for co-operation—he a Dorian to the Dorians, to Spartans no doubt in particular, when he was embroiled with the Carthaginians and was proposing to exact from the Egestæans, their allies—a pretext as good as any other—reparation for the slaughter of Dorieus the Spartan Heracleid, son of Anaxandrides.

It is most disappointing that we cannot learn whether overt hostile action was taken by Gelon in this affair, and how far rankling apprehensions may have lingered to irritate after seeming compromise and pacification.

That some earlier quarrel with the Carthaginians was truly pointed at I do not doubt, notwithstanding an appearance in some expressions ascribed to Gelon that the historian, at the moment he wrote them down,

had it in his mind that the grand collision and the triumph of Gelon had already taken place.

Herodotus makes the embassy to Gelon an opportunity for inserting in his comprehensive history some notices of Sicilian affairs that are of the highest interest and value. Interest and value attach also conspicuously to the detailed speeches that he assigns to the parties to the negotiation, and quite independently of any precise authenticity in their terms or illustrations. Their general tone and special purport belong to the historian at any rate, and he was a very near contemporary, and the spirit of the time will reveal itself most effectively by extraction of the scene in full.

“Envoys from the allies,” he says, “and Syagrus on the part of the Lacedæmonians, set out for Sicily to negociate with Gelon.” (Herod. 7; 153.)

Arrived at Syracuse, and entering upon the business with him, they spoke to this effect: “We have been sent by the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians and their allies, to engage you to take part against the barbarian who is about to attack Hellas. The Persian, as you are abundantly informed, having bridged the Hellespont, is bringing over from Asia the entire force of the East, and is about to make war upon Hellas—professing, indeed, that the direction of his expedition is against Athens, but having in design to subject to himself the whole of Hellas. You now have arrived at great puissance, and as ruler of Sicily no trifling

section of Hellas pertains to you ; give aid, therefore, to those who are liberating Hellas, and be a fellow-liberator with them. For if all Hellas is compactly united a great power is brought together, and we are a match in battle for our invaders ; but if some of us are traitors utterly, and others will not render assistance, and the really sound part of Hellas is but small, the danger is at once serious that the whole of Hellas may fall. For never expect that should the Persian subvert us, after conquering us in battle, he will not come on to you ; guard then against this beforehand. Helping us you will be protecting yourself. When an affair has been well taken counsel on, as a general rule, the result proves advantageous."

Such was their representation ; but Gelon replied with severe vehemence in the following terms : " Men of Hellas ! you have had the confidence to come here to summon me with an extravagant proposition as an ally against the barbarian ; but you yourselves, when I solicited you formerly on my embroilment with the Carthaginians, to cooperate with me against a barbaric army, and urged to the exaction of reparation from the Egestæans for the slaughter of Dorieus, son of Anaxandrides, and proposed that you should take part with me in setting free the emporia from which great use and profits have accrued to you, failed then to come with help either for my sake or for the sake of exacting reparation for the slaughter of Dorieus, and so far as it depended on you, all here would have

been subject to the barbarian. Matters, however, have gone well with us, and indeed all for the best. Now when war has made a circuit and arrived at yourselves, under these circumstances Gelon has come to mind. Whatever the disrespect, however, that I may have met with from you, I am not going to make myself like unto you, but am prepared to render assistance, and supply 200 triremes, 20,000 hoplites, 200 cavalry, 2000 archers, 2000 slingers, 2000 light horse, and I undertake to provide corn for the whole Greek army until we shall have finished the war. This engagement I make on the condition that I shall be commander and leader of the Greeks against the barbarian; not on any other condition will I either come myself or send others."

Syagrus, when he had heard thus much, could not contain himself, and replied: "Great indeed would be the lamentation of Agamemnon, son of Pelops, should he hear that the Spartiates had been deprived of the leadership by Gelon and Syracusans. Dismiss further thought of this condition that we should transfer leadership to you, but if you are willing to render help to Hellas, understand that you will be under command of the Lacedæmonians; if you do not think right to be commanded, never you assist us."

On this Gelon, as he observed the unaccommodating language of Syagrus, set before them this final proposal: "O Spartiate guest! hard words that sink into a man, customarily rouse up anger; but you shall not

by the insults delivered in your speech, induce me to be undignified in my reply. On the very ground that you so much affect the leadership it is consistent that I should affect it still more than you, as I am leader of a much larger army and of a far more numerous fleet; but since this condition presents itself as so irksome to you, we will recede somewhat from the original condition. If you would command the land force I will take the naval; if you prefer the command at sea, I am willing to take that of the land force; and with this you will needs have to make yourselves content, or to depart destitute of allies of so great importance."

Such was the proposal of Gelon; the envoy of the Athenians, anticipating the Lacedæmonian, made this answer:—

"O king of the Syracusans! it was not as in want of a commander, but of forces that Hellas sent us out to you; but you do not indicate that you will send an army, in case of yourself not being the leader of Hellas, and you are hankering after her military command. So far as your desire is to command the entire force of the Hellenes, we Athenians may be contented to keep silence, assured that the Laconian will be competent to make answer for both; but when, declining the entire rule, you seek to command the navy, the case stands thus: not even if the Laconian would concede the command of it to you, would we allow the concession; for in case it is not desired by the Lacedæmonians, it

belongs to us. To them, if they wish for the command, we offer no opposition, but we will not allow the command of the fleet to any other. Futile were it for us to have acquired, as we have, the most important fleet among the Hellenes, if we should yield the command of it to Syracusans—we, the Athenians, who put ourselves forward as the race of all the most ancient, and who alone of the Hellenes have never changed place of settlement—whose hero also, the epic poet Homer said, excelled all who came against Ilion in arraying and appointing an army; wherefore it is no reproach to us that we say thus much.”

Gelon replied, “O Athenian guest! you are in likely way to be provided with leaders, but not so with men to be led. Since then you decline any concession, and desire to retain everything, you can scarcely be too expeditious in clearing off back again with the intelligence to Hellas that the spring for her has been taken out of the year.”

So the envoys of the Hellenes, after these negotiations with Gelon, took ship and departed.

And so came to an end a scheme of such an extended combination of the central with the western Greeks that the central Greeks gained their chief triumph by effecting among themselves—but once—incompletely—for a short time, and were ruined by inability to compass ever again.

It may be observed—I am not aware that it ever has been,—that Gelon meets the Homeric precedent of

the Spartan by retorting with an Homeric text. By Homer himself the title of Agamemnon to supreme command is rested in Nestor's speech (Iliad, 1; 281) on the superior numerousness of his host, the very ground of the Syracusan's pretension :

ἀλλ' ὄγε φέρτερός ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ πλεόνεσσιν ἀνάσσει.

Compare also the Catalogue (Il. 2; 577).

Gelon is here made to speak as if all his danger from barbarians had happily gone by or been surmounted; but his jeopardy was indeed at that moment as serious as central Hellas was exposed to, and it is hard to believe that at the only date open for this embassy he was not as fully aware of it. It was generally believed in after times that the great peril broke over Sicily on the very day of the peril and rescue of Greece at Salamis (Herod.). Diodorus marks the coincidence as with the conflict at Thermopylæ.

The story of the Punic invasion of Sicily is told by Diodorus with considerable detail, and in a style that in parts seems rather to have belonged to his authority than to be his own. If we may trust Herodotus, that Gelon had already been in treaty with the western Greeks to make a joint onslaught on the Carthaginian power, we may the more readily credit Diodorus, that it was not without an understanding with the Persian—Ephorus asserted, at his direct instigation (Schol. Pind. Pyth. 1; 147)—at

least not without regard to the value of the diversion to be effected by the expedition of Xerxes, that Carthage resolved to grapple with the Sicilian Greeks while they were yet unaided. The reception accorded to Scythes at the court of Darius is fair intimation that the Great King was open to information as to the politics of Sicily, and even to entertain a project of ultimate interference, and the three years' preparation of Xerxes for a notorious object, and the important participation in it of the eastern Phœnicians, had given abundant notice of the coming opportunity.

Hamilear sailed from Carthage with a fleet of 2000 long ships, for the transport, as we read, of 300,000 troops, and accompanied by over 3000 vessels of burden, laden with supplies for this enormous multitude. Like all later Carthaginian hosts, this first was swelled—constituted indeed in chief part, by mercenaries from every western coast, Italians, Gauls, Iberians, Sardinians, Corsicans, and Helisycians—perhaps a Ligurian tribe. The numbers can, of course, only be accepted as general symbols, though we shall come upon independent proof of the vastness of the armament and army. Short as was the passage, a storm in the Libyan sea deprived him of the transports that carried his cars and cavalry—a loss that had very serious consequences and went far to make still more hasty the word ascribed to him on reaching the anchorage of Panormus, that the war was in effect concluded; his only fear having been lest the sea should rescue the Sicilians.

In three days he had disembarked his forces, and so far repaired the damage of the fleet that it was in condition to follow, along the coast, the march of the army upon Himera. Here he took position on the western side of the city, and drew all his long ships ashore, with the exception of twenty left afloat for occasional employment, and surrounded them with the protection of a deep trench and stockade; with this he connected the fortifications of his camp, which lay parallel to the city, and then extended them as far as a hilly ridge, so as to occupy the entire front westward. Here he unloaded the storeships, and then despatched them at once to bring further requisite supplies from Libya and Sardinia.

Theron was already present at Himera in force, and one battle took place without the walls, probably for the possession of an advanced post; but the Himeræans retired with considerable loss before a picked force under Hamilcar, and Theron, shutting himself up in the city, despatched urgent messages to Gelon at Syracuse for assistance without delay. The preparations of Gelon were already advanced, and on the news of dangerous despondency at Himera, he started at once, at the head of not less than 50,000 foot, and 5,000 horse; again we must be content to take numbers as expressive of scarcely credible multitude. Arrived after a rapid march, he proceeded to form an independent camp, trenched and palisaded, adjacent to the city, and at the same time his cavalry,

scouring the country, cut off vast numbers of stragglers of the enemy and foraging parties, and made as many prisoners as they were able to conduct; which must certainly have been the case if, as we are assured, above 10,000 were brought in, and we need not doubt whatever numbers would so be consistently implied. Gelon, whose appearance had already revived the courage of the Himeræans, was received, on entering the city, with the greatest enthusiasm. He found that among other precautions the gates had been strongly built up; taking advantage of the new confidence he inspired, he not only had these cleared, but prepared fresh openings in the walls, so as to give the greatest possible facility for a sally in force, to co-operate with the action of his own army. He already saw his way to a decisive stroke. Hamilcar, who had lost in the storm the horses so indispensable for command of the country and collection of supplies, had applied for, and was already promised, a contingent of cavalry from the city of Selinus, where a Carthaginian party was in power, very possibly through apprehension of the designs of Theron; a despatch which they had forwarded to confirm the plan, was captured by the horsemen of Gelon, and had revealed the arrangement and the day on which the squadron was to arrive, and its coincidence with some great sacrifice to be offered by Hamilcar in the naval camp—as the historian says, to Poseidon, which is consistent at least with the scene,

and with the occasion the semi-Hellenic Carthaginian may have felt for conciliating a power that had inflicted on his fleet such serious injury.

On the day before the Selinuntines were to start, Gelon sent round a force of his own cavalry to gain the Selinuntine road, present themselves at break of the following day at the Carthaginian naval camp, and gain admission as the expected allies. He posted scouts upon heights from which they could observe the process of the stratagem, and make signals as to the result; and held his army ready at early morning to attack the main body of the enemy. The signal was given by the scouts as hoped for, and Gelon instantly advanced with his whole force upon the Carthaginians. He planned and succeeded to so time his movement as to engage the enemy hotly before their attention was drawn to a disturbance among the ships. The Phœnician leaders, it is said, drew out their army, and met the Sicilians, as if in front of the entrenchments—but from the scantiness of the narrative, it is impossible to determine the details of the strategy on either side completely. The preparations already noticed for a sudden powerful sally from Himera, may have been made use of to put a large force well in advance at the commencement of the action and seize a critical post, or, more probably, to bring up an attack on the left flank of the enemy when they should be fully engaged in front. It was not until a very considerable battle was at its height, and

swaying now in favour of one side and now of the other, that, while trumpets and war shouts on either side still evinced equal energy and confidence, a blaze shot up from the Carthaginian fleet, and rumours speedily spread, explaining, they could not well exaggerate, the disaster. The horsemen of Gelon, received unsuspectingly, had made onslaught on Hamilcar, and slain him in the midst of his preparations for sacrifice, and forthwith put fire to the ships drawn up high and dry—the very aptest fuel, tarred and empty, for a conflagration.

The Greeks, encouraged by the sign of so important a diversion, redoubled the vigour of their onset; the enemy lost all heart and hope of victory, and turned to flight, which their very numbers caused to be more fatal to them than the most prolonged resistance. Gelon forbade interruption of the work of slaughter by taking prisoners, and after times could write down and believe the number of the slain as 150,000. A large body of the fugitives who kept together, and escaped for the time, occupied a position, apparently in the territory of Acragas, where they were able to resist direct attacks, but want of water speedily drove them to unconditional surrender.

The twenty long ships afloat got off to sea, but from the numbers that had crowded into them, were too deep in the water to live through rough weather that came on—and only a skiff returned to tell the tale of ruinous catastrophe to Carthage. How severe was

the blow is avouched most certainly by the abstention from renewed attempts for near a century afterwards. The crippling effect of such a disaster in an ancient state is not reckoned by the number of men and amount of treasure sacrificed; a more serious loss is the desolation of the few leading families of the single city that have been wont to inspire the policy, and provide a constant succession of able administrators and commanders; the main stem that conducts the very vivifying sap of the system is nearly severed, and all that remains is just a last attachment that time only can repair. Such immunity did Sicily owe for so long to Gelon—to Gelon mainly, and then to the other sons of Deinomenes and to Theron their ally.

The decisiveness of the victory gained by such original and masterly combinations—the greatness of the deliverance and the vast destruction of barbarians, raised the renown of Gelon to the highest, not only in Sicily, rejoicing in unhoped-for safety, but throughout all Greece. It may well be believed that the example of the Sicilian Dorians helped to stimulate the patriotism of Sparta to the conflict with Mardonius on the field of Plataea. Polyænus has versions of stratagems of Gelon and Theron that scarcely claim to be related.

The Carthaginians, as might be expected, told the story of their misfortunes differently. Herodotus gives what professes to be a portion of the account as they accepted it; it is at least an historical fact, not without



importance, that such a story was in circulation and reached Herodotus.

“For Amilcar,” he says, “who was on his father’s side a Carthaginian, by a Syracusan mother, and who, for his manly qualities, governed the Carthaginians like a king, I understand that after the engagement took place, and he was worsted in the battle, he disappeared entirely. For Gelon, making most general and strictest search for him, could find him nowhere upon earth, living or dead. The story told by the Carthaginians themselves—proceeding upon plausible conjecture—is this : that the barbarians were engaged with the Greeks in Sicily from dawn to late evening—for so long the conflict was continued ; all this time Amilcar remaining in camp, was sacrificing and gathering omens, burning entire carcases upon an enormous pyre ; and seeing the flight of his side as he was making libation on the sacrifice, he flung himself into the fire, and in this way, disappeared, being entirely consumed.

“To Amilcar, who disappeared in any case, whether in this manner as the Phœnicians say, or in whatever other according to the Syracusans, the Carthaginians in the first place sacrificed, and then raised monuments in all the cities of their colonies, and the greatest of all in Carthage itself.” (Herod. 7 ; 167.) On what principle this extraordinary veneration was paid to an unsuccessful general, even though of royal standing, it is not easy to conjecture—can it be that Carthage recognised

that by this disastrous expedition had at any rate been warded off an attempt of the Greeks impending previously perhaps upon Carthage itself, or, at least on its Sicilian dependencies, which remained thereafter free from molestation ?

There is no direct account of the part taken by Theron in the battle, but its importance may be inferred from his large share in the spoils, of which the captives, valuable in some cases, perhaps, for ransom, but generally for forced labour or for sale, formed a large proportion. A large number were taken by the Acragantines independently ; the beaten army was driven directly upon their territories, and as we have seen, it seems to have been into their hands that the capture fell of one large division. But besides these they came in for a very large share when Gelon made distribution after the battle, proportionately to the numerousness of the force contributed by each allied city. Many private individuals are said to have had as many as 500 assigned to them—large numbers for historians to handle, even with the allowance that these individuals may have been some half-dozen leading officers, and that the charge might be speedily relieved by the ancient custom of getting income by letting out slaves. Opportunity for this was offered at once by the enormous public works, civil and sacred, upon which Acragas employed the still larger multitude of slaves that were assigned to the city as public property. The ruins of these remain to attest that

after utmost allowance for patriotic exaggerations and falsification by tradition, the magnitude and completeness of the disaster of the Carthaginian armament must be taken at the very furthest limits of possibility. The civil works comprised a system of underground drainage and sewers for the city; a *colymbethra*, or reservoir supplied by spring and river water, seven stadia in circumference, and twenty cubits deep. It was stocked with fish—delicacies of a luxurious life, and, haunted by flocks of swans, was moreover delightful and ornamental to behold. “By lapse of time and neglect,” says Diodorus, “it became choked and filled up;” the site is still readily recognised. Agriculture, viticulture especially, had also an advantage from the forced labour employed on a favourable position and soil, and the exportation of wine to Carthage itself became in after times a great source of wealth. Works that have left more abiding memorials were the immense temples, which caused it to be said of the luxurious Acragantines that, living as though they were to die to-morrow, they built as if they were to live to eternity. The details of the ruins will be found in the books of the architects. The unusually detailed account given by the historian, of the temple of Jupiter Olympius could scarcely have escaped incredulity had not the monumental testimony remained. The cella had ten semi-engaged external columns on either flank, with an upper diameter below the capital of 10 feet; the proportionate lower

diameter would be about 13 feet, which confirms the statement of Diodorus that their periphery was 20 feet, and that a man could stand within the flute. It seems probable that the stone was obtained from the excavation of the adjacent colymbethra.

The works went on through a long series of years, and this temple was not yet roofed when the time came for the Carthaginian to wreak his revenge.

In the meantime the respite of Sicily was confirmed, and Gelon applied himself to make the most prudent use of his victory to consolidate the power of Syracuse and of his family. He made division of the general spoil on the same principle as of the captives, reserving only a choice selection for dedication in the temples of the gods, at Himera especially, and at Syracuse. The horsemen who had rendered such decisive service were peculiarly distinguished in the distribution of honours and rewards.

As regards the cities and dynasts previously in general opposition to him, or who had aided and abetted the invader, they were necessarily at his feet, and could but sue for favourable terms. He had never drawn back in former days from acts, however inhumane, that he held politic; his policy at the present time, whether for once it coincided with natural disposition or not, was to conciliate,—to engage interests in favour of supporting him, rather than to deter from intriguing again with his enemies, by sanguinary reprisals. Thus, that he spared Anaxilaus

on this occasion was, I have no doubt, the kindness on his part to which Hiero is found appealing long afterwards in transactions with his sons. (Diod. Sic. 11; 66.) We may be surprised not to hear that he visited at least Selinus severely, or took measures to subjugate Panormus or Egesta; but we are indeed left in the dark, by the blank notice that he concluded an alliance, as to what hard terms may not have been imposed and held by his admirers to be merely merciful. It is perfectly consistent with the form of alliance that he should have required such contributions to a so-called common fund for defence as were exacted by Athens from her allies, should have opened emporia and stipulated for privileges of trade, and secured observance of engagements by transferring power to the political party of his choice.

As regards the Carthaginians we read an extraordinary account of submissiveness—their envoys suing for peace with tears, and happy to obtain it on the terms of paying two thousand talents of silver for the expenses of the war, and the erection of two temples (*ναοί*) for the deposit of the treaty, one it is to be supposed at Carthage—if not rather one for Gelon and another for Theron. After such a catastrophe it is exceedingly probable that Gelon may have held prisoners in his hands that enabled him to command almost whatever concessions he pleased. Timæus, as quoted by the scholiast to the 2nd Pythian of Pindar seems to turn this payment into a regular

tribute, and Theophrastus, in his work on the Tyrseni, asserted—even as an assertion it is interesting—that one condition of the treaty was the renunciation by Carthage of the custom of human sacrifices, which is very probable at least in respect of Greek victims.

To Damareta, the wife of Gelon, and daughter of Theron, the Carthaginians are further said to have presented a golden crown of a hundred talents, as an acknowledgment of her intercession in the negotiation, which Gelon no doubt had his own reasons for admitting, not to say suggesting; she struck a coin it is said from the gold, or, it may be, its interchanged value in silver, which was named after her a *Damaretion*—of the value of ten Attic drachmas, and called by the Syracusans, from its weight, a *pentecotalitron* (50 litra). (Diod. 11; 26.) Aristotle is the authority (ap. Poll. 4; 174) that the Siceliots called the Corinthian didrachm a decalitron; and a pentecotalitron would in consistency be a silver coin of 10 drachms. According to Pollux (9; 85) the treasure that was so coined and named was a collection of personal female ornaments which were contributed at her suggestion, and no doubt, example, for the expenses of the armament. The notice, consistently enough, assigns a date for the alliance of Gelon and Theron anterior to the invasion. On the questions raised by this statement, I refer to Hussey on Ancient Weights and Coins, ch. iv., sec. 3.

This coin as very plausibly recognised among the most ancient Syracusan silver decadrachms, bears on one side a laurel-crowned female head with earrings and necklace, within a ring with four dolphins swimming round it, all in the same direction, and inscribed—*Surakosiôn*. On the reverse is a three-horsed chariot and charioteer, at walking pace; a winged Victory flies above the horses—below is a rushing or running lion. The laurel crown and lion are peculiar to this series. To the Duc de Luyves is due the very probable interpretation of the lion as a symbol of Africa. (*Annali dell. Inst.* 11; 85). (Cf. Leake, *Num. Hell. Sic.* p. 71; Mommsen, *Gesch. d. R. M.* 79.)

Whether the head on this coin, which is peculiarly youthful, is to be called Arethusa or Kore, has been matter of debate. Nymph or goddess, she is marked by the circlet of dolphins as denizen of an isle—the isle of Ortygia, I do not doubt; and we must recognise therefore a youthful female goddess, who was at once specially resident at Ortygia, and of sufficient importance to receive acknowledgments for a great victory. The expression, as well as age of the head, forbids us to accept Athene, who had one celebrated temple there. The conditions appear to me to be satisfied by Artemis, whom, apart from other authorities, we might safely localise at Ortygia, if only in reliance on Pindar, who styles Ortygia the “couch of Artemis,” as well as the “breathing place of Alpheus,” and still more specifically (*Pyth.* 2; 7), “seat of fluvial Artemis.” The

scholiast (Nem. 1; 1) states that the nymph who fled from the love of Alpheus to Sicily, was Artemis herself, who received the title Artemis Alphæa; and that the pursuing Alpheus—whether as variously told along the surface or the bottom of the sea, or subterraneously, became the fountain of Arethusa. This confusion seems to have been induced by a form of the legend, in which, as in Virgil, both pursuer and pursued were streams,

—qui nunc
Ore, Arethusa, tuo Siculis confunditur undis,
Æn. 3; 695,

and in the oracle quoted by Pausanias (5; 7, 3). The Artemis of Ortygia in any case is something more than a simple nymph of a fountain, though the fountain may be sacred to her. That the fish of the coin have reference to the insular outline, and not to the celebrated multitude of fish in the protected fresh-water fount, I believe, because they occur on later coins about heads, not probably identifiable with Artemis or Arethusa, and swimming reverse ways, which I interpret as significant of the transformation of the island into a promontory by the later dam. To Artemis is dedicated appropriately the treasure of Damareta;—to Artemis also, perhaps, by the same title to which she owed the special acknowledgments of the Athenians after their great victory and slaughter of the Medes at Marathon.

To Apollo at Delphi, Gelon dedicated a golden tripod,

according to Diodorus, of 16 talents, but according to some interpretations of a distich of the reported inscription that reads much like an interpolation, from the tithe of the tenth of this Damaretian treasure, equalling 50 talents 100 litra. Vain have been the struggles to rescue from among these contradictions a testimony available for history. The scholiast on Pindar's 1st Pythian (155) gives an inscription which is claimed in the Anthology for Simonides, and worthy of him, that liberally makes the tripod a joint memorial of all the four sons of Deinomenes; their names fit neatly into the hexameter in order of age. In its last lines it cannot be mistaken as asserting for the Sicilian dynasts a claim to be regarded as comrades of the victors who inscribed another golden tripod that stood close by from the spoils of Plataea. (Compare the epigrams in Bergk—Simonides, 140 (196), and 141 (196).)

At Olympia Pausanias saw a great statue of Zeus, and three linen corslets, the dedications of Gelon and the Syracusans for victories gained over the Carthaginians, both by sea and land. It is strange that this should be the only notice we have of the co-operation of the important fleet of Gelon, except in a reference to some unspecified naval victory, quoted from Ephorus by the scholiast on Pindar (1 Pyth. 146).

Hiero, who had previously been married to the daughter of a Syracusan, Nicocles, by whom he had his son Deinomenes, is mentioned as having also married

a daughter of Anaxilaus of Rhegium. It is quite possible that this alliance may have entered into the closing arrangements of a reckoning that must have been made with the Rhegian for his concern in inviting the interference of Carthage. Athenæus (xii. 542) quotes from Duris a notice of a park near Hipponion in Italy, beautified with woods and waters, and of a place called the Horn of Amalthea, as established by Gelon; whether as possessor of territory here also does not appear. The family alliances of these potentates are completed by Theron's marriage with a niece of Gelon, the daughter of Polyzelus, a brother younger than Hiero.

If we may trust Diodorus or his authorities, Gelon was the more disposed to a policy of conciliation from his anxiety to take part with his fleet in the contest with Xerxes. Herodotus enlarges, as we have seen, upon a different tale, and gives dramatic effect to his refusal of aid, unless under inadmissible conditions, while he intimates candidly at the same time that other statements were current, which he does not pretend to disallow. Let us recognise that this is an honester way of writing history than a later fashion, adopted from historical romances, of stating as plump fact whatever will work up most picturesquely with any plausible coherence.

If such a project were indeed entertained, the news of the battle of Salamis speedily brought it to an end. Herodotus has a story how Gelon was under consider-

able apprehension of a Persian attack upon himself in case the Greeks should succumb, and prepared to make in such case his timely submission ; he despatched, it is said, Cadmus of Cos to Delphi with three pentecosters and considerable treasure, which he was instructed to present to Xerxes in the event of his victory, with friendly speeches and earth and water in token of submission ; if victory fell to the Greeks, he was to bring all back. That he did so, justified the confidence of Gelon ; that he should be held up as a surprising example of conscientiousness, for not taking the opportunity to abscond with it, excites our admiration rather for the discerning confidence of the truster than for the honesty of the trusted. As to the transaction itself, it seems most probable that Gelon's despatch of treasure to Delphi was the precaution of securing a nest egg, in view of the contingencies of the much more immediately imminent conflict with the power of Carthage, already at his door.

And now when victorious warfare, warding off the great peril of Sicily, had been crowned by free partition of valuable spoil, by repayment to citizens, as he had promised, of sums levied for prosecution of the war, and by well-consolidated alliances, the aged Gelon might look back over his career, and all its disregards of humanities and rights—its provocations of jealousies and hatreds, and think the

opportunity favourable to challenge during the first contentment with glorious rescue, recognition of his foresight and of his patriotic energy. One last scene remained for him to act with well assumed dignity—in description it reads like an equivalent of a modern suggestion of plebiscitary condonation. He convoked a general assembly of the citizens in arms, and presenting himself without guards, without armour, and in the very simplest civil costume, he set forth an apology for his whole life, and especially for his dealings with Syracuse and the Syracusans.

The multitude, enthusiastic at his courage as much as his speech, cheered every sentence, and “so far was he from incurring retribution as a tyrant, that he was greeted with universal acclaim as Benefactor, and Saviour, and King,” and in memory of the event there was dedicated, in the temple of Hera, the statue of Gelon unarmed.

He did not have an opportunity of testing the persistence of this enthusiasm and gratitude, or of showing himself proof against the temptation to abuse it; he died within two years of his greatest triumph—according to Aristotle, quoted from his unhappily lost “Polity of the Geloans” (Schol. Pyth. 1; 89) of dropsy. As his ailment was advancing, he committed the government to his brother Hiero, in anticipation of his plans for the devolution of his power, and made order for the conduct of his funeral in conformity with restrictions that he had himself set by law

on the tendency at Syracuse to extravagant obsequies. His popularity made up for the absence of any pomp ; the entire population of the city accompanied the body to the place of interment, 200 stadia distant (probably we should read 20), at a property of his wife's, amidst the so-called Nine Towers—structures of vast size (Diod. Sic. 11 ; 38), but whether distributed about a general enclosure or otherwise, we know not. The demus further erected over him an imposing tomb, and paid him there the heroic honours that were still held to pertain to the founders of cities. This property of Damareta was probably in the territory of Leontini, where we have met with Ænesidamus, father of Theron, as governor, if not also native.

An account given elsewhere by Diodorus, of the destruction by the Carthaginians of the sumptuous hieron of Damareta and Gelon, places it inconsistently with his former account, close to Syracuse. The enviousness of Agathocles caused the demolition of the towers, but the fame of Gelon—his best fame, was vindicated when, after the revolution brought about by Timoleon, the Syracusans passed sentence on statue after statue, as if on living men themselves, and selling others without hesitation, reserved that of the antique Gelon out of still surviving respect for the hero of the day of Himera (Plut. Timol. 23).

CHAPTER VI.

ARISTODEMUS OF CUMÆ.

A CAREER of a politician like Gelon implies the instinctive appreciation of political capacity in enemies, in instruments and in allies, a consideration that favours the truth of the narrative of Dionysius of Halicarnassus of his reception of envoys from Rome. Their mission was to obtain corn to relieve a famine that occurred at Rome B.C. 492—1, in the first years of his tyranny at Gela. One of them was brother of a Consul, and no doubt the relations that already existed between Rome and Carthage were canvassed. Gelon supplied 50,000 Sicilian medimni of corn, half at a very low price, the other half for nothing; and, moreover, transported it in his own vessels gratuitously—so runs the story.

There is much interest in this first gleam of light through the partition wall that seems so enviously interposed between the more glorious days of Greece and the commencement of the fateful power of Rome. The same light glances again momentarily from incidents at Cumæ, which are worth adverting to here—not only from the ensuing concern of Syracuse,

under Hiero, in Cumæan politics, but also because the story of the tyranny that was there running its course, and that must have been notorious over Greece, will serve to define the characteristics of a tyranny generally as they were apprehended at this time. The Attic tragedians insist upon the excesses and catastrophes of royal houses, with a sensitive repugnance that may surprise us, if we suppose that the sympathy of their audience were only prepared by the distant and alien instances of Persian monarchs, or the scarcely less remote Greek dynasts that Sparta chiefly had brought to an end—not to speak of the offences of the Pelopids, or of Œdipus, their most usual themes. Thucydides, no doubt, assures us that the sharp rule of the Pisistratids had left a deeply infixed sting, but even this scarcely accounts for the lively familiarity that the poets assume with every multifarious form of abuse and liability to viciousness and misery, public and domestic, as inherent attributes of personal power, however it may have formed a nucleus of associations. The details of the rise and reign and fall of Aristodemus, tyrant of Cumæ, must have been ringing, in the age of Æschylus, in every Ionian ear, and the poets who, like Æschylus and Pindar, consented to accept the favours and embellish the festivities of a Hiero, must have well understood the contingencies of the position, and been prepared to vindicate the exceptional endowments and dealings of their host.

It was about the 64th Olympiad, 524 B.C., that

Cumæ, which was then under an oligarchical constitution, had to resist an attack by a confederation of Tuscans, Umbrians, Daunians, and other barbarians, in enormous force. The fertility of its Campanian plain, and the commercial activity that took full advantage of its excellent ports, had enriched the city with accumulated wealth, and with population that itself might be merchandise and tempt spoliation.

The battle which took place close to the city reminds of Marathon; the moment of onset was decided by some asserted prodigies—rivers said to be running upward to their sources, probably only flooding the marshes on the coast, in consequence of such storms as it is told went on while the battle raged. The barbarians, attacked at disadvantage, where their numbers, cooped between heights and swamps, did not avail them, were turned to flight, and suffered even more by trampling each other down in the marshes near the lake than by the pursuing sword. The cavalry offered greater resistance, but this too was hampered for space to act, and was ultimately defeated.

The foreign danger past, dissension broke out in the city. Aristodemus, surnamed, for some unknown reason, Malacus—the Mild or the Smooth—whether in compliment or in irony, had rendered the greatest service and slain among other opponents the hostile commander, and was supported by the demus in just claim to the *aristeia*—the first crown. The aristocratic

governors supported the Hipparch Hippomedon, and the contention was only appeased for a time by the weak compromise of equal honours to both. Aristodemus however remained established as the troublesome leader of a discontented democratic party. It was twenty years after the great deliverance, that the council (Boulé) thought they had found a means of decently getting rid of him. The Aricini, besieged by the Etruscans, under Aruns, son of Porsena, sued for aid, and Aristodemus was despatched, professedly out of respect for his military capacity, but in command of so ill-selected and ill-found a force and armament, as were relied on to secure his death and that of his most obnoxious supporters, either by the Tuscan weapons or by shipwreck. He made no secret of being aware of the treacherous design, and sailed nevertheless. But a short time elapsed before he reappeared in Cumæan waters, anxious to be the first announcer of his own success, and bringing ships of the rescued Aricini laden with their gifts, with spoils and with Etruscan captives. But before he approached the port of Cumæ, he drew his vessels to the shore, and called his forces to a common assembly, and prepared them for events; he inveighed at large against the oligarchy, who had doomed so many of them, no less than himself, to destruction, expatiated on the feats of valour done by individuals in the action, distributed money man by man, and finally, making common property of the presents he had

received in acknowledgment of his great service, bespoke their aid in case any attempt should be made against him by the oligarchy on his presenting himself at home. The assembly dismissed, he summoned to his tent the men "who were the greatest villains of the set, and most effective of their hands," and opening to them his plan for a revolution, engaged them by gifts, professions, and all manner of delusive promises—do we recognise here the Malacus?—to stand by him in the enterprise, and assigned to each the part he was to take. Among the captives again he found those who were only too happy to co-operate in exchange for liberty without ransom.

His reception by the general demus when he reappeared in the port with vessels in the accustomed trim of victory, was most enthusiastic; the governing party were in corresponding dismay; for a few days he was quiet—he had vows to pay to the gods—certain ships of burden were still on their way;—some details of his project had doubtless still to be matured. He then announced himself to be prepared to make full report to the Senate respecting the contest, and to exhibit the spoils. Before the whole body of officials in the full Senate-house, he commenced an harangue detailing all the circumstances of the battle. His confederates in the meantime posted themselves with concealed weapons, and at a given signal rushed on the assembly, and slaughtered every man. The panic-stricken multitude deserted streets and agora, while

the conspirators seized citadel, naval arsenal, and all the strong posts of the city. In the course of the night he had organised a body-guard made up of his immediate adherents, the Tuscan liberated captives, and desperate men delivered from the gaol where they were expecting death.

To the reassembled demus the next day he set forth his own grievances against the aristocracy, and declared himself the champion of liberty for all, of equal laws, of everything excellent; he held out the tempting promises "that tyrannies always begin with"—of re-distribution of lands and cancelment of debts, and demanded appointment as irresponsible strategus only until he should have carried out these reforms, and crowned the edifice by establishing democratical government on a firm basis. On the pretext of guarding against bloodshed in prosecuting these drastic measures, he disarmed the people—the arms were to be deposited in sacred places, ready for use against external enemies,—and then, on the ready charge of having kept back weapons, he put to death whom he pleased.

Thenceforward popular support was dispensed with, and his power rested upon a military force composed of three elements, all detestable—the vilest of the citizens, slaves who had earned their liberty by murder of their masters, and barbarians of the most savage races.

The actions subsequently ascribed to Aristodemus the Meek, comprise all that is unscrupulous and

shameless, crafty and cruel. Confiscations and executions go hand in hand, and those who bring husbands and fathers to death, are held best entitled to the hands of widows or daughters. "Whether by the suggestion of an oracle or natural alarm," it was once his design to put to death the male children of his victims. The influence of the mothers averted this; and he then sought to preclude all danger from them, by debarring them from the use of liberal Hellenic education and so reducing them to servile manners and conditions, or to effeminacy. Excluded from the city, and dispersed about the country, he hoped that they would grow up dull, debased, and ignorant. Even so, as time went on he became alarmed; at least, it was circulated and believed that he meditated a massacre. The sons of the Hipparch Hippomedon, who were in exile at Capua, watched the opportunity to encourage a revolt, gathered arms, and friends, and mercenaries, waged first a cautious guerilla warfare, and ultimately succeeded in drawing away the tyrant's force upon a false pursuit, and seized the city. They captured Aristodemus himself, and put him to death the same night with studied tortures, and every member of his family, and every friend and confederate on whom, by eager search, they could lay their hands.

In the morning they mustered in the agora; and there they summoned an assembly of the demus, and laid down their arms, and frankly re-established the free polity of the country.

This incident can only be dated proximately, as after 490 B.C. It is noted that in that year, the fourteenth of the rule of Aristodemus—the thirty-fourth after his first patriotic service,—envoys arrived from Rome, on the same mission as those to Sicily, to purchase corn to meet the famine. They were encountered by reclamations of Tarquinian exiles, refugees with a congenial host, and at last were glad to escape with their lives, leaving the treasure that they had brought for the purchase of corn as the booty of the umpire of the quarrel, Aristodemus.

CHAPTER VII.

HIERO, TYRANT OF SYRACUSE.

POSTERITY has assented to the judgment of antiquity, that Gelon was the greatest and the noblest of all the Greek tyrants, destitute though he was apparently of the passion for the arts that distinguished many of them—among others his brother Hiero. Once when the lyre was handed to him in his turn at a symposium, he put it by, had his horse brought in, and vaulted lightly into the saddle as his display of accomplishment (Plut. R. and I. Apo.). Is it under all the circumstances fortunate for him or to be lamented that history grudges more complete memorials of his character and has not to record a longer career?

Like so many rulers who have attained supreme power in virtue of personal qualities, the anxiety of his last years was to secure the succession of a son independently of personal qualities. It is not easy amidst scanty and conflicting evidence to evolve his exact politic scheme. His brother Hiero, next to him in age, of distinguished ability, practised and to a certain extent established in command, could scarcely but be the immediate inheritor of his power, if only in trust

for a boy whose turn from relative age must of necessity be deferred. But it is on record—one of those incidental notices we are so often reduced to,—that Hiero was once involved in very serious dispute with his brother about power (Schol. Pyth. 1 ; 91) ; when more probably than at the crisis of disappointment from the birth or disposal of an heir ?

Gelon's own treatment or experience of the treatment of the sons of Hippocrates his predecessor, forewarned him of what might be in store for his son. Reminiscences of tyrannies abundant were rich in such warnings to those who did not give in to the disposition of the vulgar to let contentment with the present and comfortable anticipation cover over all the lessons of the past. He committed his heir therefore to the charge not of Hiero but of his next brother Polyzelus, whom he sought to strengthen by giving him the command of the army, and, we are even told, bequeathing his widow Damareta, daughter of Theron, for a wife. Even in case of the failure of Polyzelus the guardianship was to revert not to Hiero but to Chromius and Antonous (or Aristonous), officers of Gelon to whom he had (Timæus ap. schol. Nem. 9 ; 95) given his sisters in marriage. This arrangement is entirely in the spirit of the legislation of the Catanæan Charondas, who assigned the care of an orphan's property to the paternal relatives who would profit by its safety in case of his death, but committed the guardianship of the infant himself—of his life—to the relatives of the mother.

There seems to be an inconsistency, which only expresses the difficulty of the case, in the account that while Gelon left the sovereignty to Hiero he assigned to Polyzelus the command of the army. In such dynastic systems control of the army, if really effective, carries sovereignty. The arrangement could have no promise at all unless under an anticipation of cordiality between the surviving brothers that the very precautions which are the essence of the scheme seem to belie. Mistrust and jealousy indeed soon sprung up; Polyzelus was already father-in-law of Theron, and it does not appear that he would strengthen his claim for assistance from that quarter materially by becoming his son-in-law also; but it may be gathered, I believe from Pindar direct, as well as from the scholiasts, that his marriage with Damareta was perhaps clandestine, and certainly displeasing in the highest degree to Hiero.

Testimonies which we can scarcely call authorities in such a case, vary irreconcilably as to further details; two accounts agree that Hiero would fain have sent his brother out of Sicily on an expedition to interfere in favour of Sybaris against Crotona, and with a treacherous view to his destruction; according to one he refused to undertake it, the other avers that he carried it through with brilliant success; his success, according to a third notice, was against some adjacent Sicilian barbarians.

The points in which all agree are perhaps those

which in themselves are most probable and suit the situation of affairs—that Hiero was willing to keep his brother away from Syracuse, engaged in unpromising and unpopular expeditions, and along with him, perhaps, whatever soldiery were most likely to breed difficulties at home.

Polyzelus, in ambition or levity, in any case imprudently, seems to have affected a degree of splendour and popularity that was most apt to excite the jealousy of a disposition like Hiero's, on whose part the first breach of cordiality would suffice to alarm him, either with reason or without, as to the good faith with which it was proposed to send him on a remote and dangerous expedition. In result he fled to Theron, who, in the interest of his grandson, prepared to vindicate or defend him. Hiero at once appears in the field at the head of the Syracusan forces, without any mention of difficulties at home, but we need not doubt that hard measures had been dealt meantime to the abettors of Polyzelus who were in his power. Proposals reach him at the same time for cooperation on the part of citizens of Himera; galled by the administration of Thrasydæus, son of Theron, they accuse him to Hiero of having stimulated the designs imputed to Polyzelus, and hope too sanguinely that this quarrel may lead to their liberation.

The forces of Hiero and Theron are confronted by the river Gela, and here negotiations ensue through the medium of the lyric poet Simonides (558 B.C.—

468 B.C.); a very constant guest at Syracuse, and with attachments in the family of Theron,—he had celebrated in Epinician poetry the victories of his brother Xenocrates. He had now reached a very advanced period of a life spent in honour and wealth, and in such constant intercourse with politicians and kings and tyrannies—with Thessalian Scopads and Aleuads—with Athenian Pisistratids in earlier days—with Anaxilaus of Rhegium, as well as with Hiero and Theron since, as to give both weight and point to the counsels of his experience. Personal interests and associations, the sympathies of ancient comrades, the fellow feeling of tyrants, conduced to a speedy understanding. The Himeræans on one side, it is on record,—and record apart, there can be little doubt, Polyzelus on the other, are made the scapegoats; the intriguers against Thrasydæus are disclosed to Theron by Hiero, who can have no wish to encourage civic revolt, and they have to abide the bitter consequences of flying to one tyrant for aid against another. Theron puts so many to death that a void is created in the Ionic population of the city, which he fills up shortly afterwards by an infusion of Dorian colonists.

According to one account, indeed, Polyzelus is reconciled to Hiero, but here he drops out of history; the rights and position of the young son of Gelon and Damareta are, however, certainly reserved, as he is found alive after the death of Hiero, and if not in the guardianship, under the ill-starred influence of the

youngest son of Deinomenes, Thrasybulus. Damareta also is here lost sight of ; but the value of the family alliance that the quarrel had weakened, was sought to be reinstated by the marriage of Hiero himself with a niece of Theron, the daughter of his brother Xenocrates, and sister of Pindar's friend the other Thrasybulus. (Cf. Schol. Pind. Olym. 2 ; 29.) One authority substitutes a sister of Theron himself. His son Deinomenes, however, remained his only child—issue of his first marriage with the daughter of Nicocles, a Syracusan. (Schol. Pyth. 1 ; 112.)

Another sign of a tendency to dissolution in the confederacy combined by Gelon, but ever dependent on the vigorous handling of the preponderant power of Syracuse, comes before us in this same year, 477 B.C. Anaxilaus of Rhegium, in conjunction with his son Cleophron established at Messene, molests—prepares in fact, according to Epicharmus, (*ἐν Νάροις*, quoted by Schol. Pyth. 1,) to subvert utterly the Epizephyrian Locrians, with whom Hiero has such friendly relations that he despatches Chromius to interpose authoritatively on their behalf. Chromius, as we learn from Pindar, was son of Agesidamus, a name which occurs as that of an Epizephyrian Locrian, whose Olympic victory the poet celebrates, in the boxing of boys ; and we have thus a presumption of relationship and some personal interest of the envoy in those he was sent to protect. He had been the

comrade of Gelon at the battle of the Helorus, and as we have seen, became his brother-in-law, and was left designated as guardian to his son in succession to Polyzelus. His perfect sympathy, however, with the able Hiero, is proved not only by his undertaking this mission at the present time, but in the fullest manner by the terms of the Odes addressed to him on occasion of a Nemean chariot victory some years later—473 B.C., after the establishment of Deinomenes, son of Hiero, at Ætna. His mission was immediately and entirely successful, and Pindar does not omit a full recognition of the diplomatic glories of the then aged warrior.

It seems to have been in this year that Hiero gained the victory with colts in some Greek games, that is celebrated in the Ode that stands as the second Pythian; and allusions in this very clearly imply that the attempt of Anaxilaus was in contravention of the terms on which his Carthaginian intrigues had been clemently condoned by Gelon.

In the next year, 476 B.C., Theron achieved the great glory of victory with the four-horse chariot at the Olympic games as Gelon had done sixteen years before. This was the first celebration of the Olympia after the victory at Salamis, the occasion of the great glorification of Themistocles; and here, if anywhere at all, we must place the riotous demonstration instigated by Themistocles against Hiero as a tyrant, the demolition of his splendid tent,

and exclusion of his horses from the race. (Plut. Them. 25.)

It does not appear on what ground Theron was exempt from the odium of tyranny; the excitement may, however, have been due rather to the currency of such a tale as Herodotus accepted, of the refusal of Syracusan auxiliaries; and the ever-open chapter of personal piques and rivalries still remains to account for any degree of inconsistency.

The ambition of the Sicilian dynasts to gain distinctions in the great festivals of Greece proper, is characteristic of colonists and descendants of colonists; whatever the wealth, and whatever the true glory they may gain or merit in their new seats, they are apt to be haunted by an oppressive sense of inferiority—by an anxiety lest they should be forgotten or depreciated at home, that mark the subjugation of their spirits. An hereditary suspicion if not consciousness survives, that the first settlers abroad had been repudiated or beaten out at home, were at least those on whom the attachment to native country—always a sentiment felt to carry honour,—had operated somewhat feebly. In ancient times, no less than modern, though genius might be born in secondary seats of a civilised race, it constantly turned its steps towards the central family hearth, and seemed there first to respond to the finest impulses of emulation,—to become able to develope from a tendency to an inspiration made manifest,—to take place in the main

line of transmitters of the divine torch from generation to generation and secure the solicitude of the world for preservation of its memorials.

At the beginning of this year, or somewhat earlier, occurred a great eruption of Mount Ætna. Thucydides gives a date for it fifty years earlier than one he dates 425 B.C., that is, 475 B.C.; but the round number suggests that this may nevertheless be the same as the great eruption dated by the Parian marble more exactly in 479 B.C. It was probably the extensive devastation it caused, and the consequent disorganisation and difficulties of the surrounding population, that helped Hiero to an opportunity to carry out a policy that seems to have become his ruling passion. Naxos on the north, and its colony Catana southwards, were the two Greek cities and ports of which the territories were most exposed to the ravages of the volcano. As of Chalcidian origin, their population was Ionian, like that of Himera, and the treatment they received appears to imply that they were at least suspected of sympathy with the Ionian malcontents of Himera, and that Hiero, like Theron, believed that a partial, if not complete Dorization, would be conducive to acquiescence with his rule. He transferred the inhabitants of both these cities to Leontini, which was also an offshoot of Naxos, but inland, and supplied their places with 5000 settlers collected from Peloponnesus, and as

many from Syracuse. He changed the name of Catana to *Ætna*, and increasing its territory by other adjacent, distributed it among the 10,000 colonists. That the supplanting of Ionian institutions and principles by Dorian was a leading motive, is evident from the manner in which Pindar makes much of the sanctity and sobriety of the antique Doric maxims of government applied to the new city. It was a point of policy of the Sicilian tyrant to gain recognition of his rule as legitimate in principle, according to the precedent of kings of Dorian Sparta. Ionian opinion had already passed beyond this point, and the aspirations and successes of the Athenians at this time were carrying hopes and ambitions very decidedly towards the independence of most unqualified republicanism. Hiero made his son Deinomenes the governor—the king—of his new city, and thus even effected the semblance of a double kingship, in a manner parallel to the Spartan conjoint royalty. Subsequent events prove that *Ætna* was further intended by Hiero as a check upon difficulties at Syracuse, by forming an outlying camp, occupied by adherents whose fortunes were bound up with the dynasty, or, indeed, even with himself personally, more absolutely than the Gelonians, and as provision for a royal seat for his son in view of the anticipated succession of the son of Gelon. Policy apart, there was a splendid ambition of obtaining the heroic honours paid to the founder of the city—Diodorus

says, of a myriandrian city, as if a population of 10,000 were the established qualification,—the honours that meet us in all the colonies east and west, and that his brother Gelon, as true founder of the magnitude of Syracuse, had already obtained.

It is quite intelligible that operations of this nature should be represented by the leader of Ionian Greece at such a time, as disqualifying for participation in the games that were the most marked expression of Hellenic unity.

Anaxilaus of Rhegium died in this year, 476 B.C., after a long reign of eighteen years. We know but little of his power, or the employment of it, beyond some appearance that it formed an important outwork against the maritime control of the Etrurians. He had closed the straits to their piracy, and this may be a word that includes more definite political encroachment. Like Hippocrates, and like Gelon, he left minors to succeed him, but he was at least more fortunate in his adoption of a guardian.

Within two years after his death, 474 B.C., envoys arrived at Syracuse from beyond the straits, soliciting aid for the primæval settlement of Cumæ against the Etruscans, who were already again in command of the sea, and may have received some support from Carthaginian ships (Schol. Pyth. 1; 137). Hiero despatched a fleet under Chromius, now advanced in years, his ancient comrade at the battle of the Helorus; we might even infer from the

compliments of Pindar, interpreted literally, that he was with his armament in person, suffering though he was from gout and stone. The Syracusan fleet, after effecting a junction with the native fleet, attacked the Etrurian before Cumæ, and gained in a great battle an important and decisive victory. Pindar refers to the power of the Etrurians as not less formidable than that of Carthage, and even after the successes that had been obtained against both, can but pray that the conflict may not speedily be renewed. It was left for the Romans to steadily regard every period of tranquillity as only a truce in a war that never could really end, so long as an enemy was left in a condition from which he could by any possibility recover. It has been plausibly conjectured, that the favourable terms on which Rome at this time (Liv. 2 ; 54) concluded a forty years' truce with Veii, were due to the weakening of Etruscan power by this naval catastrophe. The battle won, and the Cumæans delivered, the fleet of Hiero returned to Syracuse ; but we learn from Strabo that he occupied the island of Pithecusa over against Cumæ, and established a fort there ; both were evacuated, but when is unknown, in consequence of volcanic disturbances. A helmet, that was among his dedications at Olympia from the Etruscan spoil—now lies, with its inscription legible, in the British Museum ; two others were found with it, but un-inscribed.

In this same year Hiero received the third Pythian Ode of Pindar, sent to him from Greece, and had the gratification of gaining the chariot race in the Pythian games, that is celebrated in the Ode that stands as the first Pythian, and of being proclaimed on the occasion as Hiero of Ætna.

In 473-72 B.C., the year of the Persæ of Æschylus, Theron died, in the sixteenth year of his tyranny, and was succeeded at Acragas and Himera by his son Thrasydæus, destined for but a short reign. That his courses were violent and bloody does not account for the catastrophe; it is by having nerve for such courses that the ambitious command the admiration of one craven section of mankind and the craven submission of another, establish tyrannies, and gain at least a chance of transmitting them. But the difference lies in opportunity partly and then in instinct of opportuneness. Theron received heroic honours from a grateful country, and Thrasydæus took his place with all the confidence of an heir of fully established power. The shock that was to overthrow him, after shortest enjoyment of it, came from without.

Within a year of his succession he was at war with Hiero; the narrative of Diodorus makes him the aggressor, but the aggressor in war is not determined by the delivery of the first blow. To have given cause for just or even natural apprehension ought, in history at least, to attach the obloquy of provocation as truly as sudden onslaught. Hiero and Thrasydæus

had already been embroiled in the affair of Polyzelus, and it seems less likely that the ruler of Acragas should have been forward to cope with the great force of Syracuse now consolidated in the hands of Hiero, than that Hiero, distrustful of the disposition and contemning the abilities of Thrasydæus, should have prepared to strike a blow that would bring under his control the entire resources of Doric Sicily.

The conflict seems to have taken place upon Agrigentine territory, but the scene is not named. Thrasydæus had made up the large force of 20,000 horse and foot by the engagement of mercenaries, many if not all barbarians, in addition to levies of Himera and Acragas. The battle was well contested, and there was at least this sign that the Agrigentines felt that they were fighting for independence, that the chief slaughter occurred wherever Greeks were opposed to Greeks. The Syracusans had greatly the advantage, and the resources of Thrasydæus were so reduced, together with his influence, that a revolutionary movement was encouraged and successful, and the republic was restored. He himself escaped to Nisæan Megara where, how or why is not recorded, possibly through some animosity of Selinus—a Megaræan colony—he was condemned and put to death.

Envoys from the new government treat for peace with Hiero and obtain it; this tells us little of the real nature of the settlement and its conditions; as whether it included any effective recognition of the

supremacy of Hiero to compensate to him for the unpleasantness and danger to a tyrant of a democracy established in such manner and so close at hand. Among notices of the life of Empedocles there is a vague reference to a council of "The Thousand" as an aristocratical institution, which, it is said, might have ended in a tyranny again but for sharp measures of the philosopher, who divined and frustrated the intrigue and opened the governing body to the poorer as well as the wealthy. (Diog. Laert. 8 ; 64-71.) The text includes a reference to a term of three years, but too obscurely for even a bold interpreter to give it a place with confidence. That such a revolution should not have ended in the promoter of it becoming himself the tyrant, was at least so strange as to originate the story that kingship was offered to the youthful philosopher, and philosophically declined.

CHAPTER VIII.

HIERO TYRANT OF SYRACUSE: PATRON OF ART.

FROM the Olympic year 472 B.C. to the next 468 B.C. Hiero's recorded history is nearly blank. The blank page of history may or may not be a proof of the happiness of the governed; it may be taken, however, as a pretty certain sign of the strength of a government. The repute of that of Hiero is rather for strength than for humanity; Aristotle at least preserves proverbial allusions to his informers and eavesdroppers, spies of either sex, as appears by their nicknames, *otakustæ* and *potagogides*—and imputes to him some of those meaner arts of the tyrant and a debasing suspiciousness of all confidential reunions, that it seems were still compatible with geniality among intimates, and enjoyment and encouragement of poetry and all the arts. Avariciousness, prompting to violence, is charged upon him by Diodorus,—to violence, of which it is implied in a sarcasm of Xenophanes, that some who had been his intimates were on a time the victims.

It is difficult to reconcile the enduring familiarity and friendship of such men as Pindar and Æschylus,

with the last degradations of the tyrannical character in Hiero, or to suppose that the characteristics of his court, which are fully in evidence as sympathetic in the highest degree with the best refinements of social culture and intercourse, of inventive and enthusiastic poetry and art, were compatible with habitual gloomy mistrust of domestic treachery. We must allow something for the usual exaggeration of the vices of a fallen dynasty—something for a tendency to generalise the natural dispositions of tyrannies which may in some instances have only had occasional, although doubtless more usually habitual, development. There is no proof that Hiero did not largely share the popularity won by the services of Gelon, in which he had so importantly co-operated, and that might well exempt him from constant haunting apprehensions of conspiracy; at the same time there is proof enough, as we shall see, on collation of the complications respecting Polyzelus with the expressions of Pindar, vindictory as I read them, that in this instance at least, Hiero, whether in self-assertion or self-defence, had countervailed and was content to be told openly that he had countervailed intrigue by intrigue, guile by all the resources of guile, as well as by summary violence when the crisis demanded it. Thus much, I believe, may be clearly inferred, though we may smile where only respect forbids us to laugh, at the naïveté with which German critics have interpreted the mythical precedents and

high-pitched protestations of Pindar in favour of Hiero as rebuke, and rebuke in a tone more befitting a Hebrew prophet with his loins girt about with camel's hide, than a poet guest at a luxurious court.

The court of Hiero as a centre of social polish and festive luxury and poetry and art, where pay awaited pleasing—the very harvest-field in Pindar's phrase or metaphor—of the ripened crests of whatsoever is excellent and distinguished, is to be compared with that of Pisistratus and his sons in their better days, or with the still earlier of Polycrates of Samos. A centre of lavish wealth is the all but indispensable condition of a great development of art; the susceptibility of a high enthusiasm, that taken with intellectual endowment almost rises to genius on the part of the dispensers of this wealth, is another. These conditions do not invariably coincide, as when genius is starved out for the behoof of liveries and equipages, game and gamekeepers; or when the sense of beauty is not equal to the aspiration after it, and false art is fondly fostered, the vulgar, the tawdry, the blank and the dull,—weeds in place of fruit and flowers. Admitted it must be that some of the worst of political rulers have left to the world standard and exemplar types of what refinement and embellishment of the all but noblest kind human life is susceptible of. Hiero furnished a later western instance of the cultured tyranny that had already gone by in central Greece, but the impulse was destined to be continued among the republics that

superseded his dynasty, even as republican Athens more than emulated the tyrants she expelled.

The familiarity of Æschylus with Sicily receives frequent mention in antiquity ; it was illustrated from his works with proofs more or less satisfactory, as frequent Sicilian idioms and traces of Pythagorean doctrine, and accounted for by motives that are only too numerous to give us particular information. He was said to have quitted Athens in disgust at the superior success of Simonides of Ceos in the epigram (*elegeion*) for the slain at Marathon, yet to retreat to Syracuse would only have been to retire where Simonides was most at home ; or at the preference obtained by the youthful Sophocles ; or from the prejudice he incurred by a fall of scaffolding with spectators at one of his tragedies ; or by the mishaps of chiding women alarmed by the chorus of Furies in his "Eumenides." Modern criticism has added the still more probable suggestion that he withdrew willingly before that decided set of politics at Athens against the Eupatrid influence, that he deprecated with such point in the "Oresteia." The connection of his retirement with some unpopularity at the production of the "Eumenides," may not therefore be altogether unfounded, and even the story of the miscarriages, an absurdity as it stands, may perhaps be traceable to its origin. There is another story that indignation arose on one occasion, or was excited against Æschylus—himself of the Eleusinian deme—as making public, in a drama, some

detail of the Eleusinian mysteries. One of the recognised punishments on a country for enduring such impiety, was frequent mischance at childbirth — failure of the human harvest that was affected by the favour or aversion of the powers of the earth, no less than the harvest of bread corn, of which the vicissitudes were its ritual symbol. The promises of the conciliated Eumenides at the conclusion of the trilogy, express this function most distinctly, and the envious and the inimical might be ready to snatch at the hint and take their cue from the innovations introduced in this very chorus, to combine a charge of sacrilege along with the disparagement of patriotism and national sympathy. Aristophanes in the "Frogs" gives a picture of the great tragedian's haughty, self-reliant bearing, that reminds us, like the parallelism of his art, of Michael Angelo; with such a character he was as likely not to brook caprice as the newly elate demus was to exercise it; and the epitaph (Brunck, Anal. 2, 188) to be justified, that recording his death far from his Cecropian home by the white waters of Gela, laments the grudge too often borne by the Theseïds against their better citizens.

It is in favour of these combinations that Æschylus is recorded to have died at Gela, 456 B.C., after a three years' residence; a reckoning which carries him away from Athens immediately after the production of the "Oresteia," Ol. 80. 2 = 459 B.C.

Hiero, however, had been dead at this time seven or

eight years, and other friendships must have drawn Æschylus now to Sicily, and especially to Gela. The most distinct intimation of his earlier residence and intercourse with Hiero, is the statement of a scholiast of Aristophanes (Ran. 1028) that the "Persæ" was represented at Syracuse at the instance of Hiero; but this may not have been, probably was not, the first representation, which is dated Ol. 76. 4 = 473 B.C. The titles of the trilogy are preserved—Phineus, Persæ, Glaucus Potnieus; the clue to the principle of association of their subjects is satisfactorily in hand, but must be reserved here, as, rightly appreciated, it leads up to no special pertinence to Sicily or Hiero. I conclude that the Syracusan production was a repetition, the motive for which may be found in the complacency with which the sons of Deinomenes associated the Himeræan victory with the great deliverances of western Greece.

A year after the assumed Athenian production of the Persæ, Pindar was at Syracuse and produced the ode to Hiero that stands as his first Olympic. It is a fair conjecture that Æschylus was one of the band of poet guests that the master of lyric poetry declares himself to be proud to consort with at the hospitable table of the king, contributing ever to refined festivity.

It may have been in the course of this visit, it was certainly some time after 476 B.C., the foundation of Ætna, that Æschylus, in compliment to Hiero, produced his "Ætinaiai"—"Ætnean women"; the title

of the play and that it contained a local allusion to the Palici,—this is all we know of it.

Five ancient authors, at least,—Stobæus, Suidas, Ælian, V. Maximus, Pliny,—fill space, that might have been better bestowed, with the story that he died by an eagle dropping a tortoise on his bald head, mistaking it for a stone—perhaps the echo of a comedian's inexplicable jest, with dull allusion to the eagle and sea-crab of Agrigentine money. If his fellow-countrymen really slighted him, they were best rebuked in the lofty sounding epitaph that neglects his poetical to commemorate exclusively his patriotic fame ;

Æschylus,—son of Euphorion,—Athenian,—this marble sepulchral
 Hideth,—who died on the bank of Gela productive of corn ;
 What, well approved, was his valour,—the grove Marathonian may
 tell it ;—
 —May tell it the thick-curl'd Mede also,—he knew it right well.

Pindar was not the only lyric poet entertained at and adorning the court of Hiero, nor Æschylus the only dramatic poet.

Simonides, of Ceos (558–468 B.C.), came to Sicily in the last years of his long life. Like Pindar, he had sympathies with the triumphs of free Athens, that did not fail from previous friendship with Thesalian magnates, whose families had proved untrue to Greece. Even earlier he had consorted with Pisistratus, nor did his true Hellenic principles demand repudiation of the Doric kings of Syracuse. A preserved fragment of his poetry fully bears out his ancient reputation for mastery of pathos, the

one quality in which he was held to be superior even to Pindar. Scattered anecdotes of his intercourse with Hiero attest his freedom of speech, his wit and wisdom. Political history has introduced him as a successful mediator between Hiero and Theron.

Of Bacchylides, a nephew of Simonides, the notices are fewer and less important; important, if at all, as indicating that a very inferior poet to Pindar might allow himself to be thrust forward as a rival.

No other tragic poet is named as present in Sicily to contest the palm with Æschylus; but in comedy Epicharmus, from early age at least a Siceliot, displayed such genius and originality that the loss of his works is one of the most serious that we have to deplore. His father is said to have brought him, an infant, from Cos to Sicilian Megara; his life falls about 550-460 B.C. As the earliest of Greek writers of comedy, his works would be instructive and interesting, but even more so as presenting to us a phase of Doric character that is so generally and almost entirely out of sight, as to escape the recognition due to the certain proofs of its existence. From the partial, not to say one-sided, character of preserved Greek literature, we are too apt to accept the Athenian and the Spartan, as contrasted in the oration of Pericles, as absolute types of the Ionian and Doric genius. But Sparta represented Dorism

rendered rigid by austere discipline, by routine, and enforced taciturnity; in fragmentary historic hints, and especially in records of her monuments of plastic art and her music, we still can discern how versatile a spirit for true Hellenic refinement was crushed by a military legislation. Curt Spartan wit was but the dried skeleton of the exuberance that had unreserved development in Doric Sicily. The tongue of a Siceliot Dorian wagged as freely as an Athenian's, and a comedy of Epicharmus would have told us to what purpose, far more satisfactorily than we can gather from remote echoes in Theocritus.

With Epicharmus, Aristotle (Poet. v. 3) associates Phormis as another Sicilian inventor of comedy, and there is fair opening for argument, if not presumption, that we are to recognise him in the Arcadian general, attached by brilliant services to Gelon first, and afterwards to Hiero, and richly rewarded, whose dedications at Olympia and Delphi are described by Pausanias (5; 27.1). The Olympic dedications are first two horses and two charioteers, *ἡνολόχοι*; charioteers, it would seem, not riders—but in that case we ask, commemorative of what class of victory? They were the works respectively of the Argive Dionysius, and the Æginetan Simon. One horse bore on its side an inscription, "Phormis dedicated, an Arcadian of Mainalus, but now Syracusan." Another dedication, by a Syracusan friend, Lycortas, represented Phormis himself engaged in combat

with three opponents ; apparently one was represented as overcome, another as still resisting, a third prepared to attack. Whether this composition represented a single exploit, or symbolised a course of triple services, it is impossible to say. The three opponents may even have embodied three distinct nationalities ; it seems to be a plastic compliment of such an import as Pindar would have conveyed poetically by a parallel to Hercules as victor of Geryon.

Deinolochus, Syracusan or Agrigentine, is referred to sparsely, as a rival comic writer to Epicharmus.

The epoch of Sophron and his Mimes, is after the fall of the dynasty of the sons of Deinomenes.

Philosophy, which had a career in Sicily demanding separate notice, did not utterly avoid the court of Hiero, as it has been found more or less honourably, and more or less honoured or disgraced, about the court of many a cultivated or aspiring tyrant since. Pythagorean speculations and discipline were necessarily familiar, to whatever extent professed or practised. Xenophanes, of Colophon, was a rolling stone, and in the course of wanderings to gather and distribute knowledge, delivered in verse for what support he might obtain as a Rhapsode, he is found at Athens, at Elea, at Catana, and with Hiero at Syracuse. The fragments of his works, though scarcely more than detached lines, declare theological views directly contrasted with the anthropomorphism that

had crept into Greek religion, as the poetical elaboration of types gradually overlaid the serious notions symbolised. It is quite in conformity with this recurrence of contemplation to internal reality, rather than external type of the divine, that he denounced the mythology of Homer and the poets generally, and also ran counter so boldly to most popular feeling as to disparage qualifications that gained crowns in gymnic contests, as compared with mental culture.

We need not wonder that he does not seem to have mended his narrow circumstances by help of the liberality of Hiero. His complaint that he could scarcely keep two servants, only drew for him the retort that Homer, whom he despised so much, dead as he was, retained by his verses followers in thousands.

It appears to be by no means beyond our power to recover a conception of considerable approach to accuracy and completeness of the plastic art that was familiar to Hiero and Pindar. From definite notices and by comparison of scattered records, we may form a list of artists, their contemporaries, and appreciate the common characteristics of their style. The dedications of Gelon and his dynasty were preserved down to late times, some bearing most valuable inscriptions and the names of the artists whose other works were so numerous and important as to secure them frequent mention elsewhere.

The works of which we have notice, for the most

part in bronze, were figures, human or divine, from at least the natural up to so colossal a scale as ten cubits high (Paus. 5, 25 ; 7) ; and figures of animals, as horses, together with chariots or with riders.

Of the single statues, some were represented—gods certainly, and so probably also men—with characteristic costume or equipments, and no doubt with characteristic however composed attitude and gesture ; some of the groups, as the votive chariots and attendants especially, may have been rather markedly formal.

In another class, we may recognise both single statues and groups as very decidedly dramatic, that is, as representing not general character merely, but some special and more or less excited interest and action, usually of gymnastic exercise or conflict in battle.

The dedication that signalised Hiero's Olympic victories helps us to a very precise date. A bronze chariot and charioteer commemorated the victory with the four-horse chariot that he gained in the last year of his life ; that the four horses were represented is not positively stated, but can scarcely but be assumed. His two single-horse victories were represented by single horses with boy riders on either side of the chariot. The inscriptions recorded that the dedications were made after Hiero's death (467 B.C.) by his son Deinomenes, and that Onatas, son of Micon, domiciled at Ægina, was the artist. (Paus. 8, 42 ; 9.)

In another place, Pausanias assigns the chariot only

to Onatas and the horses and riders to Calamis. He reckons that Onatas was contemporary also of Hegias the Athenian, and Ageladas of Argos. Of his style he thinks it sufficient to note that, Æginetan as he was, he was in no respect inferior to the descendants or school of Dædalus of the Attic studio (*ergasterion*). Elsewhere, the Æginetan style is associated by him with the Old Attic, and the comparison is fully illustrated by the comparison of existing monuments, —the Æginetan pediments, and the archaic bas-reliefs from Attica and Eleusis.

The rapidity with which art was now developing is declared by the record that Ageladas, contemporary of Onatas, was instructor of Myron, of Phidias, and of Polycleetus. Of his own peculiarities of style we have no account. His works include gods, heroes, muses, pancratiasts, a votive chariot with horses, charioteer, and victor, and a group of bronze horses and captive Messapian women. This was a dedication of the Tarentines at Delphi from spoils of Messapians, where, also, from spoils of Peucetians, they dedicated a work of Onatas, assisted by an otherwise unknown Calynthus,—a group of warriors, foot and horse, a barbarous king lying as dead, and standing over him the hero Taras and the founder Phalanthus with his mythical dolphin at hand. The equestrian groups on the coins of Tarentum may possibly reflect some motives from these compositions.

Of Calamis, whom we have found associated with

Onatas, the notices are very numerous both in respect of his works and of his style, which is characterised as of very high excellence, while still most distinctly archaic. Cicero and Quintilian concur in ascribing to him a relaxation of the more rigid style of Canachus, Callon, and Hegesias—a relaxation that could be advanced still further by Myron, who even so did not attain the perfect ease of freedom that was carried to its perfection at once by Phidias. Pausanias recognised as his work some statues of boys dedicated by Agrigentum from spoils of Motya. They were represented, extending their right hands, as praying to the gods. Pliny, Propertius, and Ovid testify to the renown of his figures of horses, which agrees with the portion he was engaged to contribute to the dedication of Deinomenes. It is noteworthy that the hardness ascribed to his style does not preclude expressions of high admiration for the charm and delicacy of his heroines and feminine personifications.

Twenty years before the death of Hiero is dated (488 B.C.) the Olympic victory of an Astylus of Crotona, for whom a statue was made by Pythagoras of Rhegium. "He first," says Pliny, "expressed the veins and sinews, and treated the hair more carefully." "He was the first," says Diogenes Laertius, "to be studious of rhythm and symmetry." That is to say, Pythagoras had not a restricted, but still a special originality like the other men of genius, who, at this remarkable epoch, were all advancing

art together. The testimony to his excellence is very explicit, and it is of peculiar significance that he was said to have even surpassed Myron on his own strong ground, the representation of an athlete. This was in his statue of a Pancratiast at Delphi. The dramatic force of the Discobolus and the Satyr of Myron, was as palpable in the limping statue by Pythagoras, which spectators could not regard without seeming to suffer sympathetically.

The style of the earliest coins of Syracuse and Rhegium may be compared with that of Æginetan art, as recorded and as preserved in monuments; down to the death of Hiero, at least, we need not expect to recognise in Sicily more than the dawn of that great outburst of Nature's unrestricted light that was first made manifest decisively at Athens. So far, at least, the story of colonial plastic art corresponded, as we shall see, to that of its architecture. The Doric temples of Sicily, whatever their endeavours after novelty, have to the last a conformity in principle with that at Ægina.

In 468 B.C., one year before his death, Hiero gained the much-coveted glory of a victory in the chariot race at Olympia, as his predecessors Gelon and Hippocrates had done before him; but we have no poetic commemoration of it in the collection of Pindar. On the other hand, we have an ode sent by the poet from Thebes, in honour of a victory gained with the

mule car, on the same occasion, by an officer of Hiero, Agesias.

In 477 B.C. he again interfered in the affairs of Rhegium, with what object of policy—kindness and good feeling are the motives on record—is not very clear; induced, it may be, by mere jealousy, and invited by an opportunity, as Rhegium was at this time weakened by serious loss of men incurred in aiding Tarentum against the Iapygians, and probably enough malcontent with a government held answerable for the failure. He set on the sons of Anaxilaus, who were now grown up, to demand an account of their inheritance, and to assume the government from their guardian, Micythus, who had administered it for some ten years. We are told that when the account was rendered in presence of the friends of the family, such admiration was excited for the justice and good faith of the administrator, that the youths, touched with some compunction, begged him to continue his services and even retain his authority. This he declined to do, and, gathering together his own property, he sailed away, amidst the honours of the people, and spent the remainder of his life in honour at Tegea in Arcadia. The story has remarkable resemblance to that of the Provençal steward Romeo, of Dante. The sons retained their place for seven years and then at last suffered the usual, the invariable, fate of sons of tyrants and were expelled. (Diod. Sic. 11 ; 66 ; and 76. Justin. 42.)

Pausanias gives an extraordinary enumeration of the dedications of Micythus at Olympia; he intimates, however, that some were of larger proportions than others; but which these were he fails to specify. A Jove as yet beardless (5; 26; 5), Dionysus, the Thracian Orpheus, and Agōn, a personification of Contest, holding *halteres*,* weights grasped by jumpers; these were works of Dionysius of Argos. Amphitrite, Poseidon, and Hestia, are works of Glaucus of Argos. On the left flank of the great temple were other dedications: Kore, daughter of Demeter, Aphrodite, Ganymede, Artemis, Homer and Hesiod, Asclepius and Hygieia. The inscription named Chærus as the father of Micythus, and the Greek cities, Rhegium and Messene, on the strait, as his country, with no mention of Tegea. The dedications were made in fulfilment of a vow, on the recovery of his son from a wasting disease.

Dionysius, as already mentioned, was the founder of one of the two bronze horses with riders, dedicated at Olympia by Phormis.

Hiero died at Catana, or Ætna, B.C. 467, after a reign of eleven years, and there received the coveted heroic honours of founder, *κτίστης*, of the city—city and honours alike destined for but short continuance. Simonides, of Ceos, had died at the age of 90, the previous year.

* See an engraved disk in the British Museum of a jumper with *halteres*. The style of Art serves as illustration of this period.

CHAPTER IX.

SELINUS: ARCHITECTURE IN SICILY.

THE remains of Hellenic architecture that still exist upon the soil of Sicily, would suffice alone to attest the vast populousness, wealth, and culture of the country, and fully confirm the statements of historians that, taken by themselves, appear most extravagant. Syracuse, indeed, retains but one ruin of a temple even moderately preserved, and this has more of the better interest of art than of magnitude; but there are abundant general traces of the greatness of the city.

The best preserved monument of all, in many respects, is a temple that stands alone at Segesta, but the sites of Agrigentum and Selinus are loaded with the enormous fragments of some of the largest structures that the Greeks ever attempted, and that, though often uncompleted, were advanced to a wonderful extent, and were still proceeding when political rashness, folly, or misfortune, brought ruin down upon them and their authors.

The style of the vast, the colossal ruin of Agrigentum attests the date assigned to it under Theron, at a time when the captives of the battle of Himera sup-

plied hands in superabundance for any work ; but that this was not a necessary suggestion or condition of such undertakings is proved by an example of extravagance of scale, that might compete with the Ephesian and Samian temples, having been given earlier by the city of Selinus.

It is in connection with this city, from the great number and variety in style of its ruined temples, that some remarks may best be introduced on the distinctive character of Sicilian architecture, and the rather that the review will bring strikingly before us how considerable may have been states that from literary sources barely furnish the historian with materials for a page. The monumental evidence of the energy and power of Selinus goes far to explain—what otherwise is mysterious—how it was that, after the battle of Himera, it could escape the molestation that might seem due to zealous encouragement of the barbarian.

That Selinus was founded by Hyblæan Megara, and that it passed through the usual phases of an oligarchy, a tyranny, a democracy, may be stated as all we know of its internal affairs, and that in the blankest outline. Its records of external relations are equally scanty and yet significant withal. It first appears in its reception of Euryleon, in presumable hostility to the western neighbour Segesta and Carthaginian allies, who had united to bring to nought the enterprise of Dorieus ; and later, is itself induced by dread or jealousy

of its eastern neighbour Acragas, to give aid to the Carthaginian invasion that collapsed at Himera. These were the first buddings from a bitter root—Hellenic impatience and incompetence of firm confederacy—that were to bear bitter fruit in after-days. All in vain had the apologue of Stesichorus of the horse and the stag passed into a proverb; Segesta was to solicit foreign aid in its turn against Selinus, and so brought upon Sicily first the scourge of the Athenian invasion, and after that had failed the Carthaginian again. Invited so, by Greek against Greek, Hannibal, the grandson of the Hamilcar whom the Selinuntines had assisted against Theron and Gelon, carried their city by assault—they vainly awaited the now solicited but lingering aid of Acragas, Gela, and Syracuse—and made it a scene of promiscuous and barbarous slaughter.

This catastrophe occurred 409 B.C., when the city had existed only 250 years; within that period, and exclusively of a later prolonged but weak revival, must we place the erection of all the temples of importance, and there is therefore little reason to discredit the statement of Diodorus that at the time of its capture it numbered 30,000 inhabitants.

Selinus had at least six considerable temples, which were in two groups, three on an isolated hill within a walled enclosure with a single entrance—the acropolis; three, and among them the largest, on a lower plateau at some distance, but no doubt included within the

circuit of the city. All agree with the general type of a peripteral Greek temple ;—an extended oblong naos, with entrance at the end, is placed on a solid base-ment of several degrees, and surrounded by a colonnade with four, six, or eight columns in front, and within one or two, more or less, of double the number on flank ; the disposition was sometimes enhanced, according to the size and design of the temple, by a second row of columns, especially on the fronts, and a double colonnade within the naos. The low pitched roof, terminating at either end in a triangle,—the pediment, surmounting the entablature, gave dignity to the façade and general unity ;—and colour applied in patterns with considerable liberality, especially to various string courses, and sometimes sculpture below the cornice, added animation and vivacity.

Sicily did not possess the abundance of marble that was available about the Ægean, and the material employed is the limestone of the country ; this was susceptible of being worked with considerable delicacy, but an even and brilliant surface emulating marble, was given by carrying over the whole of it an exceedingly thin coating of finest stucco.

The style invariably employed was the Doric, but treated with great peculiarity and also variety in every case. It presents some forms of archaism that we scarcely meet with elsewhere, but even so we come no nearer to the true *incunabula* of the style ; it is fully developed in all its members and essential ornaments,

and quite as remote from the crudity of an imitated original in wood, as the Parthenon itself. Only in one respect is there an appearance, and there but an appearance, of being nearer to it,—in the more slender columns and wider spacing of some of the earlier examples, which authenticate the existence on a time of the still slenderer Doric proportions that are attested by representations on the vases.

The essential difference between Sicilian Doric and the perfected style of Attica, lies in the management of proportion of parts generally; when we compare it with the archaic examples of eastern Hellas, especially at Corinth and Ægina, we find that it must have branched off at a corresponding stage, and afterwards continued to be cultivated independently; an immortal idea is struggling towards its manifestation, but never quite succeeds in Sicily as it did in Attica; it never quite surmounted here the stage that has many of the marks which are common to ascent and to decline. The Sicilians to the last, as compared with the Athenian in the exercise of his subtle insight—his rare combination of reflection and taste, of numerical precision and spirit of almost divination,—are but groping, and when they do seem to grasp some of his results, betray too surely their crippling want of mastery of his method.

This is not the place to intrude a full architectural disquisition; it must suffice to state that the Athenian architects determined infallibly what members of the

style were put rightly into proportional dependence, and in what order, and knew how to devise a scheme or scale of proportion for each structure so elastic as to admit—to invite variety, and yet so limited as to be characteristic. Only so was the dignity of close and heavy spacing saved from any thought of clumsiness, and the introduction of lightening and relieving contrast checked from running wild into incongruity.

One leading principle undivined in Sicily may be illustrated from Gothic architecture; it was a capital innovation when the advantage was discerned of assigning very superior height to the pier arches over those of triforium and clerestory, and we see in many of our cathedrals how the earlier heavy ordination was sometimes deserted in an addition, and sometimes forcibly altered in parts already constructed. So in the perfected Doric, the height of the column—the vertical member, is always in excess of half the full height of the front, and that in some simple definite proportion; but in most of the Sicilian temples, as also at Ægina, it is considerably less—at the utmost creeps timidly up to a full half. The difference was no doubt saved on the flank aspect of the temple, but the angular view, which was the favourite and favourable, necessarily brought in the effect of the crushing epistylia.

To give another example,—the height of the horizontal entablature relatively to the axial spacing of the columns is a matter for critical adjustment; the

Sicilian constantly transgressed the Athenian canon by allowing it an excess, though only over the most contracted spacing of the columns by the angle.

A lesson again scarcely learnt to the last, was the propriety of giving more strength to the abacus or uppermost tile-like member of the capital relatively to the echinus, or bowl-like, that it surmounts, and so breaking the transition to the heavy rectangular architrave. As regards the echinus, it was gradually discovered or learnt that the genius of the order demanded a sterner and more vertical profile; and the same may be said with respect to the diminution of the column.

Of the temples at Selinus, two on the acropolis and one in the city have the most pronounced archaism, of which it is observable, that here the most pronounced characteristics, associated with some anomaly of mutules and the rudest sculpture, are openness of spacing, and slenderness of column with rapid diminution. The largest temple of all was begun in this style. It is octastyle, like the Parthenon, but more than half as wide again, and exceeding it in superficial area as 5 to 2. The lower diameter of the columns of peristyle is 10.5 feet—to compare with the Parthenon 6.25 feet. The type of the columns was changed in the progress of the work,—protracted as it must have been and indeed never completed, by an increase to the upper diameter and substitution of a more upright capital.

Two of the most archaic temples were decorated by sculptured metopes, of which fragments have been recovered; they are executed in somewhat finer stone than the columns, and are very unequal in merit; some are so quaint as to be grotesque, and yet all bear traces of attention to nature, and preference of the expression compatible with repose to excitement and violence,—in every case rather a grappling with difficulties that are beyond the power of the artist, than weak attempts to evade them.

The improvement of style in architecture was concurrent with reduction in scale; the two smallest temples on acropolis and the lower plateau respectively, have the modern characteristics in capital and shaft of column and less heavy entablature.

The temple marked C, in the splendid work of Hittorf, to which the metopes of Angell pertain, has a certain transitional appearance, while the temple S (of Hittorf), to which other archaic metopes belonged, has even in virtue of its consistent archaism, considerable charm of delicacy and feeling.

The most interesting monument of later Sicilian Doric is the temple at Segesta, of which the entire peristyle, with its entablature, still remains, a noble object on its original rock. But it stands a mere shell; there is only a trace of the cella wall within; not a fragment of pavement remains, or perhaps none was ever executed. The work even externally awaited the last decorative finish; the bosses and fillets that pro-

tected angles during construction or aided transport, are not dressed off, the shafts of the columns are only prepared for fluting, and many of the lines of mouldings left uncarved. From the intermediate slabs of the top step not being filled in, the columns have the false appearance of having plinths. It is a very remarkable work, and from the completeness with which its dimensions are recoverable, has peculiar interest for the student of the development of design.

After the temple of Segesta, the next most complete temples in Sicily, ruined as they are, are those so called of Concord and of Juno Lucina, or sometimes as irrationally, Lacinia, at Agragas (Agrigentum). Both these, which are only specified out of several others on the site, as being better preserved, are in the later style, and have all the characteristics of their fellows at Selinus.

Of the same character in design, as might have been expected, was the enormous temple of Zeus Olympius already adverted to, which was begun by Theron, and which history, if it may be trusted, assures us was only waiting for the roof when Carthaginian vengeance overtook this city also. It was probably scarcely wider in front than the great temple of Selinus, 161 feet, but the columns were 20 feet in diameter instead of 10 feet, and as there were only six instead of eight in front, the interval was proportionately enhanced. The span thus became unmanageable, even apart from the inferiority of the stone

available, and walls were built between the columns which thus became engaged showing within only as pilasters, and the architraves could then be formed with several stones and intermediate joints. The entire nature of a trabeative style was no doubt contravened, but it is at least probable that the counter-sense was intended to be veiled by the usual covering of marble stucco concealing joints. The flutes were more than a foot and a half wide immediately under the capital, and therefore at the base, as already noticed, would easily have allowed a man to stand within one.

One pediment was occupied by sculpture representing the battle of the Gods and Giants, and the other by the capture of Troy. The interior was divided by a double range of pilasters answering to the reverses of the exterior columns, and, like those, connected by walls. It seems, however, very unlikely that the central avenue was entirely cut off from those at the sides by an entirely unperforated wall. I incline to think that this interior wall was only carried up a certain height and that upon it, and, relieving the span from main pilaster to pilaster, rose intermediate pilasters against which is to be found the long-sought place of a series of vast nude figures—Telamones—that erect, and with their heads between their bent and elevated elbows, certainly supported some heavy interior architectural member. Huge fragments of eleven of these have been found, and morsels also of the pediment sculptures.

The temple of Syracuse offers peculiar interest for the architectural student, as a term of comparison with the very ancient remains on the site of the mother city, Corinth, but to that student they must be surrendered.

CHAPTER X.

THE SUBVERSION OF THE TYRANNIES.

THE epitomized narrative of Diodorus gives no information under what circumstances, after Hiero's death, the government passed to his brother Thrasybulus, the youngest son of Deinomenes. It would be natural to assume that his own son Deinomenes, whom he had established as joint king at Ætna, must have been already dead; but this we find, from another source, was not the case. Pausanias, as we have seen, found dedications at Olympia on account of Hiero's several victories there, with inscriptions that expressly declared them to have been made by Deinomenes, in memory of his father; a bronze chariot, with a charioteer in it, the work of Onatas of Ægina; and on either side of it horses ridden by boys, productions of Calamis. A distich, on the work of Onatas, ran simply,—“Onatas, son of Micon, inhabiting the island of Ægina, brought me to completion.” Another inscription, in four lines, refers to the entire combination:—“O Olympian Jove! these gifts did Hiero present to thee, having been victor in thy sacred contest once, with the four-horse chariot, and with

the single-horse twice. His son, Deinomenes, dedicated them in memory of his Syracusan father." (Paus. 42; 8; 4—6; 12; 1.)

Deinomenes, therefore, survived even the violent ending of the Syracusan tyranny, and remained in the opulence implied by such a dedication. In view of the approaching majority and nominal succession of the son of Gelon, he may have continued as ruler, if not dynast, of Ætna. But yet how escaped this record?

Difference in respect of force of character may account for the lead taken by Thrasybulus, but something seems also due to his position relatively to the heir of Gelon. The heirs of the tyrants, as Aristotle notes, were usually unfortunate. We do not know how far Gelon himself was responsible for the disappearance of the heirs of Hippocrates, whose part he took up, but the heirs of the tyrant Anaxilaus could be established, however transitorily, after a long minority; and the prestige of Gelon would certainly be a considerable protection for his son, and strengthen the position of whoever was ostensibly administrator in his interest, if not nominally his guardian.

A valuable paragraph in the Politics of Aristotle (5; 8) preserves the record that the tyranny, founded by Gelon, was one of those that came to an end through the dissensions of its participants.

Thrasybulus, he says, the brother of Hiero, flattered and cajoled the son of Gelon. The phrase he employs is very significant, the more so as we shall scarcely

charge him with affectation of irony; "he demagogued him"—he employed upon him the same arts of indulgence and assentation, that popular assemblies suffered by so notoriously from those who advised and led them, as to have become proverbial, "and encouraged him in pleasures in order that he himself might govern." "The relatives combined in order that the tyranny might not be utterly ruined, but Thrasybulus only; but those who were associated with them, having an opportunity afforded, ejected them every one."

The object of Thrasybulus was, therefore, to govern during the majority of the son of Gelon, with the same independence as Hiero during his minority; it does not appear that any unfair acts on his part, which merely induced political inactivity in the heir, would in themselves have created a public opposition, had his measures generally, and his vigour, been equal to the position. But for private opposition the case was different. The competition of other relatives for the great prize of a virtual regency would alone introduce dissension, and might induce violence, retaliation, repression. The general outline of these catastrophes is well known to history. The dynastic rivalry and the public grievance find each other out and come to terms, which are set aside at once by one or other party to them, when the common enemy is powerless, and the advantages of alliance are no longer reciprocal.

We do not know who were the relatives or connections of Gelon who, whether at first or last,

endeavoured to save the tyranny by the sacrifice of Thrasybulus ; Diodorus gives us no help here, but otherwise it is not difficult to give definition to some lines of his hasty narrative when read by the light of the notice in the *Politica*.

The dynasty came to an end within a year of the death of Hiero, but indeed might easily have done so apart from aggravated oppressiveness of Thrasybulus in the first instance ; the very prosperity that followed the security from foreign invasion and intestine wars, due to the victories and energy of Gelon and Hiero, fostered the same tendency to democracy in Sicily, that had now spread all over eastern Greece. The suspiciousness ascribed to Hiero, if indeed it became habitual, proves how discontents were at work impatiently even while he lived and when his age and state of health would counsel the revolutionary to bide their time. His death at once released many from the bonds of obligation, of habitual submission, of respect for the most immediate aid of Gelon in the great liberation and a leader of proved energy and sagacity to the very last, and from shyness at attempting a rupture with one who had been so uniformly successful. The violences ascribed to Thrasybulus were as probably as not the means that he resorted to to secure a threatened position, the consequences even more than the cause of a spirit of rising discontent. He put many citizens to death, drove not a few into exile and confiscated properties, and so raised means for supporting a mercenary force

to countervail the powers that were under the influence of the citizens. Insurrection broke out; the Syracusans chose leaders, including, as we have to infer at least, those relatives whose designs extended only to give Thrasybulus a successor from the same family. After a vain attempt at negotiation he assembled a force of 15,000 men partly drawn from the newly founded Ætna, some allies and his mercenaries, and occupying the island and Achradina, both strongly fortified, made attacks from thence on the insurgents, who on their part occupied the quarter Tyche and summoned aid from all quarters for the rescue of Syracusan liberty. How extensive had been the sway of the tyranny is proved by the very range of the appeal and promptitude of the response. Help of horse and foot and long vessels fitted for war, came in from Gela and Acragas and Himera, even from Selinus and inland cities of the Sicels. Thrasybulus, deserted by his allies, who might have aided him from without and with only his mercenaries to depend upon, endeavoured first to gain the command at sea, but failed with loss of many vessels and retired with the rest into harbour by the island. Equally unsuccessful in an engagement by land,—he sallied from Achradina and only regained it after great losses in a battle in the suburbs,—he gave up all hopes of saving his tyranny, and again opening negotiations with the Syracusans renounced the contest. His mercenary troops were allowed to withdraw, and he himself retired to Locri in Italy, with which we have

seen that his brother Hiero had friendly relations, and there spent the rest of his life as a private man. The discussion as to the terms to be granted to him gave the death-blow to the hopes of those who had only helped to hasten his downfall in order to preserve the tyranny.

The Syracusans having thus liberated their own city forthwith proceeded to release the other cities of Sicily that were under tyrants or occupied by garrisons—and only that conclusion in utter absence of evidence is rash, we might conclude that now came to an end, if not before, the rule of Deinomenes at *Ætna*.

Diodorus calls the government which was established at liberated Syracuse, and that existed for nearly sixty years and gave it many of peace and many of wonderful prosperity, a democracy. By the exacter classification of Aristotle it was an aristocracy, in a form of which he marks his approval in a remarkable manner. Democracy, he says, comes into conflict with tyranny only as Hesiod's potter is at odds with potter—on the principle, that is, that two of a trade can never agree, for democracy at its extreme is tyranny. But monarchy and aristocracy are true opposites, and it was on this account that so many tyrannies were brought to dissolution by the Lacedæmonians,—thus regarded as in effect an aristocratical polity—and by the Syracusans “during the period of their better government.” (Polit. 5; 8.)

In the interval of tranquillity that ensued after the expulsion of Thrasybulus and the general suppression

of autocracy in the cities throughout the island, the Syracusans in a fervour of accord voted a colossal statue to Zeus Eleutherius (Jove the Liberator), and instituted a festival of Eleutheria to be celebrated on the anniversary of the expulsion, with agonistic games and lavish sacrifices. Four hundred and fifty oxen—why precisely four hundred and fifty?—were to be sacrificed to the gods, and to be consumed in feasting the citizens. The new political settlement, however, reserved all offices for the original citizens, to the exclusion of the strangers, in large proportion mercenary soldiers, to whom Gelon had accorded such rights of citizenship as could be exercised under a tyranny. Out of an original number of ten thousand, seven thousand of these were still remaining; the difference being readily accounted for by casualty of war. The aristocratic pride of the original Syracusans might have prompted their exclusiveness, even had they less reason to mistrust the sympathetic union of so compact a body and its bias towards personal government. They made their election of the danger they preferred to risk, and were speedily called upon to cope with it. The Gelonians, as Thrasybulus had done before, seized upon the island Ortygia, and Achradina the eastern division of the city, each having a distinct fortification, well furnished for defence. The Syracusans, whose superior numbers scarcely compensated in actual conflict for inferior military experience, held the city in the direction of Epipolæ inland, a quarter that we now

read of for the first time, and being victorious in a sea-fight over the vessels in possession of the insurgents, excluded them both from access to the country and communications by sea, and soon reduced them to straits for supplies, and especially for provisions. A battle on land was the natural hope of the veterans ; but cooped up as they were it could only take place under the conditions of a sortie ; the Syracusans were resolute as well as numerous, and a troop of six hundred picked men that they had organized, finally, after a fierce contest and great loss on both sides, decided victory in their favour. Crowns and a reward of a mina (£4) each man graced the service of the squadron.

At this same time, the adherents of Hiero whom he had settled at Catana, under the new name of *Ætna*, in the seats of original citizens, transferred to Leontini and on territory enlarged by Sicel annexations, were likewise in difficulty. A large proportion of Hiero's colonists had been Syracusans, but naturally of a class least in sympathy with the party now in power, and discredited indeed by complicity with the last efforts of Thrasybulus. No help for them, therefore, came from Syracuse, when sharing and taking advantage of the prevailing enthusiasm for restitutions, the original Cataneans made common cause with the deprived Sicels under leadership, kingship it is called, of a remarkable man, Ducetius, of whom we shall hear more—the only Sicel of whom we ever hear as individually formidable,—and attacked the city. The result of

a number of battles was that Ætna was evacuated in favour of its original occupants, who thus after a long interval recovered their country and restored its name, and abolished the posthumous and heroic honours of Hiero, as they destroyed his tomb, 461 B.C. The seceding population founded a new Ætna at a locality previously named Inessa or Eunesia, given up to them apparently by the Sicels for a better exchange. The retention of the Hieronian title for the city, argues continued allegiance to his memory, if not to his family and institutions.

Counter-revolution in the same spirit now ensued in all the cities which had been subjected to the power of Hiero. Supported by the influence, when not by interference, of liberated Syracuse, the refugees from Gela, Acragas, and Himera recovered their native cities and expelled the intrusive rulers; Gela again refounded the twice-subverted Camarina, and nearly all the cities of the island, animated by the sympathetic movement of the time, made advances to a common understanding and permanent tranquillity amongst each other and internally, on the basis of the return of refugees, the restoration of power to the original citizens, revisal of the register of citizens, and redistribution of properties in the territory. Allowance of terms to foreign residents was also combined with some arrangement for the settlement on the Messenian territory of the foreigners or aliens who had controlled the cities in connection with the superseded governments and dynasts. How

such settlement was to be effected apart from a forcible dispossession does not appear, but the settlers would be just the men to establish themselves on such terms.

The fall of Thrasybulus was the signal for that of the sons of Anaxilaus, who were ejected from Rhegium and Messene—cities that, on this occasion, so far acted in concert, though they are found on opposite sides on the interference of the Athenians. Whether the revolution turned to the advantage of the primitive Zancleans, or their Samian successors, does not appear; nor whether, as appears probable from the later Dorian sympathies of the city, the alien settlers drafted into the country promoted or merely profited by the revolution.

It is clear that these changes were carried through with the considerable exemption from antagonistic difficulty, that bears in history the happy appearance of concord,—of the lull, if not the death, of faction, of the reign at once of unanimity and justice. This is not all illusion, though something—much—of the flattering facility is ever due to the easy working of a strong popular government that bears down all opposition, and crows even just protest against errors and hardships that are bound to bear fruit at a later date.

Notwithstanding all this reversal of the acts of Gelon and Hiero, one and perhaps the most important remained—the persistent predominance of Doric Hellenism over Ionian in Sicily, and the superiority, if no longer the absolute hegemony or leadership, of

Syracuse, which continued to give a unity, though in a direction they did not contemplate, to the general policy of the cities of the island. The stringency of the control of Syracuse was, however, no doubt in some degree relaxed, and the sense of this seems to have encouraged an attempt on the part of the Sicel prince, Ducetius, to vindicate for his race some of those advantages of concentrated power that Syracuse had exemplified, but now seemed not unlikely to forfeit or forego.

That the Sicels had been considerably influenced in culture, as well as in language, by Greek proximity, might safely be assumed, though it were not on record, and in such cases the princely families are almost always in advance, and in individual cases may attain to any degree of advance, in cultivation. As allies and mercenaries of the tyrants they acquired familiarity with arms and discipline, and even exercise in organization and command.

Ducetius, after recovering from Catana the fertile Sicel district, annexed by Hiero, followed up his exploit by emulating the Ætnæan in himself founding a city, Menainos, and regularly allotting the adjacent land to the settlers. It is still represented by the modern Minaeo. Another city of considerable importance, Morgantina, he gained by conquest, to the great increase of his reputation with his nation.

About 452 B.C. we hear an indistinct rumble of

dissensions between the cities at the west of the island, that have remained hitherto without the range of historical notice. A considerable battle, which still did not decide the dispute, is reported between the cities of Lilybæum and Egesta, respecting territory near the river Mazarus. A more probable quarrel would appear to be between Motya and Selinus, which are conterminal upon this river; but the notice must be left in its uncertainty, as the error, if error there be, may as easily lie in the name of the river as of the town.

It seems probable that this must have been about the date of a victory, if not conquest, obtained by Agragas over Phœnician Motya. It is known only from a dedication of a bronze statue by Calamis, at Olympia, representing a youth praying (Paus. 5 ; 25 ; 2) : the work is dated by the sculptor.

Is it possible that the motive of the figure may symbolise thankfulness for rescue of youth from immolations to Phœnician Moloch? The absence from the inscription of the name of Theron, seems to forbid us to refer it to the occasion of the battle of Himera.

Again, the newly established settlement of the cities began before long to be disturbed, at Syracuse especially. The agitation was started by needy men who had been included in the new lists of franchise, with little or no assignment of property, or none that they had not speedily forfeited or parted with.

Opposed to these was the faction of the *Chariestatoi*—the Refined, the Elegant—inheritors of the traditions and predilections of the aristocracy or oligarchy, that the tyrannies had superseded and suppressed. In the character of leaders in restoring a free government, this order no doubt had cared for both influence and endowment, but was all the more exposed to discontent on the part of the unprovided patriots. Sicily, in fact, that had hitherto followed the development of politics in central Greece a stage or two in arrear, was now reached by that vigorous spirit of encroachment from below, upon privilege whether of wealth or birth, that was active all over Greece, and at Athens especially. And, as at Athens, the first apprehension was naturally that this party of the lowest democracy would again, as it had proved so often, be the stepping-stone for some ambitious man to a tyranny. An ambitious man was not wanting who may or may not have had these views; may have entertained them naturally enough; may as naturally have been taxed with them unjustly by grasping champions of indefensible privileges. Tyndarides, or Tyndarion, is, however, distinctly charged by the historian with not only organising a party, but the ill-reputed body-guard. The fate of the assassinated Ephialtes at Athens, as of a Roman Gracchus, proves the necessity of a precaution for a political agitator that still must be either a temptation for abuse, or give a

hold for invidious imputation. Charged with tyrannous designs, Tyndarion was condemned to death; a rescue, it was said prepared by him, was attempted on his way to the prison, and revolution was impending; the city was instantly in tumult, but the preparations of the Chariestatoi were adequate to the occasion, the disturbance was quelled, and when all was over Tyndarion and the chiefs of the insurrection also, so to call it, were found to have perished.

Fresh agitators arose, and under these excitements and from smart of the ever-present sting left by the tyranny of Hiero, resort was had to an institution, that was in effect, and probably in reality, a copy of Athenian ostracism;—the name petalism expressed the substitution of an olive leaf for a shell. Ostensibly a measure to protect the state against such men as Tyndarion, it turned entirely to the advantage of the popular party that he had championed; by what arts or errors the ruling class were led to permit its adoption we cannot know. It gave to the numerical majority the power of banishing for five years any man who, quite apart from overt acts, might seem to threaten the state by personal influence, though it were even by his virtues; but inevitably also any man who might be obnoxious to the majority on any grounds whatever. This power was exercised most drastically, and a liability became thus attached to a public career that countervailed its temptations; the

men most competent to serve the state, retired from the care of public affairs to attend to their own; the worst mischiefs and consequences of demagogy developed rapidly, but wrought out in consequence their own alleviation. The institution had a shorter duration than at Athens, and dissensions among the extreme popular party that diverted it against themselves would quite explain its abrogation, independently of action by the oligarchy, that it had been originally employed to depress.

It must have been in the course of these agitations that Syracuse put forth its power to free the seas that were again infested by the Tyrrhenian (Etruscan) pirates. Phayllus, commanding a first expedition of force not stated, laid waste Æthalia, the island of Elba, lying opposite the Tuscan coast, and then returned after effecting nothing of any consequence. He was charged with having been corrupted by Etruscan bribes and banished, and another armament of sixty triremes was despatched under Apelles. We hear nothing of co-operation on the part either of Cumæ or of Rhegium. Apelles, after harassing the Etruscan coast in his progress, proceeded to Corsica, where he ravaged the Etruscan settlements and perhaps established a station where afterwards is found a Syracusan haven (Diod. 5; 13), again visited the already scourged Æthalia, which he is spoken of as reducing, and reached Syracuse with a satisfactory booty, including a large number of captives.

CHAPTER XI.

DU CETIUS THE SICEL.

IN the meantime, the enterprize of Ducetius became still more declared. He had succeeded in uniting all the Sicel cities of the island—Ætnean Hybla only excepted—in a common alliance or *synteleia*, in making them, that is, contributory to himself as their leader, president, or king. He then emulated farther the policy of Gelon and Hiero by transferring his native town Mende from an inconvenient elevation to the plain, and founding, with a large additional population, an important city, Palike, so called from the title of some native deities of adjacent seat, and of peculiar sanctity. The founder evidently understood the value of the religious sanction as a bond of his new alliance; he fortified the city, and the rapidity with which it advanced to prosperity, from the numbers of its inhabitants and the excellence of its position, attested his sagacity. It was destined, however, for but a short career.

The scope of the activity of Ducetius appears from his next enterprises. He captures Ætna—no doubt the new Ætna—revoking thus the cession of Sicel

territory that had been a condition of the evacuation of Catana for behoof of his former allies. He effected this by surprise, having slain its ruler by treachery, just possibly an accepted successor of Deinomenes, if not Deinomenes himself. Turning then suddenly from his eastward to his westward frontier, he besieges Motyon, garrisoned by the Acragantines. Its exact situation is unknown.

The name intimates Phœnician connection, and to this town, now in possession of Acragas in close alliance with Syracuse, may more probably be assigned than to Motye, remote from such interference; some silver coins of good execution that bear a Phœnician legend associated with Hellenic types; one such, in the British Museum, bears on one side the crab and very characteristic fish, on the other the eagle of Acragas,—while another example with like legend combines the crab and fish of Acragas on the reverse, with the symbol of Syracuse,—the front-face female head with smaller fish than the dolphins of other types around it, and identified as the fount Arethusa by inscription in one instance on the filleted brow.

The Syracusans send a force in aid against the common enemy, but Ducetius, joining battle, gains the advantage, and dislodges both from their camps and captures the place, at least before the next campaign, when his garrison is in turn besieged. The Syracusan commander, Bolcon, experiences the same impatience of failure on the part of the demus as Phayllus. He

also is accused of treacherous understanding with the enemy, and this time the penalty is death. To a new commander, with a stronger force, was committed the charge, too late to be undertaken before the commencement of the next summer, to reduce Ducetius. He was found encamped about Nomæ, again an unknown site. A desperate battle ensued, and after great slaughter, and with difficulty, the Syracusans repulsed the enemy and even made considerable execution of them in their retreat. But although the battle, probably from the exhaustion of the victors, was not so decisive as to end in a rout, the retiring Sicels were fully demoralised, and ceased to be an alliance or an army. The unifying work of Ducetius was undone with these semi-barbarians at a stroke, and they dispersed to their several strongholds, leaving him with but a small following, who still agreed to share his hopes and fortunes. These were but desperate; the Syracusan force was strengthened by junction of that of Acragas, which was released by successful recovery of Motyon; of the men who remained with him, some were already deserting, and others he mistrusted as prepared and plotting to betray him. Eluding the conspiracy under cover of night, he mounted his horse, and with chivalrous resolution rode straight to Syracuse, gained the agora, and when morning broke the renowned and so lately formidable Ducetius was seen sitting there, on the altar of the gods, a supplicant

of the city, and prepared, surrendering himself, to make transfer of his rights in all the territory he had been lord of, to the Syracusans.

An assembly of the people was immediately summoned, and a discussion as to the treatment of the captive or supplicant began. Oratory was not wanting to recommend the severest; to the elder men and those of the aristocratic faction, is ascribed the counsel that prevailed,—to consider not the demerits of Ducetius, but what was becoming to the demus of Syracuse, to spare the supplicant and to have reverence for misfortune and the Nemesis of the gods. The elevated tone of the speakers, seems caught from admiration at the noble confidence of Ducetius; it spread to the people and, with a single enthusiastic shout, they decreed his safety; he was transported to Corinth, mother city and ally of Syracuse, where his abode was assigned, and with it an adequate provision. (449 B.C.)

He was not to remain there long, and even in his absence his name was a considerable political power. The Acragantines put forward as a grievance and injury, that Syracuse should have taken upon herself to decide alone on the disposal of the common enemy of both the allied cities. A more substantial jealousy was behind; Acragas was by no means inclined to acquiesce in the transfer by Ducetius of all his territorial claims to Syracuse alone, a transfer which the broken power and spirits of the Sicels

gave every temptation to assert. The dispute became more and more embittered, and when it broke out into war, one division of the Sicel towns appeared as allies of Acragas and another cast their lot with Syracuse. The battle-field was by that very Himera on whose banks the two Hellenic cities had formerly, subjected to tyrants as they were, so nobly seconded each other in conflict with a common barbarian foe. On the same spot they now began preparation for his future vengeance, by mutually weakening each other. Syracuse triumphed as it had before, but now by superior force, and a loss of a thousand men is ascribed to Acragas. The conquered city sued for peace, and the victor was at liberty to resume interrupted plans. (446 B.C.)

This dissension between his former conquerors was the signal for the daring spirit of Ducetius to reappear upon the scene ; it seems probable, indeed, from his public and unhindered departure from Corinth, that it was with full consent of Syracuse to a plan that promised advantage from his genius and influence ; for thus I prefer to interpret the causal sequence of sets of events which the historian dates in portions of their progress as concurrent.

We recognise the founder of the city Palike, in his announcement that it was by injunction of an oracle of the gods that he proposed to found a city at Kale Akte, on the northern coast of Sicily, the promising site from which the Samians had only

been diverted by Anaxilaus. He succeeded in assembling many colonists and sailed for the island. He had some Sicel adherents, and with him went Archonides, Greek at least in name but dynast of the Sicel city of Herbita. It is in 439 B.C., some six years after the Syracusan victory, that we read how, after having made successful progress with his city, he was meditating to strike again for the Sicel hegemony, when death brought his schemes and his career to their conclusion.

Under what circumstances the Syracusans left him unmolested so long in his ulterior designs we can only conjecture; but it is probable that during this interval they were only gradually, though steadily, advancing with the subjugation of the independent Sicels, after having disembarrassed themselves finally of obstruction from Acragas. At last only one strong place remained to resist their conquest; but resistance here was obstinate, and it was probably—geography should enlighten us here—on this reserve of Sicel force that the hopes of Ducetius at Kale Akte had been founded. Trinacia had always been the chief of the Sicel towns, but if we are to accept the tradition that Sicily had borne the name Trinacria even before the Sican occupation, it would seem consistent to infer that Trinacria had been the metropolis or chief town of the island, even in that earlier period, and preserved its name through successive changes of occupants. In this case again it

becomes a question whether Trinacria was not a mere Hellenization of a barbaric name invited by significant though accidental assonance, with a name for a triangular land.

The last hopes, the last apprehension of Sicel independence, hung on the fate of this town, garrisoned by a numerous, warlike, and desperate population, but now destitute of any external allies to rescue them, or even make diversion in their favour. The Syracusans uniting forces from their allied cities with their own, were in overpowering force, and there could be but one end. The besieged endured valiantly, inflicted heavy loss on their assailants; but could only lay down all their lives fighting heroically to the last. Even the old men, for the most part, preferred self-slaughter to abiding the outrages attendant on capture. The captors destroyed the town that had thus suffered defeat for the first time, and that time fatally, enslaved what captives remained, and sent the choice of the spoil to Delphi—dedication to the god.

The Athenian expedition finds autonomous Sicels of the interior still (Thucyd. 6 ; 88), who had never been otherwise; but they seem to be mountain tribes, having no walled cities or towns.

CHAPTER XII.

SYRACUSE A REPUBLIC.

SYRACUSE as a democracy, at least under a republican form of government, whatever the oligarchical influences it may have been subjected to, had attained in 437 B.C. an extent of political control surpassing in some respects that of Hiero and Gelon. The city had evidently participated in the sympathetic flush of prosperity that was passing concurrently over central Greece, and the fifty years that succeeded Himera were bearing fruit for the Doric democracy of Syracuse, as promising and intoxicating as Salamis lavished on Ionian Athens. The productiveness of the island, the commercial activity of its ports, and its happy intermediate position, told to the utmost in the accumulation of wealth, when the seas had been cleared of the interruption of piracy; and the quiescence of the war party at Carthage, is sufficient proof of the eager prosecution of her trade. Wealth brought the anxiety and the responsibility for its defence; it also provided the means in the sinews of war, but in doing so provided also a temptation to ambition

and aggressive wars that might ultimately conduce to security, certainly, but would not, unless directed and conducted with conjoint political wisdom and military power. It would seem that the whole policy of Sicily should have been influenced by the recognition that her great danger was imminent from Carthage.

Carthage had certainly memories and injuries, disgraces and sufferings, to avenge, and however commercial interest tended to lull or countervail these passions they might at any time be reinforced by the same cupidity to which commerce appeals, the prospect of spoil and plunder. A Syracusan politician might be excused probably for not anticipating that it was upon the Athenians that these influences would first work for his peril and death-struggle. He could, however, no longer wisely be unprepared for them from some quarter or other. As a rich state and a weak one too Syracuse might have invited hostilities most surely by tempting defencelessness, but it had passed beyond this stage,—it had arrived very near to that at which it was liable to provoke an assault by its very power—by exciting the apprehension of rivalry in a power that might be provoked if only out of pique at a vain show of emulation, and would certainly take the first opportunity that was favourable to settle once for all the question which of two powers with pretensions to equality was really to be supreme. Nay, the very concentration of Sicilian interests at Syracuse might

seem to give flattering opportunity for compendious conquest, the island falling with the single city.

As regards the aspirations of Syracusans, they could not but be influenced by the notorious progress and distinctions of the hegemony of Athens ; and, prudence either concurring or apart, a prize was now in view which the master power of Sicel and Hellenic Sicily could scarcely but be applauded even by patriots, not to say by politicians, for striking for. Treasure was accordingly collected by imposing heavier taxation upon the subjugated Sicels. How far tribute was available from Hellenic cities does not appear. The force of cavalry, always very important in Sicilian armies, was doubled ; the infantry received increased attention, and the fleet was increased by the building of one hundred new triremes. (437 B.C.) The project, according to Diodorus Siculus, was to attempt at once the completion of the conquest of the island. But here the cloud again unhappily comes down. How it happened that the design was obstructed or changed does not appear. History now interposes one of its silences, and we have to gather hints and interpret half-lights and reflections from other quarters as we may.

When the curtain is next partially drawn aside it is to disclose the first movements of a new power towards an interference in Sicilian politics that was speedily to bring them forward into a blaze of light. In 437 B.C. Athens, victorious under the leadership of Pericles over revolted Samos, was at the very culmination of its

glory, precisely when Isocrates was born, 436 B.C., whose life was to cover within a few years its very latest autonomous and republican glories. In 433 B.C. the city took that part in the quarrel of Corinth and Corcyra that precipitated the Peloponnesian war, not uninfluenced in a certain degree by rising views upon Sicily that ultimately were to involve a catastrophe which made any other but a disastrous ending of that war impossible.

At this point commences the history of Thucydides.

Within two years after the death of Pericles, in the 5th of the Peloponnesian War, 427 B.C., the Athenians send their first expedition to Sicily—twenty ships under Laches and Charoiades, at the solicitation of the Leontinians, who were at war with Syracuse, and appealed, as Ionians, to sympathy of race as well as to some treaty of alliance.

The state of parties that is now discovered to us in the island, is the only explanation we have relative to results from the great projects of Syracuse. The Dorian and Ionian groups of colonies are found again in full rupture, as they might have been in the days of Hippocrates, though each group seems now to have somewhat more coherence than when city after city could be reduced separately. Syracuse had the alliance, if it was not exactly at the head of the confederacy, of all the Dorian cities, with the single exception of Camarina; for this exception causes are more easily conjectured than demonstrated.

Camarina was originally founded by Syracuse itself; it was then subverted by its founders within fifty years, in consequence of defection; then refounded by Hippocrates of Gela, when he acquired its territory from Syracuse; then again subverted by his successor Gelon, who transferred its Geloan population, with others from Gela itself, to Syracuse; and lastly, after the extinction of his dynasty, was established the third time by Gela. This was at the epoch of the return of populations to their proper settlements, and it is a fair probability implied, indeed, in the words of Diodorus, that the city was recovered by the colonists of Hippocrates; by those therefore who had been carried to Syracuse and had there been the support of the tyranny or after its expulsion had contested the supremacy of Syracuse against its proper citizens. Hence might have been propagated the seeds of enmity to Syracuse; as regards special cause of quarrel, it appears from the terms of their reconciliation, to have depended on counter claims to the once-Sicel territory of Morgantina (Thucyd. 4; 65).

Still by its alliance with Leontini, Camarina was in antagonism not only with Syracuse, but even still more positively (Thucyd. 4; 58) with its own now immediate metropolis of Gela; and it would seem therefore again on some common ground of local jealousy.

The Italian Locrians who recognized a primeval connection with Archias, the founder of Syracuse (Strabo, 6; 270), were on the side of Syracuse, as in the days of

Hiero,—their ally now as then, against Rhegium, which, following its sympathies of race, was on the side of the Ionian Leontini.

It appears therefore that an Ionic reaction had put a decisive check to the large designs of Syracuse, which in consequence, so far from completing its control over the island, had lost that mastery of the Ionian cities that it had once acquired ; while even Sicel tribes not very remote from it are found still independent.

Dorian and Ionian Greece are arrayed in opposition to each other here as they had become, with such serious consequences, in central Greece ; but it is a Dorian city that is the Athens of the colonies, the head of this division of the race in commerce and wealth,—in arts, and arms, and enterprise,—and now provoking protest against its abuse of power over allied cities or more blindly against its pretensions to salutary hegemony.

History less frequently repeats itself in successive epochs than runs in parallel lines. In Sicily, as in central Greece, we have the same sequence of oligarchies superseded by tyrannies, and tyrannies extinguished for the revival of aristocratical governments that are speedily encroached on by a democracy ; then after a period of discord succeeded by popular triumph, the direction of the power held by the *demos* is contended for between men of family, of wealth, of talent, or of skill in the baser arts of demagogy, rhetoricians, or sycophants, or bullies. Opportunity and energy give

birth in due course to imperial designs, and a confederacy in constant danger of partial or entire disintegration is attempted to be consolidated as an empire. But presently allies are indisposed to sink into subjects and to pay what seems tribute rather than free contribution. Discontent within the confederacy is fostered by sympathy of alarm without its limits. Contest at last bursts forth, between Ionian and Dorian first, and then between sides marshalled by interests irrespective of race; mutual damage and general exhaustion ensue, and demoralization more serious than all, and the problem of reducing the world to tranquillity has to be given up by free governments, and passes into the hands of Macedonian or Roman who undertakes a proximate solution, with the most valuable conditions of human happiness and human dignity, left a little unthought on.

At the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War the Dorian cities of Sicily had nominally ranged themselves on the side of Dorian Sparta, but never really joined in the war; they had been content, not to say well satisfied, to profit by trade as neutrals, and one leading motive with the Athenians for lending an ear to the Leontinians, with whom they also were in some form of alliance, was that they might cut off the supplies of provisions that their opponents drew from Sicily; another motive however was doubtless to make preliminary trial of the possibility of establishing a mastery over Sicilian politics. Inducements very

much to this effect had been dangled before them even during the life of Pericles, and had influenced their policy towards Corcyra. The alliance of this island was set forth as valuable to Athens, in anticipation of the war that could not be very long delayed, as it was excellently placed to intercept any aid of ships or stores from Sicily or Italy to the Peloponnesians, and *very advantageous for something more besides* (Thucyd. 1 ; 36). This phrase, I must believe, was designed to be significant, and that it confirms the averment of Plutarch, as to the early date at which Athens had dreamed of the wealthy cities of Sicily as a possible field for the extension of their empire and fresh sources of tribute.

From the manner in which the politics of Leontini became mixed up with the Athenian attempt upon Syracuse, it is of particular interest to obtain what notes we can of the vicissitudes of its population.

The original population was Ionian, settled by the Naxians who came from Chalcis, in Eubœa ; Catana was another of their settlements.

Hiero concentrated all this Ionian population at the inland city of Leontini, and re-colonized Catana, re-named Ætna, with a Dorian population, half from Syracuse and half from Peloponnesus.

On his death the Leontini-Catanæans, aided by Sicels, attacked and recovered their city, which thus again became Ætna, with Ionian population. What took place at Naxos is not specially related, but the series of

counter-revolutions that ensued at this time, all tended to restore exiled and transplanted populations to their original seats.

Catana and Leontini may be assumed to be thenceforth in closest sympathy.

The large proportion of Hiero's Ætneans, who were Syracusans, may have joined the Peloponnesians in founding Ætna, or possibly returned to take their part in the revised enrolment of citizens at Syracuse.

The Athenian squadron made Rhegium their station and thence conducted the war in concert with their allies ; in what manner they brought relief to Leontini does not appear. Their operations were conducted chiefly against Locri and then Messina, which appears now thoroughly Dorised, apparently by the intruded population of foreigners from the cities once subject to Gelon and Hiero. What success they had was lost the next summer by commanders who arrived with a more numerous fleet. Enough had taken place by this time to make the real designs of the Athenians apparent ; all parties, Ionic and Doric alike, took alarm, and the wise appeals of Hermocrates to patriotic union had full effect. The Athenian fleet could only carry back their commanders to banishment and fine on charges of corruption ; and Sicily prepared to give one more example of the achievements united Greeks were equal to,—and of their inability to sustain united effort beyond a single trial.

CHAPTER XIII.

PHILOSOPHY IN SICILY—XENOPHANES, EMPEDOCLES.

THE subjugation of Ionia by Persia operated in a degree, like the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in after-times ; it dispersed seeds of intellectual energy that had ceased to be germinant to any purpose in their original seats, but that recovered under the stimulant excitement of exile, and in contact with unsophisticated, or at least unfamiliar, habits of thought. Philosophy, that was dying down in Ionia, threw up vigorous shoots again when transplanted ; and Samos, Colophon, Clazomenæ are the native homes of philosophers, — as of Pythagoras, Xenophanes, Anaxagoras, — whose intellectual lives belong to Attica, Italy, and Sicily.

The influence of Pythagoras and his school, intellectually, socially, politically, was most important, not remotely from Sicily, — at Sybaris, Crotona, or Locri, — but still affected the island too indirectly to justify a digression at large. Suffice it to say, that to this school, by the testimony of Aristotle, was due the first effective cultivation of mathematics, — of abstract mathematics, and the demonstration in one most im-

portant instance, that of music, of the mathematical dependence of physical phenomena. The hint thus obtained, invaluable as a guide to investigation, but merely delusive as its substitute, was extended by them too rapidly in advance of experiment, though in principle with just sagacity, to universal nature as pervaded by laws of definite proportion,—to the planetary system and the Cosmos at large, and even to the organism of civil society ; it is consistently with these views that Pythagoras was said to have required as a condition of his service to the state, the preliminary erection of a temple to the nine Muses,—the symbols of musical and, therefore, to his conception, no less of social harmony.

The Sicilian reaction of these views comes out, if at all, in the doctrines of Empedocles of Agrigentum, and then as stimulative rather of a counter theory ; it is scarcely traceable in any way in the records of the highly independent, and if seemingly cruder, still very significant and daringly original speculations of Xenophanes.

Xenophanes of Colophon is asserted by some authorities to have had personal relations with Hiero, and there can be little doubt at least reached nearly to his time.

The chronological notices of his life differ to the extent of 140 years, but as this life was unusually prolonged, a considerable proportion of the difference may disappear between assumed dates of birth or of dis-

inction. It suffices, however, to be assured that his relative place is after Pythagoras, and anterior to Parmenides, who is always indicated as his philosophical pupil or successor, and to Empedocles and Anaxagoras. Whether his life was really extended or not into the period of the Gelonian dynasty, his philosophical teaching was the latest and most active that was then in vogue and the nearest in localisation, at Zancle and Catana. The fragments of his metrical works as well as scattered notices evince that he had the true Ionian turn for physical speculations, but always with a certain healthier, however still insufficient, basis of observation. The fossil shells and fishes of the quarries of Paros, Syracuse, and Melita, were read off by him as evidence that the habitable world came forth from mingled earth and water,—from mud, in fact—and was likely and liable to return to it, and then time after time to be restored. He paid so much attention to the volcanoes of the adjacent Lipari isles as to believe that he had detected a periodicity in their eruptions; he traced the origin of clouds to exhalations drawn up from the sea by solar heat, and explained the iris or rainbow as a variegated cloud,—notions of which the fact that they are recorded as paradoxical, confirms other hints that the enunciation of them offended religious even more than theoretic prejudices. As if in pursuance of suggestions from the meteorology of volcanoes, he regarded the sun and stars—still more sacredly exempt from such presumption with the

vulgar, than clouds and rainbows,—as systems or packs of fiery clouds, agglomerated incandescent vapours; he is charged with having less happily argued that the revolution of the sun and moon was a mere optical illusion, a matter of perspective; that, in fact, they were constantly moving on above us, to come to an end and be replaced in constant succession,—suns and moons being therefore infinite, and extended space no less so. Such, at least, is the tradition of his views, but not supported by citations from his works. It is more probable that he only disallowed the sphericity of the sidereal distribution; the authority, Cicero, is quite as good that inconsistently with this notice of Plutarch, ascribes to him the belief that the moon was inhabited and had cities and mountains of its own.

A fully certified doctrine of Xenophanes is the unity of all Being,—Existence is one; and this emphatic deliverance in which he was followed by the Eleatic school of philosophy, apparently owed much of its value to its determinate contradiction of an essential diversity in nature between things on earth and things *meteoral*. Aristotle is our sure voucher for his averment that Existence is one, is eternal, is superior to all substitution; it is single,—is from all time,—is indestructible; nothing can come from nothing,—can be generated from nothing,—that which never had existed never could begin to exist. Into the question of infiniteness or finiteness of nature he did not enter; neither was he yet entangled in

controversies as to the possibility of certain knowledge, though fully conscious of its difficulty and emphatic enough on the inevitable slowness of its acquisition.

In perfect harmony with these views, if not led up to as their necessary consequence, was the ardent assertion by Xenophanes that the Divinity was One,—was eternal, unchangeable; “directing his glance to the general heavens he declared the One to be God” (Aristot.), a dictum that seems to have originated the inconsistent imputation that he described God as circular or spherical, unless this was a literal acceptance of some poetical and metaphorical expression, of which in fact we seem to have the original in some lines of his follower Parmenides. The divinity being the mightiest of all things, he argued, must needs be one; supreme power and excellence would not be supreme if divided. The god of Xenophanes is “all eye, all ear, all mind, and sways all things by mental apprehension without fatigue,”—is “sensitive in every particle.” God is thus immanent in nature, universally operant in nature,—how far conceivable then as distinct from nature of which every operation is thus his conscious act, was not discussed.

These views Xenophanes pressed home to their incompatibility with popular theology, with the greatest bluntness. “The single God, greatest among both gods and men, is in no way on a par with mortals either in mind or body.” “If Leucothea is divine,

why the mourning at her celebration,—if she died, why worship her?” And to declare that the gods were born, he said, was as gross an impiety as to assert their death,—in either case there is an implication that on a time they are non-existent. (Aristot. Rhet.) He denounced the material and vicious deities of Homer and Hesiod; so men, he said, made gods in their own image; the black man’s god is black visaged and flat nosed; the Thracian’s has blue eyes and sandy hair; animals if they had the human skill of drawing and modelling would depict their gods upon four legs. He went counter to popular feeling as fearlessly in denouncing the extravagant honours lavished on athletic achievements as compared with intellectual merit; and moral subjects he said would be more fitting for poetical declamation than wild tales of battles of Titans and Centaurs.

For such a votary of truth for its own sake and at all hazards what can be anticipated but “the fate of a reformer”? The tyrannies of his time, however, more indulgent or indifferent than the democratic judges of Anaxagoras and Socrates, let him off with neglect and poverty.

Unlike Xenophanes, Empedocles was a genuine Sicilian, Agrigentine by birth; by descent he was of distinguished family; his grandfather of the same name had even gained an Olympic victory with the four-horse chariot (Ol. 71). As in the case of others of these early teachers, the interest of his doctrines

seems to have long diverted attention from actual records of his life, and afterwards, when the omission was recognised, to have prompted to supplement darkness and doubt by every form of the exaggerated, the marvellous, the miraculous.

It is much if we can rest on a general date between 492—432 B.C.—within limits, that is, for his activity not commencing till after the death of Theron. His father, Meton, is vaguely said to have been concerned in the expulsion of Thrasydæus and establishment of democracy (Pliny, 8, 72), and Empedocles himself to have aided, at a later date, in the confirmation of the settlement. Veering popularity is further said to have driven him afterwards to Peloponnesus, and that he died there is perhaps confirmed by the strange and various tales that in Sicily could be associated with accounts of his death, disappearance, or translation.

The general personality of the man is characteristically mysterious, and supernatural pretensions and subtle philosophy and hardy dogmatism are traditional along with practical insight and political ability and lucid and impressive faculty of expression, and give an assemblage of great endowments associated with a certain air of studied charlatanerie. He counterworks an oligarchy at Agrigentum, corrects the exhalation of the marshes of Selinus, and earns historical place as one of the originators of rhetoric and its theoretic cultivation, and propounds a physical theory

that at least comprises the elements of more than one later reputation. Superadded to all this is an assumption of priestly and prophetic power,—of miraculous endowment. He commands the elements—stills the winds—orders rain or drought;—he cures the sick—recovers even the dead, or the seeming dead at any rate. According to his own verses,—the form in which his teachings were delivered, he had only to appear in a city in the pomp and parade of garlands and fillets, to be honoured as a god—to be mobbed for revelations and for healing. A little of his power over imagination seems due to the vulgar enthusiasm for wealth and birth that condescend to recognise and court it.

In all this we trace a certain reflection of the genius of Pythagoras, or a like instinct of how weak men are influenced and imposed upon,—of that art of managing ignorant or purblind masses, that is effective equally for sincere and for sinister purposes, as employed by those who do evil that good may come, or by others who are zealous in doing the temporary good that evil subjection to unauthorised dictation may come,—an evil to others that seems comfort enough to themselves. Empedocles, however, at least did not, like Pythagoras, institute a sect that, united among themselves, but pregnant with social discord, excited the suspicion of those without that the conspiracy was against them. His death left his doctrines to make way on their own account, and

they had perhaps no worse fortune in consequence. The splendid eulogium, in which Lucretius combines both Sicily and Empedocles, seems to confirm this.

It was told how, after his recovery of a seeming dead one to life, he celebrated a sacrificial feast with friends—remained behind—was seen no more—and was thereafter honoured as divine. Some explained his disappearance as part of his usual histrionic management, and its fitting conclusion,—he had thrown himself into the crater of *Ætna*, in order that he might pass for a god. After all, it was added, not with success, for the volcano ejected one of his sandals; and this jest was seriously parried again by the tale that he did lose his life indeed at *Ætna*, but in the prosecution of philosophical study of its phenomena. At any rate, the tales as to the conclusion of his life were in harmony with its miraculous and mysterious course.

Neglecting the questionable sandal, we turn to inquire what relics are of significance and value among his doctrines, of which the most important sources are some invaluable notices by Aristotle, and no inconsiderable extracts from his metrical works. (See Karsten's Collection; Amsterdam, 1838.)

In common with predecessors, he enunciates the persistence of existence—nothing from nothing—nothing to nothing. Change then that we witness, is but the old in new form—the old rearranged. And the elements what? four—that is, of four classes:

earth, air, water, fire. Each is single or uniform qualitatively and unchanged, whatever combinations it runs through; each equal in magnitude and force. Philosophically enough, he again reduced the classes to two, as he recognised that earth, air, and water had all more affinity with each other than fire, which he may, or may not, have identified as essentially heat. From such materials Aristotle says that Empedocles considered nature to be built up as "if of bricks and stones," mere difference of mechanical aggregation being held competent for limitless results,—even as a few colours, his own comparison, by various mixture enable the artist to imitate all nature. Combination and dissolution are involved in and cause production and destruction, and birth and death are nothing more. So did all living things originate,—trees, human beings, the very gods themselves.

It does not appear that he seized one of the best ideas of the Pythagoreans, and in these combinations, which generally occur "by harmony," insisted on the value of definite proportion, nor is there trace of a following forth of their invaluable mathematical commencements, or of a specific theory of ultimate atoms.

As the moving powers that effected these minglings and separations, Empedocles provided the active causes, Love and Hate, translateable otherwise as Friendship and Quarrel, which, as physical agencies, are only personifications of attraction and repulsion, but glide by the usual equivoque into elements of

mental or moral force. Aristotle observes that one of these is superfluous, as attraction towards one thing implies of necessity movement away from another.

These moving powers are as constant and continuous as the elements themselves, and the conservation of force as distinguishable from the elements, is affirmed by Empedocles as absolutely as that of the elements themselves. The phases of existence go through a constant evolution—a cycle of integration and disintegration. So much was done by these earlier theorists in discerning as justly axiomatic, what moderns sometimes only come to believe so when reached, after all inconclusively, by their own process of trial and failure. The sagacity of Empedocles, as of Pythagoras, was discredited by rashness afterwards;—with these factors he reasoned out, to his own satisfaction, an elaborate cosmogony, doubtless not the first nor for the first time; and in later and modern days, as if in emulation, what a world of theories have there not been broached! He affirmed, as if rather of knowledge than by inference, that the development of plants preceded that of animals; then that the generative influences produced a variety first of detached and afterwards of ill-mated limbs and members; the happier combinations alone made good their struggle for existence, and so the worthiest survived; and the origin of mankind was no other than a result of like natural selection (v. 230—241).

Life—the vegetative and animal growth—is there-

fore, with Empedocles, a quality inherent in the elements, and capable of more or less forcible manifestation, according to their happy combinations (v. 313-321), and in like manner he does not separate intelligence, feeling, conscious sensibility, from the elements, but professed to account for their varieties by variety in mixture. We become conscious of the qualities of external nature by sympathy of the like qualities among our own components,—of the elements by the elements,—of pleasure and pain, by the motive forces of love and hate, that operate this composition and so are within us and part of us (v. 321—25).

He seems to have recognised no sharp distinction between the soul or life of man and the life of plants,—even as in an inquiry as to immortality, their identity in principle is assumed in a bye-sentence in the *Phædo* of Plato.

Exact consistency is not to be looked for even in the physical theory, where so much that is purely arbitrary is set down as often with the air of satisfactory deduction as with calm dogmatism. The inclusion of life in the general indestructibility of nature may seem to lead on naturally to the immortality of the soul, but not very intelligibly when associated as it is with the elementary qualities. In any case, his verses set forth a happier state, from which he is as an exile on earth. In perfect harmony with his theory of life, the individual life preserving—how is not inquired—its individuality, wanders through various

forms of plants and animals before arriving at humanity, in every stage the nobler taking nobler forms, and so the transmigration is continued after death.

Respect for animal life, and abstinence from flesh, follow these doctrines consistently enough; such habits, he said, involve murder and cannibalism; but the like difficulty in the case of vegetation was allowed to pass unnoticed. The perfect observance of such ordinances was carried back to an assumed golden age (v. 364-377), when spontaneous fruits ministered vegetarian diet, all animals were tame, the harsher divinities were unknown, but Cypris was sole queen, and worshipped with incense and libations of honey.

Nothing of the declared conflict with popular belief of the theology of Xenophanes, appears in the popular Empedocles.

Yet some of his verses remain that express certain notions respecting the gods in the tone and almost the terms of Xenophanes. "They have neither branching arms nor legs, nor members of any kind, but only mind sacred and ineffable, that permeates the whole cosmos with swift intentions." Indeed from the general character of his speculations it is impossible that Empedocles should not tend to recover the gods from concrete mythology for allegory or abstraction; but on the whole his view is bounded more narrowly, and in dignifying the primary elements and the func-

tion of his combining causes, there was not much room or requisiteness for insisting on an independent and ruling divinity.

Such a system as that of Empedocles—asserted so independently of definite proof—could only be vindicated to plausibility by at least saving appearances, and providing assumptions with some pretension to fulfil all required of them. But, in effect, evidence and plausibility fail throughout; evidence that might reasonably be expected is not forthcoming nor called for; the assumptions that are unscrupulous enough may be granted and yet the deductions be fairly denied, and gaps and chasms declare hopeless incoherency in all directions.

When such habits of thought were admitted by the professed philosopher, what was to be expected from the rhetorician, the sophist—too ready to emulate a success that seemed so largely indebted to seconding intellectual faculty with assurance and pretence? Surely it was high time for a Socrates to interfere, to press for definitions above all things, and urge as a primary duty the settlement of a sufficient criterion of knowledge.

There is every appearance that the extinction of the tyranny had the same effect at Syracuse that Herodotus ascribes to it in such a remarkable enunciation at Athens; and that not only was the general energy of the state confirmed, but that a sudden activity of mind in a great variety of directions was developed, that soon

put to shame the somewhat precarious and superficial culture that even so had lent no slight dignity to arbitrary power. Free speech above all, ever repressed by tyrants, and to the sore grief of a Greek especially, at once reasserted itself with a vigour and originality that has led to the assignment to this epoch of the commencement of the two professions—of the Sophist and the Rhetorician,—that were to have so remarkable, and not always a beneficial, vogue through the length and breadth of Greece.

The great changes in distribution of property after the suppression of the tyrants, the reassertions of old rights, the claims to position in the new lists of citizens, the quarrels and the compromises incident to an endeavour to undo so much that so long had been regarded as settled for all time,—gave rise to innumerable suits, to endless litigation. The oratory of the public assembly and of the advocate, were in sudden demand together, and attained at once a state of at least the perfection of elaboration. The names of Korax and Tisias as master and pupil, are associated with the first commencements of systematic teaching of their art, as well as the professional supply of speeches for particular occasions. Lysias and Isocrates are both said to be under obligations to the instructions of Tisias. An anecdote was current in antiquity which, of little worth in itself, is fairly typical of some of the tendencies of such a school. Tisias, it ran, brought his first action against his instructor, whose

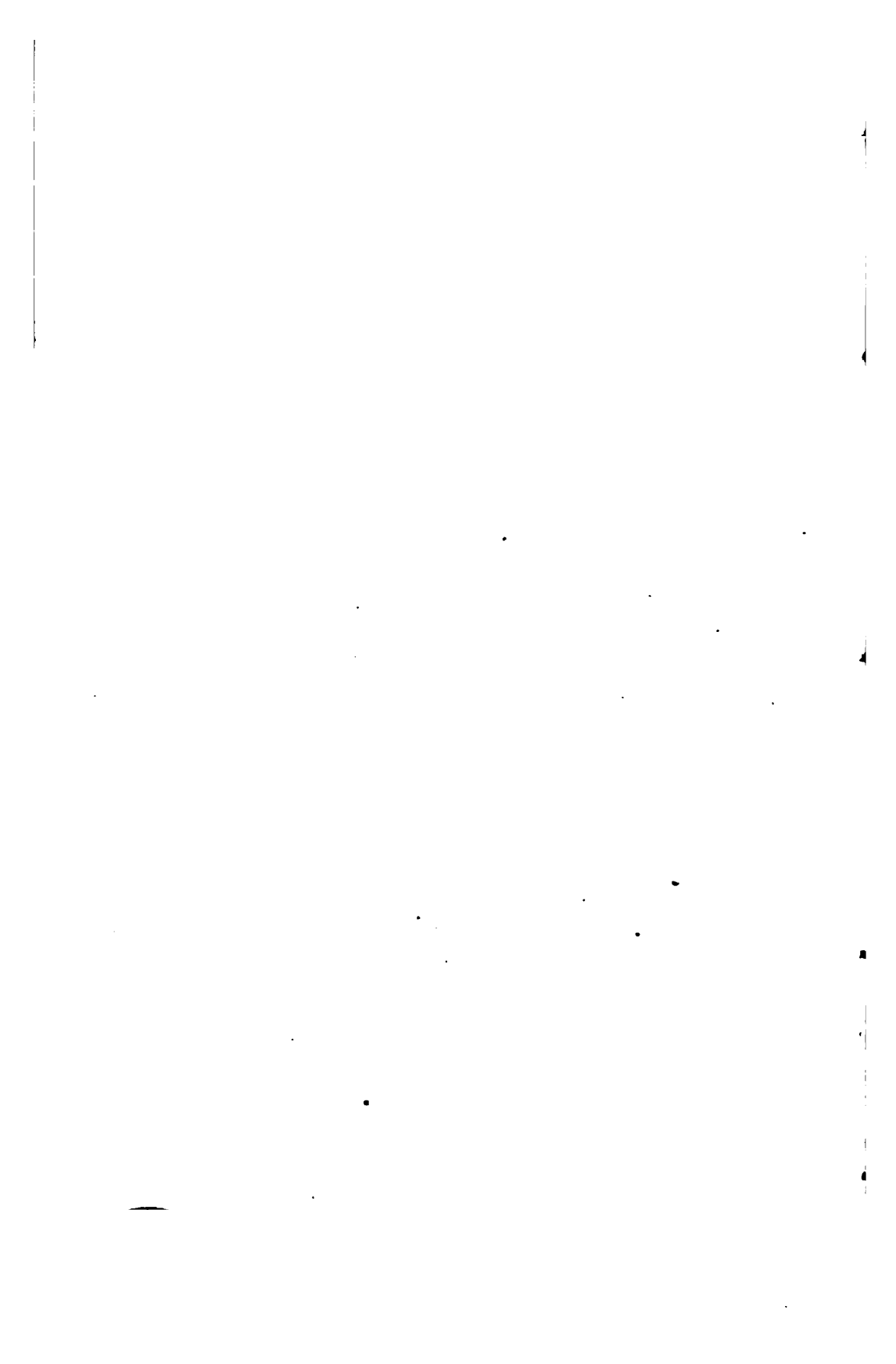
terms had been that he was only to be paid in the event of his pupil's first attempt being successful. Either by award of the court in his favour, therefore—or if it went against him, by forfeiture in terms of the agreement, Tisias would escape payment. Such at least was said to be the origin of the proverb—"Bad is the egg of a bad croaker" (κόραξ—a raven).

The functions of sophist and rhetorician were combined more imposingly in Gorgias of Leontini—born about 488 B.C.—his studies are associated with the names of Tisias and of Empedocles. His instructions had exclusive reference to exigencies of practical, and especially political life, and their moral tone suffered accordingly. His style at the same time was artificial to the highest degree—delighting in antithesis, and antithetical rhythms, in assonances, in words of poetical usage, in smartnesses and surprises. These would seem characteristics the reverse of practical, but that they appear partly to have fallen in with the taste of the time that he helped to corrupt, and partly served at least to exercise pupils in command of language, in volubility and invention, who could be trusted not to be able to carry any to the excess of their exemplar.

He had reached the 60th year of a long life of 105 years before he was sent by his fellow-citizens to solicit the aid of Athens against Syracuse, 427 B.C., and from that date he belongs to Athenian political and philosophical history.

BOOK II.

SICILIAN HISTORY IN THE EPINICIAN POETRY
OF PINDAR.



CHAPTER I.

CHORIC POETRY—IN SUCCESSION TO EPIC AND ELEGIAC.

THE life of Pindar extended through the 80 years from 521 to 441 B.C. The earliest of his preserved poems is dated in his 20th year, the latest in his 70th. The period of his poetical activity may therefore be reckoned generally as the 50 or 60 years forward from 500 B.C., say to as late as 440 B.C.

In political history this period extends from the Ionian revolt against Persia, to the revolt of Samos against Athens; in dramatic, from the production by Æschylus, of his first tragedy in his 25th year, to that of the first tragedy of Euripides. It included the brief but most exciting reflection under western skies of convulsions that had passed previously across central Greece, in the rise, prosperity, splendour, and fall of tyrannies at Gela, Syracuse, Agrigentum, Himera, Rhegium, and indeed also at Cyrene; while in central Greece itself it witnessed the triumphs of its confederated tribes over Persia at Marathon, Salamis, Plataea, Cyprus; the rise and acme of Athenian power; the intermediate temporary dependence of Bœotia and

Megara, and the first discontents that were speedily to bring on the Peloponnesian War.

He flourished, therefore, at a time when the subjective contrasts between Dorian and Ionian, that so largely contributed to the war, and that it was to do so much to obliterate, were still rife and vigorous; when eupatrid families still held a position of much political strength, and the traditions that connected them with mythical times were not altogether disrespected. He had witnessed a united effort of Greece against Asia, and was familiar with the splendour and the ways of kingly men who claimed to be great potentates, even after Agamemnon.

The poetry of Pindar belonged to, as indeed it closed the lyric development of Greek poetry, that was in origin anterior to the dramatic; but Æschylus was his exact, and Sophocles only his younger contemporary. Thus epochs of development overlap in poetry as in plastic art. Style ever carries date, no doubt, but only for sequence in commencements, not for continuance; not for individual masters or particular works, and in strict chronology masterworks of Perugino and Raphael,—of Myron, of Onatas, of Phidias,—are coincident.

Pindar, as he was the last, so by the consent of antiquity he was the greatest of the series of Lyric, or more properly Choric poets, the authors of impassioned verse composed to be sung, and sung not only to the accompaniment of music, but of dancing also; in this respect

Lyric poetry was even less contrasted with Epic poetry, which at least in some subordinate forms was not alien to such accompaniments, than to the intermediate school of Elegiac and Iambic poetry,—of compositions which, however intrinsically exciting may be their themes, were more suitable for stirring but still for decided recitation. The characteristic that this poetry has in common with the Lyric is, that it gives avowed utterance to the feelings of the poet himself, in relation to his personal circumstances. Already in the Works and Days of Hesiod, is this tendency apparent; the personal feelings of the poet relatively to his brother, and to various parties in his community, are constantly obtruded, and govern his divergencies from the proper tone of exposition or narrative. The Ionian Elegiac poets carried on this direct individual utterance to most unequivocal distinctness and ultimate predominance. The most remarkable names are Archilochus, of very early date—Simonides of Amorgos, Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus, Solon, and Theognis, the last a Dorian. Some of their productions were more purely reflective, and assumed the soliloquising,—in this case often the plaintive tone that has become associated with the Elegy; others were appeals and outbursts that raised bitter denunciations and earnest hortatory oratory, to the height of enthusiastic poetry. The bards speak forth not as describers of heroic passions, but as animated by such sentiments themselves. Patriotic, martial, melancholy, satirical, even cynical, and ama-

tory sentiments found expression with but occasional admixture of narrative and didactic or moralizing inculcation; and as regards form, the suggestions of passion early introduced many of the most important metrical innovations, that Lyric poetry was to extend and elaborate with exhaustless daring and invention.

Elegiac poetry continued in vogue quite down to the Persian Wars, and thus overlapped the rise and progress, and even acme of Lyric. Still one degree further removed from Epic poetry than the Elegiac was the properly Melic,—the poetry of song, which was carried to greatest perfection by Æolians,—by Alcæus, and Sappho, but was theirs by no means exclusively. Poetry in this new form, as in the antecedent, was expressive of passionate personal feelings, ranging from political animosity to tender love, was dissociated with definite and consecutive narrative, and like the elegy again, independent for the most part of choral accompaniment; on the other hand, as poetry composed above all things to be sung, it admitted, courted, demanded the associated charm of music. It is known that music was at this time, like the other arts, in constant and lively advance, and no doubt had its reaction on the genius of poetry, that was stimulated to take advantage of all its enhancements, while resolute still to retain its own due command. So far as professedly produced only or chiefly as a relief to the feelings of the poet, and with little or no direct consideration for who may

or may not be listening to the strain, this of all Greek poetry is most modern in spirit.

Of a very different spirit in many respects was the masculine school of Melic poetry that perfected itself among Doric communities concurrently, and married all the resources of poetry—the Epic scope, the Elegiac reality and earnestness,—to all the heightening effects for expression, not of music only, but of Choric dancing. The personal reference to the individuality of the poet, scarcely could be more distinct, but the range of his sympathies was usually wider, not to say nobler and healthier or in a healthier sphere,—and his assumptions of the interests that he might appeal to with security of response, received corresponding advancement. Archilochus first, and Alcæus later, had no doubt exalted satire to something much superior to mere personal lampoons or political squibs in their Iambic and Stasiotic poems, but still satire is incapable of yielding congenial embodiment to best enthusiasm. The Choric poetry of the Greeks was essentially the Melic and Lyric carried to the extremest height of dignity at once and complexity. A spirit of grand comprehensiveness, of organising energy and discipline, was as manifest in the scheme and adjuncts of poetical composition at this period, as prevailed in the polities that it bloomed amongst. The interest of Epic story, the passion of the song, the fervour of the hymn, blended together; union of voices and of varied instruments aided without oppressing the emphasis and resonance

of the poetry, while expressive dancing gave the last avouchment of complete and intimate possession of the man.

It might seem that the dictum of Aristotle—what is last in production is first in genesis—applies to the development of Greek poetry ; for when we look back to the life of the race as described in Homer, we observe that dancing as well as music appears there as an accompaniment of even narrative song ;—we observe even an adumbration of the future relation of the chorus to drama in an implication (*Odys.* 8, 256) of pantomimic dancing. An historic illustration has been lost with the works of Stesichorus of Rhegium, whose subjects were Epic and Epic in extent, but in Lyric and Choric forms. We recognise in Homer also, what is even more important, the tendency of the race to find in every occasion of personal and social excitement, an opportunity,—an impulse to poetical expression. Even so early the primary energy declares itself, that sooner or later was certain to make forms of expression that were incompatible with the hexameter, metrically harmonious, and to enable poetry to keep ahead of and to govern the rapid development of music, and all the varieties of characteristic rhythmical movement. The stories of the Trojan War, and even of intrigues of gods and goddesses sung to the lyre by Demodocus and Phemius, as enlivenments of feasts and festivities, may be assumed, like the deeds of kings and heroes sung by Achilles in his tent, to resemble the separable sections

of the epics that contain them ; not so, however, such performances as the pæan sung to Apollo at the restitution of Chryseis,—the hymenæals that are resounding through the peaceful city at the marriage procession, on the shield of Achilles,—the songs of Linus at the vintage, and of Circe and Calypso at their looms, —or again the pæan chanted by the Myrmidons at the triumphal return to the ships with the body of Hector.

The rarity of fine poetic faculty is still greater than that of oratorical, and modern celebrations that only endure uneasily inevitable speeches, have long ago renounced the complimentary copy of verses and occasional ode, and find the safest outlet for calmer enthusiasm in concerts, where the words are indifferent, if not unintelligible, or in the still more generalised expressions of instrumental music alone.

But the Greek was not satisfied with generalities;—his sense of harmony desiderated the concentration in effective array of every living collateral interest whatever, that could contribute to heighten present interest. The victor in the games might be content for the moment to give expression to his joy, in the popular chant to Hercules ;—but this was only for the moment, and he looked forward to a fuller celebration in which the glory of himself, his family, his country on the occasion, should be celebrated by a sympathetic poet, and heightened by performance of an ode by trained chorus with musical accompaniment, before a sympathetic and sensitive society.

Every artist who aims at admitted success, must needs have special regard to the tone of mind of his audience,—what associations he may rely upon calling up,—what sympathies it is of any use under the circumstances attempting to appeal to,—which are most sensitive, which most expectant? Regard for the state of fashion in the particular art, must, as affecting those sympathies with a specific bias, ever govern him to some extent; but in antiquity this was not so much as at present, a matter apart from other considerations. In the active communities where a single city comprised the entire polity, politics were of necessity the leading interest of every citizen, and the leading interest gave tone and colour to every other. Demus could not be expected to sit the whole day through, interested in tragedies which simply carried him far away from all the interests and ideas that were besetting him all day, and every day. It may not have been always or even often that he divined the spell by which the poet held him absorbed,—but the spell was there, more or less covertly;—the fable that was before him was presented in an aspect that reflected light upon his predominant ideas, if it did not absolutely reflect these ideas themselves. The idealisation of the problems which engrossed the Pnyx, may have disguised them from the more vulgar recognition, but did not illustrate them the less; the prevalent subject was more defined by the very poetic process that never absolutely trenched upon it, but ever hovered around

its margin. The comic poet addressed himself to the topic of the day bluntly enough — no orator more explicitly, but elevation and refinement required different conditions ; and the Choric and the Tragic poets, while sensible of the like incumbency to restrict themselves to those tones that would awaken harmonies, touch them with a reserve so delicate for all its vigour, that the very finest ear is required to catch the completion and sequence of the responsive chords.

The general characteristic of all the poems of Pindar that are preserved complete, — and the same is manifest also in all the completer fragments, — is special reference to a particular occasion. It is, perhaps, not impossible that he may have written some in some limited degree, more general poems, but these are not before us, nor, indeed, on record ; and with this phase we have not to deal.

With the exception again of *Scolia*, — songs for convivial meetings, it seems probable that almost all his compositions were, like the preserved *Epinicia* or odes for victories in the games, intended to be sung to music by a trained chorus, or to the movements of a trained chorus. There is one class, the specific *Hymns*, which appears to have been sung to the *cithara* by a chorus stationary about an altar. On the other hand, the very title of the *Prosodion* implies that it was sung in a procession. The *Epinician* ode, in most cases, consists of one or more series of triple groups of verses, called respectively *strophe*, *antistrophe* — metrically a

repetition, and epode,—titles which are usually interpreted as indicating that they were successively sung by the chorus in movement to the right of the altar, to the left, and stationary; but comparison with the tenor of the poetry fails to supply what is required to justify the interpretation—a proof of harmonious reference to such rhythmic movements, and a resulting enrichment of effect.

The title, Parthenion, of another class of poems, implies that they were written to be sung by choruses of girls.

The Hyporchema was a class of poems, sometimes but not exclusively, addressed to Apollo, accompanied by a dancing chorus, and also by strongly pronounced pantomimic action.

Dithyrambs were sung with a dancing chorus to Dionysus, and it is certain had, like all Dionysiac celebrations, very marked peculiarities that would place them in contrast to the Pæans, that were more peculiarly addressed to Apollo and Artemis.

It would not be easy to carry through a distinction between poems on sacred and on profane occasions,—addressed to fellow mortals, and addressed to gods. Poetry with the Greeks, as an expression of the highest enthusiasm, could not but assume, whatever its occasion, a colouring from religious sentiment, and recognise its inspiration as derived from and tending to the gods, the divine; and even when a special god was addressed more particularly—exclusively seems out of

the question, the direct appeal is declared, as in the Hyporchema for Hiero, to be made, if not by the poet expressly for himself, by the poet on the part of some individual. Some of the more solemn poems may very probably have been written on the part, not of a single personage, but of a city or state, Athens, or Thebes, or Ægina; but this can scarcely be decided positively.

Other classes of poems of which we have fragments, are Encomia, laudatory poems to individuals, and Threnes or Dirges; the fragments of these latter are most interesting and valuable; the loss of the complete compositions which would have valuably illustrated the deepest religious feelings of the poet and his period, is peculiarly to be lamented.

CHAPTER II.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EPINICIA OF PINDAR.

THE Odes of Pindar, his only works preserved besides fragments, belong then, with a single exception, to a single class. They are Epinician Odes, songs—hymns, as he calls them, composed on occasions of victories in the sacred games, and addressed directly by the poet to the victor. They may commence sometimes with an address to a god, or diverge into an invocation; they may at times proceed in narrative to such an extent, that declaration of the personality of the poet or of the friend he addresses seems evanescent; but declared these will be sooner or later, and they are always to be assumed from the beginning.

There is abundant proof that the words, although delivered as those of the poet, were sung by a chorus under the direction of one chief singer as conductor; and sung to music, accompanied by the lyre—or by lyre and pipes or flute, also; it is no less certain that the singing and accompaniment must have been so managed that every word of the poetry was fully and easily followed and understood. The connections of the allusions are so delicate,—the transitions so decided,

that under any other conditions, the ode upon which such elaboration has been bestowed, might be harmonious indeed, but in other respects would be an incoherent meaningless farrago.

That dancing—that the poetry of motion, was associated with those of sense, and sentiment, and sound, can as little be doubted, however vague may be the traditions of the system of combination,—however unsatisfactory may be an attempt to recover a conception of its style. It is an art that the modern world has made scarcely an attempt to rediscover or reinvent, how choral music and choral dancing can be so associated with the most refined and highly elaborate poetry, as not merely not to confuse and interfere with it, but to illustrate its purport, and enhance its expression.

The metrical schemes employed by Pindar are different in every ode, but each adheres to its own with perfect strictness. Great study has been devoted to these metres, and as regards their descriptive definition perhaps, with sufficient success; but their theory appears to be still to seek. The rhythmical effect to the ear, when they are rightly read, is in every case characteristic and delightful. All but universally—the exceptions are the monostrophic odes—the verses are distributed into pairs of strophes exactly correspondent, followed by a system of others different, which constitute what is called the epode. An ode may consist of any number of such repeated systems;

but while the same characteristic metrical feet prevail in each ode, they vary throughout the system in number, and combination, and modification in every line.

There are certain primary assumptions on the part of the poet that must be distinctly recognised before the tone and tenor of an epinician ode can be understood—can be sympathised with; we are held bound to the faith that a victory in the games, and in the Olympic games especially, is almost the greatest—with its natural concomitants, the very greatest happiness, to which man can attain; it implies high natural endowment and unstinted labour, which are blended into one idea with unflinching courage and virtue in its most comprehensive sense; it implies favour of the gods, and presupposes piety and descent from ancestry in whom all these great qualities were naturally inherent. A victory therefore shed honour all around, even the dead ancestors are not insensible to it; immediate friends and relatives become glorious at once, and it is one of the victor's chief rewards that he confers glory on his native city, which is proclaimed by the herald along with his own name.

From various notices in the odes it seems to have been believed among ancient trained men, that gymnastic victories were as usually affected by breed as is the case with modern race-horses; the expense and discipline of the preparation were also severe, but the great secret of the enthusiasm that

greeted these victors was, it is clear, the wonderful sensitiveness of the Greeks to personal beauty, to the fully, nakedly displayed beauty of the human frame ; in its most perfect state of development this was recognised as the most complete type of the power and wisdom of the divinity—of Divinity—it was divine ; beauty was the guarantee of health, of submission to discipline, of distinguished race, of perseverance, of efficiency, above all and through all, of the favouring and seconding influence of the gods. In modern times we have to recur to the confidence inspired in the trainer by the beautiful form of the racer, or even to the enthusiasm of the gardener for the perfectness of his prize flower, if we would help ourselves to realise the idea which, raised to the power corresponding to the relative importance of humanity, inspired the imagination of the Greeks.

By the ennobling power of imagination, extravagance is transformed into enthusiasm, and enthusiasm sublimed into poetry. When beauty that had achieved a glorious success seemed so close to the divine, it was but natural that enthusiastic congratulation should delight to connect with it whatever associations of gods and heroes and of their deeds, clung to the scene of the victory, or to the home and ancestry of the victor.

Hence it was that a divine or heroic mythus became a never-failing element in the Epinician Ode,—an element so important as to dwarf all others, so urgent that the thought leapt to an appropriate illustration at

once at the slightest hint and over whatever chasm. The so-called abrupt transitions of Pindar are in this sense anything rather than abrupt. When account is taken of what was in the mind of the bystanders, of the victor, and his friends, and what was desired—requisite—to be conveyed, they are the very easiest possible, for they were the inevitable. They are only abrupt to those who are not in position to recognise the pertinence of the subject to which transference of the mind is suddenly commanded, or who, although so informed, cannot hold on attention to an uncompleted theme, until an indispensable illustrative interpolation allows it to be resumed satisfactorily and with improved effect.

All the games were dedicated to some particular god ; Jove was especially the god of the Olympia, Apollo of the Pythia, Poseidon of the Isthmia, and Hercules president at Nemea ; but each locality had also store of local myths and secondary services of other gods and of peculiar heroes, and treasures of historical legend, that were intermediate between primæval theology and contemporary interests.

The country of the victor again, his city, had its preferential worships and peculiar legends ; and usually the victor's own family in the narrowest sense, had its traditions of descent from heroes or men who had consorted with heroes, if not from gods themselves. It is scarcely possible for moderns to conceive the wealthy variety of these legends as they still were living

on at this time, and we must credit the poets themselves with no disinclination to increase the collection, —to enrich and diversify.

The leading principle that governed the selection of the mythus introduced, was to run a parallel—a complimentary parallel, between the victor and the gods and heroes of the games, or of his country and family, especially in regard to some particular circumstances of his contest and success. Such a parallel would be vain unless it were close, but at the same time it is only by ingeniousness that it avoids frigidity. Moreover the very enthusiasm appropriate to the occasion implies the greatest sensitiveness and vivacity of mind, both in the poet and his audience; the slightest hint that just suffices is all-sufficient. Here the modern reader is at great disadvantage; the finest clue was apprehended by the ancient, but for the modern, clues fine and coarse alike may have perished together. Where the ancient recognised at once the local tradition referred to, it may be much if the modern has hint sufficient to advertise him that there must have been a certain reference to some tradition, though to what he knows not.

It is evident, then, that for a fair chance of understanding a given ode, we must place ourselves at first as nearly as we can, at least, in the position of the ancient, by recovering and keeping before the mind all recoverable details of the victor and his family, especially of their previous victories, and of the genealogical

claims of his family and nation, especially where they inosculate with those of the founders or heroes of the games. Some of the odes comprise curiously detailed information on these points ; in others we are thrown upon analogical deductions. Of course there was a motive for the poet to find his mythic illustration amidst those traditions of which the victor was most proud ; these may not always have lent themselves very readily, but even so, it is not to be doubted, as it would be easily condoned, that poetic inspiration never condescended to the strained and the far-fetched, and rather preferred to help along the limping comparison by resort to a little liberal invention.

From the importance of the glory which a victor reflected on his country,—his country and fellow citizens were ever considered to witness both his victory and the celebration,—his sympathy with his country and its interests had to be considered in the ode ; and how should an ode gain a hearing with most alert and concentrated attention, unless it in some way had consideration for whatever feelings at the moment were predominant amongst the audience, which in a Greek audience at this time, were ever the political.

Hence the political circumstances of the country are constantly glanced at in the odes ; glanced at as interesting,—as of engrossing interest to the victor, and yet only so far appropriately, as presented naturally from the point of view of his victory, involving like interests, sympathies, provoking like envy or animosity, exposed

to like contingencies, exercising like hereditary or cultivated qualities.

It would clearly be fatal to the expression of entire engrossment with the gloriousness of the victor,—and this it is his professed office and his commission to celebrate, for the poet to simply avail himself eagerly of an excuse to get away from it to some subject more inviting to him, however slight its connection with the particular occasion. It can only be from our ignorance of the associations and prepossessions that he addresses, if he ever seems to us so to forget his subject and wander widely away; it is true that he occasionally accuses himself of doing so, but this is, in some cases demonstrably, in all therefore presumably, only a figure of poetic exaggeration,—an affectation of negligence that never would be suggested, unless under certainty of provoking the audience to deprecation of such self-reproach. Thus, by a stratagem, the poet enhances the compliment of dwelling at length upon what most flatters the victor and his friends, as he pretends that he has been carried away unconsciously by his own personal interest in the digression,—by independent sympathy with its theme. For the poet to be capable of wandering away in carelessness, would be not less derogatory to the dignity of the occasion and to his own sensibility, than a straining after the far-fetched as supplement or substitution for allusions of natural out-growth.

The vehemence of Lyric poetry implies that the poet

is almost overwhelmed with the richness of his subject, by the crowd of connected topics pressing upon him at once, each urgent for immediate treatment, and yet all dependent for their fullest effect upon being treated in most effective order and collocation,—being prepared for,—being opened gradually, or displayed with succinct force at once. Thus it is most natural that the various themes should become intertwined and to the insensitive or the unprepared should easily seem to be entangled, to be seized in snatches, and dropped as hastily; whereas the expressions employed upon the first taken up, are in fact,—it were too deliberate to say selected—but influenced in anticipation and prompted by the nature of those that are to follow, and that already are alternating in the thoughts.

There is another lyric artifice by which the intensity of the excitement into which the occasion is assumed to throw the poet, is vindicated as natural—is rescued from an imputation of factitious enthusiasm only due to a fee. Even the sympathy of a personal friend, a guest, an hereditary connection and ally, does not with all its cumulative power, reach the extreme height of a fellow-feeling that roots in similarity of position, and especially in relation to the same event. Hence it is that the poet most naturally diverges to his own hopes and fears, his own defiances and confidence, and is in fact giving voice to the sentiments of the victor, while he might seem to be forgetting him and to be wrapped up egotistically in his own. The poetic

celebrator of the victory, while declaiming with passion against his own calumniators, is in fact reflecting upon those who carp at the victor; intensest enthusiasm for another demands such a proof of perfect identity of fellow feelings. The glory of the Epinician song is bound up with that of the victory it celebrates, and the victor has an interest in the poet, no less than the poet in the victor. Thus the poet often runs a parallel, not only between the gods or heroes and the victor, but between the victor and himself. What sympathy can be closer? the glory and happiness of the victor is incomplete, is short-lived without the preserving celebration of poetry; and the reward of the renowned poet is to consort with victors. Then wealth and victory combined are the especial happinesses of those who gain prizes in horse and chariot races, but the wealth and distinction even of kings are still attendant for their best rewards on poetry. The lyric poet who can dispense this last enhancement has for his own part to look forward to his poetic glory also being combined with wealth. Here we have an intimation of such a suggestion as the mediæval cry of *largesse! largesse!* and even this completes our sense of the close sympathy of the lyric poet with the powerful victor he addresses.

In the case of chariot races, wealth and power are the external advantages that combine with imputed moral qualities, to lift the victor to parallel with the divine; in the more properly gymnic victories, per-

sonal beauty takes their place, and in this case, no less than the other, it is an Epinician common-place to warn against presumptuousness; and flattering assimilation to the qualifications of a god, is covert in the injunction to be satisfied with what is within the reach of mortals; the warning, not to seek how to be a god, is affirmation in a form compatible with piety and mimetic of its maxims, that the height of gloriousness attained might easily suggest such an ambition, as being indeed the only promotion yet unachieved.

“ Envy does merit as its shade pursue,
But like the shadow, proves the substance true.”

It therefore became as complimentary to represent a victor as an object of envy, to console him under its carplings, to defy and denounce them, as in other cases to magnify his popularity by asserting that his triumph gives all his fellow citizens unqualified pleasure. Sometimes the poet makes open profession of grappling with disparaging imputations—in cases, as likely as not, where detraction was least merited and least harmful. He declares himself one of a band prompt to bring cleansing waters to wash away the unhandsome and obscuring smoke stains. In other cases he effectually though unavowedly, is forward in such service, by choosing topics of congratulation and compliment and mythical parallels that go directly to contravene either proverbial imputations on a nation, or current charges against the victor individually.

Of the Sicilian Odes of Pindar, four of the most important in every sense—one Olympic and three Pythian, are addressed to Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse, and two Olympic odes to Theron, tyrant of Acragas. A nephew of Theron, Thrasybulus, has two odes, one Pythian, one Isthmian; and a Pythian is given to Midas of Acragas, who however does not appear otherwise in any close relation to the ruler of his city. The friends of Hiero also have their portion; Chromius, one of his most distinguished officers, has two Nemean odes; and Agesias of Syracuse, who is at least attached to him, has an Olympic. With these we may group two addressed to Agesidamus, an Epizephyrian Locrian, on the strength of the important political relations of Hiero of Syracuse to his countrymen.

Other Sicilian Odes that do not involve any distinct reference to Hiero and Theron, are two Olympic to Psaumis of Camarina, and one to Ergoteles of Himera.

Of the odes for Sicilians, therefore, thus reckoned, nine are Olympic, five are Pythian, one included that is equivocal, two are Nemean, and one Isthmian.

Of other poems addressed to the same persons, sometimes with reference to the same victories, only trifling fragments remain; five lines of an encomion to Theron; for Hiero, disconnected fragments of a hyporcheme, and a few lines of a scolion, and the like for Thrasybulus.

The victory celebrated in the 6th Pythian was

gained as early as Olymp. 71.3 B.C. 495, when Pindar was under 30 ; but the date of the ode which is addressed to the son of the victor, may be considerably later. The latest in date are those to Psaumis of Camarina, Olymp. 82, B.C. 452, (æt. Pind., 66 to 70.) The chief group of odes, however, as of victories, fall within the limits of the twenty years, 488—468 B.C., that comprise the entire reigns of Theron, of Hiero, and a portion of that of Hiero's elder brother Gelon, and the later and larger portion of the reign of Anaxilaus, tyrant of Rhegium, on the other side of the straits. This period covers the years of preparation at Athens, for maritime conflict with Persia at Salamis, 480 B.C., and the consolidation of her supremacy afterwards ; it covers a parallel series of events among the Greek settlements westward,—the organisation in Sicily of a power that was equal to coping with a barbaric force almost as composite as that of Xerxes, the conflict and victory, and the comparative immunity of the victors thereafter for a considerable time from barbaric molestation.

The check given to Carthaginian encroachment answers to that received by the Persian, but the patriotic forces that liberated civilisation in either case, were not competent for the larger and more serious enterprises of foreign conquest. Athens and Sparta, after acting together as allies against the Persians, wasted their powers, and beat themselves to pieces against each other ; and within thirty

years of the death of Pindar, the champions of Hellenism against Persian and Punic barbarism, were crippling each other fatally in the Athenian attempt upon Syracuse. An imperial career, on the scale required by the advanced development of society and intercourse, was, in truth, only possible for states very differently constituted, animated by very different spirit, wielding very different resources ; Athens and Syracuse were reduced politically to insignificance, Carthage and Persepolis were given up to devastation, by the phalanx and the legion,—by Macedonia and Rome ; but the preceding epoch of more limited activities,—only in truth more limited to the conceptions of those for whom the history of mankind lies in the spread or devolution of political power that merely subserves it, was more important and more glorious, because it first secured standing ground for civilisation and marked out the nobler outlines that we are still only striving to fill up.

Pindar belongs almost equally to Greece proper and to Sicily ; he belongs in Greece rather to the social scheme that is retiring than to that which is being inaugurated by the self-confident Athenian demus. His sympathies are Doric rather than Ionian ; he clings to the aristocracy of descent, and the traditions, still held to be continuous, of heroic ancestry ; he has even no repugnance to monarchy in itself, as sanctioned by heroic usage and still more by the legal or accepted limitations of Doric institutions such as were in force at

Sparta. Theban as he was, his poems contain no hint of sympathy with the unpatriotic part that was taken by Thebes—at least, by the party that controlled it—in the Persian War, but much with the patriotic exertions of Ægina, and even of Athens. His sympathies indeed are as Pan-Hellenic as the very Olympic and Pythian games themselves, where he congratulated with equal enthusiasm a citizen or a king, an Æginetan, an Athenian, a Sicilian, or a Theban. The Pan-Hellenic character of these festivals, the aristocratic connections of the victors, the rivalry of city with city for the glory of success and of poetic celebration, would in any case account for the frequent introduction of political allusions ; but the motives were doubly powerful in the Sicilian case ; the poet here, in celebrating his kingly patrons, was perforce on the defensive, though he might carefully evade such an acknowledgment, and prefer to assert triumphantly, when his drift was in truth a covert vindication. The anxiety of the Sicilian magnates for victories in the games of Greece proper, betrays that sensitiveness to the opinion of the old country that is characteristic of colonists, and continues for so long a spiritual domination ; even when professedly best satisfied of their superiority they are uneasy still at missing the appreciation, at least if not the respect, of their elders in civilisation,—look there for confirmation of their grosser glory, and most willingly connect their own career with that of an ancestry not undistinguished in annals

with which they may not care to profess themselves to be very much in sympathy.

All these feelings tell upon the course of thought and allusion in the poetry in which Pindar with masterly ingenuity contrived to vindicate his own position relatively to the Sicilian potentates, to soothe most pleasingly their self-complacency, and to conciliate the favour and sympathy of his own countrymen and general Greece. But if we are fully to appreciate this art, and to place ourselves so far as we may in the position of the original auditors, to think as they thought, feel as they felt, or at least to understand their thoughts and feelings, we must in the first place familiarise ourselves to some extent with the political position of the tyrants of Syracuse and Acragas, their services, achievements, perils, and then, passing out of this more purely, at least more simply historical sphere, read as best we may that leaf of history that records their belief, or pretences of belief, whether historically founded or not, of their original derivation from one district or another, or from several in succession, of Greece proper,—their descent from mythical or from heroic ancestry,—the intercourse of their ancestors with heroes or with gods.

CHAPTER III.

ANCESTRAL TRADITIONS AND CLAIMS OF HIERO AND THERON.

WE have seen that the original acquirement of political power by the ancestors of Hiero, was ascribed by Herodotus to influence derived from certain sacred functions ; but how these had come into their possession he distinctly professes not to have to say. It may seem presumptuous for us at this day to pretend in any degree to supply the information, and yet there seems but little doubt that we may do so in a manner to throw unexpected light upon allusions in the poetry of which the appropriateness was long obscure, and even to open glimpses into the history of times which were remote antiquity to the first settlers of Sicily. The fortuitousness of the preservation of scattered notices that enable us to solve very important Pindaric problems here, warns us how perfectly many others that now seem desperate, might have been cleared up had they shared a like good fortune.

The links of the chain of evidence that we have to disentangle were partly gathered together by Boeckh, in a learned note to the scholiast on the Second

Pythian Ode. Herodotus had told of Telines, ancestor of Gelon and Hiero, and descendant of a colonist from the island of Telos, near the Triopian promontory of Caria, who was an hierophant, in the first place apparently with no public status or recognition, of the Chthonian or subterranean gods. How he became so, the historian seems to say, is no business of mine, in a tone which rather implies that others had made too much of the subject, or shown themselves a little over wise. The gods to whom the title of Chthonian is most peculiarly assigned, are Demeter, Kore, and Hades (Ceres, Proserpine, and Pluto), and accordingly Hiero is called by Pindar (Ol. 6, 94) a servant of the two goddesses, and to them, we read in Diodorus, he dedicated a magnificent temple. His name was no doubt given—as Pindar also implies, with allusion to the sacred functions of his family. The indication therefore is most direct, and was followed forth by Boeckh so far as to trace the derivation of the worship to the ancestral seats of the family and the celebrated Triopian worship on the coast of Caria.

Here we find ourselves at one of the most curious cross-roads of Greek migration, where tribes arrive from most opposite quarters, and in many respects with contrasted tendencies in worship and customs, sufficient to induce repugnances and oppositions in some times and places, but apparently reconcilable here with friendly association. We may recognise very favourably, in this instance, the tenacity with which

tribal and gentile predilections of sacred traditions were held to, and how, under certain circumstances, by arrangements of joint celebrations and communicated titles, this obstinate loyalty to even contrasted and almost conflicting worships was made consistent with the unity required in a city or confederation of composite population.

The Dorian cities at the south-western point of Asia Minor, celebrated a common festival on the cape of Triopium, in the territory of Cnidus,—the Triopia, which was to them what the festival at the cape of Mycale was to the Panionian confederation. (Herod. 1; 144.) For the Dorians, the principal Triopian god was no doubt Apollo (Herod. *ibid*), but Poseidon also, and the Nymphs, were associated (Schol. Theoc. 17; 68), and that the Chthonian gods were no less associated, is affirmed by the scholiast of Pindar, who says that a Deinomenes ancestor of Hiero brought their worship thence to Sicily.

Triopas and Triopian rites occur constantly, as of Pelasgic origin, in connection with the worship of Demeter and Persephone; the wonder is to find them adopted kindly by Dorians, inasmuch as the Dorian invaders of Peloponnesus manifested hostility to the mystic worship of Demeter (Herod. 2; 171), and the colonisation of the Doric Hexapolis followed very close on that irruption. But there is no difficulty here that need be insisted on; we have a most important example of the associated worship of Apollo and Demeter

in the arrangements of the Amphyctonic assemblies which were convened alternately at Delphi and at the fane of Demeter at Thermopylæ. This very alternation proves a certain distinction between two sections of the alliance, but proves at the same time the possibility of their alliance. Such a convention is paralleled by the reception of Dionysus both at Delphi and Eleusis.

Herodotus tells us that the Thesmophorian rites of Demeter, of the mysticism of which he expresses great awe, were rife throughout Peloponnesus, amongst the original Pelasgian population, and he connects the development of the worship there with Egyptian intercourse, the daughters of Danaus instructing the Pelasgian women; this can only mean that during a certain period of so-called Danaan predominance, Greeks settled more or less permanently in Egypt, took lessons in religious mysticism and ritual celebration if not priestcraft, and propagated them at home with considerable result upon the religions already native there. But the Demetrian and Chthonian worships are far too widely diffused wherever the Pelasgian name appears, for us to ascribe to it such a late and limited origin, whatever might be the case with a systematic local development.

On the Dorian invasion, the historian proceeds, the Thesmophoria were abolished so far as the Dorian influence extended; only those of the Peloponnesians who were not expelled,—the Arcadians particularly—

still preserving them. This again is a broad general statement that must be admitted only under considerable qualifications. It is not consistent with the character of Greek religions to assume attitudes of uncompromising hostility. Every religion that vindicates itself as a power amongst a Greek population, very soon has Hellenic characteristics of natural symbolism attached to it, and is adopted with more or less of dignity into the general system of representative theology. Legend preserves more traces of opposition to Dionysiac worship than to any other, yet in the end Dionysus is established and accepted everywhere. The Eleusinian worship of Demeter acquired a reputation for sanctity and dignity above every other, and yet the notices which we possess of its ritual, are sufficient to prove that every important Hellenic divinity was in one form or other associated in it; and thus attachment to any other worship became an introduction, not a ground of exclusion. Accordingly we have positive traces of the continuance of the worship of Demeter at Argos, long after Herodotus himself; traces which at the same time evince their derivation from remotest antiquity. The Argos of Pausanias is full of notices and traditions to this effect, and in general harmony with traditions preserved by other authorities, he can tell how Argos still claimed a priority over Athens and Eleusis in a worship of which it was only due to accidents of political revolution that the primacy was lost. (Paus. 1, 14; 2.)

At Argos he found still the temple of Demeter Pelasgis, so entitled from the founder Pelasgus, son of Triopas,—Pelasgus, who the Argives said had received Demeter into his house, where Chrysanthis informed her respecting the rape of Kore. (2. 22, 2; 1. 14, 2. Hellan. Schol. II. 3; 75.)

The Dorian colonists from Argos, Epidaurus, Troezen, and Sparta may have emigrated after the lapse of some years had settled terms of combination between their own preferential worships and those of the conquered district; or the migration may have included a considerable proportion of the earlier Argive population. But whatever the affection for Triopian worship, that was thus carried out, it would be met on the coast and capes of Caria, if it was not in some degree attracted thither, by this worship already there in full establishment. Mythus represents the fact in form of a tradition that a Triopas from Dotion in Thessaly had migrated to the Carian district; he led a colony of Pelasgians, retiring before an invasion of Lapitho-Phlegyans.

Referred thus to Thessaly in our investigation of the diffusion of Triopian worship, we find ourselves at once at the very heart and centre of Pelasgic tradition and a home of most significant fables; and there is every appearance that the worship which was taken by the ancestor of Hiero from Caria to Sicily, had already made in primeval times the far more easy transit from Thessaly to Caria. The town and plain

of Dotion lay to the south of Ossa on the Bæbian lake; the Dotium that Pliny assigns (4, 9, 16) to Magnesia is no doubt the same; and that one shore of the lake is Magnesian, is to be remarked as it illustrates the inoculation of traditions in the poems.

The Pelasgians, we are told, dedicated a sacred grove to Demeter at Dotion, which was desecrated by a son of Triopas, Erysichthon, who was punished by insatiable hunger. (Callim. in Cer.) This remarkable mythus cannot be analysed here, but along with some others it appears to point to certain contingencies of a corn-growing district, and still further to an export trade of which the track lies in the direction of Rhodes and Caria.

When we consider the mythical embellishments adopted by Pindar in the odes to Hiero, in connection with those prevalent in the various localities with which his office of hierophant of Triopian Demeter is associated, we must recognise at once that at least the tradition of his family connected him still more intimately with Thessaly—recognised as the home and origin of the worship, than with the Triopian cape of Caria, or the Argive metropolis of Dorian colonies.

His connection with this religion of the underworld accounts for the introduction of the stories of Tantalus and Ixion; and it is the Thessalo-Magnesian connection that brings in the traditions of Lacerea and the Centaurs.

K. O. Müller justly remarks, that it is clear from

the unity of Triopian tradition that "the Carian Triopia were connected with those of Thessaly, and that the connection had its foundation at a very remote period, when the aboriginal Pelasgi and other warlike tribes came into collision in the latter country; consequently also that the germs of the Triopian mythi regarding Demeter, must have been already in existence." (Proleg. Trans. p. 103.) But the remark must be extended to much more than the germs, and it is then that its importance appears; it then will give due significance to the omission of Demeter by Homer, apparently as too solemn a power to be fantastically played with in popular poetry.

Another set of traditions referred to in the odes to Hiero are those of Asclepius, which again, as it appears, we must carry back to very early Pelasgian times,—extending their roots as they do to so many Pelasgian centres. The Arcadians, Epidaurus, and Messene all claimed the god; from Epidaurus the cult might naturally spread along with the Dorian emigrants to Cos; but as Argive Triopians joined Thessalian Triopians at Cnidus, so the renowned cult of Asclepius at Cos and Cnidus may have been as readily settled there originally from Thessaly,—from Lacereia on the Bæbian lake where Pindar places his birth, and from the Magnesian mountains where Cheiron educates him.

The Chthonian side of the Triopia, it seems clear, is that with which Hiero is chiefly concerned and con-

nected, though we must not, therefore, entirely exclude reference to Triopian Apollo and Poseidon.

The illustration of the most important series of the odes obtained by this analysis is most interesting and complete; it is worth while to note the stages of its progress. Boeckh, in his learned note to the scholiast on *Pyth.* 2 (p. 314), traces the sanctities in charge of Hiero back to the Cnidian promontory, but no farther; and he not only fails to pursue the course of their transmission, but somewhat unexpectedly fails to note or to insist on the intimate connection of the myths of Ixion and Tantalus and Rhadamanthus with the Chthonian traditions pertaining to Persephone and the sanctions of Demeter.

Then K. O. Müller, interested in finding a clue to the age of a mythus, traces the Triopia still further back to an earlier seat in Thessaly, and rests content, failing on his part again to observe what new light might now be reflected upon the poetry that had opened the inquiry.

But the electric circuit is still not quite completed.

The pictures painted by Polygnotus in the Lesche at Delphi were dedications of the Cnidians (*Paus.* 10; 25—31); the subjects were taken from the cycle of the Trojan war, and each afforded opportunity for introducing not only Hellenic heroes, but others native to Asia. On one wall was represented the demolition of Troy, the slain, the captive, and the wounded, and the departure of the Greeks; with central incidents

appropriately admonitory of the sin of sacrilege,—the oath of Ajax about Polyxena, the reckless bloodthirst of Neoptolémus, afterwards desecrator of Delphi. On the opposite wall was shown the visit of Ulysses to Teiresias, in the shades, with groups of the happy, the heroic, and the impious. This last subject was treated with distinct reference to the mysterious initiations over which Demeter presided. In my essay on these paintings in Falkener's Museum of Classical Antiquities, I have pointed out that Demeter was thus introduced into the precincts of Apollo in accordance with antique Amphictyonic proprieties,—the council that protected the temple assembling alternately at Delphi and at the temple of Demeter at Thermopylæ; but I overlooked at that time the peculiar interest of the Cnidians in Apollo and Demeter as associated in their great Triopian worship and festival. The moral aspect of the mysteries of the Catachthonian Goddess is forcibly presented in the picture by the inscription—*the Uninitiated*, over examples of punishment. The ravisher Tityus, the slothful Ocnus, the undutiful son, the sacrilegious man, are at one end of the picture; at the other, equivalents of the Danaïds, and the punishments of Sisyphus and of Ixion. It was from a personal patriotic motive that the painter introduced a Thasian priestess of Demeter; but we cannot doubt that the predilections of his employers, the Cnidians of the Triopian promontory, controlled not merely the treatment but the very selection of the subjects.

These pictorial illustrations of the connection of Cnidus, Cos, Telos, &c., with the dominant religion of Pelasgic Thessaly illustrate therefore no less, as we shall find, the allusions to Catachthonian worship in the odes to Hiero, hereditary priest of Triopian Demeter, and even to Theron.

Thus disappears the gross anomaly that Dissen could notice, and not be disturbed by, though its admission would vitiate the whole of his generally excellent theory of Pindaric poetry,—the intrusion into precisely the most important odes of all, of fables that lack what is an indispensable characteristic in others,—traditional connection with the native country or concerns of the victor. See his introduction, *De dignitate et usu fabularum*.

The heroic descent which was claimed by Theron of Acragas, and conceded to him,—asserted for him by the poet, is even more distinguished than any ancestral honour that is distinctly assigned to Hiero, though pretensions of Hiero, quite as important, may no doubt possibly be latent in allusions to Thessalian and Magnesian heroes, to Peleus or Philoctetes. Theron on his part is declared positively to be descended from Œdipus, king of Thebes, and still more remotely from Cadmus. The scholiasts support the poet by enumerating, not always coincidentally, the stages of the pedigree—Laius, Œdipus, Polyneices, Thersander son of Polyneices by Argeia daughter of Adrastus king of Argos, Tisa-

menus, Autesion, Theras, Samus, Chalciopous, Eumenedes, Ænesidamus, Theron, and Xenocrates. Clytius, son of Samus, remained in the island of Thera; his brother Telemachus led colonists to Sicily. The links of tradition missing here are supplied by Pausanias, who tells us that Autesion, moved by an oracle, joined the Dorians at Sparta. Herodotus still further supplies illustration of the dignity implied in such a genealogy. The Lacedæmonians, he says, have a tradition of their royal house at variance with any account found in the poets,—that it was Aristodemus, and not his sons, who led them to the possession of the country they occupied; and that his twin sons were the ancestors of the two races of Spartan kings, their mother being Argeia, daughter of Autesion, son of Tisamenus, of Thersander, of Polynices. (Herod. 6; 52.)

Theras, we are told by Herodotus elsewhere (4; 147), was regent at Sparta during the minority of his nephews, and at its conclusion, impatient of sinking into a subject, he led a colony to Thera (previously named Callista), carrying with him a certain number of followers of Minyan descent, and claimants to be sons of the Argonauts, of whose migrations before they were received at Sparta Herodotus has much to say. Pausanias finds at Sparta (3. 15, 4) a temple said to have been dedicated by him, on his departure, to Minerva Axiopæna; a son of Theras, Oiolyucus, remained behind, and was father of Aigeus, from whom were named the Aigeidæ, a great (phyle)

family in Sparta. Theras, the descendant of Cadmus, leads his colony as friendly immigrants to an island, where are settled already descendants of colonists left there by Cadmus.

Thus we have here the same representation of the intermingling of back currents of population as in the story of Hiero's ancestors. The great strength of the tribal tie, the great value that was allowed and attached to claims of traditional relationship, are manifest throughout the earlier history of Greece, and make probable and consistent enough the tendency to reunion of long-separated branches of the same family or the same race. The spirit of the private clan was fostered by special worships, by jealousy of pure descent, by the pious feelings universally cultivated towards family and ancestry; even the confusion and conflicts of the Peloponnesian war were scarcely sufficient to utterly mix up all the various lines of distinct tradition beyond hope of disentanglement. There is thus nothing at all improbable in the tale, whatever the fact or no fact may have been, that an earlier intercourse between Thera and Thebes, in very remote time indeed, was the true cause of malcontents at Sparta of Theban descent, proceeding to Thera rather than elsewhere, and finding there a welcome.

But we are even yet not at the end of the migrations. A scholiast (Ol. 2 ; 16) quotes an Encomion of Pindar himself, for proof that Theron's ancestor came

direct to Acragas not to Gela,—and from Rhodes ; this change may probably have been worked into the story of Telemachus, brother of Clytius. We may leave aside here, as inconsistent with the genealogy adopted by Pindar, the further various record, that it was from Eteocles, not Polynices, that Theron was descended through Hæmon, who, passing first to Athens, left descendants who migrated with Argives to Rhodes in the first instance, and ultimately to Acragas.

Pindar gives the tradition at large of the colonisation of Cyrene by princes of the Ægid clan, and in one passage he seems to claim relationship to it for himself.

Here we have opened to us a new vista of mythological connections that must at least be mentioned. According to Herodotus, the Ægid clan was derived at Sparta from an ancestor who was left behind by the colonists of Thera ; but Pindar asserts that the colonists themselves were Ægids (Pyth. 5 ; 70). It is the belief—the fact of the belief, not the fact believable,—that we are concerned with, and it is enough that Theron would by consent of contemporaries be held to assert fairly his Ægid descent.

What this implies we may see from the more explicit digressions of Pindar's Cyrenian Odes. In these, colonists of Cyrene are found to be regarded as entitled, in virtue of derivation from Thera, to share in all the traditional glories of the Minyans, who accompanied Theras from Sparta. In Herodotus the

Minyans apply for reception at Sparta on the ground that they are descendants of the Argonauts of whom the Spartan heroes, the Dioscuri, were comrades; they bring with them not only their later Lemnian traditions, but those that belonged to their earlier Magnesian and Thessalian seats and the glories of Orchomenos; and when they have migrated again, we find in Pindar that, after the lapse of centuries, their earlier and later traditions have become blended, and a poet can sing with impunity how Medea and the Argonauts had visited the island that was to be occupied by her descendants.

We must therefore be prepared to find that poetry addressed to Theron resorted to the legends and localities that were dear to Minyan and Ægid associations with as little hesitation.

It may perhaps already have appeared with sufficient force how very precarious is the recovery of hints of recondite mythical and quasi-historical story on which the perfect elucidation of a series of poetical — of Pindaric allusions is dependent; at the same time it is no less clear that when poetical allusions combine with a distinct principle of appropriate coherence we may be fairly guided to a conjecture, even safely to a conclusion, as to what latent associations and traditions it must have appealed to.

The following is a note of the relationships of Hiero and Theron, with which Pindar had contemporary concern :—

Ænesidamus, descendant of Cadmus and Œdipus, and more immediately of the coloniser Telemachus, had two sons, Theron and Xenocrates. Theron has one son, Thrasydæus, who maintains his succession but a few months, and a daughter, Damareta, who was married first to Gelon, by whom she had one son, a minor at his father's death; and afterwards to Gelon's brother, Polyzelus, whose daughter was already married to her father, Theron—a second wife.

Xenocrates had one son, Thrasybulus, the friend of Pindar, and daughter, who was married to Hiero. (Schol. Isth. 2.)

Remoter relatives of Theron are the brothers Hippocrates and Capys, descended in parallel line from Telemachus through an ancestor, Xenodicus.

The family of Deinomenes, descendant of the colonist Telines, hierophant of Triopian mysteries, are—

1. Gelon—married, as above, to Damareta, daughter of Theron.

2. Hiero, who, by a daughter of a Syracusan Nicocles, had a son, Deinomenes; he afterwards married a daughter of Anaxilaus, tyrant of Rhegium—probably in terms of treaty, after the battle of Himera—and lastly a niece of Theron, as above.

3. Polyzelus, who married Damareta, widow of his brother Gelon, and daughter of Theron, having had by a previous marriage a daughter, whom Theron married, probably in accordance with the same arrangements that had given Damareta to Gelon.

4. Thrasybulus, who ultimately succeeds to the tyranny that he is unable to retain.

5 and 6. Daughters, married respectively to Chromius and Aristonous.

CHAPTER IV.

ODE TO THRASYBULUS OF ACROAGAS.

(SIXTH PYTHIAN ODE.)

THE sixth Pythian Ode is addressed to Thrasybulus as a very young man, but it celebrates a victory in the Pythian chariot race, gained by his father Xenocrates of Acragas, B.C. 494.

This was six years before the victor's brother Theron established himself as tyrant; indeed it was during the rule of Hippocrates, and two years before the battle on the Helorus, in which Ænesidamus father of Theron and Xenocrates took part. The grandson Thrasybulus must no doubt have then been youthful enough, but Xenocrates could scarcely have been so far advanced in life as to justify even a general comparison such as we find in the ode, to Nestor. There are other intimations that the ode dates some considerable time after the victory; the expression of the first line implies that it had been celebrated in poetry before, as we are told indeed it had been, by Simonides in an ode addressed to Xenocrates direct; and hence the propriety of the metaphor that ensues, by which the glory of the victory is compared to treasure stored

safely up in one of the customary treasuries within the sacred precinct, and available at any time, a ready fund.

The epithet "prosperous" or "wealthy" applied to the Emmenidæ, the family of Theron and Xenocrates, is as conclusive for the ode having been written before B.C. 465 when the tyranny came to an end by the catastrophe of Thrasydæus.

But Xenocrates gained besides the Pythian, an Isthmian and a Panathenaic victory, and was living to share the glory of his brother Theron's chariot victory at Olympia, B.C. 476. This we learn distinctly from the second Isthmian, another celebration of victories gained by the father who is then dead, again addressed to the son. As the sixth Pythian contains no reference to these glories, we have some ground for concluding that it was written before B.C. 476, and thus when Theron was at the height of power and Xenocrates still living.

That Pindar addresses the son and not the father tells in no way against this view; it is not merely that the father was pre-engaged by Simonides, but the son appears to have been attached to Pindar by affectionate Dorian friendship; the opening reference to Aphrodite here, as in the second Isthmian to the hymns appropriately addressed to beautiful youths, fully carries this implication.

If we read the ode with the presumption in our mind that the father is still living, we shall perceive

how large a share he has in the laudation—how delicately, indeed, Pindar contrives to blend his compliments, so that even while the son appears in the brightest light, the glory is ever traceable to reflection from the father. From the father came the victory that gives occasion for the commemoration by the son, which is only one example—another of still more importance seems alluded to,—of his filial piety ; and all his other noble qualities are marked as due to strict regard for a “ paternal model.”

It is not easy to answer the question,—with what special appropriateness did Pindar refer for his mythical examples to the families of Peleus and Nestor? The *Ægid* and *Minyan* relations of the victor’s family go some way—if but a short way—in explanation ; the mother of Nestor was traditionally *Minyan* ; the native seats of the *Minyans*, *Iolkos* and *Pelion*, were associated with *Cheiron* and *Peleus*, and the precepts of *Cheiron* are alluded to in the *Cyrenian* ode to the *Ægid* *Telesicrates* ; but there was probably more in the matter, as we find *Peleus* introduced into the odes to *Theron* with almost as much distinction as *Cadmus*, the recognized ancestor of the family.

The transition to *Neptune* (*Poseidon*) is easy from *Nestor*, whose family was especially connected with his worship, whether in *Homeric* poetry or historical colonies. *Poseidon*, moreover, was especially the god of horses and chariot-racing, and was held to have been in earlier times the chief divine occupant of *Delphi*

before Apollo, as he still enjoyed there some peculiar honours.

The single filial service of Thrasybulus, of which we have proof, is his zealous care for the poetical celebration of his father's victory, with a bare possibility of his previous concern in promoting it: the probability remains that his contemporaries were aware of some more perilous proof of his devotion, which may have more conspicuously vindicated the comparison of him to Antilochus, who risked and lost his own life to save his father from the spear of Memnon. The Greeks, however—it is quite possible—perhaps saw no inconsistency in representing a service that contributed to a successful chariot race, as equivalent to any instance of self-devotion, however heroic.

In the second Olympic ode to Theron, allusion is made to the death, at the hand of Achilles, of Memnon son of Eos, the Morning,—apparently as typical of the exploits of Theron against the Phœnicians, of eastern origin, at Himera. The repetition of the allusion here goes far to convince me that Xenocrates also took part in this great conflict, and was seconded by his son Thrasybulus.

Various cities had private depositaries of treasure in the sacred precinct at Delphi; we read of a Syracusan treasury—there may easily have been an Agrigentine.

The sixth Pythian is monostrophic; the three first

strophes are separated from the three last by a decisive full stop, and from each other by tolerably marked transitions of purport. The three last strophes, on the other hand, inosculate very positively, the first lines of the fifth and sixth carrying on sentences from the fourth and fifth respectively, and sentences in each case only just commence before the conclusion of the preceding strophe.

TO THRASYBULUS OF ACRAGAS—FOR A CHARIOT
VICTORY OF HIS FATHER XENOCRATES.

“List ye! for we will till again the land, whether of swift-eyed Aphrodite or of the Graces as we approach the eternal navel of the deep-moaning earth, where for the wealthy Emmenidæ and fluvial Acragas and indeed for Xenocrates, has been built up in the gold-abounding Apollonian glen a ready Pythionician treasury of hymns; this neither wintry rain-storms coming driving on, inclement squadron of the deep-moaning cloud, nor smiting winds shall carry with all sweeping drift into abysses of the sea; but as a front in serene light, it shall announce, O Thrasybulus, a victory with chariot in the Crissæan vales, glorious in reports of men for your father and common to your family.

“Truly holding it to the right hand thou ledest on erect the maxim that they say the son of Philyra upon a time enjoined on the most mighty Peleides, when separated from his parents;—chiefly of the gods to honour Cronides, the deep-voiced president of light-

nings and 'of thunders ; and of like honour never to retrench the fate-allotted life of parents. And of yore also was the forceful Antilochus, bearer of this sentiment, who perished for his father, withstanding Memnon, homicidal host-leader of the Ethiopians ; for a horse pierced by shafts of Paris hampered the Nestorian chariot, and he was thrusting on his stalwart spear ; but the disturbed soul of the Messenian old man shouted to his son, nor did he cast away the word to fall to earth ; but standing there firm, the god-like man purchased for his father ransom from death ; and having wrought a deed prodigious he was esteemed among the younger in age of those of old, to be supreme in respect of virtue towards parents.

But Thrasybulus chiefly of men of our own time, has walked by the paternal standard, and following forth has made display of every gloriousness ; he administers wealth with intelligence, not harvesting a youth unjust or overbearing, but accomplishments in retirements of the Pierides ; and with right-glad mind he applies himself to thee, Oh earth-shaking Poseidon, with zeal for equestrian enterprise ; and his sweet temper in consorting with convivial guests corresponds to the perforated toil of the bees."

ODE TO MIDAS OF AGRIGENTUM.

The twelfth Pythian ode celebrates a victory in flute-playing, gained by Midas of Agrigentum,

whose father's name, very unusually, is not mentioned.

A scholiast states that Midas gained the prize both in the 24th and 25th Pythiad (Ol. 71 ; 3 ; 494 B.C. ; and Ol. 72 ; 3 ; 490 B.C.). The chariot race of Xenocrates of Agrigentum, is dated at the first of these festivals. This was during the rule of Hippocrates over Gela, but before the battle on the Helorus, and when, for anything we know, Acragas was still a perfectly independent republic. Such a condition of affairs is implied in the present ode which, as there is no excuse for moving it down so late as 465 B.C., must be taken as satisfactorily dated before Theron's accession, 488 B.C.

It is thus peculiarly interesting as one of the earliest odes we have ; but from its very earliness we are placed at a disadvantage for its full interpretation. The pertinence of its mythical embellishment to the nature of the victory may be tolerably clear, but none is traceable, at least by me, to the political interests that were then occupying the minds of the citizens and of the victor. That some such pertinence is latent, I have little doubt.

The scholiast quotes a report that Midas had also gained a victory at the Panathenaic festival ; but this, I suspect, is but a vague inference from the allusions in the ode to Athene. Another tale, still wilder, has been accepted with strange, with almost odd, indulgence, by such critics as even Boeckh and Dissen. The

mouthpiece of the instrument of Midas came off, it was said, during his performance, and remained attached to his mouth; dispensing with it he went on playing on the pipes as on a syrinx, and the surprising feat gave him the victory. The story has all the appearance of a clumsy explanation to fit a difficulty. Pausanias tells a better story of a citharædus, whose victory jeopardied by a string breaking, was saved by a tetyx that settled on his lyre, and supplied the failing note as it was wanted.

The ode ascribes the invention of the instrument to Athene, as localised in Bœotia, on the banks of the Cephissus; and she is also made the inventress of the polycephalous nome, as mimetic of the sounds that issued from the snaky head of the Gorgon when slain by Perseus. The *aulos* was considered peculiarly suitable for plaintive expression (Schol. Arist. *Av.* 217). The Selinuntine metope gives us a Sicilian illustration of the goddess seconding Perseus in his enterprise. If we may trust Polyænus, the Agrigentines were engaged at this very time in erecting an ambitious temple to Athene, under the untrustworthy supervision of Gorgus, son of Theron; the name Gorgus would invite an illusion to the Gorgonion of the goddess.

The scholiast vouches for a tradition that the sister Gorgons of Medusa pursued Perseus as far as Bœotia. Pausanias has a story of a priestess, Iodama, who was turned into stone by the Gorgon

Ægis of the goddess Athene in the temple at Coronea, and the coins of the town carry a Medusa head.

The name of the victor, Midas, is especially suggestive. Inevitable association carries the mind to his namesake, Midas, king of Phrygia, the very home and native country of flute music, especially as cultivated for religious rites. Midas, the king, was himself called the inventor of the flute or pipe, whatever the particular instrument in question may be, and to have employed it for mournful music—the threne—on the death of his mother (Suidas, *v. Μελος*). Here again we are carried farther afield. The source of the river Marsyas in Phrygia was called the fount of Midas; it was Marsyas who took up the pipe when thrown away in disgust by Athene, and on the pipe he contested for pre-eminence in music with Apollo on the lyre, to fail ignominiously and be flayed without remorse. Silenus, Marsyas, and Olympus, says Strabo (p. 470), are all confounded as claimants of the invention of the flute; Olympus was styled inventor of the polycephalous nome. On the one hand, then, the two inventions—instrument and nome—that some legends ascribed to the mythical namesake of the victor or his companions, are transferred to Bœotian Athene; and, on the other, both are vindicated against the traditional contempt of the goddess, and the jealous animosity of Apollo.

On the polycephalous nome, its distributions and

variations, I refer to a very interesting note of Boeckh (Met. Pind. 182).

The auletic polycephalous nome, a music-piece of several divisions ascribed to Olympus, was, according to Plutarch (de Mus. c. 7), addressed to Apollo. Strabo gives particulars of a very highly elaborated form of it as late as the time of the second Ptolemy. It represented the stages of the contest of Apollo and the serpent Pytho, and syrinxes were brought in, by manifest observance of a precedent older than Pindar, to represent the sounds omitted by the expiring monster.

The reference in the ode to the gold legend of the birth of Perseus, provokes a development of the golden tales of the mythical Midas; but it is enough here to note that the combination has not been overlooked, whatever may be its significance.

TO MIDAS OF AGRIGENTUM—VICTOR IN FLUTE-
PLAYING.

(TWELFTH PYTHIAN ODE.)

“I beseech thee, O glory-loving most beauteous of mortal cities, abode of Proserpine! who inhabitest the fair-structured mount on banks of sheep-pasturing Acragas, graciously, receive O Queen! with goodwill both of immortals and of men, this crown from Pytho of well-famed Midas; and himself also, as vanquisher of Hellas in the art which on a time did Pallas Athene invent, inter-wreathing the grim dirge of the furious

Gorgons, which she heard pouring forth with dolorous labour from the heads of the virgins and repulsive snakes; when Perseus put an end to the third part of the sisters and brought fate to sea-girt Seriphus and its people. In truth, he blinded the wondrous progeny of Phorcus, and having pillaged the head of fair-cheeked Medusa, baneful for Polydectes did he make the marriage-gift and his mother's prolonged servitude and compulsory bed; he, son of Danaë, who, we say, was born from gold self-flowing. But when from these labours she had rescued her favoured hero, the virgin constructed the complete-toned strain of pipes, in order to mimic instrumentally the rattling laments screeched out from rapid jaws of Euryale. Invent did the goddess; but having invented it for mortal men to possess, glorious reminder of people-congregating games, she gave name to the many-headed mood which passes out at once through thin brass and through the reeds, that abide the trusty witnesses of dancers, in the precinct of Cephisus by the fair-chorussed city of the Graces.

“If among men any bliss there be, it becomes not apparent without toil; but the divinity can bring it this very day to its completion. What is fated indeed, is not to be escaped from; but a time will even be that casting a man upon inexpectation, will, contrary to surmise; give one thing indeed, but another not at present.”

CHAPTER V.

THE ODES TO AGESIDAMUS, AN EPIZEPHYRIAN LOCRIAN.

THESE two odes are addressed to an Epizephyrian Locrian, Agesidamus, son of Archestratus, on the occasion of the same victory in the pugilistic contest of boys. The ode which now stands first, and is much the shorter, contains an implied promise of further celebration of which the second is the fulfilment; their order in the collection was changed on this ground by Boeckh. In odes for boys it is usual for a considerable proportion of attention to be diverted to parents or friends; the father of the present victor is only named, and on this account, as well as from some collateral allusions, it may be inferred that he was dead; the trainer Ilas, as in parallel cases, receives a distinct compliment.

The second ode purports to have been delayed over long—a delay to be made up for by poetical equivalent of interest. What interval may really have elapsed we unfortunately cannot tell;—it would assist us perhaps in not only determining with more confi-

dence the date of the victory, but in interpreting some of the allusions.

Pindar speaks of having been present at the contest and witnessing the proclamation of the victor;—according to one scholiast the victory was in Olymp. 74 = 484, B.C. in the first years of Gelon's tyranny; but another, though usually more corrupt, scholiast dates it Ol. 76 = 476, B.C. two Olympiads later, when we know that Pindar was in central Greece. This was the year of the death of Anaxilaus of Rhegium, who, the previous year, had been checked in his molestation of the Epizephyrian Locrians by a threat from Hiero, conveyed by Chromius. These events would furnish an explanation of certain plausibility, of some mythical embellishments of the ode as written after Ol. 76, whenever the victory was gained. The Olympic festival 75 was omitted—it was the year of Salamis; and I disbelieve so long a deferment of the ode as eight years, which would disarrange half the compliments to the victor as a boy in the early bloom of youth. The probability of the later date seems, therefore, on the whole to justify its adoption.

The course and connection of thought in the shorter ode requires but little comment; the poet has given proper local colour by the introductory images: "In the case of a hard-won victory songs remain the indispensable conditions of future fame, in the same manner as favourable airs, winds, and showers are of future harvest." The influence of winds on the health and

growth of man, no less than of vegetation, was recognized by the Greeks most livelily, and, as might be expected, found expression in mythology and ritual far and wide. I refer to my notes on the coins of Caulonia for some varied illustrations of this. Zephyrus is ever a healthy and welcome wind, and, if it were necessary, we might assume with confidence that the promontory Zephyrium was a seat of the worship of the god or *daimon* of the western wind.

The Locrians have just been complimented on being valiant warriors—spearmen ; and the enunciation that lions do not turn foxes any more than foxes lions, may seem designed to parry some such imputation current proverbially, as that the Locrian had more of the fox than the lion in his composition. The illustration of the next ode will bring before us that they had at least but a poor reputation for strict observance of covenants.

There are two stories extant of the transactions that made it a proverbial saying—"Your Locrians for a contract." The Opuntian Locrians were accused of having falsified signals contrary to agreement, and so enabled the expedition of the Heracleidæ to cross the Crissæan Gulf unmolested. (Polyb. 12 ; 12, 6.) Their Epizephyrian relatives obtained footing in Italy under a composition with the Sicels, to which they swore observance "so long as they should stand upon the earth, and have their heads on their shoulders." They reconciled to their consciences the infraction of

the treaty when they shook out of their shoes the dirt they had put therein for the occasion, and threw away the heads of garlic they had been carrying in their caps.

(Cf. Hesych. and Zenod. *Λοκρῶν συνθήμα.*)

Pindar shapes his compliment to the Epizephyrian Locrian victor in such terms as to controvert most absolutely, by implication, the disgracefulness of the charge, by ascribing to them peculiar scrupulosity, and exhibiting in his own case the compatibility of liberal honour with occasional oversight of an engagement, and in the case of Hercules, the fair employment of stratagem against stratagem in war, and for the exaction of just rights.

He commences his ode by avowing that he had forgotten his debt; but when we know his drift, we need not assume that any forgetfulness at all, or any deferment of consequence, had really taken place. He will repay it with interest, as he is bound to do to citizens as distinguished for conscientiousness—*Atrekeia*—as for poetry and war, for devotion to Calliope and to Ares.

All the contests at the games—or almost all—are assumed as giving warranty of valour,—a victory pugilistic, most fitly. Agesidamus in his contest has stood in the same relation to Ilas, his trainer, as the Locrian hero Patroclus to Achilles in battle;—such is the value to the combatant of instruction or encouragement, that by a divine favour brings vicarious glory

to the second. Cygnus, in virtue of the aid of his father Ares, was enabled to repulse even Hercules at the first encounter,—so sang the Locrian poet Stesichorus.

As the victor is constantly praised on account of his labour and perseverance, the friends who were scarcely less glorified by the success, though without exertion of their own, and whom the poet is bound to regard, are fitted, by an Epinician commonplace, with their proper congratulation nevertheless—rather even the more,—their gratuitous favour with the gods. Compare the fourth Pythian (74) where it is a father who is congratulated on the favour which the gods mark towards him by conferring glory without labour of his own.

The institution of the Olympic games by Hercules, is assigned to an occasion when he had vindicated the principles which the poet has avowed himself concerned to act on with Locrian conscientiousness,—the due quittance of a debt, and justice, and truthfulness, especially to the stranger. Augeas of Elis, guest-betraying king, had withheld his just hire; the Elean Molionids destroyed one of his armies, but way-laying them as they had waylaid, he slew them, and afterwards Augeas also, and having desolated his city, divided the spoil and celebrated Olympic games with enhanced glory.

I am much disposed to recognise here an allusion to the repulse sustained by Anaxilaus and his son. We

do not know how far matters had proceeded when Chromius interposed, but I conjecture, from this parallel, that the Epizephyrians had already suffered defeat.

The highly-wrought allusion to the thunderbolt of Zeus, is explained by its occurrence on coins, as a Locrian symbol.

The poet returns again to the late arrival of the ode which he sends from Thebes; arriving late and long desired it will be welcome, he says, as an heir to an aged wealthy man,—as I conjecture Agesidamus was to Arcestratus.

The conclusion of the ode celebrates the beauty of the youthful victor in terms that, by bringing him into comparison with Ganymedes, are of peculiar interest here. We have notices that the friendship between youths, that gives Greece generally so ill a name, obtained among the Locrians in the pure and noble form, that, among some Dorian populations especially, was so far from being open to cavil or mistrust, that it was looked upon by the severest as the very seal and security of all that was best, most manly, and most holy.

TO AGESIDAMUS—EPIZEPHYRIAN LOCRIAN—VICTOR
IN BOXING OF BOYS.

(TENTH OLYMPIC ODE.)

“At times for men there is most need of winds,—
at times of rain-waters from the skies,—children of

the clouds; but should anyone by toil have good success, sweet-voiced hymns are preludes of renown thereafter, and trustful pledge for mighty prowess. And such praise, without stint, is stored up for Olympic victors; these things our tongue desires to tend; but it is of the deity that a man blooms ever with poetic endowments.

“Know now Agesidamus! son of Arcestratus, for sake of thy pugilistic contest will I resound a sweet melodied garniture for the chaplet of golden olive, having regard for the lineage of Epizephyrian Locrians.

“Revel ye there with me in company, O Muses! I will avouch that ye will arrive at a people not averse to the stranger, nor inexperienced of excellence, but consummate of culture and warlike; for neither the tawny fox nor the loud-roaring lions have ever interchanged their inborn habits.”

TO AGESIDAMUS—EPIZEPHYRIAN LOCRIAN—VICTOR
IN BOXING OF BOYS.

(ELEVENTH OLYMPIC ODE.)

“Read for me whereabouts in my mind the Olympic victor, son of Arcestratus, is written down; for I have owed him a sweet strain and forgot it. But do thou, O Muse! and Truth, daughter of Zeus, repel with hand direct, the guest-offensive charge of falsehoods; for ensuing time, advancing from afar, has made my deep indebtedness ashamed. Advantageous interest,

however, is effective to make quittance of sharp reproach.

“ Which way now will the flowing wave wash down the rolling pebble ? and which way shall we discharge a common account for friendly honour ? For strict Exactitude (Atrekeia) orders the city of the Zephyrian Locrians ; and Calliope is a concern to them and brazen Mars (Ares).

“ The Cycneian combat turned even mighty Hercules ; and let Agesidamus, victor pugilist at Olympia, render thanks to Ias, as Patroclus to Achilles ; whetting one born for prowess, a man with aiding hand of the deity, may set him forward to enormous glory. Some certain few have obtained delight untoiled for, a radiance for life above all deeds.

“ But the statutes of Zeus have urged me on to sing the prime contest which the might of Hercules founded by the antique tomb of Pelops, when he had slain the noble Poseidonian Cteatus, and killed Eurytus, in order to exact an immense hire of service from Augeas, willing from the unwilling. Them, awaiting in ambush by Cleonæ, did Hercules slay by the wayside, for that, earlier upon a time, the overweening Moliones, ambushed in defiles of Elis, had destroyed his Tirynthian army ; and, not long after, the guest-betraying king of the Epeians beheld his wealthy native land, his own city, settling down under massive fire and strokes of the sword into the deep trench of destruction. No shift is there to put aside the

quarrel of the stronger ; and he, incurring capture, being hindmost by ill-advisedness, escaped not instant death. But the valiant son of Zeus, collecting in Pisa his whole army and the spoil, established a sacred grove for his almighty sire, and, fencing about the Altis, he divided it off in clear ground ; and, honouring Alpheus' ford along with the twelve chief gods, he made the plain, in circle round, a resting-place of feasting. And he stiled the mount that of Cronus ; for without a name before, when CEnomaus ruled, was it drenched with many snows. And at this first-born celebration, indeed, the Fates stood in attendance near, and Time, that alone avouches genuine truth ; proceeding onward, it declared this distinctly, where it was he sacrificed, as he distributed the prime spoils, the donation of war, and in what manner also he instituted the penta-eterid (five years) festival, with the first Olympiad and victories won. Who then, intent in his thought on the glory of games, gained the novel crown,—achieving in act—by hands, by feet, and by chariot ? Racing on foot Oeonus, son of Licymnius, was best in the straight reach of the stadium,—from Midea came he conducting an army ; Echemus, in the wrestling match, made Tegea glorious ; Doryclus, inhabiting the city of Tiryns, carried off the prize of boxing ; Semus, son of Halirrhotius from Mantinea, with the four horses ; Phrastor struck the mark with the dart, and Eniceus, whirling round his hand, cast with the stone a distance beyond all, and the allies upraised

for him a mighty clamour. The lovely brightness of the fair-faced moon lighted up eventide, and the entire precinct sounded with song, after encomiast fashion, amid glad festivities.

“Following on now, after first precedents, we will celebrate the name-conferring honour of lordly victory,—the thunder and the ruddy bolt of crash-exciting Jove, and the blazing flash conjoined to every contest. And luxuriating song to the reed shall meet the strains that have appeared by fair-famed Dirce,—after time elapsed, but as a son longed for from a wife by a father who has arrived already at reversal of youth; exceedingly he makes warm his spirit with affection,—for wealth that falls to an intrusive alien herdsman, is most hateful to the dying man.

“When also one who has wrought fair deeds arrives, O Agesidamus! without song at the mansion of Hades, he has brought to pass by toil—having breathed vain breath—but some brief pleasantness; but on thee, the sweet-speaking lyre and luscious pipe shed glory, and the Pierian maids of Zeus foster wide renown; and I, co-operant with zeal, have embraced the glorious tribe of the Locrians, bedewing with honey the brave-peopled city; and the lovely son of Arcestratus have I praised, whom, at the time, I beheld vanquishing with might of hand by the Olympian altar, beauteous in form and blended with the prime of youth that once, by aid of the Cyprus-born, averted remorseless fate from Ganymedes.”

CHAPTER VI.

TO HIERO OF SYRACUSE.

(SECOND PYTHIAN ODE.)

THERE has been much discussion among ancients as well as moderns where it was, in what games, that Hiero gained the victory with a four-horse chariot of colts that is celebrated in this ode. According to Pausanias this kind of race was introduced at the Pythian games at a much later date. Pythian allusions are absent from the ode, and the later ode (Pyth. 1), for an undoubted Pythian victory of Hiero, has no allusion to a predecessor.

The ode is sent from Thebes, and in the absence of other intimations we have to rest in the conjecture that the victory was gained there in some local games; the Iolaia and Heraclea, however, are excluded by the absence of allusion to their heroes. Perhaps an indication was patent to contemporaries in the title Pindar gives to his ode, of a "Castoreion."

The date of the ode is fixed with close approximation by its allusion to Hiero's successful interference in favour of the Epizephyrian Locrians, against Anaxilaus of Rhegium, which is dated B.C. 477; to the

same year is assigned the quarrel with Polyzelus and Damareta, and the consequent breach with Theron, that was speedily to be repaired by surrender of the Himeræans, and marriage of Hiero with Theron's niece ; it was probably written within a twelvemonth of these events.

It was in the next year, B.C. 476, that Theron gained his Olympic chariot victory, when Hiero's horses were, it is said, excluded from the contest by the influence of Themistocles ; and to this incident, or to some other manifestation of Hiero's unpopularity in central Greece, I believe we may ascribe some turns of expression. This was the year in which Hiero founded Ætna and drew recruits for its population from Peloponnesus. An Olympic festival gave great opportunity for inviting these, as well as at the same time of spreading reports to Hiero's prejudice concerning the violent treatment of the superseded Ionic cities and citizens.

The political position of Thebes at this time was depressed ; the battle of Plataea, two years previously, had led to the downfall of the aristocratical, which had been the medizing, party.

This ode is peculiar and remarkable for a tone of excited and nervous, almost irritable, susceptibility with which it is pervaded, and which has caused it to be regarded as one of the most difficult of interpretation in the collection ; the all-important clue through its obscurities is the consideration that I have elsewhere insisted upon, that whenever the lyric poet

exhibits himself as personally labouring under intense excitement, we may be sure that he does so in sympathy with the victor he celebrates; it is an expression,—not of common feeling, for the exciting cause is different in the several cases,—but of fellow feeling, from having been subject to excitement parallel in its nature; envy, it is thus set forth, that attacks the victor has not spared the poet, and the poet denounces his own calumniators with violence to make colourable the keenness with which he apprehends the injustice of like kind done to his patron; nay, he is ready to declare himself the object of more than jealousy, of active malignity, if so he may introduce occasion for enunciations as to how malice may be fairly coped with, and mischief turned back upon its authors; justifying thus indirectly some questioned, at least, and too probably some more than questionable deeds.

He declares that, attacked by stealthy insinuations he will defend himself by frank—by direct speech, which always commands esteem under whatever form of government; but freedom of speech,—so he turns off again from his personal enemies to the political mal-contents who trouble Hiero,—freedom of speech is not to be abused by railing at the manifest dispensation of the Godhead, the catastrophe of Ixion or of Polyzelus, or the exaltation of Hiero, of the good with whom it is the chosen happiness of the poet to consort.

The connection of ideas in the present ode, under

all the circumstances that are recoverable, appears to be on this wise :—

The poet proclaims the victory of Hiero as gained by the favour of the gods : of Artemis, goddess of Ortygia,—of Hermes, who has peculiar interest in games, and Poseidon, as equestrian god but probably also as the trident-wielder, as protecting the voyage of the victorious equipage out and home. Syracuse congratulated is addressed especially as warlike, from regard to the reference presently to ensue to the political power of its sovereign.

Celebration in poetry, he proceeds, is the due reward of merit and requital of favours, and not to be refused to kings ; the prejudiced outcry against Hiero as a tyrant would, in consistency, deprive Cinyras of the honours all tradition allows him,—Cinyras who was king and special priest of Aphrodite at Cyprus, even as king Hiero of the great goddesses. At the present time the fame of Hiero is gratefully proclaimed by the Epizephyrian Locrians, rescued by his power from the aggression of Anaxilaus,—Anaxilaus unmindful of the favour that had been shown him by Hiero and his brother Gelon, after their victory at Himera.

How the gods regard ingratitude to benefactors is shown in the mythus of Ixion—a mythus pertaining immediately to the cycle of the mysterious worship of Demeter, the Thessalian heritage of Hiero. Ixion is a type of another ingrate, Polýzelus, as abusing opportunities of intimate association in privileges,—as intro-

ducing the bane of family discord, perhaps as aspiring presumptuously to alliance with Damareta, widow of his brother Gelon. All which came to no good either for himself or others; the catastrophe was instant, the triumph of Hiero complete. So swiftly does the god curb the aspiring, and to others assign enduring renown.

Here the poet suddenly checks himself as if in danger of giving way to a strain of vituperation, and thus betrays a sense of provocation of which the origin is not declared, but that is only subdued for the moment to prepare for breaking forth with double violence presently. Anger is apt, when it breaks into satire, to keep the witty man poor, and the poet recognises wealth as an important element of happiness. He renounces sarcasm then, and bitter imputations on his own part, but only that he may presently with double effect denounce intriguers and covert enemies, not so much of himself as of Hiero.

As regards Hiero, he unites the perfection of wealth, of frank liberality, of honour; his youth gained glory in the field, in riper age he has shown no less accomplishment in wise counsels, the disputes both with Anaxilaus and with Theron having been happily concluded by diplomacy instead of bloodshed; and now arrives a song to celebrate a new glory in a victory in the games.

“With all these advantages let adequate moral control be associated, and be not influenced by in-

triguers and calumniators to my disadvantage." The poet affects to regard himself as an object of jealousy with some who would damage him with Hiero, but this is by way of placing himself in an analogous position to Hiero, whose conduct and policy had evidently been reflected upon severely by public opinion in some parts of Greece, not to say with the discontented at Syracuse itself. Thus he first appeals for such a hearing as Rhadamanthus, doubly of interest in Sicily as associated with Eubœa, and then with the underworld mythology of the Triopia; he defies the sly fox-like arts, and professes the buoyancy of the cork on the waves high above the labouring net. Then again he turns sharply round and avows that he can himself oppose art to art if necessary, if love and simplicity are rejected—let the tricksters beware, for the wolf is on their trail. The principle commends itself and saves the poet from imputation of mere bluster; but the true reference was, doubtless, to some of those politic precautions and severe acts of Hiero, against lurking or discovered conspiracy, that have helped him to the bad character he bears in Aristotle, as governing by spies and eavesdroppers and inspired mistrust. The final moral of the ode, repeating that already appended to the story of the fall of Ixion, is to inculcate quietism, not to kick against the pricks, "to render what is Cæsar's to Cæsar," to respect the powers ordained and authorised by the gods. That their inculcations, however, are not unqualified by inculcations of virtuous

administration on Hiero, is proved by the ode being hitherto usually interpreted as having for its staple a strangely severe lecture upon the heinousness of oppressive tyranny.

The introduction of the name of Archilochus confirms the allusion to the connection of Polyzelus and Damareta, as the severest invectives of the Iambic satirist were provoked by an obnoxious marriage.

It is quite in accordance with a form of what we may call Pindaric irony, that it is precisely after denouncing the satiric strain of Archilochus, that upon respite of complimentary address to Hiero, the poet reverts to the most wounding severities, and applies them exactly through such types of animal characterization as Archilochus especially delighted in. Among the fragments of his poetry there are many traces of apologues of the lion and the eagle, the ape, the fox ; the fox, indeed, with the very epithet that Pindar connects with it and plays upon by repetition (line 78), and that became proverbially appropriated to "the fox of the apologue."

In the ode we have first the eagle and the dolphin, symbols of the air and sea, perhaps also allusive to the eagle on Acragantine coins and the dolphin on Syracusan ; these animal emblems help to introduce the reference to Archilochus, then comes the ape (v. 72), the accepted type of a sycophant, of flatterers by imitation and assentation,—pithekism—

Who ape each foible, every vice adore ;—
 And, as his patron hints the cold or heat,
 To freeze in dog days, in December sweat.

JOHNSON'S *London*.

These are the qualifications for which the mimetic brute is called by the boys *καλός*, and a flatterer gains admiration and esteem from the childish who cannot look within.

The fox had equal currency as type of a calumniator ; Themistius (22, p. 277) refers to Æsop for the character, and Aristophanes defines it as that of a Jack on both sides (Vespæ, 1241).

Then in v. 84 we have the wolf as type of untiring patient and vigilant hostility. After these illustrations we seem to recognise hints of other forms of fable in the comparisons and metaphors of buoy and cork and hidden weighted net, of accepted yoke as how to be wisely worn, the goad not to be kicked against, and even, obscurely, the unfairly strained line.

The scholiasts aver that it was stated by some—we know not whom, and cannot estimate their authority,—that Pindar aimed directly at Bacchylides as his calumnious enemy with Hiero.

On grounds already stated I do not think it necessary to assume that the satiric shafts had really any personal mark ; certainly it would be the height of inconsistency to suppose that Pindar could introduce into an ode intended for public performance,—at least for performance before a numerous however select assemblage,—and bespoken as and bound to be a glory

and delight for the victor, any such reflections either upon Hiero or upon his friends or those he affected and favoured as could not but be distasteful and disagreeable to him and perhaps to half of those who were present.

The correspondences between this ode and the first Olympian written for Hiero B.C. 472, some four years after our conjectural date, are close and remarkable. Both are declared to be Æolian, and their metrical characters are certainly alike. The mythical subject of Ixion replaces that of Tantalus from the same cycle and induces the same reflections as to insolence working the downfall of a mortal promoted to companionship with the gods (Ol. 1. 90. Pyth. 2. 52). It is impossible to elude the gods (Ol. 103. Pyth. 90. ff). In either ode the poet checks himself when his mythical subject leads him into severe remarks upon the gods (Ol. 56. and 83. ff) and even on the disgraced Ixion (Pyth. 97,) in both cases on the professed ground that satire is bad economy,—is apt to keep a man straitened in means, (Ol. 84—5. Pyth. 99. ff.) the moral of Lord Bacon's apophthegm: "Anger makes a dull man witty, but it keeps him poor." Hiero is surpassed by none of his contemporaries (Ol. 165), has never been surpassed by any who have gone before (Pyth. 166), in power and arts in the first case, in honour and possessions in the second. The poet concludes each ode with an aspiration for the society of the great and the powerful, victors in the games.

These are the sort of coincidences that but for the certificate of a metrical form that defies a forger, might well have originated an argument of imitation or spuriousness; comparisons of this kind have been taken to invalidate the genuineness of some of St. Paul's Epistles; in this case further evidence is required to prove that they do not flow from predominance of certain ideas, even of certain phrases, in the writer's mind during a certain restricted period; it is within common experience that letters written to different persons on the same day will contain many similar phrases even though the subjects may be different, quite as commonly as different phrases to compass the expression of the same subject matter. In the case of these odes, however, we are guided to recognise the prevalence of certain themes and even formulas recognised as appropriate and usually expected conventions, Epinician commonplace.

In the second Pythian to Hiero we come again upon the example in Coronis, of the disaster of a companion of a god, a warning for self-control, the impossibility of eluding the divine watch. The importance of victories in the games was in fact systematically enhanced by an affectation of danger lest the victor should hope to be equal to the gods; compare Olymp. 3 to Theron, at the end.

It is by the same suggestion that the poet constantly affects to check his praises lest he should provoke the envious, and that he represents himself and the victor

as objects of envy, and professes disregard and defiance for the envious.

The comparison of the close of the second Olympian to Theron is highly explanatory of the involved conclusion of the second Pythian. Pindar denounces his own traducers to give colour to the fierceness with which he turns on those of Theron (P. 2. 144. ff.), and of Hiero (Ol. 2. 155. ff.), and much the same strategy is resorted to in the first Pythian to Hiero (162. ff.).

“TO HIERO—VICTOR WITH FOUR-HORSE CHARIOT OF COLTS.

“Oh, mighty-stated Syracuse, precinct of war-plunged Ares, dæmonian breeder of men and horses steel-delighting, to thee do I come bearing from glistening Thebes this song, announcement of the four-horse ground-convulsing car, victor in which, well-charioted Hiero has crowned Ortygia with far-beaming chaplets, the seat of fluvial Artemis;—not without whom it was he tamed to his mild hand those fillies with embellished reins; for the shaft-exulting goddess with either hand, and Hermes Enagonius, dispose the glancing caparison, whensoever to polished seat and frame of curb-obeying car he yokes the might of horses, invoking the trident-wielding, wide-swayed god.

“For to other kings has certain other paid a fair-sounding hymn, the recompense of merit. Full oft, indeed, resound the celebrations of Cyprians concern-

ing Cinyras, whom golden-haired Apollo affectionately loved, a cherished priest of Aphrodite; and reverential gratitude in requital of friendly deeds leads on; and thee, O son of Deinomenes! the Locrian damsel of the west proclaims, as she looks forth from her portal in safety, through thy power, from perils of unmanageable war.

“By sentence of the gods, men say, Ixion on the winged wheel tells this to mortals, as ever he rolls round and round: ‘Still to requite the benefactor, advancing prompt with kindly regards.’ Very certainly was he lessoned; for obtaining sweet existence among the indulgent sons of Cronus, he did not bear protracted happiness, when with raving senses he became enamoured of Hera, of whom the delighting embraces of Zeus had the possession; but effrontery urged him to misdeed presumptuous; soon suffering his deserts, the man had penalty especial. Twain sinfulnesses were contributory to his pain; one that the hero first of all among mortals shed kindred blood, and then that on a time in the vast-recessed chambers he was essaying the couch-fellow of Zeus. Behoves it to regard the scale of everything with reference to one’s self; embraces misdirected have hurled upon a time even the discerning upon accumulated mischance. For with a cloud he couched, engaging a sweet fraud, the unwitting man; becoming semblance had it to the daughter of Cronus, supereminent of the Uranian goddesses; such deception did

hands of Zeus lay out for him, a beauteous bane. And he gained for himself the four-spoked bond, his proper destruction; and fallen into shackles inextricable, displayed the warning applicable alike to all. Apart from the Graces, she bare to him an arrogant offspring, sole in kind, sole herself, having honour of place neither among men nor by statutes of the gods; him rearing, named she Centaurus, who coupled with Magnesian mares about the spurs of Pelion; and a marvellous squadron was born of them, likened to either parent—to the mother's side below, and with the parts above of the father.

“The god accomplishes every end to his desires—the god who overtakes even the winged eagle, and outstrips the dolphin in the sea, and bends down one of high-aspiring mortals, and to others delivers renown that never can grow old.

“But it befits me to shun the habitual snap of vituperations; for I have witnessed, though remote, the abusive Archilochus in embarrassments for the most part, while he battered on gross-worded animosities; but to be rich fortunately, is for genius the happiest destiny. Manifestly dost thou possess it, to display with liberal soul; Prince thou, lord of numerous fair-garlanded streets and population; and if there be man should say that another already in Hellas of those who have gone before, has surpassed you in wealth and what pertains to honour, vaguely is he wrestling in vain-imagining.

“But I will embark aboard the flower-adorned fleet, loudly sounding forth concerning virtue. In youth is helpful the daring of dread wars; from whence I avouch thou also hast won unbounded glory, combating as well amongst horse-urging men, as in the fights on foot; and counsels of riper age supply me with unassailable word to applaud thee in all ways whatsoever.

“Hail thou! this song is dispatched like a Phoenician freight across the hoary sea; regard with favour as you meet it the Castorean strain, tuned to Æolian chords,—grace of the seven toned lyre.

“Continue to be that thou art, having had lesson. The ape with the boys is Beauty—Beauty! ever; but Rhadamanthus has prospered well for the cause that he has for portion the unimpeached fruit of intelligence, and is not pleased in inmost heart by beguilings, after the manner that ever besets a mortal by trickery of the whisperers.

“A mischief unmanageable for both are the insinulators of slanders, most likened to the natures of the foxes. ‘But he profits;’—what is this profit so vast then that accrues? For I, like the cork above a net, whilst the other tackle plies the sea-toil deep below, am still unwhelmed by the brine.

“It cannot be that an insidious citizen should throw out word of force among the noble; yet fawning, nevertheless, upon all, full surely works he complication every way. No participant am I of this his

boldness ; lovely may it be to love ! but towards an enemy, as enemy myself, will I after fashion of the wolf, track covertly, pacing now this way and now that, in paths oblique.

“ In every form of state the man direct of tongue is pre-eminent ; under a monarchy (tyranny), and if ever the tumultuous troop, and when the wise are keepers of the city ; but it behoves not to be quarrelsome godward, who it is that now indeed upholds the fortunes of these, then again gives great renown to the others. But neither does this compose the heart of the envious ; hauling at some unfair line they sooner infix a galling wound in their own heart, before achieving whatsoever they contrive in thought. But for one who has received on neck the yoke, it is helpful to bear it lightly ; to kick against the prick is sure a slippery course.

“ Be it mine to be agreeable to and to consort with the noble.”

CHAPTER VII.

ODES TO THERON OF ACRAGAS—FOR A VICTORY IN THE CHARIOT RACE.

THERON, tyrant of Acragas, gained the great glory of a chariot victory at the Olympic games at mid-summer, B.C. 476. This was a year following one of political and domestic disturbances, painful when not dangerous, which seem to have been conducted, however, to comparatively happy ending. The violent administration of his son Thrasydæus, at Himera, had brought his position there into jeopardy, provoking conspiracy leading on towards revolt, and he himself was embroiled with his ancient comrade and ally, Hiero of Syracuse, on account of the interests of his daughter, Damareta, and her son, the heir of Gelon. By the arrangements of Gelon, as we have seen, she had married his brother, Polyzelus, who was presently involved in difficulties and jealousies with Hiero. Peaceful settlement of all difficulties was, however, effected ; the feud of the brothers Hiero and Polyzelus was in some way reconciled ; Hiero gave up to Theron the Himeræan malcontents who had treated with him, and Theron sealed the renewed alliance by giving him his niece in marriage, a daughter of Xenocrates.

Pindar then, celebrates a glorious success in the games supervening upon such confusion and agitations, by setting forth that alternation of happiness and sorrows,—of the sorrows and joys especially that touch the domestic affections,—was the peculiar characteristic of the victor's family even in heroic days. It is intimated, however, clearly enough, that the ultimate bias is to happiness. Through happiness and misery the story runs on, and if, it is intimated, through certain wrong as well as righteous deeds,—the indiscretions of Thrasydæus seem to be glanced at,—oblivion covers over even what cannot be undone, in virtue of an outcome of fortunate destiny ; so the ancestors who first colonized Acragas had passed through abundant turmoil, but were rewarded for their merits with wealth and honour at last. The prayer—ominous as it turned out,—that Zeus, President of these Olympian games, will guard the possession for their posterity, must be understood as prompted by remembrance of the discontents so recently allayed or quelled.

Even in earlier days there was like alternation ; the example of ancestral Cadmus, distressed at first through consequences of his daughter Semele's connection with Zeus, soon followed up, however, by her cordial reception in immortal seats and admitted membership of the divine family, reflects the trouble of Damareta after her high alliance with Gelon,—her son is parallel to the son of Semele,—and then a happy reconstruction of her position in the re-united family. The similar

preferment of Ino, sister of Semele, to consort as an equal with the marine daughters of Nereus, seems to refer obliquely to the marriage with Hiero of the daughter of Xenocrates.

In later generations the fate of alternating afflictions and compensations continues ; in the family of Laius violence between father and son is followed by violence between brother and brother ; but an heir, Thersander, survives to be progenitor of Theron, distinguished like him in the games as well as in warfare ; and the brotherly union and affection of Theron and Xenocrates, who share in common the glories of victories in the games, at last reverses the fatality that pursued Eteocles and Polynices. Wealth, which is always celebrated in connection with chariot races,—wealth united with virtue, gives such opportunities ; but again not uncoupled with responsibility the very gravest, accordingly as abused or made the best of.

There is difficulty in tracing the propriety of the emphatic reference that ensues to death and compensations after death ; in an ode to Hiero, functionary of the Catachthonian powers, it would be obvious enough, but we have no evidence of such a connection on the part of Theron ; was he then, we may ask, at this time in a state of ill health,—of desperate health ? He died B.C. 473, within three years, or perhaps little more than two, after his victory, and probably still nearer to the date of the ode, which would not be ready immediately upon the occasion.

We know from the ode (Pyth. 3) to Hiero that directest allusion not merely to sickness but to probable,—to impending death, and exhortation to manly anticipation of it involved, even as between poet and patron prince, no indelicacy. Even the prayer for the safe succession of the family of Theron, points in the same direction.

As in the other instances, the poet affects to give emphasis to a gloomy alternative by bringing it into the foreground, by insisting upon it in the first instance; but while he urges, however forcibly still only briefly, the future punishment of the unjust, he turns to dilate with encouraging, indeed with complimentary, enthusiasm on the rewards of the righteous; these are awarded by Rhadamanthus of Crete, whence came the joint colonists led by the Rhodian founders of Gela and Acragas—Rhadamanthus, assessor of Cronus, who is so constantly referred to as presiding over the pentaeterid festival of the Olympic games. Cadmus, ancestor of Theron, is amongst the enumerated blest; and Peleus, who again in the third Pythian to Hiero, is associated with him; and Achilles, son of Peleus, whose exploits are enumerated, after supplication of Jove by his mother.

I am inclined to suspect that there was some earlier connection, which has escaped record, between the families of Gelon and Theron, which would unite the interest of both in the same legends; this would help also to account for the consistent cordiality of their alliance.

Theron received after his death, and no doubt looked forward to, the same heroic honours that had already been conceded to Gelon ; and it seems just possible that Gelon may be alluded to in the Achilles of the ode ; but otherwise, such liberal laudation of even an old comrade and ally might seem intrusive when Theron himself should be the leading theme : and we must suppose that the triple victories over Hector of Troy, over Cynus, son of Neptune, ally of the Trojans, and over Memnon, the Ethiopian son of the Dawn, another of their allies, were parallel in some way to victories of Theron ; let us say over Elymi of western Sicily, of reputed Trojan descent, and over Phœnicians from Carthage, but of eastern origin, and the various barbarous races brought over by their hostile fleet.

The poet himself checks his course here, as professing to have already been carried away beyond the easy interpretation of the general,—to be sensible that he is exposing himself to the obloquy of the voluble who are destitute of genius. One shaft, however, he will shoot direct to the mark and evident to all ; the liberal friendliness of Theron is unrivalled for a hundred years ;—but the praised is an object of jealousy even as the poet, and his glorious deeds are obscured amidst the designing tattle of the idle ; once more then, plainly ; the sands of the sea are not to be numbered and who shall pretend to enumerate the benefits conferred by Theron.

The dual number of the verb, a reading which it seems to have been vainly attempted to disturb, implies a pair of daws; it may simply be because these inferior birds of omen are wont to fly in pairs; but the scholiasts find a covert allusion, significant enough to the intelligent, to rival carpings of a pair of poets—Simonides and Bacchylides. Poets of all ages have, doubtless, been subject to the irritability of jealousy, and why then not Pindar? There is ingenuity in the conjecture, and yet I mistrust it, at least as applicable to these particular poets, for the scholiasts have no provocative passages to quote from their works.

It must be admitted that the next paragraph, which proposes to shoot another shaft, but this time one of glory, and this time from heart of kindness, seems fairly to imply that one had just been dispatched on no tender errand, and tipt with vituperation, at least, if not with venom.

We may have here only the common figure of the *Epinicia*, by which the poet, as in other parallel instances, vindicates the intensity of his fellow-feeling with the victor; and magnifies his own office at the same time, by declaring how both alike are marks for envy and calumny, and both alike superior to their detractors; this we have in any case,—whether any personal reference beyond, must be left aside along with other uncertainties.

TO THERON OF ACRAGAS—VICTOR IN THE CHARIOT
RACE.

(SECOND OLYMPIC ODE.)

“Ye hymns that lord it o’er the lyre! what god, what hero, what man shall we resound? Pisa of truth pertains to Zeus, and Hercules founded the Olympic festival, prime trophy of war; but Theron have we to proclaim because of his victorious four-horsed car; just in his regard toward strangers, the prop of Acragas, state-upholding bloom of well-omened progenitors;—who, after suffering manifold afflictions of soul, possessed the river’s sacred settlement, and were the eye of Sicily; and predestined age followed, bringing both wealth and favour upon inborn excellence.

“But O, Cronion, thou son of Rhea, ruling the site of Olympus and the supreme top of contests and the stream of Alpheus, by hymning soothed, preserve thou still to them benignantly the paternal territory for the future race.

“Of deeds already done, whether with justice or beside it, not Time, of all the sire, can render the issue undone; but oblivion may come about along with happy destiny, for subdued by brave delights inveterate misery dies, when the Fate of God sends high prosperity aloft.

“Consistent is the tale with the fair-throned daughters of Cadmus, who suffered mightily, but profound sorrow dropped before surpassing blessings.

Living among the Olympians is Semele of flowing hair, who perished in crash of the thunder-stroke; and Pallas loves her ever, and very dearly Father Zeus; and love her does her boy with the ivy wreaths; they say too, that in the sea, to Ino for all time, along with the briny daughters of Nereus, is assigned life undeclining.

“For mortals, true it is, no certain limit of death has been determined; nor shall we ever bring a day, child of the Sun, to a tranquil end with unfretted good. But various currents at various times arrive to men both with encouragements and troubles; and thus does fate, which keeps the kindly ancestral destiny of these, along with a heaven-sprung happiness, bring also at other time some contrary affliction, since when the fateful son of Laius encountered and slew him and accomplished the oracle delivered of old time in Pytho. And keen Erinnys who looked on destroyed for him his war-like offspring by mutual slaughter; but to Polynices as he fell, remained Thersander honoured in contests of the young and conflicts of war, a scion sustaining the house of the Adrastidæ; from whence having root of propagation, it is becoming that the son of Ænesidamus should enjoy encomiastic songs and lyres; for at Olympia he himself has received honour; and at Pytho and the Isthmus joint graces brought blooms of four-horse twelve-coursed races to his co-heir brother; but success for one who has made essay of contests, relieves from melancholy.

“Wealth when embellished with virtue brings opportunity for this or that, suppressing wild and deep anxiety, a conspicuous star—veritable beacon-light to man; but if there be one possessing it, he knows what is to come; that of those dying here, immediately the lawless souls pay penalty, and one there is below the earth who judges sinfulnesses done in this, Jove’s empire, pronouncing sentence by dire necessity. But having sun alike at night-time, alike by day, the good look on a life relieved from labour, neither vexing with vigour of hand the earth nor water of the sea, in that abode. But there, along with the honoured of the gods, as many as delighted in faithfulness of oaths, pass an existence free from tears;—the rest endure suffering not to be looked upon. But as many as, steadfast until the third time, have been brave to restrain their souls from injustice utterly, complete the path of Zeus by Cronos’ tower, where the airs born of ocean breathe around the island of the blest, and flowers of gold are blazing, some from resplendent trees on land, while the water nourishes others, with braids of which and chaplets they bind about their heads; by upright decree of Rhadamanthus, whom Zeus, the spouse of Rhea, occupant of throne high over all, has for his prompt bench-fellow. Peleus and Cadmus too, are counted among these, and Achilles also did his mother bring, when she had persuaded the heart of Zeus by prayers, who overthrew Hector, the unmatched, swerveless

pillar of Troy, and gave Cycnus to death, and the Ethiopian son of the Dawn."

"In quiver underneath my elbow many swift shafts have I, voiceful to the intelligent, but for the general they require interpreters. He is wise who knows much by nature, but the learners chatter absurdities, boisterous in loquacity, like a pair of daws at the divine bird of Zeus.

"Set now the bow to the mark; whom hit we, O my soul, shooting forth glorious shafts again from gentle heart? Straining towards Acragas, an oath-bound word will I with mind of truth speak forth, that not for an hundred years has city given birth to man than Theron a more cordial benefactor to his friends, or of more ungrudging hand.

"But heart-burning ensues on praise, not invading it of right but from senseless men, and is fain to tattle and to set obscurity on excellent deeds of the good. Even as the sand has baffled number, how many joys that man has brought about for others,—who is there shall be able to declare?"

TO THERON OF ACRAGAS, FOR A VICTORY IN THE
CHARIOT RACE.

(THIRD OLYMPIC ODE.)

The third Olympic Ode refers to the same victory of Theron gained with the chariot B.C. 476, as the second; that Pindar speaks of it under metaphor of

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payment of a debt may imply that its date is somewhat later.

A scholiast has a notice that it was written for an Agrigentine festival of Theoxenia in which the Dioscuri were considered to entertain the other gods; this agrees with—if indeed it does not merely echo,—the prominence assigned in it to the Dioscuri at commencement and end, and especially as patrons of hospitality.

The Doric population of Acragas—not to say also the Ægid and Minyan relations of the Emmenidæ—sufficiently explains the popularity of the Tyndarids; and by their general character of agonian powers as well as by a special mythus, Pindar connects them easily and poetically with rejoicings for an Olympic victory.

The Olympic olive—the olive crown, is so ruling a theme throughout, as to imply that the actual crown of the victor—whether as worn or dedicated or otherwise, was in some manner conspicuous during the celebration.

Pindar flings his poetry around a central theme as we see drapery cast, with ease, with expressiveness of figure and action, and yet with what subtle intricacy, about a Greek statue or a figure on a vase. If we care to unwind and unfold it, we discover at last how simple in plan and design is the plain flat garment that a moment before was instinct with all the subtle involutions of grace in highest activity.

The theory of this involution depends on the victoriousness conceded to æsthetic importance over historical sequence and blank exposition. The poet has somewhat of importance to say, and an impression of highest interest to effect; but importance is relative to impressiveness, and he is resolute not to give satisfaction as to the mere event, before he has gained entrance for every idea that is required to heighten its impressiveness; he has full confidence that he can introduce these parenthetically, preliminarily, occasionally, with such brilliance that the hearer, while still holding on to the main suspended theme, shall be unable to resist following every detail of the delightful albeit tantalizing digressions.

The present ode is a very simple example,—the better, therefore, it may be for an example. When we unravel its artful but never unnatural inversions, its intricate but never entangled complexities of topics, they display themselves, perhaps,—regarded from the point of view of the performance of the ode, somewhat in this order:

“The Tyndarids, especially honoured at this festival as patrons of hospitality to strangers, are confidently appealed to for sympathy with the Olympic victor, Theron, and with Acragas, for it was to them that Hercules—their comrade in the Minyan expedition of the Argo and elsewhere—committed, when he departed heavenward, the charge of his institution, the Olympic games.

“From Hercules was derived the olive crown of which the leaves are now shadowing the brows of Theron, and that was assigned to him by the just award of the Hellenodicast,—umpire of the festival of Jove (uninfluenced by such outcry as excluded Hiero from this very contest). Amongst the far Hyperboreans, Hercules first beheld the olive-tree when he followed thither the doe of Taÿgeta,—not as slave of Eurystheus, but in submission to incumbent charge of Zeus; and afterwards on second expedition for that end, he brought it from beyond the Borean blast to Pisa, and planted it to furnish shade round the race-course, and crowns for victors like Theron; and not by violence and with no grudge did he obtain it, but as a friendly gift and by persuasion (persuasion that recently superseded impending conflict between the friends Hiero and Theron).

“Hercules then comes also propitious to this festival of his comrades and deputies—the twin Tyndarids—on occasion of the festivity of the pair of brothers, Theron glorious with his Olympic olive crown, and Xenocrates,—devoted piously, both of them, to a hospitality worthy of the brothers Dioscuri themselves. By this glorious success—attained after wide wanderings of his family,—Theron in regard, not simply to distance from his home but gloriousness, has touched his pillars of Hercules; a limit indeed, but wisdom and foolishness alike shrink from an attempt to pass beyond, either for adventure or praise; never would I suggest it—’twere vain indeed.”

It will be observed how closely in this ode the glory of Xenocrates is represented to be bound up with that of his brother Theron, though still without derogating from the precedence of the victor ; it is on this ground that I interpret confidently the terms of the second Isthmian ode as implying that Nicomachus who as charioteer for Xenocrates, gained him a Pan-Athenaic victory, had also gained the Olympic victory for Theron. Interpreted literally, prosaically, the passage would imply that Xenocrates had gained an Olympic victory ; but had he done so it could not have escaped the diligent searchers of the records, whose results have come down to us. The same passage further refers to some distinguished hospitable services of Nicomachus to the Eleans,—to such an entertainment, doubtless, as we know was given by victors immediately after a success. The present ode it may be thought would be suitable to such an occasion, but it cannot be given up for it ; even if we could admit that Pindar furnished an ode with its trained executants so promptly, the presence of Theron at Acragas is implied here most distinctly.

TO THERON OF ACRAGAS—FOR A VICTORY IN THE
CHARIOT-RACE.

(THIRD OLYMPIC ODE.)

“Confident am I that I shall gratify the guest-delighting Tyndaridæ and Helen of beauteous tresses,

as I honour glorious Acragas, and erect the Olympic hymn of victory for Theron,—bloom of steeds indefatigable-hoofed; thus has the Muse bestowed me when inventing a new sparkling mode to fit the voice of brilliant revel to Doric sandal.

“For crowns adjusted about flowing hair, exact from me this debt divinely founded, to mingle together gracefully the lyre many-toned and the cry of flutes and set of words, for the son of *Ænesidamus*,—and *Pisa* too for me to sing;—whence heaven-assigned strains proceed to men, for whomsoever the strict Hellenodicast *Ætolian* man, fulfilling the primal hests of *Hercules*, has cast high over eyelids about his locks the gray-green decoration of olive; which, fairest memorial of contests at *Olympia*, did *Amphitryonides* once bring from the shady springs of *Ister*, after having by speech persuaded the tribe of *Hyperbo-reans*, worshippers of *Apollo*. Proposing faithfully did he request the plant for the largely hospitable lawn (*Altis*) of *Zeus*, to be there a common shade for men and a crown for prowess. For already, after the altars had been consecrated to his sire, had the moon of the mid-month in golden chariot, lighted up for him at eve her eye complete, and he had instituted together the great games’ pure decision and the five-year period. But as yet the place produced not shoots of beauteous trees in the glens of *Cronian Pelops*; naked of these, the enclosure seemed to him in subjection to sharp rays of the sun. Then

urged him on his thought to travel to the Istrian land, where the steed-inciting daughter of Latona had received him coming from the ridges and manifold-winded recesses of Arcadia, when compulsion from his sire set him forth to bring away, at bidding of Eurystheus, the golden-antlered doe, that on a time Taygeta in gratitude, had inscribed as sacred to Orthosia (Artemis). Pursuing which, did he see even that land at the back of the keen Borean blast; there standing he had marvel of the trees; of these a sweet longing possessed him to plant them around the twelve times-winded goal of the course for horses. And now he comes propitious to this festival with the twin god-like sons of deep-zoned Leda; for to these, when departing Olympus-ward, he committed to direct the admirable contest respecting prowess of men and swift-driving chorioteering. Me, then, my soul urges on to tell that glory has come to the Emmenidæ and to Theron, because they among mortals have addressed these same with most frequent hospitable tables, and observed the rites of the ever-blest with pious sentiment.

“But if water is indeed most excelling and gold of all possessions the most revered, now has Theron arriving at the extreme by his virtues touched, from his home away, the pillars of Hercules. Whatever is beyond is inaccessible for wise and for unwise alike—I will not pursue it—’twere vain indeed.”

CHAPTER VIII.

ODE TO HIERO OF ÆTNA.

(FIRST PYTHIAN ODE.)

THE first Pythian is in honour of a victory in the chariot race at the Pythian games gained by Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse, B.C. 474. (Ol. 76, 3.) We have already concluded that this was of later date than the victory celebrated in the second Pythian ode, but that was in reality gained elsewhere.

It was in the same year that he obtained a considerable naval victory over the Etrurians; perhaps over a combined fleet of Etrurians and Carthaginians. At this time Anaxilaus of Rhegium and Zancle was dead, and his tyranny was administered by a guardian of his heirs; whether or not any aid came from this power which in earlier days had kept the Etrurians at a distance, is unknown; in any case the Ionian settlement of Cumæ applied to Hiero, and not in vain, for assistance which was rendered effectually—on what terms we do not know, and Hiero perhaps had sufficient interest in keeping down the spirit of the barbarians to have rendered it gratuitously. Even the terms of the present ode imply that after all that

had been done a danger-cloud was still and was ever, impending.

We know nothing of any chief politician at Cumæ at this date, though Pindar implies that the solicitation was made by one who would only be brought to such a point by pressing necessity; he seems also to imply that Hiero, although suffering under the chronic disorder that ultimately shortened his life, commanded his fleet in person.

In the proclamation of this victory, Hiero had caused himself to be proclaimed an Ætnean—not a Syracusan, as in earlier as well as some later victories,—in order to do honour to his city of Ætna, founded two years before, B.C. 476, and therefore now becoming advanced in organization. In the ode, which may possibly date a year after the victory, it appears that he has already installed there his son Deinomenes as governor or tyrant—of course, as deputy and dependant.

I have noticed elsewhere his policy in substituting a Dorian for an Ionian population, and how studiously he affected adherence to legitimate Dorian precedents and institutions.

The foundation of Ætna seems to have been in some way decided in consequence of devastations produced by a violent eruption of the mountain, B.C. 479. How long the activity of the volcano may have continued, if only intermittently, we do not know.

We have three short fragments of a Hyporcheme which Pindar addressed to Hiero, and a still shorter of

a scolion, that may be not improbably assigned to this date.

A chief interest in this victory with its poetic celebration, one of the most distinguished triumphs among the elegancies of peaceful life,—is that it arrives to soothe and exhilarate after a series of agitations and conflicts,—the desolating eruption of *Ætna*,—the war with the Etruscans,—the painful disorder of Hiero,—the troubles with Polyzelus,—the excitements connected with the transferences of population and founding of *Ætna*, and establishment of Deinomenes. Succeeding thus as a decoration and a charm upon difficulty and disorganization, it is an augury of future happiness for the new city that Hiero has thus caused to be proclaimed before assembled Greece for the first time,—for its distinction in arts of peace and war, its enjoyment of tranquillity and concord, the harmony of citizen privilege and princely power. To Hiero, therefore, belong prosperity and the renown of success against external enemies and internal dissensions, and triumphs in the games,—renown that will be preserved in history and celebrated in poetry; to unite these two prizes is the highest attainable happiness of mortals.

The poet—justifying by implication the policy employed,—parallels the foundation of *Ætna* and the migrations it involved, with the early settlement of the Dorians in Peloponnesus at the return of the *Heraclidæ*. The right of conquest,—of the spear-point, availed in either case; the combination in the expedi-

tion from Pindus to Taygetus of the descendants of Pamphylus, son of Dorian Ægimius, and of those of Hyllus, son of Hercules, are pressed in to represent the union of Sicilian colonists with Dorian immigrants from Peloponnesus. At the same time, the appeal to the generally venerated Dorian institutes, the Doric νόμιμα of Thucydides, vindicates a legitimate character for the kingship of Hiero and Deinomenes, and a parity is asserted for the Sicilian monarchy with the Spartan or Cyrenian. In these institutes "of God-built freedom,"—liberty, Pindar asserts a little boldly, was reconciled with monarchy under sanction of the God. The prayer to Phœbus to make the territory nobly-populous, is most significant when we bear in mind how its population had been obtained.

So Hiero has provided for internal prosperity and harmony; and with no less success has he warded off disturbance and aggression from without; in earlier days he contributed with Gelon and the other sons of Deinomenes to the victory over Carthage at Himera—achievement fittingly named along with Salamis and Plataea, as a liberation of Greece; and now quite recently he has given a check to powers whose hostility ever threatening, makes still and ever such a defender indispensable; Carthaginian and Etruscan together were beaten by him decisively in the sea-fight before Cumæ. As commanding in this expedition, Hiero is compared to Philoctetes, son of Poias, and as usual not indiscriminately, or with mere regard to a few parallel

circumstances, but from a certain tribal or national interest also ; the territory of Philoctetes, according to the Homeric catalogue, lies about Mount Pelion and the Magnesian promontory, and the Pelasgic neighbourhood of lake Bœbeis, to which the Triopian mysteries of Hiero have already been traced back. Hiero the infirm, like the crippled Philoctetes, is solicited for aid by those who would fain be independent, and effects deliverance, notwithstanding his ailment ; like his predecessor in the Trojan War, he was marked out by fate,—like him may he be restored to health by the God and have whatever other prosperity he desires.

With this Cumæan contest is associated as a type the recent destructive volcanic action of Ætna, recognised as dependent on disturbances extending from Sicily to the Phlegræan fields behind Cumæ ; from the scene of Hiero's battle to that of his newly organized city. But political and physical commotions are now alike composed, and rest and harmony have ensued as if under the influence of the God of the Pythian games ; the grantor of Hiero's victory, is also God of the poetry that celebrates it, of the music that expresses the subjugation or resolution of all irritation and discord, the regulative control of all conjoint activity, of social festivity and happiness, as of all accomplishment and energy and skill.

This ode, like the second Pythian, is brought to an end with a series of moral enunciations, in which excitement seems to reach such a point, as to threaten

the maintenance of coherency. But here, again, we may perceive that the poet in his sympathy seems scarcely able to dissever his own personality from that of Hiero, whom he addresses sometimes distinctly, but sometimes in terms that seem, if not alone, at least most directly intelligible, when taken as addressed to himself. The exhortation to be concise and so avoid invidiousness, belongs to Epinician commonplace, and intimates that still more glories are suppressed than have been declared; it is addressed in terms to the victor, but it is properly a consideration for the poet; and so to the injunction to steer the state with equity, —the politician's charge,—is appended another, as if its proper complement, to observe severest truthfulness, more natural as a reflection of the herald of achievements, however glancing also at the duty of observance of engagements.

But in conclusion the poet turns from the sterner virtues and stricter duties of kings, to the indulgent liberalities no less incumbent on them, and that distinguish the mild virtue of a Croesus from the barbarous savagery of Phalaris. Let the strict guider of the rudder of the state spread also without stint an open sail, dispense without grudge his wealth, for contests in the games,—and also, it is understood, for the poet who celebrates success. So will prosperity be united with glory, and a Hiero or a Croesus enjoy, as favoured of the Gods, those poetic rewards that are denied to a Phalaris, even as Typhon, hateful to the immortals and

pinioned under *Ætna*, has no joy of the celestial music of *Apollo* and the *Pierides*.

Among the works of the statuary *Pythagoras* of *Rhegium* enumerated by *Pliny*, is a figure of a Limping man at *Syracuse*, "the pain of whose ulcer seemed to be felt by the very spectators." The title *Claudicans*—the Limper—is probably the equivalent of one of those general terms which in antiquity, as among the *cinquecentisti*, seemed more significant than a proper name. So the *Medicean* prince of *Michael Angelo* is raised to a personification by the title—*Il Pensiero*—Thought. The true proper name was divined by *Fr. Thiersch* to be *Philoctetes*, but not the full interest of the identification which only appears when, by the elucidation of *Pindar's* mythical allusions, we recognise it as a type—a typical dedication by *Hiero* himself, the limping warrior,—or in his honour by others.

The age of *Pythagoras* is otherwise sufficiently certified; he made the statue of *Astylus* of *Crotona*, who, to honour *Hiero*, had himself proclaimed on the two last occasions of his three successive *Olympic* victories as a *Syracusan*. As *Hiero* was only tyrant, *Ol. 76, 77, and 78*, one of these occasions must necessarily have been *Olympiad 77*. Probably the other was *Ol. 76*, for the victor's true fellow-citizens in disgust, not only turned his house into a common jail, but threw down his statue that was in the temple of *Juno Lacinia*,—a dedication due no doubt for his first *Olympic* victory, gained before the accession of *Hiero*.

TO HIERO, OF ÆTNA—VICTOR IN CHARIOT RACE.

“ Oh Golden Lyre, the joint possession of Apollo and of the Muses violet-tressed, to whom the dance-step, commencement of festivity, listens, and bards are obedient to whose signals, whensoever quivering, thou prearest the uplifting of chorus-conducting preludes,—even the speary thunderbolt of persistent fire dost thou quench, and the eagle on Jove’s sceptre—king of birds—falls to sleep, drooping on either side a rapid pinion; and over his hooked head thou sheddest a swart cloud,—sweet closure of his eyelids; slumbering he heaves his waving back, held down by thy rushings (rhythms); for even violent Ares, leaving far away the rude strength of spears, composes his heart in drowsiness; and thy shafts, attendant on Latoïdes and the deep-bosomed Muses, soothe also minds dæmonian.

“ But whatsoever beings Zeus not loves, on earth and in the sea indomitable, are amazed as they hear the cry of the Pierides, and he who lies in horrible Tartarus, Typhon hundred-headed, foe of the Gods,—whom the many-named Cicilian cave once nurtured; but now the sea-restraining cliffs that are above Cumæ and Sicily, weigh upon his shaggy breast, and snowy Ætna, pillar of heaven, nurse of keen yearlong snows, keeps him fast down. From out whose deep abysses are purest founts of fire unapproachable belched forth; rivers by day outpour a lurid current of smoke; but in shades of night, flame, ruddy, whirl-

ing, carries down rocks with clatter into the sea's deep expanse. Upward that reptile sends direst well-springs of Hephæstus; a portent marvellous to behold, a marvel too to hear of from the witnesses passers-by, how that he is trammelled between the dusky-foliaged crests of Ætna and the plain; and as he lies extended, his bed galls him, scoring all his back.

“ Oh Zeus! may it be,—may it be,—permitted to be acceptable to thee who tendest this mountain, forehead of a fruitful land,—a like-named neighbour city of which its founder has made glorious, and on the Pythian race-course the herald has proclaimed it on behalf of Hiero, victor with the chariot. To men sea-faring it is the primal pleasure that a conducting breeze should come for them as they commence the voyage; for like it is that they will attain a better consummation of return; and reason brings the belief that, following this success, it will be glorious hereafter with crowns and coursers and of great name amidst melodious festivities.

“ Oh Phœbus! Lycian and ruler over Delos and lover of the Castalian spring of Parnassus, consent thou to make these things be in mind, and the territory nobly-populous, for from the Gods come all the means for human virtues, and so do they become skilful and forceful of their hands and frank of tongue.

“ But I, intent to praise that man, have hope that as if brandishing in hand a brazen-pointed spear, I shall not cast it without the limit of the contest, but overpass

opponents, hurling it afar. I would that all time should thus hold on his happiness direct, and his endowment of possessions, and afford oblivion of his sufferings. So may it remind him in what battles he has stood firm with steadfast soul, when by hands of the Gods they acquired such honour as no one of the Greeks has culled, a lordly crown of wealth. But now, indeed, following the manner of Philoctetes, went he to the warfare; and a certain one, high-spirited as he might be, courted him, under pressure of necessity, for an ally; and they say the godlike heroes came to bring away from Lemnos the archer son of Poias, labouring with his gangrene; who destroyed the city of Priam and brought to end the troubles of the Greeks,—treading with enfeebled frame, but it was of destiny. And so to Hiero may the God be a restorer in time that is coming on, providing opportunity for whatsoever he desires.

“Comply with me, O Muse, to resound the prize of the four-horse chariot at the home also of Deinomenes; no alien joy is the victory of his father. Come, for the king of Ætna let us next devise a friendly hymn, for whom Hiero has founded that city with god-built freedom in laws of Hyllic meter-line. The descendants of Pamphilus, and no less of the Heraclidæ, who dwell under the cliffs of Taygetus, are prompt ever to persist in the Dorian institutes of Ægimius; sallying from Pindus, they prosperously held Amyclæ, neighbours full-gloried of the white-

coursed Tyndaridæ,—and the renown of their spear-point was abloom.

“ Oh! Zeus Accomplisher! may veracious speech of men distinguish as such ever the state of the citizens and kings by the water of Amenas. Along with thee may the leader man, enjoining also on his son, assign privilege to the people and dispose them to concord and tranquillity. Assent, I beseech thee, O Kronion, that the Phœnician and the war-shout of the Tyrsenians may keep at quiet home, having in view that naval calamity of insolence in front of Cumæ; so suffered they, when defeated by the chief of the Syracusans, who cast their youth out of the swift-sailing ships into the sea, dragging forth Hellas from oppressive servitude.

“ At Salamis, indeed, will I win reward for the sake of the Athenians, and in Sparta, relating the fight before Cithæron, in both of which the Medes with the crooked bows, were vanquished; and then at the well-watered promontory of Himera, paying a hymn to the sons of Deinomenes, which they earned by exercise of valour, over vanquished hostile men.

“ If thou to right proportion speakest, compressing in brief the sums of many things, lesser is the cavil that ensues from men; for lingering satiety blunts impatient expectations, and talk among citizens concerning advantages of others is burdensome beyond everything to covert feeling. Nevertheless, forasmuch as envy is

better than commiseration, pretermitt not what things are excellent; guide with just helm your people, and forge your tongue on anvil undelusive. If aught, however trivial, flickers forth, it is carried off as of great consequence from you; of much art thou dispenser; many are the trusted witnesses for either; but if persistent in fine bloom of spirit you at all delight to hear an ever sweet report, be anxious not overmuch about expense, but, pilot-like, let go your breezy sail. Be thou not duped, O friend, by lightly-shifting tricks; the surviving vaunt of repute alone discloses the way of life of men departed, both to historians and to poets. The benignant virtue of Croesus does not wane; but everywhere hateful report has hold of Phalaris, of mind ferocious, burner with the brazen bull; and him lyres hail not in halls to gentle participation in songs of boys.

“To enjoy prosperity is the first of prizes; the second lot is to be well spoken of; the man who can encounter and take hold on both, has received the very highest crown of all.”

CHAPTER IX.

ODES TO CHROMIUS, BROTHER-IN-LAW OF HIERO.

(FIRST AND NINTH NEMEAN ODES.)

THE first Nemean ode celebrates a chariot victory gained by Chromius, son of Agesidamus citizen of Syracuse and of the newly founded Ætna. Pindar also wrote for him another ode which stands in the collection as the ninth Nemean, though, as appears from its contents it refers to a chariot victory gained some time previously to the date of the poem, in Pythian games at Sicyon.

The terms of both the odes imply the presence of Pindar, and in Sicily; but the ninth implies a celebration at Ætna, while the first, notwithstanding an appeal to Zeus Ætnæus, as distinctly refers to the palace of Chromius, in Ortygia, at Syracuse.

That both odes were written during a Sicilian visit of Pindar after the founding of Ætna, fixes their date approximately after the Olympic festival 77, 472 B.C. The Nemean victory of the first ode is thus plausibly assigned to the games that had come round in the summer of the year preceding.

It still appears not unimportant to adopt a view as to which ode was probably the earlier, even within

very narrow limits for both ; the composition of the second might naturally be modified, whether for sequence or contrast, by the familiarity of Chromius and his friends with the first. Both are of nearly equal length ; but as the Nemean victory was the most recent and the more dignified, the presumptive priority is in its favour ; and, as I read it, it appears to me to be, like the first Olympian, redolent of the breath of the sea-voyage, and of the refreshment of the poet on arrival at the Syracusan port.

The wealth of Chromius implied in these chariot victories, is duly adverted to in the ode, along with praise of his frank hospitality. The independent notices that can be collected of him, bear out his position. From 9 Nem. v. 42, we learn that he was regarded as a young man when he took part in the battle on the Helorus, 492 B.C. But this was only twenty years before the date of expressions that certainly seems to convey a more advanced age than forty or forty-five. Some turns of thought in the ode almost lead me to believe that in this battle, it was on the side of Syracuse that he was fighting, and against Hippocrates and his cavalry officer Gelon. It would not be inconsistent with this, that he is afterwards found the attached friend of Gelon ; there is no trace of rancour in Gelon's character, and he was a true politician, and "politicians neither love nor hate ;" and Chromius may easily have been a chief agent in the negotiations that after Gelon's succession to the

tyranny of Gela, transferred to him as vindicator of the expelled Gamori, and without bloodshed, the sovereignty of Syracuse.

However this may be, Gelon is found giving him a sister in marriage, and ultimately appointing him jointly with Aristonous, to whom he gave another sister, to the guardianship of his minor heir, in case of the failure of his brother Polyzelus. Whether Chromius and Aristonous were otherwise related—they may even have been brothers—we cannot say ; the odes allude generally to his military prowess in actions by sea and land, and also to his wisdom in council. War-like opportunities were abundant during the life of Gelon, especially in the conflict with the Carthaginians, eleven years after the battle of Helorus, for the rescue of Theron and Himera and the whole of Sicily. Notwithstanding his position relatively to Gelon's heir, we find he remains in most cordial relations with Hiero. He acts as his envoy to Anaxilaus of Rhegium, and succeeds by mere diplomatic urgency in restraining him from disturbing the Epizephyrian Locrians (477 B.C.), and,—at least if we may trust an inference from the ode, contributes, in 474 B.C., to the naval victory over the Etruscans before Cumæ. Whether he was in any way concerned with the defeat of Thrasydæus the year before his Nemean victory, is not to be known.

A scholiast says that Chromius was, from a boy, the charioteer of Hiero, but I cannot attach much weight or even meaning to the notice.

The poetic reference to Zeus Ætnæus seems clearly to imply that Chromius in compliment to Hiero had caused himself to be proclaimed as a citizen of Ætna ; the ninth Nemean shows him as having a residence there, and the scholiast even asserts that he was governor, *epitropos*, of the city ; what his position would be in this case, relatively to Deinomenes, unless as " viceroy over him," does not very distinctly appear.

A further compliment to Hiero, so recently an Olympic victor, seems to be conveyed in the notice among Jove's favours to Sicily, of wealthy cities with high-minded populations affecting along with warlike qualities, Olympic crowns. That the compliments are not more defined and diffuse, is honourable to both the victor and to the poet.

In the first Nemean Pindar, very intelligibly, if not very directly, compares the victor Chromius to Hercules, the founder of the games in which his victory was won. The early exploit of Hercules in strangling the serpents which gave augury of his future distinction ; his deeds both by sea and land ; the part he took in quelling the giants at Phlegra, and his ultimate exaltation to Olympus with Hebe for a bride, correspond with the distinct emphasis laid, in the ninth Nemean, on the youth of Chromius when he fought at the battle of Helorus (v. 100), his deeds both by sea and by land (v. 80) ; and what we know from other authority that he was married to a sister of Hiero and Gelon. After these coincidences, we are justified in con-

sidering that the battle of Hercules against the giants at Phlegra was allusive to the battle before Cumæ. The authorities that localize the battle of the giants at Cumæan Phlegra are Strabo V., p. 376, b. 372, c. 430; Polybius, 3, 91, 7; Diodorus, 5, 71.

The Epinician commonplace of anticipation of cavil is not absent; and Pindar, professing himself prompt to render aid, by exertion of native genius frankly put forth, against those who would blacken or obscure, as with smoke, the glory of his friend, passes on most naturally to celebrate the open-handedness of Chromius towards friends generally first,—the same topic finds place in Nem. 9, 76,—and then his efficiency as an auxiliary of Hiero. The praise of generosity is in the form of enunciation of a principle of the poet's own conduct, but in whatever form amounts, as spoken by a poet who awaits his customary and expects a liberal reward, to a direct inculcation of the virtue.

In the ninth Nemean, the particular battle that is made example of the youthful prowess of Chromius, is that on the Helorus, between Hippocrates, predecessor of Gelon, and the Syracusans; but I am much inclined to conclude that in the present instance we must refer to the battle of Himera, that took place seven or eight years later. The mythus is introduced by the maxim, the interests of laborious men proceed in partnership—and is illustrated in progress by another, the more alert succour to be expected from the allied in blood and home than from the alien. The triumph at

Himera was the triumph of loyal co-operation; whether it was before or after the battle that Gelon became son-in-law of Theron, and Chromius brother-in-law of Gelon and Hiero, we cannot tell—at the date of the ode would not perhaps be much considered. The mention of the Cadmean princes helps to bring the comparison home to the peril and rescue of Theron, who boasted of Cadmean descent. Certain expressions in the other ode even convey to me the impression that Chromius may have had much to do with the successful stratagem of the diversion on the naval camp of Hamilcar.

The chronology that comes into question, is thus stated :—

Ol.	B.C.	
	492	Battle on the Helorus—Chromius a young man.
	491	Gelon tyrant of Gela.
	488	Theron tyrant of Agrigentum.
	485	Gelon acquires Syracuse.
	480	Battle of Himera.
	478	Death of Gelon—Succession of Hiero.
	477	Hiero checks Anaxilaus by mission of Chromius.
76	476	Foundation of Ætna.
	474	Hiero's naval victory at Cumæ over Tuscans.
	473	Nemean chariot victory of Chromius.
		Defeat of Thrasydæus by Hiero—Expulsion.
77	472	Pindar in Sicily, probable date of, Nem. I. and IX.

TO CHROMIUS AS ÆTNEAN, FOR A CHARIOT VICTORY
AT NEMEA.

“Ortygia! sacred breathing-place of Alpheus! Sprout
of glorious Syracuse! Couch of Artemis! Delos’

sister ! from thee the sweet-speaking hymn sets forth to make mighty praise of the steeds stormfooted, for the sake of Ætnean Jove ; and the car of Chromius incites, and Nemea, to yoke an encomiastic melody to victorious achievements. From the gods, together with the well-fortuned prowess of that man, commencement has been laid ; the summit of large renown is in prosperity ; and the Muse delights to make memory of the great games.

“ Scatter now, seed-like, some certain brilliancy for the island that Zeus, lord of Olympus, presented to Persephone, and confirmed by nodding locks that he would uphold with wealthy crests of cities, luxuriant Sicily, very best above all fruitful land. And Cronion conferred upon it a population mindful of brass-accounted warfare, equestrian fighters and often blended with gilded leaves of the Olympic olives.

“ Hurling not falsely, I have lighted on apt occasion for many things ; and I have come to stand and sing of excellence, at the hall-portal of a guest-delighting man, where meet banquet is dressed out for me, and chambers are full oft not unexperienced of men from other lands ; in opposition to cavillers he has been allotted the worthy to bring water against their smoke.

“ Of various men the skills are various ; behoves to contend by natural power proceeding upon forth-right paths ; for strength, indeed, is operant by act, but mind by counsels, with whomsoever it ensues to

foresee what is to come. Oh! son of Agesidamus pertaining to thy habit are the uses both of one and of the other. No approver am I of possessing abundant wealth, hoarding it in hall, but both to have enjoyment of the present, and to be spoken of as assistant to friends; for interests of laborious men proceed in partnership.

“But I attach myself with zeal to Hercules, arousing amidst mighty crests of prowess an antique tale, how that the son of Zeus when with his twin brother escaping the birth-pang, he came from his mother’s womb to the glorious day-beam,—how he passed down into the saffron swaddling clothes not eluding Hera, golden-throned. Hasty in her anger, the Queen of the gods sent forthwith serpents; through the opened doors they went into the chamber’s wide retirement, intent to wind around the babes their rapid jaws; but he raised up his head erect and first made essay of battles, grasping the serpents twain by the necks with his two inextricable (not to be escaped from) hands; and from them strangled, time exhausted the breath of life out of their huge limbs. But the unendurable dart terrified the women, as many as chanced to be succouring the child-bed of Alcmena, for she herself leaping to her feet from the coverlets, unarrayed, did yet repel the violence of the reptiles; and quickly the Cadmean princes, thronging in brazen arms, ran in, and came Amphitryon smitten with keen anxieties, brandishing

in hand his falchion stript from the sheath ; for a home concern presses every man alike, but about an alien trouble the heart is speedily undistressed. Mingled in grievous horror and delight he stood, for he beheld the abnormal courage and might of his son ; and the immortals had made the speech of the messengers a contradiction. And he summoned the neighbouring chief, prophet of most high Zeus, the true-divining Teiresias, who to him and to all the host declared with what adventures he should be conversant,—slaying how many law-ignoring brutes on land, how many in the sea ; and he told that a certain other stalking with insolence perverse, of men most hostile, he would give to death ; for that when the gods should be opposed in battle to the giants in the plain of Phlegra, by whirr of his shafts it would be that their bright hair should be defiled in dust ; but he himself should be allotted tranquillity for all time in peace continuous after mighty labours,—his exquisite recompense in the ever happy halls, and receive the blooming Hebe for a bride, and enjoying marriage feast admire the august abode in presence of Zeus, son of Cronus.”

The ode that stands as the ninth Nemean was written, as we learn from its contents, to celebrate a chariot victory gained by Chromius at the Pythian games, not of Delphi, but Sicyon. It has dropped into its present place with the two following odes, which are Nemean as little ; the tenth is for a victory at the Hecatombaia

of Argos, and the eleventh is not even Epinician in subject, but was written for the installation of a prytanis at Tenedos.

The general circumstances of Chromius and of the time have been already detailed in illustration of the first Nemean.

The exposition of the ninth Nemean presents peculiar difficulties; the introduction of a mythus of Adrastus and the expedition against Thebes are accounted for readily in the first instance, by the institution of the games at Sicyon, where the victory was gained, being traditionally ascribed to him; but the drift and choice of the particular adventure are not so easily explained. Some clue is wanting that is indispensable, some detail of history and of the activity of Chromius has escaped record, that would reduce all to a harmony that we shall only be deceiving ourselves if we pretend to recognise, as matters stand, with too curious an exactness.

In giving up, however, the hope of a conclusive analysis, we assume a liberty of liberal conjecture that may not be without its interest.

We learn from a scholiast that Theron and Thrasydæus asserted descent from Polynices, the exiled son of Œdipus and Argia, daughter of Adrastus—Adrastus who himself expelled from Argos, married the daughter of Polybus, and so reigned at Sicyon, and then was reconciled by the marriage of his extruder Amphiarus with his sister Eriphyle. Alliance cemented by marriage

placed both Adrastus and Polynices his son-in-law in a position of political and military power: they exerted it to set on foot the ill-omened expedition against Thebes. Amphiaraus, through management of his wife, the sister of Adrastus, was involved in ruin with them, though Zeus spared him the last disgrace and withdrew him from his pursuers by engulfing him in the earth. This is the story to which Pindar is attracted by the victory gained by Chromius in the games of Adrastus; and considering how recent was the ruin of Thrasydæus, reputed descendant of Polynices, it is difficult to withstand the inference that it was present to his mind as a parallel. This would be still more probable if we could be sure that Chromius, as is likely enough, had taken part in the decisive battle and the negotiations that followed upon it.

The notice of the banks of a river, the Ismenus, as the scene of the fatal conflict of Adrastus, corresponds with the river-side scene of the defeat of Thrasydæus.

Pindar ascribes the reconciliation of Adrastus and Amphiaraus through a marriage to the interposition of a man of influence, in a manner that reminds of the function ascribed to Simonides, in composing the first quarrel; and yet it is difficult not to suppose that he has Chromius in his mind,—Chromius to whom both intelligence and warlike skill are equally assigned.

After the conclusion of the story of Amphiaraus, and

the reflection that in terrors supernaturally inspired, even the sons of the gods take to flight; the poet makes, what has the appearance of an abrupt transition to a prayer to Zeus, keep remote all danger from a hostile Carthaginian fleet. Is it that the defeat of the very large and to a great extent barbarian army of Thrasydæus reminds of a still more serious centre of danger? Does the poet thus refer to the defeat at Cumæ of the Tuscans, who had Carthaginian aid; a conflict which we have gathered from *Nem.* 1, was not inglorious for Chromius? It took place only a year or two before the probable date of the ode. The intimation of such a pending source of danger might be understood to revive gratitude for the rescue at Himera.

That the transition was really so harshly abrupt to the original audience is not to be supposed for a moment, but the associative link is lost for us.

Allusions to the warlike exploits of Chromius follow thick, yet an implied praise of his liberal and wise administration of his wealth is interposed; his counsel in war, seconding heart and hand at a crisis, is celebrated in a manner that suggests his possible serviceableness in the stratagem at Himera, and then the glory that he gained on the banks of the Helorus, is strangely paralleled by that of Hector fighting at the embouchure of the Scamander. The clue to the appropriateness of this comparison escapes me entirely; the comparison of a Greek with a non-Greek sur-

prises, but it is made also with a non-Greek champion who was unfortunate.

The explanations proposed by Boeckh for the difficulties of this ode are only less surprising than the conclusion of Dissen and still later German commentators, that it has none to be explained.

What was the real mark the poet aimed at, and that he boasts in conclusion to have approached so narrowly, remains a mystery.

Here, at any rate, I must desert the problem.

TO CHROMIUS AS ÆTNEAN—FOR A CHARIOT VICTORY
AT SICYON.

(ENTITLED—NINTH NEMEAN ODE.)

“ On from Sicyon from Apollo, let us lead glad festivity, O Muses, to newly-founded Ætna, to the happy house of Chromius, where the full-opened doors are overcome by guests; but procure a sweet hymn of poesy, for ascending his chariot, victorhorsed, he announces an address to the mother and her twin children, the joint-sharing guardians of steepy Pytho.

“ A certain maxim of men there is, not to cover over with silence in the earth, a work when well-effected; and the divine strain of poesy is contributory to vauntings.

“ But let us rouse up the resonant lyre, and also up the pipe, for the very crest of the contests of horses, which Adrastus instituted to Phcebus by the currents

of Asopus ; remembering which I will trim up with glorious honours the hero who there at that time reigning made the city conspicuous, glorifying it with new festivals, and with contests of vigour of men and with scoopy chariots ; for he had fled from bold-designing Amphiaraus and dire faction, from his ancestral home away and from Argos, and the sons of Talaus, coerced by revolution, were lords no longer ; but a superior man brings previous disagreement to end. Giving the husband-quelling Eriphyle to wife to Oicleides as pledge of treaty, they became greatest of the yellow-haired Danaans ; but thereafter on a time did they lead a host of men even against seven-gated Thebes, not by route of happy bird-omens, nor did Kronion urge them, the infatuated, to march from their homes, but hurling forked lightning-blaze, to retire from the track. With arms of brass, and caparisons of horses, hasted on the throng to ruin manifest ; and thwarted of sweet return, their pale-bleached bodies on Ismenus banks made fat the smoke ; for seven pyres feasted on the youthful-limbed men. But Zeus, with forceful bolt, cleaved the deep-bosomed earth for Amphiaraus, and covered him together with his horses, before that smitten in the back by the spear of Periclymenus, his warlike soul should be humiliated ; for in heaven-sent terrors even sons of the gods take flight.

“ If it be possible, Kronion, I put off to remotest time this bold essay for death or for life, of the spears of a Phoenician naval armament ; and I pray thee, O

Father Zeus! to concede for long time well-ordered fortune to the children of the Ætneans, and to blend the population with civic brilliancies; men are there delighters in horses, and possessing souls superior to riches.

“I have averred the incredible; for Honour that brings glory is filched away privily by gain. Attendant on Chromius as shield-bearer, along with war-shouters on foot and with horses, and in battles of ships, thou mightest have judged of the peril of keen conflict, forasmuch as that goddess (Honour—Aidōs) prompted his warrior spirit to repel the plague of Enyalius. Few are the able to counsel how with hands and heart to divert the cloud of instant slaughter upon the ranks of hostile men. Renown, it is told, bloomed for Hector close by the sluices of Scamander, but for the son of Agesidamus, this light looked forth in his early youth about the steep-cliffed banks of the Helorus, where men name the ford Ares. And for other days will I speak of many deeds in dusty plain, and many in the neighbouring sea.

“From labours that have been performed with youthfulness and with right, life comes forth tranquil towards old age. It is for him to know that from the divinities he is allotted marvellous bliss; for if along with abundant wealth he obtain for himself glorious renown, it is not for a mortal still to reach with his feet another eminence beyond.

“The banquet indeed has delight in tranquillity; and fresh-sprouting victory grows with gentle song;

and the voice becomes confident beside the crater; let some one mix it, sweet announcer of revel, and distribute the vine's potent child in the silver goblets which on a time the mares of Chromius winning, sent to him along with true-twined crowns of Letoïdes, from sacred Sicyon.

“O Father Zeus, I am confident that I have celebrated this deed of excellence along with the Graces, and beyond the many done honour to this victory by my praises, casting my dart very near indeed to the mark of the Muses.”

CHAPTER X.

ODE TO HIERO OF SYRACUSE.

(FIRST OLYMPIC ODE.)

THE first Olympic Ode celebrates a victory gained by Hiero in the single-horse race, with his horse Pherenicus, and as the ode distinctly indicates, when he was reigning at Syracuse. The inscribed dedications at Olympia, of which we owe the notice to Pausanias, prove that he gained two Olympic victories with the single horse, and there can be no doubt that this poem refers to the latest, which is dated by the scholiast, that is most to be relied on, 472 B.C. (OL. 77. 1); for the tone of the ode conveys the impression that it was written soon after the victory, and an anticipation is indulged in that the present success will be followed up by a chariot victory; which is, in fact, recorded for the next Olympic festival, the last that Hiero survived. Now the Olympic festival came round three times during his reign. It must have been at the first, Ol. 76, if at all, that his horses were excluded from the contest by the influence of Themistocles, who was exiled before Ol. 77; and as the chariot victory gained, Ol. 78, was subsequent to the

present victory, this must have occurred at the intermediate date, 472 B.C.

The earlier single-horse victory is dated as early as 488 B.C., during the life of Gelon, who gained the chariot victory at the same festival. A difficulty has been experienced in the circumstance that Hiero is designated not *Ætnæus*, as in the preceding odes, but as of Syracuse; but this difference only informs us that at the most important of the Greek festivals he preferred to be proclaimed in connection with the chief seat of his dignity and power; the allusions, however, to *Ætna* in the ode seem unmistakeable, and we may probably credit the scholiast, that Hiero was proclaimed at Olympia, as both Syracusan and *Ætnean*.

We are rather surprised to find no allusion to the previous victory, but cannot disturb our conclusions on that account.

Pindar appears to have been certainly present at the court of Hiero at the performance of his ode, together with other poets;—the scholiast liberally enumerates Simonides, Bacchylides, Epicharmus, Xenophanes; and other authorities add *Æschylus*.

As recently as the year before this victory, Sicily had been agitated, first by the death of Theron, and then by the defeat and expulsion from Acragas and Himera of his son Thrasydæus, consequent on a quarrel provoked by himself with Hiero; whether his death at Megara had already ensued, we cannot say.

The relations of Thrasydæus to Hiero and his family,

it may be recalled, were these : he was the cousin of Hiero's wife, he had been brother-in-law of Gelon first, and afterwards of Polyzelus ; and was uncle, by the mother's side, of the son and heir of Gelon, the nephew of Hiero, who was living in prospect of ultimate accession to power.

There are a series of remarkable parallelisms between this ode and that addressed to Hiero, which stands as the second Pythian, and dated conjecturally some six years earlier ; I have adverted to their principle in the comments on that ode.

From the terms of the ode we are justified in inferring that it was written for an especial convivial celebration ; it can scarcely be said to contain one of those allusions to the military achievements and power of Hiero, that abound in other odes to him ; but feasts of Gods and of men, and love in the varied forms accepted among the Greeks, and the victor's attachment to poetry and music, and the distinctions of the games, make the poem bloom with all the embellishments of quick-spirited peace.

The rhythm of the ode is especially varied and rapid, and harmonises in this respect with quick succession of transitions in treatment of the subject,—the divergences, now brief and now extensive,—the turns and the returns through which the poet carries us, and that he himself seems to characterise in the phrase, the enfolding, the convolutions, or doubling of his hymns ;—it is not easy to translate his word by a

single equivalent. So the progress of the theme constantly overlaps the transit from strophe to antistrophe and epode. A rather more distinct break is allowed at the end of an epode, to the extent that a grammatical division gives apology for a full stop; but even so we find that it is in the very clause so marked, that the theme has started on a new divergence, so that the seeming break is nullified and thought carried over without real pause or rest.

The chief mythical embellishment of this ode is derived from the story of Pelops, so intimately connected with Elis and with the games where Hiero's victory was won,—the son of that Tantalus, moreover, who is conspicuous in the cycle of mythology of the underworld,—the realm of the great goddesses of whose sanctities Hiero was the administrator or depositary. Tantalus, and the other three victims that are associated with him, are the normal examples of justice in the lower world, given by Homer, Hesiod, the painting of Polygnotus at Delphi, and the series of Apulian vases with scenes from the underworld. All these sufferers have Thessalian and Magnesian relations,—whether in Europe or Asia, matters not. Magnesia ad Sipylum retained its tribal mythology and dedicated to Apollo at Delphi a group representing Tityus under the arrows of the God. So faithfully did a Greek tribe carry about, and backward and forward, the legends that were attached to all their family celebrations, that history constantly and excusably becomes bewildered in endeavouring to

disengage the crossing tracks. The Catachthonian legends and exemplar types may have reached Italy and Sicily, either from Lake Bœbeis direct, or from Mount Sipylus intermediately; but an ingenious and even plausible argument may still be framed for the Asiatic having been the original seat of a mythus, that has so many eastern analogies as that of a cooked and eaten child.

For us it is fortunately sufficient here to recognise that Hiero, by his Olympic victory, was brought into such close proximity to heroes intimately associated with his family sanctities, as to invite an exaltation of his glory by a comparison.

One comparison, most direct and manifest, is between Hiero and Pelops; but in this case, as elsewhere, we shall find that the lyric poet runs no precise and unswerving parallel; the circumstances of the victory determine the course of mythical celebration entered upon, but the whole subject is before the mind of the poet as he begins, and we must look rather to the end than the commencement for the explanation of the commencement. The interest of the comparison is also more moral than personal, and the personal parallel is liable to be dropped or diverted at once, if required by a different moral application.

Pelops the protected and favoured of Poseidon—Poseidon the Triopian God to whose aid is elsewhere ascribed Hiero's Pythian victory, a God of horses ever and pre-eminently,—gains by his aid a victory in the

chariot race of Olympia, a triumph most ardently desired by Hiero, and promised confidently by Pindar, if only the God does not suspend the guardianship of which he has given earnest in the present victory with the single horse.

Olympia is called the "nobly populated colony of Pelops," and, by covert implication, he is promoted to the dignity of the founder of the festival,—“The courses of Pelops, where swiftness of foot competes and laboriously trained strength;” and there he is buried with the honours of a hero. Even so Hiero has been founder of a new colony of *Ætna*, and stocked it with selected population; there he also has founded a festival of Zeus, of Zeus *Ætnæus*, and there he has appointed that he should ultimately be buried, and looks forward to the same heroic honours, at his tomb, as are accorded to Pelops. The brief mention of the heirs left by Pelops is, in effect, a congratulation to Hiero that he, too, has a son, Deinomenes, who was established at his colony as king or dynast.

After such congratulatory comparisons, the ode may naturally conclude with the injunction—an enhancing compliment again disguised as an injunction here, as sometimes still more emphatically as a warning—to moderation, to aim no further and no higher. In the present ode, the emphasis on this moral comes earlier and in more covert but equally well understood mythical form, in the story of Tantalus admitted to companionship of the Gods, but forfeiting his place,

as new men may, by over-familiarity and presumption.

Can it be necessary to refute categorically the notion that the German critics propound that Pindar glances here at Hiero's misdeeds of political violence? The lesson so inculcated is in fact but an embellished form of refined compliment, as enhancing the dangers and temptations of such a success, and not—can it be necessary to say it?—a designed or clumsy implication, only serving to put the patron out of countenance, on this his proudest and most hospitable day.

Again, considering what graceless version of the story Pindar substitutes, I withhold sympathy from those who mark an epoch of religious development and refinement in his expressed reluctance to tax the immortal Gods with greediness;—he might tax them with worse it seems, and not beware of it.

At the same time, I find it difficult to believe that this episode of the prosperity and fall of Tantalus could have been listened to originally without necessarily exciting, and therefore being intended to excite, some general reminiscence of the recent fall of Thrasydæus.

I have adverted, in observations on the second Pythian, on the parallelism of the poet's express self-restraint in the matter of satire or vituperation. As usual, the moral maxim that he propounds as applicable to himself, is aimed, in this indirect way, at others. Where a compliment is implied, the victor

was intended to take it to himself ; in other cases, it was inculcated upon the bystanders with an effect of implied compliment to the victor. In the present instance, I do not doubt that the intention, which would make itself understood, was to warn that tales in disparagement of dignities,—of kings as little as of gods,—were not to be lightly entertained—imputations on Hiero, as little as on his goddess Demeter. No apprehension is entertained of, in effect, accusing Hiero by thus gratuitously excusing him ; it is part of the distinction of a victor in the games—much more when he is king also, that his success should be assumed as making or tending to make him an object of envy certainly, and almost as probably of satirical vituperation, of base calumny. “The ill-conditioned neighbours”—neighbours here replace the citizens who are reflected on in other cases,—who could belie Demeter and the feasting Gods, were not likely to spare Hiero, but little would they profit by it. Pelops, reported to be a victim of the Gods, was, in fact, their favourite—a prototype, indeed, of Hiero. Tantalus, however, was not spared, and precisely, indeed, because his case furnishes an example of the inevitable punishment that awaits even the great,—and the memory of Thrasydæus was not far off,—who fail in careful regard for the still more exalted, with whom they are allowed the privilege to consort, so long as they do not presume to be equals.

TO HIERO OF SYRACUSE—VICTOR WITH THE SINGLE HORSE.

“Water is best of all; and gold shines forth like blazing fire in the night, distinguished from amidst lordly riches; but if, dear heart of mine! thou wouldest tell of prizes, seek not by day through the void ether, other bright star more cheering than the Sun; nor will we speak of games superior to Olympia’s, from whence a renowned hymn enwraps the genius of the skilled for celebration of the son of Cronus, as they arrive at the wealthy, happy hearth of Hiero, who, culling the tops of every excellence, sways the sceptre of right in Sicily of many flocks.

“Resplendent is he also with choice bloom of poesy, —in such manner do we men full oft disport about his kindly board.

“But take from the nail the Doric lyre, if charm of Pisa and of Pherenicus has moved your mind at all to sweetest meditations, as he sped on by Alpheus’ side, displaying in the course a form ungoaded, and blended his lord, the horse-delighting Syracusan king, with victory, in the nobly-populated colony of Pelops,—of whom was mighty earth-maintaining Poseidon enamoured when Clotho took him forth from the pure laver, fitted with a gleaming shoulder of ivory.

“Marvels are many indeed; and fables too, it may be, wrought up beyond the true account with elaborate lies, beguile somewhat the tradition of mortals; but Charis

—Embellishment—that produces for man whatsoever is agreeable, has frequently enough, conferring authority, made credible even the incredible ; but the days that are to come are witnesses the wisest.

“ Fitting it is for a man to say what is handsome of the Gods dæmonian, for less will be his blame. O son of Tantalus, I will avouch concerning thee, right contrary to those before me, that when your father gave return banquet to the Gods, and invited to holiest feasting and to his favourite Sipylus,—then did he of the gleaming trident, subdued in heart by desire, snatch you away with his golden steeds to the lofty palace of Zeus wide-honoured,—whither at after-time, for like service to Zeus, came also Ganymedes. And when you had disappeared, and men after much search brought you not to your mother, some one of the envious neighbours said secretly that with a knife they had cut you limb from limb over the strength of water heated on the fire, and distributed your boiled flesh about the tables and devoured it. But it is hard for me to call gluttonous one of the happy Gods,—I hold aloof ; oft-times the vituperative has had unprofit for his portion. And if ever the guardians of Olympus honoured any mortal man, Tantalus was he ; but able he was not to digest his mighty bliss, and had by surfeit bane prodigious that the father suspended over him,—a rock impending over him, ever intent to cast which from his head, he is estranged from cheerfulness ; life so unhelpful, and toil-embarrassed has he,—a fourth

punishment along with other three,—for that filching from the immortals the nectar and ambrosia wherewith they had made him deathless, he gave it to his comrade guests ; but if any man hopes that, doing aught soever, he will elude the Gods, he errs.

“Therefore the immortals sent his son for him back again to the speedy-fated tribe of mortals. And when at the fair bloom of growth, the down began to cover his darkened chin, he meditated ready marriage, and to obtain from her Pisan father, the far-famed Hippodameia. Coming close to the hoary sea, lone in darkness, he called upon the deep-toned God of the fair trident, and he appeared near to him at his foot ; to whom he spake. ‘If the dear gifts of Cypria, O Poseidon, tend at all to favour, come trammel the spear of CEnomaus and despatch me with swiftest chariot to Elis, and bring me up close to victory ; for having slain suitor men thirteen, he defers the marriage of his daughter. Mighty peril admits not the man unvaliant ; of those for whom it is of necessity to die, why should one seated darkling, unsharing in all glories, cosset to no purpose an old age without a name ? For me, then, let this contest be set forth, but give me thou, the desired achievement.” Thus he said, and did not there apply himself to undecided, resultless words ; bedecked him did the God, and gave a golden chariot and steeds indefatigable with wings ; and he overraught the might of CEnomaus and the maiden for his bride ; and he begat six chieftain sons

intent on excellence ; and now, reposing at the ford of Alpheus, he is associated with splendour of blood-offerings, having his frequented tumulus by the altar stranger-thronged.

“ But from the Olympic festivals, glory has looked out afar, where in the courses of Pelops, fleetness of foot competes and the boldly-exercised ripenesses of vigour, and he who is victor has honeyed calm for his life thereafter in virtue of prizes.

“ The good that arrives ever-present from day to day, is for every one the most supreme. And me it behoves to crown the man with equestrian strain in an Æolic measure. Assured I am that I shall not bedeck with glorifying turns of hymns another host of this our time, at once appreciative of excellencies and of higher authority in power.

“ The God, thy guardian, O Hiero, having this care, is concerned for thy designs, and if he fail not suddenly, I am hopeful, that finding an auxiliary way of themes as I come from the conspicuous hill of Cronus, I shall celebrate one more with the rapid chariot, sweeter still.

“ The Muse then is nursing for me a shaft most stalwart in force. Others in other things are mighty ; but the uttermost rises to a crest for kings. No more look wistfully out further ; to thee be it given this present time to walk on high, and for me to consort even so long with victors, conspicuous for poetic skill amongst the Hellenes everywhere.”

CHAPTER XI.

ODE TO ERGOTELES OF HIMERA.

(TWELFTH OLYMPIC ODE.)

THIS very short ode is written for Ergoteles, son of Philanor, on the occasion of an Olympic victory in the foot-race; the title of the ode specifies the long foot-race. The victor was proclaimed as Himeræan, but Himera was only his adopted country. He had migrated from Cnossus in Crete in consequence of internal political commotions, and had probably been in his own country a man of some importance, as he became also in Sicily. Pausanias, who does not refer to Pindar, gathered some particulars respecting him which confirm and add to those which are obtained from the ode. The scholiast avers that the present victory was gained in the 77th Olympic year = 472 B.C.; and at this time we know from the ode that Ergoteles had already gained, and as Himeræan, one Isthmian and two Pythian victories. The antecedent Pythian festivals fall B.C. 474 and 478; Ergoteles therefore must have settled at Himera before 478 B.C., the year of the death of Gelon. The scholiast says that "he found the affairs of Sicily in a state of

contentious agitation relatively to Gelon and Hiero. A notice of a scholiast to Pyth. i. 91, states that Hiero was once involved in a quarrel with his brother Gelon "about rule" (*τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐνεκεν*). The most probable occasion of this is between the battle of Himera, 480 B.C., when all the brothers acted harmoniously, and the death of Gelon, 478 B.C., when the dispositions were in progress by which he endeavoured to protect the prospects of his son by dividing the regency between Hiero and Polyzelus. In 477 B.C. the Himeræans made their ill-starred attempt to engage Hiero on their side against Theron and Thrasydæus, which only resulted in uniting the tyrants against them, and in the death or expulsion of the promoters of the enterprise. It was in the year after that Theron filled their vacant places with Dorian colonists. This was two years after Ergoteles had gained his first Pythian victory as a Sicilian.

Combining these incidents as best we may, we may conjecture that Ergoteles was first engaged with Hiero at the time of his dispute with Gelon, and afterwards with Theron, and that it was in consequence of the later transactions that he joined the settlers who carried out Theron's intended policy of Dorizing Himera.

There is no reason to suppose that Acragas, when by aid of Hiero it ultimately expelled the dynasty of Theron, released Himera entirely from its dependence, or failed still to support the Dorian party there; and

it is therefore quite consistent that Ergoteles should remain to be proclaimed at Olympia as a Himeræan not only in 472 B.C., the year of our present victory, but in the ensuing Olympiad.

Pindar was in Sicily with Hiero shortly after the Olympic festival of B.C. 472, and the 12th Olympian may be dated with the other odes written during this visit, and therefore soon after the liberation of Acragas and Himera.

The leading idea of the poem is, that the seeming misfortune that had driven Ergoteles from his Cretan home had, by the favour of the gods, turned out to his glory and happiness; gaining as he did with his Sicilian home opportunities for contending victoriously in the games of Greece. Fortune the Saviour that has thus befriended the victor, is invoked, and as daughter of Zeus the Liberator, to be equally propitious to Himera, to prosper her counsel and her arms by sea and land, and, it is implied, to bring round for the city, as already for the victor, the happy result that troubles from internal factions inducing dependent alliance upon an external power, may open field for larger glory and better prosperity.

The application of a game cock contrasted with a cock that fights obscurely in its own farm-yard, as a type of public and honourable victories, might be sufficiently justified by the curiously parallel passage in the Eumenides of Æschylus, v. 846. The pugnacious bird is often seen on Panathenaic vases, on

pillars on either side of the goddess, typifying the contests; Cupids set cocks to fight on the arms of the functionaries' chairs who watched the dramatic contests in the Dionysiac theatre; Pausanias notes a cock on the helmet of a statue of Athene at Elis, ascribed to Pheidias; he has two suggestions as to its propriety, as symbol of warlike spirit, or attached to Athene as Athene Ergane—that is, the Workwoman; we are left to infer as symbolical of early wakefulness. Is it in this sense that it is the proper emblem of Asclepius? The cock appears upon the coins of Himera, some have thought allusively to the name of the city (*Ἡμέρα* = *ἡμέρα*—the day-town), and some to Asclepius, as connected with the celebrated health-springs of the Nymphs alluded to in the ode; explanations, in fact, are only superabundant. The cock, as a Cretan symbol, occurs on the shield of Idomeneus at Elis, a statue by Onatas and a work therefore of the age of Pindar. (Paus. 5; 25, 5.)

TO ERGOTELES, SON OF PHILANOR, OF HIMERA,
VICTOR IN THE LONG FOOT-RACE.

“I pray thee, O Saviour Fortune! child of Eleutherian Zeus! watch about widely ruling Himera; for by thee are swift ships piloted at sea, and on land rapid wars and assemblies counsel-bearing.

“Surely the hopes of men are tossed frequently up, and at times down again, as they are cutting ever-

shifting falsities ; never has any of mortals discovered a reliable token from the Gods respecting an event about to be ; but intimations of future things are blinded. Much is wont to fall out to men beside their judgment, in reverse of delight ; but some, after encountering troublous surges, have in brief time exchanged disaster for solid good. O Son of Philanor ! the fame of thy feet, like cock that fights within, would have shed its leaves inglorious beside your kindred hearth, had not sedition, that sets man against man, bereft you of your Cnossian native land ; but now, O Ergoteles ! crowned at Olympia and twice at Pytho and at the Isthmus, you exalt, familiar with home fields, the hot baths of the Nymphs."

CHAPTER XII.

ODE TO THRASYBULUS OF ACRAGAS.

(SECOND ISTHMIAN ODE.)

OF all the Odes of Pindar that are preserved, perhaps the second Isthmian appears to reflect most distinctly and agreeably the personal character of the poet—to be most pointedly autobiographical as an expression that comes direct from the heart. It is addressed to Thrasybulus, but celebrates an Isthmian chariot victory gained by his father, Xenocrates of Acragas, brother of Theron. This was the third victory of Xenocrates; his first was the chariot victory celebrated in the sixth Pythian, which, like the present ode, was addressed to his son; it was gained B.C. 494, before Theron became tyrant. His second was obtained at the Panathenaic games, his charioteer being Nicomachus, who also gained for him the Isthmian victory, the occasion of the present ode, and the Olympic triumph of the year B.C. 476, for his brother Theron. The second Olympian, addressed to Theron on this victory, alludes not only to the Pythian but to this Isthmian victory of his brother, which, therefore, can be settled as at least somewhat earlier. Theron, at this date, was at the height of his

power, and in renewed alliance with Hiero, who married his niece, a sister of Thrasybulus, but he died B.C. 473, and, within a year, his son Thrasydæus was embroiled with Hiero, defeated by him, and expelled by the Agrigentines to perish in exile. It is clear, from the expressions of the ode, that it was written after this catastrophe had occurred, as well as after the death of Xenocrates. Of the fortunes of Thrasybulus, this second Isthmian Ode is our only evidence. He might naturally be protected through the revolution, by the closeness of his alliance with Hiero, but still it is clear that the dignity of his position was seriously affected by the downfall of the tyranny.

The present ode was sent by Pindar, apparently from central Greece, by a certain Nicasippus—probably the leader of a chorus—but we cannot be certain that Thrasybulus was even in Sicily, not to say Acragas. Pindar styles him his companion, comate or intimate friend, and the terms of the sixth Pythian also imply an affectionate friendship between them.

There is no mythical material introduced into this ode; its general purport is the assertion of the persistency of gratitude and affection, despite the worldly reverses of those who are properly their objects. The filial piety of Thrasybulus, in commemorating the glories of a deceased father, is an example for the continued sympathy of friends to whom Xenocrates, during his life, was a benefactor and a source of honour. Xenocrates himself made liberal recognition

of the services of his charioteer Nicomachus, and the Elean proclaimers of the Olympian truce, on a certain occasion, were as promptly reminiscent of the entertainments that had accompanied a victory at Olympia. It is high time that the Isthmian victory of Xenocrates had its due, at least its renewed commemoration. The reverses of the family ought not to cause it to be withheld; there is too much tendency to such sordid ways at the present time. The proverb that "money is the man" is as true now as when quoted by Alcæus, a saying of a certain Aristodemus whom some reckoned as one of the seven wise men, and is spoken of equivocally as an Argive or a Spartan. He spoke after the bitter experience of desertion of friends, upon loss of property,—after such a catastrophe as has overtaken the Emmenidæ. It has been conjectured that their Argive descent accounts for the citation of an Argive instance; probably there was further suggestiveness and connection behind; his ambiguous nationality as Argive or Spartan seems to imply that exile was added to pecuniary ruin, which would at once justify the inference that Thrasybulus now was living in exile from Acragas, than which nothing is more likely.

In the olden time poetry, unbought and spontaneous, was prompted instantly by affection; and the Muse, "No hireling she, no prostitute for gain," did not give a thought to remuneration. It is in this spirit that Pindar bids Thrasybulus disregard the envy and the

contemptuousness of men only worthy of contempt, and celebrate his father's past glory with unchecked heartiness. In this spirit he sends his ode, and urges the leader of the chōrus to do justice enthusiastically to his sympathies with his own familiar friend.

TO THRASYBULUS—FOR A VICTORY IN CHARIOT RACE
OF HIS FATHER XENOCRATES.

“ The men of the olden time, O Thrasybulus, who then mounted the chariot of the golden-filleted Muses, advancing with the glorious lyre, ever shot forth promptly their melodious boy-songs, whensoever one was beautiful and possessed the sweetest summer-bloom, remembrancing of fair-throned Aphrodite ; for never at all was then the Muse a lover of gain, nor a hireling, nor were honey-toned Terpsichore's sweet lays wont to be saleable, with silver-plated forefronts—they the delicate-voiced. But now does she set on to be observant of the speech of him of Argos, that goes very closely indeed by the pathways of the truth, who declares—‘ Money, money is the man, ’—when forsaken of his property at once and friends along with it.

“ You then are intelligent—I celebrate no unknown thing, the Isthmian victory gained by horses, vouchsafing which to your father Xenocrates, Poseidon sent a chaplet of Dorian parsley for himself to bind about his hair, and dignified the well-charioted man, light of the Agrigentines.

“ And in Crisa had far-swaying Apollo beheld him, and endowed him with brilliancy also there ; and adjusted with the glorious graces of the Erechtheidæ in gleaming Athens, no fault had he to find with the car-conserving hand of the steed-lashing man that he, Nicomachus, applied at happy moment with all the reins ; whom, too, did the heralds of the Seasons from Elis, the announcers of the truce of Jove, son of Kronion, recognize, having been sensible of certain hospitable services elsewhere ; and with sweetly breathing voice they greeted him as he fell into the lap of golden Victory in their own land—the land they style the precinct of Olympian Zeus, where the sons of Ænesidamus were blended with immortal honours.

“ For, indeed, not unacquainted are your dwellings, O Thrasybulus, with delighting celebrations, or with sweet-sounding lays ; for no steep it is, nor is the path precipitous, should any bring honours of the Heliconian goddesses to abodes of well-famed men. Whirling wide the discus, may I be able so far to dart as Xenocrates was possessor of a sweet nature beyond all others. Reverenced was he in consorting with the citizens, and a tender of horse-breeding conformably with Panhellenian usage, and the feasts of the gods he warmly greeted all ; nor about his hospitable board did ever swelling breeze cause his sail to strike, but with the summer airs he made passage to the Phasis ; and in winter sailing, towards the headlands of Nile.

“Let him not now, because envious anticipations are hanging about the minds of mortals, suppress in silence the paternal virtue, nor these my hymns ; inasmuch as I wrought them not for you for remaining idle.

“All this do thou report, O Nicasippus, when thou shalt reach mine own familiar friend.”

CHAPTER XIII.

ODE TO HIERO OF SYRACUSE.

(THE THIRD PYTHIAN.)

THE third Pythian ode celebrates a victory by Hiero in the Pythian games with his horse Pherenicus, the same which gained for him the Olympic victory celebrated in the first Olympic Ode, B.C. 472.

The scholiasts aver that Hiero gained two victories with Pherenicus in the single-horse races at successive Pythia, and date them as far back as B.C. 486 and 482 (Ol. 73. 3—74. 3), during the tyranny of his brother Gelon. Admitting that the same horse may have come in first again after an interval of four years, we cannot admit it as having been by any possibility victorious at Olympia after a lapse of fourteen; we must assume, therefore, either that Hiero had a second horse Pherenicus, or, as I think is more probable, that the scholiasts made some blunder.

The date of the Olympic victory of Pherenicus, B.C. 472, is unquestionable, and the most natural conclusion would be that it ran also at either the immediately preceding or the subsequent Pythia, B.C. 474 or 470.

It was in the Pythia of B.C. 474, that Hiero gained the four-horse chariot victory which is the subject of the first Pythian ; that this ode contains no allusion to a second victory gained on the same occasion, seems to exclude this date from our consideration. It is true that both Pyth. 1 and Pyth. 3 address Hiero as *Ætnean*, and as suffering in health, and are both sent from Europe, but the title and the suffering would equally furnish topics at a later date. Hiero suffered through life from gout and stone, and while the first ode distinctly refers to the foundation of *Ætna* as a novelty, the third employs the title only as accepted and current.

Again, there is a tone of far more serious despondency respecting the ailing of Hiero in this third Pythian ; so serious, indeed, that it would seem inappropriate unless a grave result were considered to be actually impending ; this directs us to the Pythia of the later date that seems open to us, B.C. 470, the last remaining open indeed, for Hiero died B.C. 467, one year before the next Pythia. He had gained a chariot victory at Olympia in the previous year—a great object of ambition—for which, unfortunately, there is no ode.

It is, therefore, quite consistent with the tone of the ode, that it should have been written between the dates of a Pythian victory, B.C. 470, and of an Olympic, B.C. 468.

There is one expression used by the poet in referring

to the victory of Pherenicus that seems to imply that it was not absolutely recent—*πότε*—"on a time." It may possibly not imply greater remoteness than the interval between the Pythia, B.C. 470, and some months anterior to the Olympia of B.C. 468—the absence of allusion to the Olympic chariot victory would decide it as anterior.

The poet distinctly specifies that he sends the ode from central Greece—in fact, from his home at Thebes, and the Ode to Agesias (Ol. 6), if indeed, rightly dated, proves him to have been at Olympia—at least away from Sicily—in the next, the Olympic year.

All considerations weighed, therefore, I am decided to regard as the most probable date of the ode, B.C. 469-8, within perhaps a year of the death of Hiero through the disorder which had long troubled him.

As regards the position of the affairs and family of Hiero, at the date of the ode, sadly as history is in default, we are not without some very welcome information. The date itself enables us to connect it with anticipations of the proximate demise of Hiero, and these are reflected throughout in the most definite manner by references to the painful disorders which were now threatening to bring on his speedy dissolution.

Deinomenes is not mentioned in this ode as he was distinctly in the first Olympian, dating after B.C. 472, but we know that he survived his father; the son of

Gelon and Damareta was also living—he may have been a youth of twelve or thirteen—with recognized claims to ultimate accession to power. Whether Chromius, his uncle by marriage, whom Gelon had appointed as one of his guardians in default of Polyzelus, was still living, is uncertain—perhaps we may say unlikely. He is referred to, in the ode Pindar wrote for him some years earlier, as already aged.

I am disposed to infer from topics of the third Pythian Ode—from the tone in which they are treated and the turns given to them,—that Damareta must have died some time previously ; I trace also a certain feeling of reference to her second husband Polyzelus, his catastrophe, and that of his adherents : these events, B.C. 477, were comparatively remote to be introduced into an ode that only appropriately addressed present and urgent interests ; but interest in them was necessarily revived by the more recent downfall of Thrasydæus, her brother, and reputed abettor of Polyzelus (B.C. 473), and still further, as I am bold to conjecture, by his condemnation and execution at Nisæan Megara, at a date still nearer to that of the ode. He had inherited from Theron a settled tyranny, having all the possible elements of permanence and prosperity, and within a year—his opponents would say no doubt through restless ambition, or greed of further aggrandizement, became embroiled with Hiero and involved himself in ruin, exile, and a violent death.

It is under these circumstances that Pindar, to cheer his Ætnean host, despatches an ode for the celebration of a Pythian victory. The god of the Pythian games is the health-god also, and, moreover, intimately associated with legends of the health-power Asclepius, whose story is at home in those same regions of Pelasgiotis—of Thessaly and the confines of Magnesia—from which the family worships and traditions of Hiero and his ancestry migrated intermediately to the Triopian Cape and thence to Sicily. Thus the two leading interests in the minds of poet and victor find their commissure. From Cirrha, says the poet, I send a Comus song for a Pythian victory, would that I could send from that same centre seat of the health-god—a health-giving leech also!

The particular mythus of the health-god that he then dilates upon, is determined by the associations that are beating in his mind respecting the thoughts and feelings among which his ode is to be recited. Health, alas! in the present case is beyond recovery, and death, perhaps, already has been busy, and is certainly impending; it remains to illustrate, by examples cited and suggested, how futile it is to forfeit enjoyment within reach by inordinate aspirations, and by fate, even of the heroes, that these catastrophes are inevitable for all, must be encountered with composure, especially by those who, like Hiero, have had so large a share of happiness, and are

not without blessings even now and enjoy such prospect of future renown.

The health-power, Asclepius himself, died, and so also did his mother in familiar region by lake Bœbeis, and by working of Apollo himself. In the development that is conceded to the story of Coronis, I cannot but recognize a reflection of that of Damareta ; Damareta, mother already by Gelon, marries Polyzelus to the detriment and displeasure of Hiero, and brings many into trouble in consequence, just as Apollo resents the intrigue of the pregnant Coronis with an Arcadian guest and punishes her, not without involving many others in destruction—"a single spark spreads devastation through a mountain forest."

Some explanation seems demanded for the notice that it was without sanction of her father that Coronis, daughter of Phlegyas, affected a second marriage, when, as the mythus runs, we have heard that she has already consorted with Apollo, and nothing said of her misconduct then in neglecting paternal leave. The anomaly in the mythus, it seems to me, must have been admitted to gain a parallelism with the modern fact, that Theron was no more a party than Gelon, not to say Hiero, to his daughter's contract or intrigue with Polyzelus.

But even so the offspring of Coronis survives committed to guardian Cheiron, as the son of Gelon still retained his prospects at Syracuse under appropriate guardianship.

It is alien to the very spirit of lyrical poetry to carry through an exact parallelism of mythic and contemporary story, name for name, and incident for incident. When the heroic theme is fairly launched we must not be surprised if the type is transferred in a second incident. So though Asclepius may at first represent the son of Damareta, the analogy of the temper by which he provokes his fate to that of the dissatisfied Coronis, calls up too vividly the ruin of the nearly related Thrasydæus, not to invite extension of the narrative. Had we fuller historical details, it is possible that we might draw closer the allusion to the destruction of the gratuitous and futile aspirations of Thrasydæus, in the joint destruction of Asclepius and of his patient.

The moral of the whole, of Coronis and of Asclepius, of Damareta or Polyzelus, and of Thrasydæus, is finally made convergent on the state of Hiero. "We must limit our desires to the consistent—we must recognize and consent to the conditions of our mortality;" and when Pindar (v. 61) breaks forth into a renunciation, on his own part, of extravagant longing for a life that should never end, his drift is only a half-masked exhortation to Hiero.

Peleus and Cadmus had destinies checkered with misfortune, how then not Hiero, happy as he has been. The citation of Peleus is justified as a Thessalian parallel to Hiero, while Cadmus may seem to be suggested by Theron, who claimed Cadmeian descent.

Cadmus, unhappy with part of his family, yet had the distinction of Jove's alliance with Thyone; shall we say, even as Theron's daughter Damareta married Gelon, or his niece Hiero. Hiero at least can still rejoice in his only son Deinomenes, whereas Peleus, his prototype, had to grieve for Achilles prematurely slain. "Let him make much of what favour is conceded by the happy gods." There may be also a secondary allusion to the fate of the heir of Theron.

At the conclusion of the ode the poet, as possessed and carried away by the spirit of his theme, ejaculates a series of general reflections—of personal resolutions and personal hopes—a double train of thoughts seeming to be struggling for expression together, and breaking out alternately. Again, however, what he avouches as a principle and resolution of his own, is in drift encouragement to Hiero; "enjoy what present good you have—it is and has been much indeed—and face with resolute manliness whatever necessarily must be. Nestor is said by Homer to have lived through three generations, and the same tale is told of Lycian Sarpedon—poetic tales. The true extension of life is, however, by poetic celebration, such as this present ode confers; even that can fall but to the lot of few."

Apollodorus is the authority for the prolonged life of Sarpedon, which supersedes many rather wild attempts of the continental critics, to vindicate the pertinence of his introduction here.

We may observe how the moral finally urged of

moderation of desires, influences the colour given to the mythical narratives all through. The trespass of Coronis, "so has it been with the passions of many," was discontent with present good, and yearning for the forbidden. The divine leech, Asclepius, erred by greed of gold, a not uncommon charge against physicians in antiquity; and the Epinician poet is wont, as held entitled, to insist pretty directly on the virtue of bounty. His further error in countervailing the decree of mortality and rescuing a man from death, when already he had died, is made occasion of urging the complementary moral of resignation—of acquiescence in the immutable order of the world, although, as so often, what is really injunction on another is addressed formally by the poet to himself, here with unusual pointedness.

The ode being sent by Pindar from Thebes, he adverts, as usual with him in such cases, to the journey; the poet invariably writes in his own first person, and hence it is fitting that when he is absent at the performance of his ode, that his absence, if not his whereabouts, should be noted. The chorus is but the mouthpiece of the poet, and hence, metaphorically, the despatch-staff on which the message is written, the cup into which the mingling currents of poesy are poured to be rendered again and distributed.

The Epidaurian legend told that Asclepius was exposed by his mother on the mountains, where a shepherd found him suckled by a goat, while his dog

guarded him ; as he approached a brilliant light shone forth from the infant. The anecdote reminds, in several respects, of the *Notte* of Correggio. Epithets of light and brightness are lavished in tradition upon the health-god (Aristoph. *Plut.* 640). See in Pausanias his interesting conversation with a Sidonian (2. 11) on the relation of the health-god to Apollo and the Sun, and the Seasons.

The "steps of Bœbias" are chorographically correct. Strabo describes the lake as shut in by peculiar hills. A fragment of Hesiod alludes to a particular pair.

Pausanias (9. 25) calls the fane by the ruins of the house of Pindar at Thebes, that of "Dindymene—a dedication of the poet." He happened to be there on the one annual day on which it was open, and saw the marble statue and throne of the goddess.

At Magnesia, on the Mæander, was a fane of Dindymene, mother of the gods. "The Magnesians," says Strabo, and the indication has curious significance, which some may follow out, "the Magnesians seem to be descendants of the Delphians who settled at Mount Didyma, in Thessaly, mentioned by Hesiod in connection with the Dotian Plain and Lake Bœbeis." (14 ; i, 40.)

The scholiast, who considers the maiden worshippers of the goddess to be Pindar's own daughters, Protomache and Eumetis, refers to her ascribed power over disease, especially over those mixed bodily and

mental disturbances for which music and exciting celebrations were considered appropriate elements of treatment.

This subject may be pursued by comparison of an interesting collection of passages and references in Lobeck's *Aglaophamus*, p. 639—42.

The prosperous and triumphant career of the tyrant of Syracuse, glorious throughout, however dashed with difficulties and pain, was now drawing to an end. How should poetry minister consolation to such trouble, when recovery of health, and even alleviation of pain, are beyond hope,—when ambition and display and luxury, are on the point of being stricken down together by irremediable death?

The poem at least ministers the true comfort of sympathy with past happiness—assurance of affectionate regard; it does not then pretend to undervalue the advantage and pleasantness of living, it rather encourages to make the most of what enjoyment continues within reach; beyond this it reminds of the fate of the unreasonably discontented, the rapacious, the unresigned, parallels the checkered destiny of man with heroic instances that appeal most directly to Hiero, and presenting as the happiest lot possible that which he has attained—high fortune in life perpetuated after death by poetic renown, repudiates as unworthy and inconsistent an insatiable appetite for life,—a desire to live for ever.

Assertion of the reasonable, the courageous, the

manly view of life and death from the point of view of pleasure and pain, could not have a finer expression than in this ode. So far its tone is noble, and yet, sooth to say, only noble and only elevated in relation to what are likely to be the feelings of a man of the world and an egotist, who is also somewhat of a sensualist. It was much, perhaps, that in addressing Hiero this height could be reached. On Hiero, I apprehend, it must be charged if the poet attempts no loftier. It were vain to strike chords to which there would be no response ; there was boldness and resolution in challenging, there was mastery of most refined art in evoking, response, where delicacy and decision the most exquisite were required. The lesson, to rise from Nature's board when Nature summons, thankful at least although not replete, and tranquil although unsated, would not be required by a man of lofty nature, but probably sets the very highest mark of virtue which it is worth while encouraging a thoroughly worldly-minded man to strive for or inspiriting him to take note of—and then but under hard necessity.

The mysteries of the Great Goddesses of which Hiero was the not very dignified hierophant, had nobler morals, appreciated better merits, and recognized as the great end and triumph of life, not mere success and enjoyment, even with the all-embellishing glory of future renown, but endurance for the right, and perseverance in piety, in justice. Such nobler topics are glanced at in fragments of the threnes, and

we have already found them presented with no circuitousness or hesitation to the appreciation of Theron, whom on this ground alone we may claim as of a superior type of character to the Syracusan.

TO HIEBO—VICTOR WITH THE SINGLE-HORSE.

“I would that Cheiron Phillyrides,—if becoming it be that this word of general prayer should by our tongue be uttered,—he the departed, were living now, the wide-swaying offspring of Cronus Uranides, and ruling in glens of Pelion,—creature uncouth, having temper kindly to man ;—such still as when he trained the mild artificer of limb-relieving anodynes, Asclepius, the hero, warder-off of diseases multifarious ; before completing her full term with whom by aid of mother-tending Eileithyia, the daughter of horse-famed Phlegyas, smitten by Artemis of the golden bow, went down from her chamber to the abode of Hades, by working of Apollo.

“Not vain turns out the displeasure of children of Zeus ; slightly accounting of him in waywardness of her mind, she affected other marriage in secret from her father, after consorting in love before with unshorn Phœbus, and while carrying the pure seed of the god : awaited she not the nuptial feast, nor the outcry of full-voiced hymenæals, after the manner that companion maidens of like age delight to gratulate in epithalamia at eve. But she, forsooth was enamoured of what she

had not ; so, too, it has been with the passions of many ; but that tribe among men is of all the most insensate, whosoever disdain what is at hand, glances wistfully after the distant, and chases the unsubstantial with effectless hopes. Bewilderment so mighty did the temper of fair-robed Coronis possess ; for she lay in couch of a stranger guest from Arcadia, nor scaped the watcher ; Loxias, abiding in sheep-accepting Pytho, lord of the temple, knew it by instant informant, relying on thought,—his mind that knoweth all things ; with falsehoods it meddles never, nor god nor man, either by deeds or designs can elude it. And knowing then the alien embrace of Ischys Eilatides and the unholy fraud, he despatched his sister eager with might irrepressible, to Lacerea ; for by the declivities of the Bœbian lake it was that she had lived a virgin, but an adverse dæmon diverting to mischief, overcame her ; and of dwellers around many were participant, and perished with her ;—fire starting forth from a single spark, has devastated a large forest on mountain side.

“ But when her kindred had laid the girl on the wood pile and vehement flame of Hephæstus had surrounded her, then spake Apollo : ‘ No longer can I endure in soul that mine offspring should perish by most miserable death in the grievous calamity of his mother.’ Thus said he, and at first step reaching the child, he snatched it from the corse,—the blaze of the pyre clave asunder for him,—and carrying off the boy,

he delivered him to the Magnesian Centaur, to instruct how to cure the variously distressful maladies of mankind ;—whom then, as many as came to him afflicted with self-grown ulcers, or wounded in limbs by the keen brass, or far-hurled stone or debilitated of body through heat of summer or by winter, he recovered, relieving some with soothing charms, and some after drinking composing draughts, or by binding medicaments in every direction around their limbs ; and some by cutting, he set right again.

“ But even skilfulness has been tethered to lucre ; and him did gold a-glitter on the palm seduce for magnificent payment to bring back from death a man already in its clutch ; but Cronion hurling with his hand through both of them swiftly, deprived their bosoms of breath, and the blazing thunderbolt dashed upon them fate.

“ It behoves one to crave from the deities what things are fitting with senses as of mortals, knowing what is at the foot, of what manner of assigned lot we are. Be not solicitous, dear heart of mine, for life immortal, but draw thou forth from means achievable.

“ But if Cheiron the discreet were still habitant of his cave, and sweet-voiced hymns of ours worked aught of charm upon his mind, already would I have persuaded him to supply for men of worth a leech of hot distempers,—some one, or called a son of Letoides (Apollo) or of his sire ; and cutting the Ionian sea would I have come by ship to Arethusa’s fount to my Ætnean host, to him who rules at Syracuse as king,

indulgent to citizens, bearing no grudge to the noble, to strangers an all-admirable father ; for whom should I disembarking have brought twin gladnesses,—golden Health, and a Comus song, a bright glory for wreaths of Pythian contests, which on a time the horse Pherenicus won, being best at Cirrha ;—I say that after passing over the deep sea I should have arrived a light for him more brightly beaming than any star of heaven. However I am prompt to add a prayer to the Mother, whom together with Pan before mine own portal, girls ever celebrate with nightly songs as awful goddess.

“ But if, O Hiero, thou art wise to apprehend the right crest (true pith) of sayings, thou knowest, learning from who went before, ‘along with one benefit a brace of afflictions do the Immortals to mankind distribute,’ matters these that the foolish are unable to endure with composure, but the noble only, turning the fair side without. And on thee attends apportionment of happiness ; for the mighty Destiny regards, if any man, the sovereign ruler of people ; full term of life, however, exempt from disasters obtained neither with Peleus Aeacides nor with godlike Cadmus ; yet these of all mortals whatever, are said to have had the summit of bliss, listen who did to the golden-filleted Muses carolling, on the mountain and in seven-gated Thebes ; the one when he wedded full-eyed Harmonia, and the other Thetis, famed daughter of wise-counselled Nereus ; and with both of them did the

gods partake the feast, and they beheld the kingly sons of Cronus on golden thrones and received marriage presents, and by grace of Zeus exchanging state out of earlier troubles, they set their hearts erect. But after a time again, one of them did three of his daughters bereave by their keen sufferings of a portion of his cheer; though yet came father Zeus to the coveted couch of white-armed Thyone; and of the other, the son, whom immortal Thetis brought forth an only child in Phthia, lost his life in war by bow-shot, and stirred the wailing of the Danaans as he was consumed by the fire.

“But whosoever of mortals holdeth in mind the way of truth, it is meet for him to enjoy what fortune arrives to him from the happy gods; at various times various will be the blasts of high-soaring winds; the bliss of men not for long time proceeds when it ensues with over-abounding affluence. Humble in humble conditions will I be and great in great; whatsoever divine hap is ever attendant on me will I cultivate in heart, and do it service to my best ability. If the god should extend to me luxurious riches, a hope I have that I may acquire for myself lofty renown in futurity.

“Of Nestor and of Lycian Sarpedon, talk of men, we know from poems loudly sounding, such as skilled artificers have framed; but by glorious songs it is that virtue becomes long-enduring, however, to few is their achievement of this easy.”

CHAPTER XIV.

ODE TO AGESIAS OF SYRACUSE.

(476 B.C. OR 468 B.C.)

(SIXTH OLYMPIC ODE.)

THE victory celebrated in this ode, the sixth Olympic, was gained in the race of mule-cars at Olympia by Agesias of Syracuse,—at what date is a matter for inquiry; it was during the reign of Hiero, and probably, from an allusion to Zeus Ætnæus, after Ætna had been founded, or at least planned. This, however, does not help us much, as Ætna was commenced in the very first of the three Olympic years comprised in the reign of Hiero.

We may at once exclude the intermediate festival, for the other Sicilian odes for victories in this year, imply that Pindar was at the time in Sicily, and this ode is despatched by him from Thebes. Excluding, then, B.C. 472, we have to arbitrate between 476 and 468 B.C.

The presumption is in the first instance against the latter date, when Hiero, one year before his death, gained his greatly desired Olympic chariot victory; it seems unlikely that the compliments to him, contained in an ode to his officer Agesias, for an inferior victory in the same festival, should not comprise some allusion

to this, his supreme happiness and success. This argument is, however, not conclusive for the earlier date, nor must too much weight be given to the victor not having caused himself to be proclaimed, like Chromius, an *Ætnæan*.

The uncertainty that we are thus reduced to deprives us of any chance of bringing light to the ode from precisely contemporary events, nor does it indeed appear to contain any allusions to enable us to fix an epoch.

Agesias, the son of Sostratus, belonged to the hereditary soothsaying clan of the *Iamidæ*, who were connected from old time with the altar of Zeus at Olympia, as prophets by fire-divination. Members of the clan occur attached in their proper function to the Dorians and the Heracleid kings of Sparta; the diviner of the Spartans at the battle of *Platæa* was *Tisamenus*, an *Iamid*,—or, rather, as Herodotus styles him,—an *Eleian*, a *Clytiad* of the clan of the *Iamidæ*. This description has been much discussed, and, indeed, boldly enough disputed, on the ground that a passage of Cicero (*de Divin.* 1; 41) distinguishes the *Iamidæ* and the *Clytiadæ* as a pair of clans of diviners; and as *Boeckh* points out, while the *Iamidæ* descended from *Apollo*, the *Clytiadæ* claimed descent from *Melampus*; this appears from an inscription on a statue of *Eperastus*, an Olympic victor, preserved by *Pausanias* (6; 17, 6).

This evidence, however, only certifies the confluence of the two families,—that some Iamids traced their ancestry up to either source. We might infer as much from the tale which the historian goes out of his way to preserve for us. Tisamenus the Iamid had sold his services to the Spartans on the unprecedented terms of exacting admission to full Spartiat citizenship, not only of himself, but, on their hesitation, of his brother also; “in imitation, as it seems, of Melampus, who, raising his price in the same way, obtained for his divining and purifying services one-third of the kingship of Argos for himself, and another for his brother.” (Herod. 9 ; 33).

These mingled mythical and historical incidents help to illustrate very importantly the line of contact of religious and political influences in Greece ; they are of the same character as the traditional origin of the power of Telines at Acragas, and contribute to explain the position of Agesias, who, according to a scholiast, was serviceable to Hiero both as a soldier and a diviner (v. 30). “They say that Agesias, as military comrade of Hiero, carried through many wars by his divination and his valour.” Herodotus relates, apparently as of his own knowledge, that the descendants of Callias, an Iamid soothsayer of Elis, were in his time in enjoyment of important endowments of land, assigned by the Crotoniats to their ancestor in recompense for services in their successful war against Sybaris (5 ; 44).

But beyond this, our analogy supplies an explanation of a problem that ought not to have escaped at least fair statement;—why did the poet—on what ground of personal interest of the victor—compare Agesias, as he does directly, with Amphiaraus? It is not enough that the comparison aptly fits the combination in either case of divining skill and military valour; legendary stores are replete with parallels as apt, but the selection of one out of many is ever infallibly due to some claim of the victor to ancestral alliance or connection with the hero. Now Amphiaraus the Melampod was, by the accepted genealogy (Paus. 6; 15, 6), grandfather of Clytius, ancestor of the divining Clytiadæ of Elis, and the introduction of him into the ode is proof sufficient that Agesias might be described as correctly as Tisamenus by Herodotus, as a Clytiad of the clan of Iamidæ.

According to Pindar, Iamus, the eponymus of the family, was son of the great god of oracles, Apollo, and born at Pharsana in Arcadia,—his mother being Evadne, herself a daughter of Poseidon and Pitana,—and brought from the banks of Eurotas to those of the Alpheus. Agesias himself has intimate relations with Arcadia; and Stymphalus, at its north-east angle, is his home no less than Syracuse, and he celebrates his victory at Stymphalus preparatory to doing so again in Sicily. The conclusion of the ode bespeaks from the sea-god a prosperous voyage for the comus—that is for the chorus, and yet the terms seem to have refer-

ence to the return of the victor also, and to be so chosen as to admit of being sung with equal propriety at either place.

What then were the circumstances of the adoption by Agesias of a Sicilian home? Apart from a particular indication we might infer that he took service originally with Gelon or Hiero, only as so many other Arcadians were wont to hire out their swords, with little consideration of the cause they were to be employed in. Pausanias furnishes us with an instance exactly in point, when at Olympia he comes upon dedications made by Phormis, who, migrating from Mænalus in Arcadia, attached himself to Gelon first, and then to Hiero, and did service in war that was so liberally rewarded, as to enable him, as we have seen, to make not only these but other dedications to Apollo at Delphi.

Agesias however seems, unlike Phormis, to be a descendant of earlier settlers at Syracuse, however he may have kept up his relations with Stymphalus; he is called by Pindar a joint founder of Syracuse (*συνοικιστής*), a term that can scarcely mean a mere colonist,—in this sense it would not carry the honourable distinction that is attached to it. Gelon, it is true, received heroic honours after his death from the Syracusans, and in a certain sense he may have been regarded as a founder of their city, that he increased so importantly by new population, in which case his officer or marshal, Agesias, might by a poet be allowed

the term of joint-founder. But the ode insists so much on the birth of his ancestor Iamus, from a mother who had been herself transferred in infancy to the fostering care of a stranger in a foreign seat, that we cannot escape from the applicability of the parallel to his descendants, a parallel clenched by the declaration that his maternal ancestors were Arcadian. Pindar as usual vindicates the liveliness of his sympathy by intimating that he is in the same circumstances as the victor,—by averring poetically that he also was, by the mother's side, of Arcadian descent, for Theba was daughter of the Bœotian Asopus by Metopa, daughter of the Stympalian stream Ladon.

We conclude, therefore, that Agesias claimed descent from a colonist who took part in the original foundation of Syracuse by Archias of Corinth, and probably a distinguished part in virtue of his hereditary sacred functions. But Agesias in this case would have been a citizen of Syracuse, of the class of Gamori before the annexation by Gelon, and may, as we have conjectured of Chromius, have opposed him first on the part of the united city at the battle of Helorus; before that revolution which expelled his party from the city and threw them upon the support of Gelon, and opened the way for their personal advancement by furthering his designs.

According to the scholiast, the Syracusans put Agesias to death, when they brought the dynasty to an end shortly after the death of Hiero.

One great source of interest for an Olympic victor, as we have seen so often, was the glory that he communicated to his native country; in the present instance the victor had two countries, and it is a leading purpose of the ode to distribute glory for this duplicate relationship,—to reconcile the celebration of either with avoidance of awakening jealousy. The double endowment of Amphiaraus, an ancestral example of combined prophetic and military distinction, introduces the mythical examples that consecrate transferences of home and settlement; Evadne is transferred from Eurotas to the Alpheus; her son is tended with solicitude by a foster-father, and by divine guidance, when the time comes that he is ambitious of settlement and sway, he passes again from Arcadia to the Kronian Mount at Olympia, and there Poseidon specifies a certain binary character in the privileges he confers upon him.

The joint relation to Arcadia and Syracuse is directly compared at the end of the ode to reliance on a pair of anchors, and the columns of a vestibule in its opening lines are in fact a pair also;—the usual two columns in antis before an entrance.

Besides the Olympic divination that Agesias shared with his Iamid ancestors, there is an intimation that his Arcadian ancestors on the mother's side had also some special priestly relation to Hermes, again a conjoint function.

I could almost believe that a suppressed sentiment

of reference to the hybrid parentage of the mules with which the victory was gained, was working in the poet's mind. Some default of dignity attached to the contest with mules, which indeed was ultimately abolished. Simonides protected it by the artifice, smiled at as much as admired, of addressing "the daughters of stormfooted steeds,"—making them horses as far as possible.

There is some secret in Pindar's citation of the vituperative hog, as proverbial type of a Bœotian; I can only conclude that he was defending the victor against some similar insult, while affecting to be concerned with self-vindication; as much is implied in the accumulation of honourable types that he applies at the same time to Æneas, the chorus leader.—I leave this sentence as it was written; the explanation appears below.

There is something obscurely suggestive also in the combination of this defence with an injunction to the leader of the chorus, Æneas, to celebrate Parthenian Hera (Juno). Dissen conjectured that reference was intended to some poem addressed to the goddess that was sent with this ode.

Hera was worshipped at Stymphalus as Parthenian, or virgin, as wife and as widow, and in the same characters connected with parallel legends and very remarkable rites in her temple at Plataea in Bœotia, where Thebes was admitted to take part in her festivals, an argument for the early date of their

institution (Cf. Paus. 9 ; 2, 5 : 9 ; 3, 2 : and 8 ; 22, 2.) Hera, says Pausanias, who had been brought up at Stymphalus by a son of Pelasgus, had there three temples and as many titles. She was Pais,—equivalent of Pindar's Parthenian ; Teleia, as wife of Zeus ; and Chera, widow, as separated on some account or other from Zeus, and returning to Stymphalus. At Plataea Hera Teleia is associated with Hera Nympheumene, whose retirement from her husband Zeus out of jealousy, and reconciliation under ludicrous circumstances, were represented in a pomp and with feastings and festivities.

We have now but to look a little way forward, and the common characteristics of Arcadians and Bœotians guide us to the explanation of Pindar's seemingly gratuitous allusion to the proverbial coarseness of Bœotians.

The Arcadians lay in antiquity under a current imputation of uncouthness and heavy feeding as commonly as the Bœotians, and thick-wittedness in both cases was ascribed to the influence of either fogs or inclemency of climate. Allusions to Arcadian coarse feeding and squalor are common long after Pindar, and doubtless must have been still more pungent and irreverent at the earlier date. An early oracle quoted by Herodotus calls them "acorn-eating men," and this provender was said by Pausanias to have succeeded even coarser diet—leaves, herbage, roots ; and their costume, invention of their philanthropic king

Pelagus, made them, if possible, still more like swine—consisting of the skins of the creatures, such as was still in use among the poor population of Eubœa and Phocis. (Paus. 8, 1, 2; and refer to Plin. Hist. Nat. 4, 6, 10.)

Athenæus has ample quotations (p. 148) descriptive of their unclean habits during meals and at the sacred rite that should decently conclude them (p. 148 and 607), and of their disposition to regard gluttony and manliness as interchangeable. Philostratus at last, in the life of Apollonius Tyana brings the word provoked so constantly, fairly out and declares the Arcadians to “be the most boorish of men—piglike” (swinish *συνθήεις*) (8, 7; p. 12; 346).

It is not to be wondered at therefore, that when an Arcadian was to be celebrated in strains of elevated poetry by a Bœotian, it was worth while to parry a sneer, which the poet does gallantly by putting himself in the forefront—vindicating loudly his own superiority to the cavil, and implying the still greater superiority of his friend by silently assuming him to be unaffected.

The contrast between the genius of Pindar and the proverbial hebetude of his countrymen is scarcely more marked than between the coarseness of Arcadian manners and the sedulous and successful cultivation of Music ascribed to them, even to the legal enforcement of the practice of singing upon youth up to an age far beyond childhood. Arcadia, no doubt, like

every other district of Hellas of like extent, comprised in early times various very marked types of character ; —these seem to have run through gradations intermediate between swinelike boorishness and charming rustic simplicity,—between blankness of all refinement and susceptibility of natural passion and the sentiment of its musical expression. (Cf. Polybius and Athenæus 626.)

TO AGESIAS OF SYRACUSE—VICTOR WITH THE
MULE-CAR.

“ We will set golden columns firm, placing them for supports of the well-walled vestibule of the thalamus as if for a beautiful palace ; it behoves to make the front of the work at its commencement far-resplendent ; and if there be an Olympic victor, a minister also of the oracular altar of Jove in Pisa and fellow-colonist of glorious Syracuse, from what hymn should that man, lighting upon unenvious citizens among much-desired songs, shrink away ? Let the son of Sostratus then know himself as having his fortunate foot in this same sandal. Achievements quit of risk are respected neither among men nor in hollow ships ; but many make mention if aught noble has been done with toil.

“ For thee, O Agesias ! this praise is ready which Adrastus spake with justice off his tongue, of the seer Amphiaræus Oicleides, when the earth had snatched hold both of him and of his gleaming horses ; after seven pyres of corpses had completion at Thebes,

did Taläonides speak certain words on this wise: 'I miss the eye of my army: good he, both as diviner and with the spear in conflict.' This also is forthcoming for the man of Syracuse, lord of the comus. Not quarrelsome I, nor being over-prone to contentiousness, I will yet even, swearing a great oath, bear this testimony for him plainly, and the melodious Muses will give me commission.

"But Phintis! yoke thou now for me the might of the mules with speed, that we may set forward the car on a clear track, and that I may arrive even to the men's ancestry; for they above all others know to lead the way, since they have received crowns at Olympia: becomes it, therefore, to throw open for them the gates of hymns; and to-day it behoves me to come betimes to Pitana, by the ford of Eurotas—she who is said, having commingled with Kronian Poseidon, to have brought forth pansy-tressed Evadne; she concealed her maiden travail by her enfoldings, and at the determined month, despatching attendants, she bade them give the babe to be reared to the hero Eilatides, who ruled over Arcadian men at Pharsana, and had his lot to dwell on the Alpheus. Brought up there, she first tasted of sweet Aphrodite with Apollo; nor did she, disguising the seed of the god, elude for the whole time Æpytus, but he with keen resolution, keeping under his rage in his soul, went off to Pytho on the errand to consult the oracle concerning this unendurable afflic-

tion; but laying aside her zone of purple woof, and her silver pitcher, below the dusky brake she brought forth a boy divinely intelligenced. The Golden-locked stationed Eleutho beside her, kindly counselled, and the Fates together; and from the womb and yearned-for birth-pang came forth Iamus at once to light. Him in her anguish left she on the ground; but by counsels of the gods, two serpents, azure-eyed, nourished him, fostering with the unharmful venom of bees. And when the king as he drove arrived from rocky Pytho, he asked all in the house for the boy to whom Evadne should have given birth; for he said that from Phœbus, as his sire was he born, and was to be a diviner for dwellers upon earth, pre-eminent among mortals, and that his generation should never fail. Thus declared he: but they avouched that him—now five days old—they had neither heard of nor beheld; for he was hidden away in rushes and brakes impervious—bathed over his tender body with yellow and empurpled rays of pansies; wherefore his mother decided that for all time he should be styled by this immortal name. And when he had received the ripeness of charming gold-crowned youth, descending at night under open sky into mid-Alpheus, he called on wide-forced Poseidon, his ancestor, and the bow-bearing guardian of heaven-founded Delos, soliciting for his head some people-tending distinction; and the paternal voice responded and sought him out. ‘Arise, child! following my

voice, come hither to an all-common place.' And they came to the precipitous rock of lofty Kronium. There he assigned to him a double treasure of divination; on one part, to hear the voice unknowing of falsehoods, and when bold-contriving Hercules, sacred shoot of the Alcidæ, arriving, should find a mortal-thronged festival for his sire and the greatest institution of games, then again bade he him establish an oracle on the very summit of Jove's altar.

"From that time has the tribe of the Iamidæ been high-renowned among the Hellenes. Prosperity too followed; and holding virtue in honour, they come upon a conspicuous path. Of each man fact gives token; carping, on the part of the others who are envious, impends over those upon whom Charis (Grace) sheds beauty well-renowned as they drive, the first, about the twelfth course.

"But if, in verity, Agesias, thy maternal sires, dwelling below the mountains of Cyllene, have often piously endowed with many supplicating sacrifices, the herald of the gods who owns the games and allotment of prizes, and who honours well-manned Arcadia, it is he, O son of Sostratus! along with his deep-thunderous sire, who dispenses this thy fortunateness.

"I have a seeming of a shrill whetstone on my tongue; and my Stymphalian mother's mother, Metopa, draws me along, willing, with lovely flowing airs,—who brought forth steed-scourging Theba, of whom I drink the pleasant wave as I entwine a varied

hymn for spear-wielding men. Urge on now thy fellows, Æneas! first to resound Parthenian Hera, and then to know whether with true speech we escape the ancient reproach, 'Bœotian swine;' for thou art a right messenger, despatch-staff (scytala) of the fair-haired Muses, sweet crater (mingling-vase) of loud-voiced songs. Bid them make mention of Syracuse and Ortygia; governing which with pure sceptre, devising whatsoever things are equitable, Hiero does service to ruddy-footed Demeter and the festival of her daughter with white steeds and the might of Ætnean Jove. And sweet-speaking lyres and dance-songs recognise him; may time that advances, not shatter his prosperity; and may he with welcoming kindness receive the comus-song of Agesias as it arrives homeward and from home, from the Stymphalian walls, leaving the mother of fair-fleeced Arcadia.

"In stormy night a pair of anchors are good to cast forth from the rapid ship; may the indulgent god confer glorious career for these and for those also. O sea-ruling lord! spouse of gold-spindled Amphitrite, grant a direct voyage exempt from troubles, and enhance the delighting blossom of my hymns."

CHAPTER XV.

ODES TO PSAUMIS OF CAMARINA.

(FOURTH AND FIFTH OLYMPIC ODES.)

THE two short Olympic odes, 4th and 5th, written for Psaumis of Camarina, have reference to a single victory, like the two odes addressed to Theron; I do not, however, find it easy to distinguish here an appropriateness to particular occasions, whether of different importance or solemnity or locality.

The Scholiast says that the victory was gained as late as 452 B.C. (Ol. 82), thus fifteen years after the death of Hiero, and towards the end of the life of the poet. The contents of the ode confirm the date; Camarina, which had been destroyed by Gelon, was restored by Gela after the subversion of his dynasty (Ol. 79, 4; 461 B.C.), or nine years before the victory. The ode seems to imply that the rebuilding was still in progress, which is consistent enough, as cities are not built in a day, especially by free communities.

Psaumis is named the son of Acron, and is indicated as advanced in years, and the father of sons,

or still hopeful to be so ; wealthy, as implied in the contests he takes part in, and hospitable.

What connection may have justified the compliment implied in comparing the Argonaut Erginus with Psaumis does not appear in the absence of information as to his genealogy. The scholiasts vary in their accounts of Erginus : they agree that he gained the prize over the winged Boreads, but one says he was prematurely grey ; the other makes him only grey in the ordinary course of nature. Pausanias (9, 37) quotes an oracle which recommended him, stricken in years as he was, to adventure on a young wife for the chance of energetic age making up for lost time, and prospering in his after thought. He had been too much engaged in restoring the wealth and prosperity of Orchomenus—sorely damaged by Hercules, even as Camarina by Gelon—to give earlier thought to futurity and population.

For the rest the very simple odes explain themselves. I refer to my Essay in the Numismatic Journal on the coins of Camarina, which are peculiarly interesting. The river Hipparis, which passed through the lake of Camarina to the sea, is represented on one of them as a youthful horned head, surrounded by a type of the lake, a circleted wave ornament.

TO PSAUMIS OF CAMARINA—FOR VICTORY WITH THE
MULE-CAR.

(FOURTH OLYMPIC ODE.)

“Zeus! supreme driver of the unwearied-footed thunder, as thy wheeling seasons have sent me a witness of loftiest contests with chant to ever-varied lyre,—and when friends are having success the worthy greet the sweet tidings instantly,—do thou, O son of Cronus, who possessest Ætna, wind-swept load of dire hundred-headed Typhon, receive this comus-song for an Olympic victory by favour of the Graces, a most longeval light of wide-swaying merits; for it has come in mule-car of Psaumis, who, crowned with Pisan olive, hastens to rouse up renown for Camarina.

“May the divinity be favourably minded to desires ensuing, for I laud him as prompt exceedingly in breeding of horses, and delighted in universal hospitalities, and inclined of sincere purpose to city-loving quietude.

“I will not stain my tale with a falsehood; the test of mortal men is trial,—which rescued the son of Clymenus from slight of the Lemnian women; victor of the race in brazen arms he bespake Hypsipyle, advancing for the crown;—‘Such am I in speed; and hands and heart are a match; even on young men grey hairs often grow beside the appropriate period of life.’”

TO PSAUMIS OF CAMARINA—FOR VICTORY WITH THE
MULE-CAR.

(FIFTH OLYMPIC ODE.)

“ Daughter of Ocean! receive with smiling heart the sweet bloom of lofty deserts and of crowns that are from Olympia, and gifts of the unweary-footed mule-car and of Psaumis; who, promoting thy people-rearing city, Camarina, has honoured the six twin altars with vastest festivals of the gods, by sacrifices of oxen for the five days’ contentions of games with horses and mules and the single horse; and having conquered, to thee has dedicated graceful glory, and has proclaimed his father Aeron and the newly inhabited site.

“ Coming, O city-sustaining Pallas! from the delightful quarters of Enomaus and Pelops, he sings the holy grove of thine and the river Oanis and the district lake, and the sacred sluices also by which Hipparis waters the host, and rapidly fits together a lofty-membered grove of permanent chambers, and brings this society of citizens out of inconvenience into light. Labour and expense contend ever for aid of virtues towards a work involved in hazard; and those who are successful seem, even to their citizens, to be wise.

“ O Saviour Zeus! high in clouds, dweller on the Cronian mount and honouring the broad-flowing Alpheus and sacred Idæan cave, I come a suppliant of thine, sounding with Lydian pipes, to besecch thee to

embellish this city with glorious manlinesses; and that thou, Olympic victor! delighting in Poseidonian horses, mayest carry on an old age cheerful to the end, —thy sons, O Psaumis, standing beside you.

“But if any fosters healthful happiness, sufficing in possessions and adding thereto fair fame, let him not search about to become a god.”

THE END.