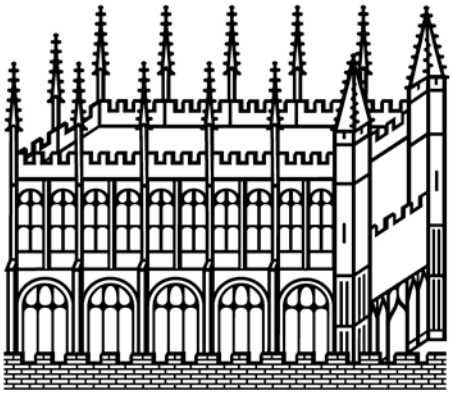


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PREFACE.

In presenting a new edition of the History of Greece, contained in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana, it has been my object, by a brief view of the influences of Mythology upon the early Greeks, to convey a preliminary idea of their heroic and legendary belief. To this succeeds a compendious notice of the Mysteries, Oracles, and Games of that ingenious people. Immediately in connection with this part of the work, will be found illustrative notices of the Indo-collegiate system, from which, undoubtedly, the Hellenic mythological group was modelled. As the nature of the work necessarily precluded an extension of this important investigation, I have reserved for a distinct volume the Ante-Homeric History of Greece, which will, unaided by any rationalizing process, appear for the first time divested of its mythical colouring, and a principle be laid down by which its fable may be separated from its history. I have treated the Legends of the Gods, in accordance with the προιμία of the Homerid of Chios, presenting a metrical version of the most remarkable passages: the originals will be found at the foot of each page. The same method has been pursued with the extracts from Homer, Æschylus, Sophoclēs, and the "Legends of Heroes;" the only exceptions being occasional passages from Pope, Francis, Cooke, and Fawkes.

The papers of Sir T. N. Talfourd, the treatise on the Social Condition of the Greeks by the Rev. J. B. Ottley, and the writings of other distinguished authors, greatly enhance the value of the work; while the illustrative portion is drawn from the most authentic sources.

With respect to the introduction of the Greek quantities, occurring in the names of gods, heroes, or historical personages, the object has been, not to supply the place of a prosodial lexicon, but to give, up

to a certain point, a general idea of the Greek system of quantities, in an English dress. This plan has been pursued till the reader is supposed to be tolerably versed in its ordinary application; after this point, the prosodial marks have been gradually withdrawn; and though some few deviations will occasionally be noticed, they are not of such a nature as to inconvenience the reader, who will have already gone through copious examples of a similar formation.

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The article on the Peisistratidæ, and the articles constituting CHAPTERS IX., X., and XII., were contributed to the first edition of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana by writers who are unknown to the present Editor. They have all been revised for this edition.



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CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY VIEW OF THE INFLUENCE OF MYTHOLOGY OVER THE EARLY GREEKS.

Ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,
Ἴδμεν δ', εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν, ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι. *Hesiod.*

'Tis ours to speak the truth in language plain,
Or give the face of truth to what we feign. *Cooke.*

Greek facility in receiving legend.

WHO that considers the masculine vigour of the Hellenic mind and its political energies, would imagine that so constituted, it could place faith in untested fables, the wild creations of unrestrained imagination? —that the subtle genius of Themistocles and the intellectual majesty of Pericles, would placidly hail traditions discarded by the historic mind as transparent fictions? Yet so it was. The same judgment that so profoundly harmonised with the severe grandeur of the Olympian Jove, enthroned by Phidias amid the marshalled columns of the national temple, bowed to the legend of Aphrodīte, the foam-born Queen of Love, and the genesis of monsters, endowed with godlike powers, but debased by monstrous passions. Strange as this anomaly may appear, it is reconcilable with the noble sincerity of the Hellenic attributes. The early Greek was essentially a creature of imagination, by which he was captivated before his judgment was formed. To surrender himself to her glowing charms, without a doubt of her sincerity

—to draw arguments for her truth from the pliant melody of his language[1]—such was his delight; but whilst he thus wooed and won Tradition, History was lost to him.

Its effects upon the Greek.

Endowed with the most active sensibilities, the Greek sought to satisfy the ardent aspirations of his devotional and warlike spirit; he yearned to be enrolled amongst the band of heroes whom their valour had exalted to the dazzling halls of Olympus. How deeply the grand reality of this reward was impressed upon the most powerful intellect, is shown by the awful apostrophe of Demosthenes to the heroes who fell at Marathon, and the breathless attention which then absorbed the very soul of the Athenian.

Sources of his worship.

But if the genius of the Greek was profoundly emulative, it was not less devotional. The first-born son of Hellas found his scripture in unclouded skies, and in the solemnities of night, which, expounded by the high-priest of Poetry,[1] taught him to adore the golden-haired Phœbus, and the silvery brightness of Artemis. To his sensitive imagination, the fairest objects of nature became invested with a living personality. Local habitation, linked with presiding spirituality, actuated his glowing fancy. The Naiads, with their fountains; the Dryads and their groves; the Fawns, Satyrs, and Oreades, with their mountains; these he indissolubly associated in a creation that teemed with wonders; and even the starry cope was peopled with visionary beings, the offspring of legend.

Powerful religious agency of Homer.

There is no instance of the agency of mind in moulding a nation to uniformity of worship parallel to that produced by the great Epic poet of Greece. At his awakening touch the world of gods and of heroes sprang into a vitality so perfect and so noble, as to command the faith and homage of myriads. But the true secret of the godlike sway of Homer, lay in those sympathies which he implanted in the bosom of frail humanity, and then touched with life. The love of country; the love of kindred;[2] the love of glory; these were the influences that made his countrymen willing and devout believers in the mythology he had imagined; whilst the dignity with which he clothed his creations gave to them the charm of reality, and stamped them an everlasting model of intellectuality.

But it is not sufficient to consider Homer merely as the moral benefactor of his species. To say, that the great poet gave to his countrymen a religious system, and to the world an heritage of glorious imaginations, would be to mete out but scanty praise. No poetry of

[1] We shall often have occasion to notice the fondness for bending language to suit mythology exhibited by the Greeks.

[2] Καὶ γάρ τίς Θ' ἵνα μῆνα μίνων ἀπὸ ἦς ἀλοχοιο
Ἀσχαλάᾳ σὺν νηῒ πολυζύγῳ, ὄντιν' ἄελλαι
Χειμέριαι εἰλέωσιν, ὀρινομένη τε θάλασσα.

Absent from her whom in each thought he sees
One month alone, who feels not ill at ease,
Tossed by the wintry storms and rolling seas?

equal extent is marked with less ideality than his—none so strongly with breathing life and actual, recognisable, personality; abstract sentimentalisms are rare,—the scene is full of animated forms, instinct with passion. They seem even to us to be less pictures than substantial existences. How admirable the models which they presented to the statuary! and what a noble material did Hellas dedicate to eternise the grandeur of the poet's conceptions! Hard by, on one side of Athens, lay the marble quarries of the lucid Pentelic and the veined Carystian; and, on the other side, the snow-white Megarean. And now pregnant with the majesty of Homer, Attica, the mighty mother of civilization, gave forth from her marble womb, a second birth of heroes stamped with the grandeur of their glorious parent.[1] Thus did Homer in after ages invest with an imperishable reality those awful gods of his country, who took cognizance of broken vows; and through the sublime ministration of Pericles, made them ever present to the eye of guilt. But if the creative intellect of the Homeric sculptor filled with substantial life the noble forms bequeathed to him by the great poet, his most subtle energies were to be tasked in embodying conceptions opposed to nature—the Sphinx, the Centaur, the Satyr, were demanded by the national faith, and the struggling laws of anatomy were to be vanquished: the effort was great, but it was successful; and eighteen centuries have passed in admiration of the achievement. But there is yet another peculiarity in the Homeric system that distinguishes it from the corporate religious crafts of Egypt and of India;—that system cast its hallowed spell over country and over home, making a sanctuary of each hearth, and each father the high-priest of his domestic temple.[2] How dear to the men of Marathon must have been a country such as this! Nor was this all; by linking humanity with the deity from whom the heroic nature derived its being, the poet held out to the warrior the most exalted reward. He might now aspire to emulate the mighty achievements of those heroes, from whom his faith taught him that he had sprung; whose deeds of high emprise glowed before his vision in the war scenes of

Characteristics of his poetry.

Effects of his poetry upon sculpture.

Individuality of the Hellenic religion.

Its effects upon warlike enterprise.

[1] The Greeks, who were singularly significant in the application of terms, styled a metrical composer ποιήτης, *a maker*, or *inventor*, highly descriptive of the creative power of the art; the old term in Homer's day was ἀοιδος, "songster;" Herodotus is the first who uses the term "inventor." The genius of the East is recognised by styling the poet شایر (shāir) "*one who knows*," reminding us less of the imaginative invention, than the recitation of previous stores of song, while the Hindoos, whose classic language is based upon a poetic structure, give him the synonym of "wise," or learned, कवि (kavi). It is singular that this should likewise signify the "Sun;" a similar mental process amongst the Greeks must have connected the god of Day and the god of Poetry. With the Celts, he was the "fear dana," or *learned man*.

[2] Hence the general alarm at Athens, in the time of Alcibiades, on the mutilation of the Hermæ, when not only the priests, but every individual, felt terrified at the impending vengeance of the gods.

Mæonides. It was this that exalted the dauntless spirit of Miltiades,[1] and inspired with resistless energy the lofty daring of Themistocles. The gods, from whom they had descended, were from Olympus gazing upon them in the battle-field, and how could they fail? Were they not those very deities, who had been the tutelary guardians of their ancestors on the plains of Troy? It must be so; they doubted not the glorious record of the inspired bard of Ionia.

Greek belief in the Homeric genealogy.

We have seen that the Greek held the Homeric tissue of genealogy a sacred truth, and again and again was he confirmed in this cherished faith by the tangible evidences of place and substance; and these evidences bore on nature human and divine: and so lifelike was the impression made upon the Hellenic mind by the princely poet who bestowed upon Greece its great legendary charter, that it received, with the same grateful confidence, the privileged enlargements of his successors.

Application of the Hellenic faith.

On the towering summit of Acrocorinthus the Greek could realize the daring acts of Medea; near the well Callichorus, at Eleusis, he saw the very stone[2] on which the goddess Dēmēter, worn down with weariness and grief, rested on her reaching Attica, in search of her unhappy daughter Persephone;[3] while round the well his eye of faith could still discern the Eleusinian women singing hymns to the goddess and performing their chorus.[4] These gracious evidences of his faith ranged up to the most venerable ancestry of the gods; for the very stone which Cronos swallowed in lieu of Jupiter, was to be seen near the temple of Delphi.[5]

> Jove planted firmly 'mid the expansive earth
> The signal prodigy near Phœbus' shrine!
> (Marvel to mortals of a future birth)
> Beneath Parnassus' rifts, in Pytho the divine!

Legendary faith in the historic ages.

The public and decided testimony as a thing not to be disputed, of the high functionary of the Ephesian temple[6] as to "the image that fell down from Jupiter," demonstrates the firm popular belief in these relics, even in that historic age. Nay, the enlightened Xenophon observes, that as the returning expedition of the Ten Thousand sailed along the coast between Sinope and Heracleia, it beheld the very anchoring-

[1] Miltiades traced his origin to Ajax. The Roman lyrist had the same idea of the tutelary supervision of the national deity—

> Sive neglectum genus et nepotis,
> Respicis, auctor. *Hor. 2. Od*

[2] Ἀγέλαστος πέτρα (triste saxum). [3] Apollodor. Biblioth. i. 5.

[4] Pausan. i. 38, § 6.

[5] Τὸν μὲν Ζεὺς στήριξε κατὰ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης
Πυθοῖ ἐν ἠγαθέῃ, γυάλοις ὑπὸ Παρνήσσοιο,
Σῆμ' ἔμεν ἐξοπίσω, θαῦμα θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι.
Hes. Theog., 498.

[6] Acts xix. 35. The term "Neōkoros," originally "temple-sweepers" (translated "High Clerk"), soon became applied to priestly functionaries of high rank, holding the supreme superintendence of the treasures lodged in the temple, as well as the chief direction in templar arrangements. Plat. vi. p. 769.

places of the Argo;[1] while in the historical ages, the identical olive tree, planted by Minerva, could be proudly pointed to by the Athenian. Nor were the Phocians less confident in their national faith: they truly were much favoured by the gods; for they showed to Pausanias the historian (who settled at Rome B. C. 170), several hardened lumps of clay, the leavings of Prometheus when employed in making man.[2] This current of belief, appears to have run freely even in the time of Arnobius (A. D. 300), who speaks of a rock in Phrygia, whence Pyrrha and Deucalion had taken the stones that reproduced mankind;[3] while at Athens, within the temple of the Olympian Jove, a large cavity in the earth was to be seen, through which the waters of the deluge had retired.[4]

Phocian faith.

Athenian relics.

To these instances of national faith not a few might be added: these will suffice to demonstrate the tendencies and the products of the Homeric writings, through the continued agency of Hesiod and the Cyclic poets.

Nor were the Greeks indebted to Homer merely for the sublimity of their statuary, and the whole cycle of their imitative arts: his narratives were often weighty judgments, solemnly impressive to moral consciousness; often did the frequent wanderings of his heroes in strange lands, amid foreign rites, inculcate a national toleration to the devotional practices of other realms; a toleration nowhere more fully evinced than in the writings of Herodotus. The advice, the friendly intercourse, the powerful tutelage of the guardian god is ever vouchsafed to the pious hero;[5] but then piety is the condition—injustice would forfeit his claim. One of the most amiable traits in the theogony of Homer (if to him we may apply so artificial a term) is the general benevolence of his deities towards mankind; they condescend to visit the human race in the form of men; they wander among them, share their banquet or their business, and take pleasure in their amusements, while they are gratified in being presented with the same gifts that please frail mortality.

Moral tendencies of Homer.

Religious tendencies of the Poet.

In honour of these divinities they indulged in the festivities of dance or song; hence their worship assumed a cheerful character. Such principles are laid down by Homer in no dull didactic form; they spring gracefully and unbidden from his narrative. But that which was the condition of their success, that which made them enter the very soul of the nation, was the impressive nature of their form and growth. Their wide dissemination *orally*, the frequency of their repetitions, attended by the charm of song and lyre, proved a wider and more efficient publication than could possibly have been attained at that time by the artificial form of writing. And to what an exalted height of valour was the Greek thereby elevated! His national poetry told him of men who entered the conflict with the

[1] Ἔνθα ἡ Ἀργὼ λίγιται ὁρμίσασθαι, vi. 2, *alias* v. 10.
[2] Pausan. x. 4, 3.
[3] Gent. c. v. p. 158.
[4] Pausan. i. 18, 7.
[5] *Vide* Odyssey, *passim*.

Warlike and political tendencies of the Homeric writings.

gods themselves, over whom they were victorious;[1] how then should he fear the mortal enemies of his country! It was of twofold power: while it raised the noblest aspirations of the Attic freeman, it sang the glories of a lofty lineage; and so deep was the impression on the Hellenic mind, that in the very whirlwind of the democratic element, this column of antiquity remained unshaken. But we must pass onward to view the continuous working of enlarged legend upon the Hellenic national character and worship, through the successors of Homer, whose writings the reader will find amply discussed in another volume.[2]

Expansion of Legend.

In every country which lays claim to a native literature we find that, as tradition passes onward from oral to written legend, there ensues a series of national text-books: these, in their turn, form the basis for more expansive and discrepant legends; which again falling into the hands of dramatic writers are subjected to another stage of mutation. Hence, in Greece, the Homeric songs formed this national text-book—whence, 1st. Hesiod; 2nd. The Cyclic Poets; 3rd. The Logographers;[3] 4thly. The Dramatists—largely drew materials, expanding, varying, and adapting the legends to harmonise with locality or existing ideas; whilst in others, as in Hesiod, they assumed a form more didactic and classified. The same process has wrought in India, where the Mahabharatha, the great Epic poem of that country, has been much varied in the dramatic treatment of some of its chief incidents; whilst, in Persia, the great national poem, the Shah Nameh, or "Book of Kings," in several events, assumes a varying form in the hands of authors who have essayed to treat that poem in the form of prose compilations. In Hesiod we find the stock of Homeric mythology not only enlarged, but artificially arranged; and new subjects drawn from the Orphic doctrines are brought forward, and handled with a deep ethical tone and colouring; while the arrangement of his mythology is so organised, as to form a well-assorted storehouse for his successors. Of this they not only amply availed themselves, but made large additions to his legendary stock. Though their poetical powers had weakened, their faith was still strong, and their imagination incredibly adaptive. The most artificial outline in narrative does not excite suspicion in the pious Hellenic mind. If Ægyptus has fifty sons, Danaus has fifty daughters to be married. *Io* gives her name to the *Ionic* Gulf, and an arm of the Thracian waters is styled the Bosporus, from its having been crossed over by her in the form of a cow,[4] while again a tendency to find a strict parallel in important legends, in themselves somewhat similar, proved another source of variety. The same impulse of imagination is found in history. Anacreon, a *vinous* poet, is choked with a grape

The same principles in Oriental Literature.

Didactic method of the Hesiodic Theogony.

[1] Iliad, v. 330.

[2] "The History of Greek Literature," by Talfourd, Blomfield, and others.

[3] *Vide* "Ionic Logographers," by the Editor, in "The History of Greek Literature."

[4] Βοὸς πέρος, the Cow-passage.

stone.[1] The flexible genius of his language tells the Greek that the Amazons were female warriors with but one breast,[2] and he can show the very spot in Athens where they were crushed by Theseus. The stones cast by Deucalion produced a *stony race*. The Myrmidons were ants (Murmekes) changed to men. The brazen race are made of the wood of the spear-handle; they therefore *die fighting*, and perish by each other's hands. If the Homeric hero slays fifty men, who are lying in ambush for him, the Pindaric chief takes a city by himself.[3] Yet Pindar was a poet of deep religious feeling, domestic, as well as public; so much so that he dedicated a shrine to the mother of the gods, near his own house at Thebes.[4] The all-absorbing nationality of Hellenic mythology, thus warmly coloured by the great Theban poet, is brought out in stronger relief by his own exalted moral sentiment and abstract powers of reflection.

Legendary songs at sacred festivals.

Another fertile source of varied novelty in the Grecian myths, was the great Pythian festival, where there was a keen struggle to carry off the prize for sacred song. The imagination of the poet might soar aloft, might amplify acknowledged incident, might embellish legend which his memory had stored up in some remote region of his native land, provided the great outline of his subject, and the special characteristics of the acting hero or divinity, did not run counter to the received orthodox opinion. Indeed, with this limitation, so free to differ were the very founders of the Hellenic mythology, that while Homer assigns to Zeus and Dione the parentage of Aphrodīte, Hesiod attributes to the foam of the sea the genesis of that goddess. With Homer she is the consort of Hēphaistos; in the theogony of Hesiod she is united to Aglaia; and instances of these early discrepancies might be greatly multiplied. Even the Eleusinian mysteries, by assuming a dramatised form,[5] would, following the analogy of the Greek tragic poets and Indian dramatists, effect considerable varieties in the old mystical text. But, taking a more comprehensive view of Grecian mythologic sources, from a broader basis and more culminating point than even the Homeric or Orphic ground, it is clear that historical facts, unwritten, become legendary from the operation of time; just as language itself has been undergoing the process of mutation, so completely, as to conceal all but its great elements; yet where, in fact, is a greater legend than language itself—

Varieties in Mythology.

Analogy of Language and Legend.

[1] The same appetencies are discernible in the Oriental character, and the same tendencies to harmonise causes and effects. A Persian writer, speaking of a musical instrument (the Kumanchu), observes:—"Silken strings are best adapted to the kumanchu of mulberry wood, from a supposed sympathy between that tree and the produce of the insect which feeds on its leaves." And Shemsheddin observes, that "if a musician should furnish the Barbūt" (*βάρβιτον* of the Greeks) "with strings of wolf's and sheep's intestines together, they would refuse to vibrate in concord, or indeed would give no sound at all."

[2] *ἀ*, not, and *μάζων*, a breast.

[3] Pind. Nem. iii. 34.

[4] Pausan. ix. 25.

[5] Clemens Alex. Protrept. p. 12.

yet what is more historic?[1] And this again leads us to consider the geographical position of Hellas, as another powerful source of formative mythology. In the march of civilization from east to west, she stood nearly central; whilst the vast lake which bathed her southern limb was the liquid path by which wealth and commerce flowed into

Position of Greece.

[1] Let the philologist compare the language of the laws of the twelve tables, with that of Livy; and the first English ballad, in the reign of Henry II., with that of Cowper; and the change, from the powerful element of time, is great. In the first instance, many of the vocables are more allied to the Celtic than to the Latin (*vide* Vallancey's Instit. of Celt. Gram. Pref. p. iii.); and in some instances, in those tables, they have died out in the former dialect to survive in the latter. Let us survey for a moment, in juxtaposition, the legend of Mythology and the legend of Language, and the result will be a metaphysical proof of their identity. We will take "Man," a compound of "Mind and Strength," and just in proportion as these two qualities were valued, just so shall we find him changing name, but maintaining identity, in the eastern or western world, till Mythology, Language, and Metaphysics, merge into one. We shall illustrate with the English character.

MAN,
the representative of

MIND		and	STRENGTH.	
Thus considered, he was styled by the Indians	Man 'ūshya,		As physically constituted, he was strong, and a warrior, and thus the Indians called him . .	V'īr 'a,
and	Man 'ūja;		from "Vīra," to be powerful.	
i. e. the son of	Man ū,		With the Romans he was . .	V'ir.
the holy ancestor of the human race.*			With the Greeks, Hēr'os (early digamma)	V'ēr 'os.
With the Saxons he was . .	Men 'ske;		The female goddess-power . .	H'ēr 'ē.
With their descendants he became	Men 'sch.		The Roman domestic ruling-power	H'ēr 'us.
"To think" was expressed by the Indians	Man 'a;		This the Germans called . . .	H'err.
And the abstract principle was	Man 'as.		The English	S'ir.
The Roman called this . .	Men 's;		By the Indians a great warrior was styled	S'ūr 'a.
The German	Mein 'd;		War personified the Greeks called	Ar 'es;
The Englishman	Min 'd.		The Romans	M'ar 's.

In all these instances we see vocalic changes, prefixes, and postfixes, without affecting the main signification of the primitive elements; and, by placing in juxtaposition these two elements, we have the Roman deity Min-vira, or, by metathesis, Minerva (as in Athēnē and the Egyptian Neith), the old Etruscan form of which was "Minfra," a strong corroborating proof of its origin.

Now, Counsel, or Thought, was by the Indian styled "*Meti;*" by the Greek *Métis*, which Zeus is declared by mythology to have swallowed, and to have reproduced under the form of Athēnē (the Roman Minerva), the decided type of war and counsel. Thus, in the case of four deities, Minerva, Arēs, Mars, and Metis, we have seen Mythology and Language equally legendary. Again, *Mind in action* produces Memory, called by the Greeks *Mnēm' ē*, by the Romans *Mem 'oria.* It also gave birth to "Opinion," or signification, which the Germans called *Mein 'ung*, and the English "*Mean 'ing.*" *Advice* also sprang from it, and was called by the Romans *Mon 'itum;* and "Reverence," a title applied to holy men or Indian saints, whom that people called Mūn 'e (from Man 'a, to know, or revere). Madness (the Sanscrit is "mad") was another of its progeny, and was denominated by the Greek "Man 'ia;" with whom, also, oracular frenzy, or prophesy, was Man 'teia. Arēs and M 'ars were the Italian and French G 'uerr-'a-'e,

* "Manaso nāma pūrvo apivisrū to vai Maharshibhi," *i. e.* the first being is styled "Manaso," or intellectual, and is so celebrated by great sages. (*Mahabharatha.*)

her bosom. As related to the great communities of high antiquity, however, she was still but young and ignorant. The vast sacerdo-collegiate establishments of Egypt, India, Babylon, and Phœnicia were in full national vigour, while the Theocracy of the Israelites had become redoubtable in their adopted land. The converging influences of these religious organizations acted upon Hellas as a common centre, through the medium of commerce and colonization; a medium so powerful that even the most ignorant mariner could not fail to introduce more or less of the religious system of his native land;[1] much more any systematised emigration into Greece. Another cause tending to increase not the legend only but the excellence of free Hellas, was the variety of its tribes, and the varying characteristics of its provinces. Each community had its own peculiar local divinities, whose worship was celebrated in conformity with the peculiar ideas suggested by descent, the habits of the tribe and the influence of their local scenery, of which in Greece nature displayed the greatest variety in her richest type. The noble grandeur of Olympus; the fertile plains of Thessaly; the gloomy recesses of the rock-crowned Pytho, and the rich variety of aspect presented by her coasts; these, and a thousand other causes, tended to swell the romantic harmony of legendary song; and just as Europe in the middle ages had its patron saints, so was there in Greece a favourite deity for each particular province; whilst the great emigration to the coast of Asia Minor enhanced the copiousness of their religious rites, by engrafting on their legend much of the frenzied excitement of the Asiatic race.

External action upon Hellas.

Effect of locality.

Religious graft of emigration.

These combined causes, acting upon the vivid imagination of the Greek, produced a deep veneration for the gods of his country, mani-

Effects on Greek custom.

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and the Saxon tribes called themselves Ger-men, or war-men. Again, by another prefix, we are led to the latter compound of Minerva's title:—

The Greeks styled a man	a'nēr
The Indians	nar 'ah
The Persians (a male)	nar
Strength they called	nēr ū
With the Romans it was metaphorically . . .	nerv us
Whence, without change	Minerva.

We shall conclude our remarks by illustrating an *historical* term, on the same principles on which we have illustrated a mythological term:—

In the Sanscrit we have	G'na
To know.—In the Greek	G'no 'eo
In the English	K'now
In the Saxon	C'unná n;

where it now signifies "*to be able*," as well as "to know," (Ger kennen); hence, Saxon, "Cyn 'ing," "*being able, being powerful*," (to *know*,) contracted Cyn'g; and English, "King," the *representative of power*. It still subsists in the French Conn 'aissance, in which language the phrase "*savoir* nager," is equivalent to "*Pouvoir* nager;" so that, from the legend of Minerva and from an historical title, we return to the old axiom, that "knowledge is power."

[1] Jonah, chap. i. ver. 6—8, 11.

fested in those systematised Festivals, Mysteries, Oracles, and Games, which were participated in by the entire Greek people. We proceed to notice these festivals with a brevity consistent with our limits. We cannot, as some German scholars have done, rationalise the Hellenic religious system, inferring that Jupiter designates the Æther; Juno the Atmosphere, &c. Any such conventional arrangement, as a system, might have suited the sacerdotal machinery of an organized priesthood, but it would have lost life, and spirit, and personality in the eyes of the sensitive Greek, could he for a moment have comprehended so cold a system. He believed in the individuality of his diversified gods. He believed in the power of the gods to give personality to every conception. Even the very cloud which Jupiter sends to deceive Ixion is fitted with human shape and every accessory of life. So were the phantoms in Homer's battle-field, especially the eidolon of Deiphobus in Hector's last fight. There is no such a thing as an abstract impersonality in the Hellenic Mythology;—Nux and Oneiros (Night and Dream) are as much persons as Apollo and Artemis.

Greek divinities, personal agencies.





CHAPTER II.

ORACLES, MYSTERIES, FESTIVALS, AND NATIONAL GAMES OF THE EARLY GREEKS.

SECTION I.—THE ORACLES.

THE ORACLES of the Greeks, established in various localities, were dedicated to Heroes as well as to Gods; among the latter, the Oracle of Apollo at Delphi was most celebrated. **The Oracles.**

From the foot of Parnassus, Delphi sloped forward in a semi-circular declivity, a theatre moulded by Nature's mighty hand: the Temple of Apollo stood at its summit. The shrine of Delphi was considered the centre of the earth, and was marked by an elliptical stone. Hard by was the oracular chasm, whence arose the prophetic vapour, believed to issue from the well of Cassotis. In the inner- **Position of Delphi.**

most sanctuary of the god, opposite to the golden statue of Apollo, the eternal fire burnt upon the altar. The Pythia, or Priestess of Apollo, led into the temple by the prophetess, took her place over the chasm, seated upon a high tripod, where, affected by the fumes of the ascending smoke, she uttered incoherent sounds, which were considered to be the revelations of Apollo. These were carefully noted by the prophetess, and then communicated to the applicants.[1] After once entering on the sacerdotal duties of the god, the Pythia was never allowed to marry. A single priestess sufficed, till the increasing numbers of those who came to consult the Oracle, demanded additional aid. Three Pythias were then appointed; two taking their seats on the tripod alternately, while the third was in readiness to supply the place of either of the others, should this be required. The natal day of Apollo was that on which the Oracle was at first consulted; but as the applicants became more numerous, certain days in each were set apart. The order of consultation was determined by lot,[2] excepting in the case of those who had received the right of the προμαντεία, or "*first prophecy.*" Those who consulted the Oracle, in addition to the sacrifice of an ox, sheep, or goat, had to pay a stated fee, excepting when the consultation was "*tribute free*"—ἀτελεία. After bathing in the Castalian spring, and fasting for three days, the Pythia, attired in the most simple vestments, ascended the sacred tripod. The oracular answers were in a metrical form, and usually in the Ionic dialect, though, after the time of Theopompus, prose was substituted, and the Doric dialect as spoken at Delphi. To superintend the Oracle, there were five priests taken from five aristocratic families of Delphi, who traced their origin to Deucalion. These "*Holy men*" (ὅσιοι) held their offices for life, managing and controlling the sacrificial arrangements and the affairs of the sanctuary. The early fondness of the Greeks for supporting legend by etymology, which we have already noticed, is observable in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, which derives the name Pytho,

The Pythia.



The Pythia unmarried.

Days for consulting the Oracle.

Payment of Fees.

Number of Priests.

[1] Diod. xvi. 26.

[2] Eurip. Ion, 422.

from the serpent slain by Apollo, which he left there to rot (πύθεσθαι).

The prophetic power of this particular locality in Delphi was discovered, it is said, by some shepherds, whose sheep, having approached this spot, were thrown into convulsions,[1] while individuals who visited the hallowed chasm were gifted with the power of prophecy, a discovery of such importance as to cause the building of the Temple.

Discovery of the prophetic power of the locality.



Though the ambiguity of the Delphic Oracle was repulsive, it is certain that, in its best days, it exercised a more powerful sway than any other religious institution of antiquity. Politics, religion, public and private life, the founding of colonies, and disputes between these and the metropolis, were referred to the decision of the Oracle, whose answers always tended to promote the maintenance and increase of religious establishments. Its influence rapidly declined with the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war, when its partiality to Sparta became evident.[2] It continued to subsist, however, till the time of Theodosius, when it was entirely abolished.[3]

Influence of the Delphic oracle.

Declines, and is abolished.

SECTION II.—THE MYSTERIES.

The influence of mythological legend, powerful in the Oracle, was not less powerful in the MYSTERIES of Hellas, particularly in those of Eleusis, the holiest and most venerable. Their origin is a subject of tradition, so varied, that we shall not venture to touch upon it. Their extreme antiquity is certain. We learn from Thucydides,[4] that in the reign of Erectheus, the Eleusinians, being defeated by the Athenians, yielded to their supremacy, with the exception of the Mysteries (τελεταί). The descendants of Eumolpus, the Ceryces, and the daughters of Celeus, King of Eleusis, were, therefore, continued in the superintendence of the sacred rites. The Eleusinian

Mysteries.

Origin of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

[1] Plut. de Def. Orac. chap. xxii.

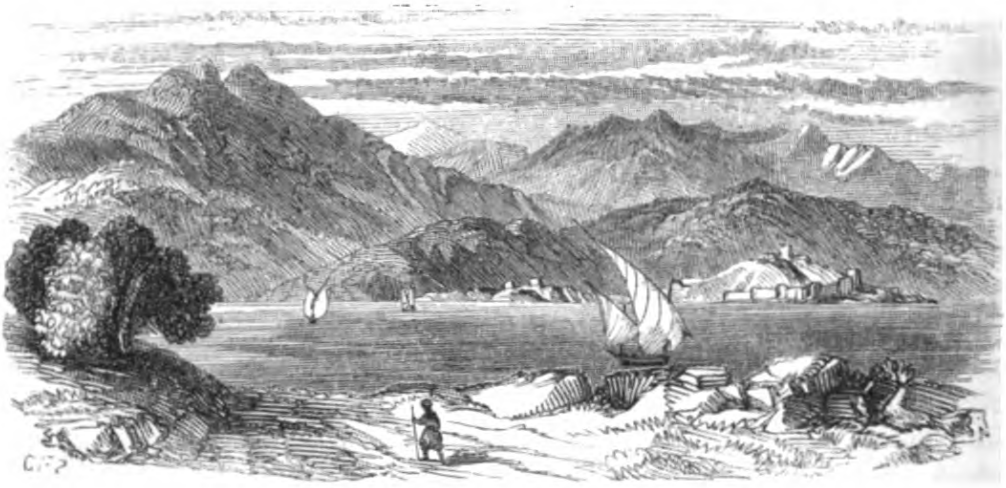
[2] Plut. Dem. 20.

[3] The other oracles of Apollo were, 1st, at Abœ, in Phocis; 2nd, Ismenion, in Bœotia; 3rd, at Hysiæ, on the Attic frontiers; 4th, on the hill Ptoos, in the Theban territory; 5th, in the Lyceum at Argos; 6th, at Tegæa, in Bœotia; 7th, at Orobia, in Eubœa; 8th, on the Acropolis of Argos; 9th, Oracle of the Branchydæ; 10th, of Eutresis, near Leuctra; 11th, at Claros, in the Colophonian territory; 12th, at Grynæa, in the territory of the Myrinæans; 13th, at Abdera; 14th, of Apollo Gounapæus, in Lesbos; 15th, the Sarpedonian Apollo, in Lycia; 16th, at Telmessus; 17th, in Delos; 18th, at Patara; 19th, at Mallos, in Cilicia; 20th, at Hybla, in Caria; 21st, at Hiera Comé, on the Mæander.

[4] ii. 15.

Greater and Lesser Mysteries.

Mysteries were divided into the Greater and Lesser; into the latter any Greek might be initiated. They were celebrated annually in the month Anthesterion;[1] and the initiated, who were styled Mystæ, had



to undergo the probation of a year previous to an admission to the Greater Mysteries. The Mystagogus, or superintendent of sacred rites,[2] administered to them an oath of secrecy, communicating likewise instructions calculated to convey a more easy comprehension of

When held.

the Great Eleusinian Mysteries. These were held annually in the month Boëdromion,[3] during nine successive days (from the 15th to the 23rd). On the opening day, vast crowds of foreigners thronged into Athens, to witness this grand national solemnity,[4] where also the communicants of the Lesser Eleusinia had assembled. The second day was specially set apart for purification; and, accordingly, the solemn procession repaired to the sea-coast, where this intro-

Order of the Mysteries.

ductory rite was performed.[5] This was succeeded by a day of fasting, towards the evening of which the initiated partook of a slender meal, consisting of cakes of sesame and honey. On the fourth day ensued a grand procession, in which a basket, containing poppy seeds and pomegranates, was carried on a waggon, followed by women

The fifth day.

holding small mystic cases. The fifth, or torch-day,[6] was one of much importance. Headed by the Δᾳδούχος, or chief torch-bearer, the procession with flaming torches repaired in the evening to the temple of Dēmēter at Eleusis. The initiated, clad in purple robes, and decked with crowns of myrtle, passed through the southern

The sixth day.

portico in pairs conducted by the priests. The sixth day was ushered in by a grand procession carrying the statue of Iakchus, the son of Dēmēter. On the brows of the statue rested a garland of myrtle; a

[1] End of February and beginning of March.
[2] Προφήτης, or Ἱεροφαντής.
[3] Latter half of September and beginning of October.
[4] Philost. Vit. Apoll. iv. 6.
[5] Polyæm. iii. 11.
[6] Ἡ τῶν λαμπάδων ἡμέρα.

torch was in his hand; while the sacred road, thronged by multitudes of spectators, re-echoed with songs and shouts of joy. We shall here avail ourselves of the eloquent description by a celebrated classical scholar[1] of the close of this august ceremony.[2] "The initiated were admitted for the first time to the full enjoyment of the privileges which the mysteries conferred. Having gone through the previous rites of fasting and of purification, they were clad in the sacred fawn-skin, and led at eventide into the sacred vestibule of the Temple. The doors of the building itself were as yet closed. Then the profane were commanded by the priests with a loud voice to retire. The worshippers remained alone. Presently strange sounds were heard; dreadful apparitions as of dying men were seen; lightnings flashed through the thick darkness in which they were enveloped, and thunders rolled around them; light and gloom succeeded each other with rapid interchange. After these preliminaries, at length the doors of the Temple were thrown open. Its interior shone with one blaze of light. The votaries were then led to the feet of the statue of the goddess, who was clad in the most gorgeous attire; in her presence their temples were encircled by the hands of the priests with the sacred wreath of myrtle, which was intended to direct their thoughts to the myrtle groves of the blessed in those happy isles to which they would be carried after death; their eyes were dazzled with the most beautiful and vivid colours, and their ears charmed with the most melodious sounds, both rendered more enchanting by their contrast with those fearful and ghastly objects, which had just before been offered to their senses. They were now admitted to behold visions of the Creation of the Universe, to see the workings of that divine agency, by which the machine of the world was regulated and controlled, to contemplate the state of society which prevailed upon the earth before the visit of Ceres to Attica, and to witness the introduction of agriculture, of sound laws and of gentle manners, which followed the steps of that goddess; to recognise the immortality of the soul, as typified by the concealment of corn sown in the earth, by its revival in the green blade, and by its full ripeness in the golden harvest; or as the same idea was otherwise expressed by the abduction of Proserpine, the daughter of Ceres, to the regions of darkness, in order that she might pass six months beneath the earth, and then arise again to spend an equal time in the realms of light and joy. Above all, they were invited to view the spectacle of that happy state, in which they themselves, the initiated, were to exist hereafter. These revelations contained the greatest happiness to which man could aspire in this life, and assured him of such bliss as nothing could exceed or diminish in the next."

The admission of noviciates.

Visions seen.

View of the interior of the Temple.

Emblematic worship.

Typical revelations of religious mysteries.

[1] Wordsworth's Pictorial Greece, p. 83.

[2] The ninth and last day was called πλημοχόαι, from a peculiar species of vessel so called. These were filled with wine or water; thrown from one towards the east, from the other towards the west.

Organized foreign sources of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

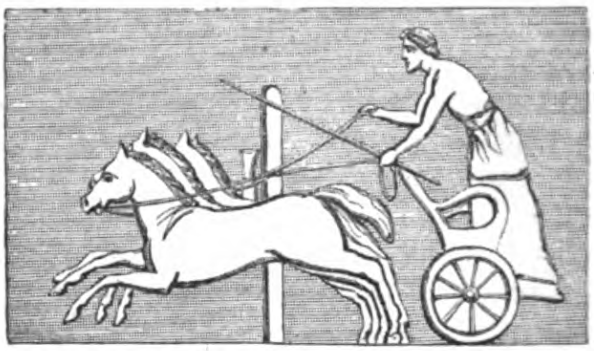
In the complex apparatus and sacerdotal organization of this solemnity, we at once discern the foreign influences previously noticed; while in the Isthmæan, Nemæan, Olympian, and Pythian games, we as clearly perceive the working of the true Grecian legend, simple and incomplex.

SECTION III.—THE ISTHMIAN GAMES.

Isthmian Games.

The ISTHMIAN GAMES (so called from the Corinthian Isthmus, the place of celebration), constituted a festival in honour of Poseidōn, or Neptune. The site of this solemnity was well calculated to carry out the illusion of the legend attached to it. Between the Œnean hills and the shore of the Saronic Gulf rose the stately temple of Poseidōn; while a stadium and theatre of white marble, deep groves of pine trees, and a long avenue of statues—the representatives of the Isthmian victors — conferred additional magnificence on this arena of Hellenic vigour. To this great national pageant the Athenians were wont to repair with much pomp, crossing the Saronic Gulf in the Theoric or sacred vessel, whilst the privilege of an honorary position[1] at the games, was granted them by the Corinthians; and so powerful was the influence of religious feeling, that even in time of war with Athens, her citizens were invited to attend under the pledge of a sacred truce. In nothing perhaps is the innate energy of the Hellenic character more strongly evinced, than the adaptation to vigorous and manly exercises of rites which were once of a mysterious cast—of such a nature were the originals of the Isthmian games.[2] Theseus, who, following certain legends, was the son of Poseidōn, appears to have instituted these festivals, in a species of rival imitation of Hēraclēs the founder of the Olympian games; and they were, after this period, celebrated in honour of Poseidōn. This solemnity was characterised with the same festivity and rejoicing, which accompanied the corresponding national institutes of Hellas, embracing the whole range of gymnastic and intellectual competition, to which latter distinction women also were admitted.[3] The prize of victory was simple—a wreath of pine-leaves, subsequently of ivy, and again a garland of pine graced the brows of the conqueror, who not only became the object of admiration, but conferred the splendour of his renown on his native city; whilst the Athenian victor received, from the public treasury, a

Temple of Poseidōn.



Athenian importance at Corinth.

Prize of victory.

Pecuniary reward.

[1] Προεδρία. [2] Plut. Thes. 25. [3] Plut. Imp. v. 2.

magnificent reward,[1] and triumphal odes swelled the glory of his achievement. These magnificent pageants were suspended during the sway of the Cypselides at Corinth, a period of seventy years;[2] but it was only to attain a still greater splendour and regularity, becoming, B.C. 584 (49th Olympiad), a triennial festival, occurring the first and third year of every Olympiad. The triennial order of celebration continued regularly to a very late period. In the Isthmian solemnities B.C. 228, the Romans were privileged to bear a part.[3] Here, too, the public proclamation of the independence of Greece, was made by Flaminius. The Corinthians were stripped of the dignity of presidents of these noble games on the fall of their city before the Roman power B.C. 146, when the Sicyonians were privileged to assume their position. Under the fostering hand of Julius Cæsar, the city of Corinth rose from its ruins, and the Corinthians once more resumed their natural position as presidents of the games, which continued till the general establishment of Christianity[4] in the Roman Empire. Athletic exercises, the Pancratium, wrestling, horse and chariot races,[5] poetical and musical contests, were the distinguishing features of these games. That female intellect was not inefficiently represented at the Isthmia, is apparent from the circumstance of the victory gained by Aristomachē, the poetess, who, in token of her acknowledgment, presented to the treasury at Sicyon, the appropriate souvenir of a golden book.[6] The dignified position of a victor at these games, is evidenced by the splendid Triumphal Odes[7] of Pindar.[8]

Pecuniary rewards to victors in the Isthmian Games.

SECTION IV.—THE NEMÆAN GAMES.

Nemæa, near Cleonæ, in Argolis, gave a title to the celebrated NEMÆAN GAMES, instituted, we are told, in legendary song, by the Seven against Thebes. These warriors, oppressed with thirst, met Hypsipilē, then carrying Ophethes, the child of Eurydicē. Hastening to point out to these chiefs the nearest spring, she left the child in a meadow. On the return of the Seven, they saw the infant lying dead, having been slain by a dragon. This monster they slew, and instituted funereal games, which were celebrated every third year. The origin of the Nemæan Games is, by other legends, attributed to Hēraclēs, by whose instrumentality they were celebrated in honour of Zeus, whom Pindar notices as the patron divinity.[9] These games, though open to all the Greeks, were primarily of a warlike nature, nor could any one participate in them, save chiefs of approved prowess, or their sons. This grand festival was celebrated in a grove between Phlius and Cleonæ. It embraced wrestling, chariot-racing,

Nemæan Games.

Their origin.

Locality.

[1] Plut. Sol. 23. [2] Solinus, c. xii. [3] Polyb. ii. 13.
[4] Suet. Ner. 24. [5] Paus. v. 2, § 4. [6] Plut. Symp. v. 2.
[7] *Ἐπινίκια.* [8] *Vide* Krause, "Die Pythien, Nemeen und Isthmien," p. 165.
[9] Nem. iii. 114.

Nature of the Games.

running in armour in the stadium,[1] bow-shooting, the discus, throwing the spear, and musical rivalry.[2] As at the Isthmian Games, we find



Change of prize.

a change of the prize taking place; first, a wreath of olive branches, then a chaplet of parsley, although the period of this change is not ascertained. At various times, Cleonæ, Argos, and Corinth, gave presidents to these games, in which the first people seem to have obtained some superior celebrity, since these festivals were sometimes styled "The Cleonian games." The season of the year in which these festivals were held, is the subject of discrepant accounts; though from a considerable authority[3] we learn that they were held on the 12th of the month Panemus.[4] Pausanias[5] mentions a celebration of these games in winter, which, however, he distinguishes from the summer festivals. In the same local spirit which actuated Delphi, Argolis began to adopt these games, as a chronological era, about the date of the battle of Marathon.

Presidency of the Nemæan Games.

The Nemæan Games are said to have been revived B.C. 567, and were thenceforward celebrated twice in every Olympiad. Corinth, Cleonæ, and Argos continued to have the presidency of these games, till, in B.C. 208, the latter people resigned the honorary post to Philip of Macedon.[6] This festival gradually declined till the time of the Emperor Hadrian, soon after which it appears to have been discontinued.[7]

[1] Paus. ii. 15, § 2. [2] Plut. Philop. ii. [3] Schol. ad Pind.
[4] The latter half of September, and beginning of October.
[5] Paus. ii. 15. [6] Polyb. x. 26.
[7] For further particulars see Schömann, Plut. Ag. et Cleom.

SECTION V.—THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

The most completely national of the Hellenic games were the OLYMPIC, celebrated in honour of the Olympian Zeus. They were also the most legendary. The Idæan Hēraclēs, the æra of Cronos, the Curetes, Rhea and the new-born Zeus, helped to satisfy the antiquarian aspirations of legendary Olympia; while Pelops, Hēraclēs the son of Amphitryon, and a long train of heroic presidents, dignified its traditions. The true historic Olympiad, which sprang from these legends, is placed B.C. 776, the date of the victory of Corœbus, the commencement also of historical Greece. This great national festival, though at first confined to the Peloponnesus, became at length so renowned, as to embrace the whole Hellenic race, who, whether as colonists of Asia, Africa, or Europe, or resident in the mother-country, were entitled to enter the lists, provided they were of pure Hellenic origin; those alone excepted who had been guilty of a breach of the divine laws, or had been stigmatised with disgrace by their respective states. The spectators who thronged to this festival were very numerous, since even barbarians might be present; while another strong reason for the vast influx of visitors, was the fact of its being the grand rendezvous for commercial transactions from the most distant countries.[1] The rival splendour of the Theōrōi, or deputies from the various Hellenic states, the dignity of their position, and the magnificence of their offerings, formed likewise powerful attractions. The site of these noble games was the beautiful valley of Olympia, about three miles in length, and one in breadth; its southern boundary the broad stream of the Alpheius, whilst the eastern and western boundaries of this verdant arena of Hellas are marked by the streams Cladeus and Harpinates. An observer taking post upon Mount Cronius, which sloped down to the Olympic valley, could survey the ten treasuries reared by various Hellenic states, embellished by magnificent offerings, and statues of exquisite workmanship; the Stadium, situated in a declivity of Mount Cronius; the Hippodrome, stretching from west to east; and the Altis, or sacred grove of Zeus, containing the most glorious objects of Olympia. Near the centre of this hallowed spot rose the temple of the Olympian Zeus, a Doric edifice 230 feet in length, 95 in breadth, and 68 in height. Within this magnificent fabric was enthroned the colossal statue of Zeus, formed of ivory and



The Olympic Games.

Right of admission.

Commercial rendezvous.

Site of the Olympic Games.

The Stadium.

Temple of Zeus.

Statue of Zeus.

[1] Just. xiii. 5. See also Burckhardt's account of the pilgrims and business carried on at Medina.

gold—a combination so splendid and harmonious, so dazzling and glorious in its aspect, as to produce the effect of a vision of that immortal deity.

The western façade of the Hippodrome was formed by a portico through which the spectator reached the barriers whence the chariots started. With the exception of the priestess of Dēmēter, who sat on a marble altar facing the Hellanodicæ, or judges of the games, no woman was permitted to be present: the penalty for transgression was a frightful death by being hurled from the Typæan rock. Though thus restricted from personal attendance, the female sex was permitted to compete by sending chariots to the races.[1] As this grand national festival was under the immediate patronage of the Olympian Zeus, the opening day was celebrated by initiatory sacrifices, the chief of which were offered by the Eleans; whilst the victors in the games, the Theōrōi, and not a few private individuals, were liberal in their offerings to the various divinities of Greece.

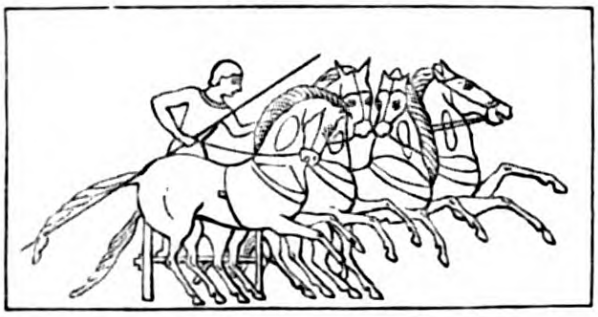
But one female admitted.

Females permitted to send subjects for competition.

Four years elapsed between each celebration of this gorgeous pageant, which was varied by every possible display of physical excellence. The exhibition consisted of the chariot race, with four horses,[2] the foot-race,[3] and the foot-race with the equipments of the Hoplites or heavy-armed; wrestling, boxing, the Pentathlon, or the five-fold exercises; the Pancratium, a combination of boxing and wrestling, and the contests of the trumpeters: and all these, whether relating to men, to boys, or to horses, were in great variety. The duty of the Hellanodicæ, or judges of the games, was to maintain the laws connected with the games, to determine and allot the prizes: nor was this a duty of easy acquisition; for, after being chosen by lot from the body of the Eleans, they had to undergo a preliminary instruction by the

Interval of the Olympic Games.

Their nature.





[1] The sister of Agesilaus was the first woman whose horse gained the prize at the Olympic games, Paus. iii. 8.

[2] The varieties were,—the horse-race with mares (κάλπη); with two full-grown horses; with two foals; with four foals; with mules; horse-race with mares; with foals.

[3] Varieties of foot-race:—the double traverse of the stadium (δίαυλος); a still longer course (the δολιχος); and a foot-race for boys.

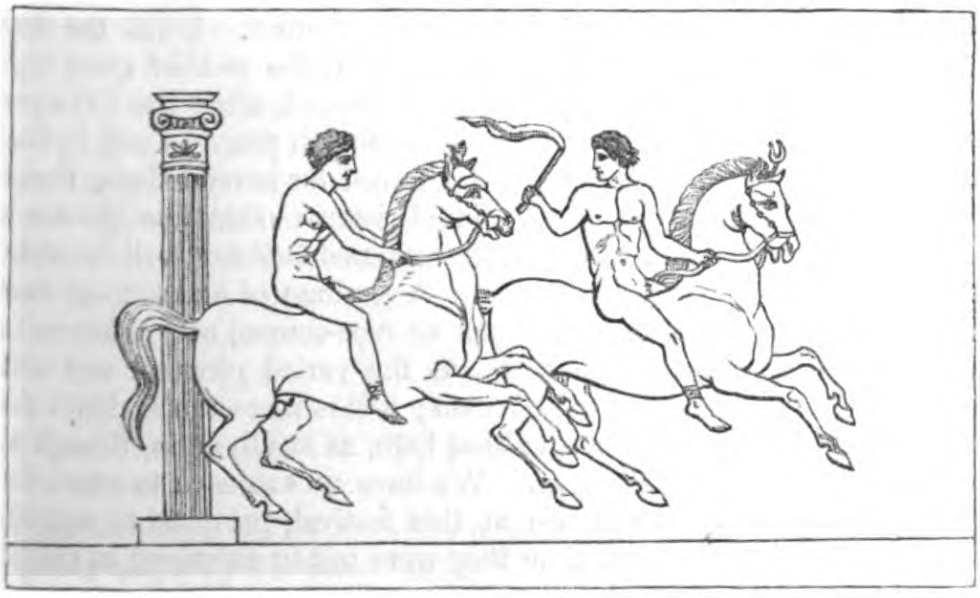
guardians of privilege.[1] The position of the Hellanodicæ was highly dignified; they were clothed in a purple robe; and in the Stadium, to which they had a secret entrance, there were seats expressly appropriated to them: the ἀλύται, a species of police, likewise served to enforce the commands of the Hellanodicæ; and the only appeal from their decision lay to the senate of Elea.[2] The lot decided the place of the competitors, whose name and country were proclaimed by a herald. A wreath of wild olive, from a sacred olive tree[3] in the hallowed grove of Altis, cut with a golden sickle, was the prize of the victor; his name, that of his father, and of his native country, were proclaimed by a herald before assembled Greece; his statue was placed in the sacred grove, and on returning to his own city, he entered its gates in triumphal procession.

Rank of the Hellanodicæ.



Nor were the splendours of victory the only stimulant to the Hellenic spirit. The vast concourse, both of Greeks and foreigners, who assembled at this grand festival, presented the most favourable opportunity of giving a wide renown to literary and artistic works, which, though they cannot

Publication of literary works.



be considered as forming a part of the festival, gave the most powerful impulse to emulative genius, of which the orators Lysias, Anaximenes, and Prodicus of Ceos, nobly availed themselves. During the sway of imperial Rome, the Olympic Games were celebrated with a magnificence worthy of the rulers of the world,

[1] Νόμοφύλακες. [2] Paus. vi. 24. [3] Ibid. v. 7.

Olympic Games become extinct.

while the victors were rewarded with corresponding splendour.[1] At length this glorious festival of Hellas, became extinct in the reign of Theodosius, A. D. 394. If we contemplate the benefits derived by Greece from this unparalleled display of physical and intellectual excellence, we shall at once perceive that no institution could be more favourable to her national existence. While her variety of tribes, soil, dialect, and locality, tended naturally to disunion, these grand periodical assemblies evoked a religious and a federative spirit, powerful to withstand foreign oppression; whilst the severe training required to secure the palm of victory, gave to the poet, painter, and sculptor, the highest models of physical excellence, and to the nation the confidence of practised hardihood. Nor were these tendencies of a transitory nature; uninterruptedly, for more than one thousand years, their continued agency was felt and acknowledged.

Nationalizing influence of Greek games.

Long continuance.

SECTION VI.—THE PYTHIAN GAMES.

Pythian Games.

As the great Olympic Games were more directly under the religious patronage of Zeus, so also the legend of Pytho and the serpent gave rise to the PYTHIAN FESTIVAL in honor of Apollo.[2] These games, originally a religious eulogy on that deity, in connection with the oracle at Delphi, and afterwards expanding into a musical contest with the accompaniment of the lyre and flute, embraced in the sequel gymnastic and equestrian contests, though the musical and artistic exhibitions ever remained the most prominent feature. Until the 48th Olympiad, these games had been celebrated at the end of every eight years; at this date, however, they were ranged after the Olympian model, and took place at the end of every fourth year. Each Pythiad was celebrated in the spring, and continued for several days, though the exact number is not known.[3] The Crissæan plain was the site of this magnificent festival, where were combined facilities well calculated to carry out its comprehensive plan. A stadium of at least one thousand feet in length,[4] an hippodromus or race-course, and a theatre for musical contests, gave ample scope to the varied physical and intellectual accomplishments of the Grecian; nor is there much doubt that a prytaneum and gymnasium, existed here, as at Olympia, though we have no positive record of them. We have no evidence to prove that gymnastic exercises were in use at this festival, previous to B.C. 592 (Olympiad 47th), at which time they were not in existence at Delphi. Though the Delphians had naturally been the Agnothetæ, or presiding judges at these games, in the third year of the 48th Olympiad, B.C. 590, the Amphictyons, subsequent to the Crissæan war, obtained the

Celebrated in the spring.

[1] For farther information on this subject see Dissen, "Ueber die Anordnung der Olympischen Spiele," in his "Kleine Schriften;" Corsini's "Dissertat. Agonisticæ;" and Krause, "Olympia, oder Darstell. d. grossen Olymp. Spiele."

[2] Athen. xv. p. 107 : Schol. Arg. ad Pind. Pyth. [3] Soph. Elect. 690.

[4] Cens. de Die Nat.

presidency. Hence these festivals are sometimes styled "Amphictyonic Games."[1] From the third year of the 48th Olympiad, these Pythiads aspired to the dignity of forming an æra, somewhat similar to that bestowed by the Olympiads; and the first Pythian games, under the presidency of the Amphictyons, was styled the first Pythiad. The chariot-race does not appear to have been introduced till the 2nd Pythiad;[2] in the first the victors received substantial rewards[3] as their prize; in the second, a wreath became the established recompense. A few games which had not been practised at Olympia, were introduced in the second Pythiad, such as the longer and shorter foot-race for boys.[4] The Tethrippos, or four-horse chariot race, was introduced at the first Pythiad; in the 53rd Pythiad, the chariot race with four foals; in the 69th, the chariot race with two foals; whilst in the 48th, the "Sunōridos Dromos," or the chariot race with two full-grown horses, appeared for the first time on the Crissæan plain, and boys first entered the severe struggle of the Pancratium, in the 63rd Pythiad. These games continued to assume a character of increasing life and animation, for the *Aulodia*, or flute-playing, of the first Pythiad, was ever after omitted, as it had accompanied elegies and dirges only; now considered too melancholy for this festival. The most prominent part played by performers in this festivity on the flute and lyre was

Pythian Games.

Chief performances.



highly imitative, reproductive of legend, and singularly operatic in the modern sense of the term, being a musical description of Apollo's conflict with and victory over the dragon.[5] Paintings, sculptures, works of art, tragedy, and historical recitations, held out in this festival their noblest attractions to the ingenious Greek. Hither, previous to the actual celebration of the games, the States connected with the Delphian Amphictyony, despatched their deputies or Theōrōi, whilst

[1] Heliod. Æth. iv. 1. [2] Paus. x. 7. [3] Χρήματα; Schol. ad Pind.
[4] The Δόλιχος and the Δίαυλος. Paus. l. c. [5] Styled the "νόμος πύθικος."

Splendour of the Athenian Theōrōi.

those of Athens were particularly splendid and brilliant. The superintendents of this popular festival, occupying the corresponding position to the Hellanodicæ in the Olympic Games, were styled Epimelētāi.

Duty of the Epimelētāi.

These officers, whose number is not ascertained, were empowered to uphold order, by the assistance of the Mastigophorœ (whip-bearers), whose duty exactly quadrated with that of the ἀλύται at Olympia.[1]

Prizes.

The prize at the Pythian Games, from the second Pythiad, was such as might be anticipated from legendary tendency, being a chaplet of laurel, to which was added, as in the Olympic Games, the palm-branch, the symbol of victory; the conqueror likewise possessed the privilege of having his statue erected in the Crissean plain.[2]

Probable close of Pythian Games.

Though we possess no authorised accounts of the final cessation of the Pythian Games, there is every probability that their career closed simultaneously with that of the Olympic Games, A.D. 394. So powerful was the early influence of these national festivals, that numerous cities and districts in Greece, Italy, Asia, and Africa, had their imitative pageants under the title of Olympian and Pythian Games.[3]

Summary of religious and legendary sources.

We have then contemplated a mythology, which though springing from the multiform sources of native devotion, the religious dogmas of Egypt, India, Babylon and Phœnicia,—the relics of Hebrew History, the writings of Homer and Hesiod, the Cyclic Poets, and the Logographers, the amplifications of prize poets at the Pythian Games, of lyric and dramatic writers, the sacred drama of Eleusis, and the

Systematised.

devotional graft of the Asiatic emigration,—was yet systematised by the Greeks in such a way as to produce a *Practice*, political, religious and festive, harmonising with their feelings, commanding their faith, and encouraging nationality. If we would seek beyond the mere circle of Hellenic life, for a vitality that actuates and shall continue to actuate, the fairest forms of art and the noblest creations of intellect, such shall we recognise coextensive with the realms of civilization and the freedom of humanity. The sublime interpretation of nature, that characterised the freeman of Greece, bequeathed to the poet, the statuary, and the painter, an imperishable legacy of high and noble aspirations; while the physical powers of man, trained to the highest excellence, demonstrated the exalted harmony of mind and matter. If the Greek could not point to the marvellous triumphs of mechanic power or speed, he could feel justly proud of human powers that approached perfection; and thus excited, the realization of the grandeur of his country's gods, became an embodied principle of his exist-

How Legend should be viewed.

ence. To enter, therefore, upon the early *history* of Hellas, is to view its legend with the same eye of faith with which the Greek beheld it; —to gaze upon its long line of heroes, as vital agencies of noble port and imposing form; to behold the deity of the rocky Pytho, radiant

[1] Luc. ad indoct. 9. [2] Paus. vi. 15.
[3] For farther particulars, see Krause, "Die Pyth. Nem. u. Isth."

with glory, to hear his prophetic voice, and to gaze upon the awful majesty of the "King of Gods and men" as realized by the immortal Phidias:—

> He speaks, and awful bends his sable brows;
> Shakes his ambrosial locks, and gives the nod
> The stamp of fate, and sanction of the god;
> High heaven with trembling the dread signal took,
> And all Olympus to the centre shook. *Pope's Homer.*

With this we must be satisfied. And although in our investigations we shall elicit new light from doctrinal mythology by the application of philological science, and determine the local tendencies of an important portion of the human race, we must at present have sufficient Hellenic faith to consider the great body of Grecian mythology as a species of latitudinarian romance, founded upon not a few important facts. Such on this ground are our only historical evidences. We look around in vain for other materials to reconstruct the temple of Truth. Time has sapped its foundations, and legendary faith must supply a fictitious basis.





CHAPTER III.

ORIENTAL SOURCES OF GREEK MYTHOLOGY.

'Ορφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελέτας θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε, φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι
Μουσαῖος τ', ἐξακέσεις τε νόσων καὶ χρησμούς· Ἡσίοδος δὲ,
Γῆς ἐργασίας, καρπῶν ὥρας, ἀρότους· ὁ δὲ θεῖος Ὅμηρος
Ἀπὸ τοῦ τίμην καὶ κλέος ἴσχειν, πλὴν τοῦθ', ὅτι χρήστ' ἰδίδασκεν,
Ἀρετας, τάξεις, ὁπλίσεις ἀνδρων . . . κ. τ. λ.

Aristoph. Ran. 1030.

Order and objects of Mythology.

In these words are set forth, with tolerable accuracy, the main native written sources of Hellenic legend, in their order and objects, viz., 1st, The teaching of doctrinal mysteries, and the abstinence from animal food, by Orpheus: 2ndly, Medical and oracular lore, by Musæus: 3rdly, Husbandry, ploughing, and the adaptation of the seasons to the fruits of the earth, by Hesiod; including, of course, the mythology contained in his two treatises: and, 4thly, The marshalling of armies, and the military achievements of heroes, by Homer. But as we have now access to the inferential authority of a philology, almost equal to the broad outlines of history,[1] the evidences of ancient monuments, and the light of comparative mythology, advantages not possessed by

[1] See Bopp's Vergleichende Grammatik, &c.

Aristophanes, a more simple division will subserve the purposes of historical truth.

Sources of Greek written legend and its characteristics.

There are two main sources of Grecian written legend, viz., The Indo-Collegiate theogonies, relics of which are found in the writings of Orpheus and Hesiod: 2ndly, The Homeric poems. The first are doctrinal and direct, and by their dogmatic form stand out in bold contradistinction to the second, which are purely narrative and inventive, in which, if any doctrines appear, they are rather inferential than direct.

Artificial scale of Hesiod.

In Hesiod, the earliest systematist of the Greek theogony,[1] we find the mythical cosmogony ranged upon a highly-artificial scale, though the detail is imperfectly carried out; some portions being highly elaborated by original system, others more crudely filled up by the poet's imagination. His mythological genesis opens with a graduated scale of gods, heroes, and men. With the first, faithful to his oriental model, he has grouped monstrous yet sentient agencies, possessed of might surpassing the powers of man, yet participating in many of man's physical and mental endowments: of such a nature are the Gorgons, the Harpies, the Dragon of the Hesperides, Echidna, the semi-nymph and serpent, the Sphinx, the Cyclops, and the Centaurs, whose primitive type we shall notice in its proper place. As it would be utterly beyond the scope of the present work to embrace the whole circle of mythologic creation, we shall here merely reproduce such great outlines, as may serve to give a general view of their form and dimension.

Mixed agencies of Hesiod, and their character.

The Greek mythical world, opens with the display of the resistless power of supreme intellect, in calming the grand crash, tumult, and confusion of opposing agencies, and in vindicating the supremacy of order; and in this it coincides with the principles of the Indian cosmogony, between which and the Greek system there is, as we shall demonstrate, more than an accidental uniformity.

Coincidence of the Indian and Greek cosmogonies not accidental.

Hesiod has placed in the order of time, first Chaos, next Gæa, or the Earth, with the deep and gloomy Tartarus as her foundation. Then sprang into being Eros, or Love, the vanquisher of gods and men.

Gæa gives birth to Uranos.

Gæa then gave birth to Uranos, whom she afterwards married: their progeny was, the Titan race, the Cyclopes, renowned for their manual skill in forging the thunderbolts of Zeus, and the three Hecatoncheires—the "Hundred-handed." Horrified by this tremendous brood, Uranos hid them in the cavities of the earth, whence he would not permit them to escape. Upon this, Gæa, who could find no room for them, and groaned beneath the pressure, conjured her offspring to avenge her, and

[1] Mr. Grote observes (Hist. Greece, vol. i. p. 19, note), "That the Hesiodic theogony is referable to an age considerably later than the Homeric poems appears now to be the generally admitted opinion; and the reasons for believing so are in my opinion satisfactory." In this opinion we concur only so far as respects the mere language of the poem. The didactic principles and great narrative outline of Hesiod are of an antiquity ages beyond the Homeric writings, being found in the Vishnu Purana, Ramayuna, and Mahabharata, with such changes as might be anticipated from traditional preservation.

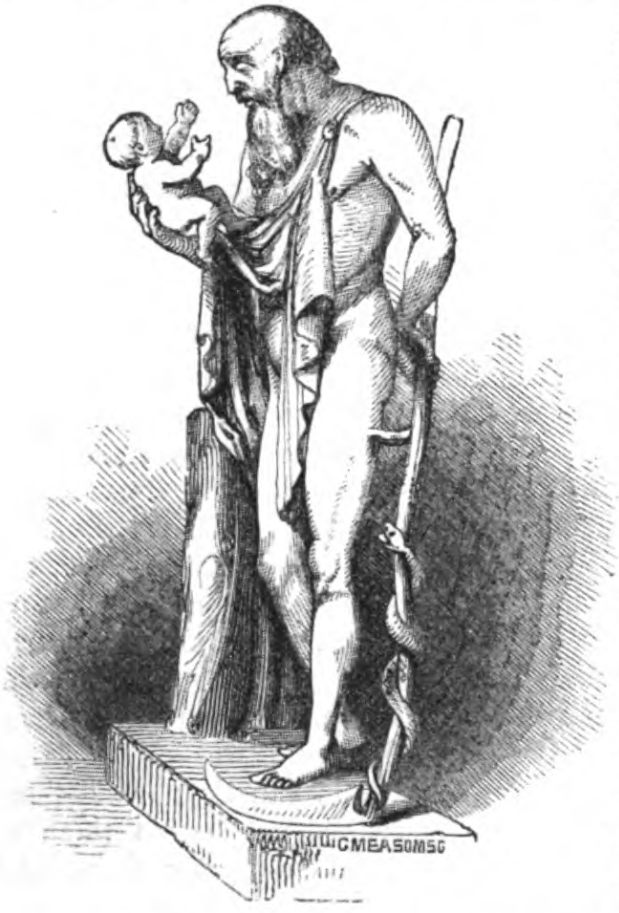
Uranos dethroned, and Cronos and the Titans liberated.

Uranos was at length dethroned. Cronos, and the rest of the **Titans**, now recovered their liberty, and became the dominant power. **The** Hecatoncheires and the Cyclopes meanwhile continued in **Tartarus**, where they had been cast by Uranos. The Titan Oceanus, by **inter**-marriage with his sister Tethys, had three thousand daughters, **the** Ocean nymphs, and the same number of sons. But the **Cronidæ** were the most powerful of the Titan race. From the union of **Cronos**, with his sister Rhea, sprang three daughters, Dēmēter, Hestia, **and** Hērē; and three sons, Poseidōn, Hadēs, and Zeus, all of whom **play** a prominent part in the Hellenic theogony. The artificial structure **of** these intermarriages, and the nicely-quadrated number of sons **and** daughters, form a strong feature of poetic invention; while the forces generated and applied, point to the great legends of the Indian school.

Progeny of Cronos and Rhea.

Character of Zeus impressive.

Powerful as was Cronos, his prophetic forebodings warned him **of** destruction from one of his own children. That child was **Zeus**; **a** being clothed with untiring energy and resistless might. And so strong **was** the impression of this god-like type upon the Hellenic race, that the republican tendencies of Greece, in its most palmy days, never affected his sovereign sway. He ever continued the "king of gods and men."



Zeus was the head of the family of the Cronidæ, who constituted the august assembly of the twelve great divinities[1] of Olympus, on whose lofty summit Zeus fixed his magnificent abode. But the son of Cronos did not reach the full meridian of imperial sway, without imminent and numerous perils. His sire had already devoured five of his offspring, and the infant Zeus only escaped destruction by being hurried

[1] Poseidōn, Apollo, Arēs, Hermēs, Hēphaistos, Hestia, Dēmēter, Hērē, Athēnē, Aphroditē, and Artemis. Other deities not included in the twelve were, Hadēs, Hecatē, Hēlios, Lēthē, Dionysus, Dione, Persephonē, Themis, Selene, Eōs; the Charites, Harmonia, the Muses, the Mœræ, the Nereids, the Eileithyæ, Proteus, Eidothæa, Leucothæa, the Nymphs, Nemesis, Phorcys, Æolus. Iris, the Horæ, and Hebe were servitors.

by night to a woody cavern on Mount Ida, in Crete, while Cronos, being presented with a stone wrapped in swaddling clothes, eagerly swallowed it, supposing it to be his child. Thus did Zeus escape. Meanwhile, he grew up, remarkable for bodily and mental energy; and being resolved to crush the tyrannical power of Cronos and the Titans, he convoked to Olympus all the gods and goddesses to aid him in the desperate struggle against the Titans, while he gained over to his side the Cyclopes and Hecatoncheires, or the hundred-handed beings. These were powerful auxiliaries; and though the conflict continued ten fearful years, the gigantic struggle was successful.

Zeus overcomes the Titans.



Erect and dauntless see the Thunderer stand,
The bolts red hissing from his vengeful hand;
He moves majestic round the starry frame,
While vivid lightnings from Olympus flame;
The earth wide blazes from the fires of Jove,
Nor spares the flash the verdure of the grove.[1]

The mighty Cyclopes supplied their stores of thunder and lightning, the uptorn craggy cliffs and mountains were launched against the Titans, who were crushed, overwhelmed, and thrust down to Tartarus. In that gloomy dungeon were they and Cronos for ever imprisoned, with the three Hecatoncheires to keep guard over the walls of brass built around them by Zeus, who committed to Poseidōn the sovereignty of the sea, to Hadēs the under world, while he himself retained the etherial atmosphere, and the grand presiding sway over all things. The first consort of Zeus was Metis, the sagacious goddess, but being forewarned that her progeny would overpower him, he swallowed her when pregnant with Athēnē; and, having thus incorporated her wisdom with his own nature, he produced Athēnē from his brain.[2]

Division of power between Poseidōn, Hadēs, and Zeus.

But though the Titans were subdued, the Cronidæ were not yet at their ease. Gæa had intermarried with Tartarus, and had given birth

[1] Cooke's Hesiod, 995. [2] Hes. Theog. 885.

Birth of the monster Typhœus.

to a prodigious monster, Typhœus, who, had he been permitted to reach maturity, would have become supreme. This peril, Zeus with his usual forecast prevented. Hurling a thunderbolt from Olympus, Typhœus was blasted by the candent fires of the thunderer, and dashed down into Tartarus. This crowning triumph left no one to dispute the supremacy of Zeus:—

Through land and main the bolts red-hissing fell,
And through old Ocean reached the gates of Hell;
The Almighty rising made Olympus nod,
And the Earth groaned beneath the vengeful god.
* * * * *

His destruction by the bolts of Zeus.

But Jove at length collected all his might,
With lightning armed, and thunder, for the fight,
With steps majestic from Olympus strode;
What power is able now to face the god?
The flash obedient executes his ire,
The giant blazes with vindictive fire.
* * * * *
So melted Earth—and so the giant fell,
Plunged by the hands of mighty Jove to Hell!

Cooke's Hesiod, 1194.

Machinery of the Titanic war in the Indian epic.

If we contemplate the machinery of the Titanic war and its accessories, we shall find not merely its counterpart, but its original type, in the Indian epic; the identity of the nomenclature, and the whole cast of the dramatic action are not to be mistaken. Here the Daityas,[1] or Titans, make war upon Diupeti[2] (Jupiter), the lord of the firmament, whose celestial abode was situated upon Mount Mērū (the Mēros of the Greeks,[3]), a place of most magnificent description, thus beautifully apostrophized in the hymn to Indra:—

Indian heaven of Diupeti, or Indra.

——————— Hail mountain of delight![4]
Palace of glory blessed by Glory's King!
With prospering shade embower me while I sing
Thy wonders yet unreached by mortal flight!
Sky-piercing mountain! in thy bowers of love
No tears are seen save where medicinal stalks
Weep drops balsamic o'er the silvered walks.[5]

Greek adaptations of Indian Mythology.

This mountain, the Greeks with their easy uninvestigating spirit, placed in *India*, because their early oriental mythology told them that Mērū was a "mountain of *Indra*," and the name of the deity was very naturally changed to the name of the country. As Mērū, however, was not a Greek vocable, their pliant language easily wove an etymology for the term. "Mēros," a *thigh*, suggested to them a prominent part of the myth of Dionysus. He was, say they, sewn up in the

[1] Accus. Daityam, pronounced Dytyam (τίτας). So called from being the sons of Diti.

[2] Literally, the Lord of Heaven; he was king of the firmament (Zeu-pater, or Dies-pater); called also Indra, from "Indra," *excellent*.

[3] Arrian, v. 1; Polyænus, l. 1, 2. We shall again recur to this in the history of Dionysus.

[4] The garden of Indra is styled "Nandana," or *delight*.

[5] Sir W. Jones, Hymn to Indra.

thigh (ἐν τῳ μήρῳ) of Zeus, and so brought to maturity.[1] His history will be noticed shortly. Diupeti, or Indra, is represented with the thunderbolt[2] in his grasp. His heaven, a place of unbounded glory, is on Mount Mērū. Its palaces are of gold, so resplendent with gems, as to surpass the radiant brightness of many suns, while flowers of delightful fragrance shed their odours around. The prominent and dignified position of Diupeti, is identical with the Greek mythology :—

Comparative view of the character and position of Zeus and Diupeti, or Jupiter.

So like a mass of dim light, o'er
The garden move the gods divine;
And midst them, those who greater are
Shine like so many stars afar.
Now more and more advance they nigh,
With port erect and stature high,
Their step majestically slow,
Their glance cast on the earth below;
Before them Indra, dignified
With royal mien and royal pride,
Proceeds.[3]

In doubtful emergencies, when a consultation of the deities is required, like Zeus, he is the president of the council.

This deity was frequently deprived of his kingdom in the wars between the gods and the giants, and obliged, like Zeus, to wander about the world. The same profligacy and laxity of moral principle characterise both. In the great conflict of the Titans, we find Zeus assisted by all the goddesses, as well as gods :—

Parallel between Zeus and Diupeti in the Titanic conflict.

All rush to battle with impetuous might,
And gods and goddesses provoke the fight.

Hes. 970.

So, likewise, the consorts[4] of the oriental deities, each attends her lord. "The energy of each god, exactly like him, with the same form, the same decorations, and the same vehicle, came to fight against the demons."[5] In the Epics both of the east and west, the gods assume at their pleasure, in this tremendous conflict, the forms of various fierce animals. Both Siva and Dionysus assume the form of a lion, assailing the attacking monster with teeth and fangs.[6]

Assumption of forms.

[1] Hence styled μητροῤῥαφής, μητοτραφής. Diod. iv. 5; Eurip. Bacch. 295; Eustath. ad Hom. p. 310.

[2] The Vājrā; Digam. Gr. V'argēs, which Aristotle defines as lightning *in rapid motion*. And so the Sanscr. वज to go, and रक affix.

[3] Swerga, or the Heaven of Indra; by Kasiprasad Ghosh, a pupil of the Anglo-Indian College, Calcutta.

[4] They are denominated the Sactis, or divine energies.

[5] Colebrooke, Asiatic Researches.

[6] Rhætum retorsisti leonis
Unguibus, horribilique malâ.

Hor. Car. ii. 19, 23.

A symbol common to Siva and Dionysus is the equilateral triangle, and the same obscenities were common in the worship of both.

When rising fierce in impious arms
The giant race with dire alarms
Assailed the sacred realms of light,
With lion wrath and dreadful paw,
With blood besmeared and foaming jaw,
He drove their horrid chief to flight. *Francis, Hor.*

Various forms assumed by the deities of the East and West.

In the Ramayuna of Valmīkī, this process of auxiliary creation, expressly for the benefit of the gods, is acknowledged. "The numerous hosts," of the supreme embodied energy we are told, "stood ready to destroy the Ten-headed":—

Heroes of boundless energy, puissant all,
Skilled to assume the ever-varying form.[1]

And just on the eve of this Titanic war, the supreme thus addresses all the gods:—

For Vishnū, in a righteous cause engaged
For all, create ye mighty comrades; skilled
In the illusive arts of form, assumed at will,
Swift as the winds, and of heroic mould.[2]

To this doctrine we shall again have occasion to advert, in the pre- and post-heroic ages, since it formed a powerful epic machinery for the Greek poets.

Hecatoncheires the exact Indian type.

Nothing can be more in keeping with the Indian Epic than the character of the Hecatoncheires, or the hundred-handed giants, some of the main auxiliaries of Zeus. Pārvatī comes to the assistance of Diupeti, or Indra, who has been dethroned by the giant and his troops. This mighty being assumes a thousand arms, and takes post on Mount Vindhu. Mountains and trees are torn up by the roots, and hurled at the deity. The Hecatoncheires use the same tremendous weapons:—

They mighty rocks from their foundations tore,
And fiercely brave against the Titans bore.[3]

But it is by the aid of the "thousand arms" that victory is secured, and Diupeti restored to his kingdom. It is important to notice the

Position of the Hesiodic hosts.

position of the two contending hosts of Hesiod. They occupy respectively Mounts Olympus and Othrys, the northern parts of Greece. And here we are led into a singular chain of mythology and colonization, upon which philology will throw a powerful light. It is

Names of the first Pelasgic settlements.

remarkable that the names of the chief mountains of the first settlements of the Pelasgi, in Greece, and the name of that people likewise, should so distinctly point to an emigration from India, whence a two-

Course of the Pelasgic emigration.

fold stream of colonization appears to have flowed; the one through Persia, along the Caspian Sea, over Mount Caucasus, and thence

[1] Aprāmyābālā vīrā, vikrāntāh kāmārūpināh.
Ram. i. sect. 16, Slok. 17.

[2] ——————— Kāmārūpānāh
Māyavidāschān sūrānschān vāyōnejāsāmān. Ityadi.
Ram. sect. 16.

[3] Cooke's Hesiod. "Pārvatī" signifies *a mountain.* She is a female deity.

through Thrace into northern Greece (hence the so-called Thracian legends are in reality Indian); the other through Persia and northern Arabia into Egypt, and thence after a longer or shorter interval into southern Greece: and certainly much light may be thrown upon the history of these two large streams of emigration by the popular epics of India. There is little doubt that a furious religious war terminated in the expulsion of a large body of the inhabitants of India; the sect, in all probability, was that of Buddha. That they should be stigmatised with the most opprobrious titles is not to be wondered at. The demons, the hereditary foes of the gods (the ruling religious power), in the Indian epic are styled Danavas and Daityas; so called, the Danavas, from Dānū, the first wife of Kāsyăpă, the Daityas (Titans), from Diti, the second. These foes of the gods, then (or opponents to the priesthood), being compelled to emigrate, the Daityas, Titans, or Casyapites took the northern route of *Cash*-mire, (called *Casyapura*, the *Caspian* Sea, and Cau-*casus*, *i. e.* Mount Casyapa,[1]) and thence through Thrace into northern Greece. The lofty mountain in this part of Hellas, they would naturally style the "Great" mountain, or "Lŭmbo;"[2] it is called by the modern Greeks E'lymbo; by their ancestors it was named O'lūmpo-s. It is not a little singular, that "Lŭmbŭ" should be a name of the Indian Sree, or Roman Ceres, and that Ulŭmboshŭ should be one of the nymphs of Diupeti's heaven. Kĕrtika, also, another deity, appears in Mount Kerketi-us, in Thessaly. As a confirmation of this, we observe that Kĕrtika was appointed general of the celestial armies, against the Daityas or Titans; Mount Kerketius is the advanced post of Olympus, the fighting-ground of Zeus: the Titans are posted on Mount Othrys; and Kĕrtika is the Hindoo Mars. The great chain dividing northern Greece, and running north and south, would, according to the usual custom of emigrants, from a similar strongly-marked range in their old country, be naturally named Bindhyŭ; it reappears in Greece as Pindu-s. In the Pindus mountain rises the river Peñeus; in Bindhyu, the old country, rises the Pĕyūshni, which by metathesis is identical with the river in Greece. Flowing into the Peñeus, is the stream Apidanus, clearly seen in the Sanscrit as Apidhanŭ, *i. e.*, "disappearing," exactly characteristic of those singular Katabothra, or secret channels, noticed in the geographical division of this volume, by which several rivers in Greece disappeared. To the north of Doris is Mount Callidromus, or the "Forest Mountain" (Sansc. "Calindŭ," a mountain, and Drōmŭ, a tree); a name which the settlers gave, from a mountain in their old country, viz. Calindŭ, part of the *Himalayan range*, in fact, "*the* mountain," by way of eminence; while the Cambunian range is the revived nomenclature of Cambu-yă, a country in the north

Connection of emigration with the source of the Indian epic.

Route towards Greece.

Pelasgic nomenclature of localities in Thessaly.

[1] Pers. Koh, a mountain, and Casyapa.

[2] लम्ब, great, large, spacious. A name also of the goddess Durgā.

Indian mountains renamed by emigrants in Greece and Æthiopia.

of India.[1] *Mount Tomarus* is clearly the "*Someru*" of the Indian epic, another form of Mērū, the sacred mountain, again to be prominently recognised in Meroë, of Æthiopia, the seat of a high sacerdotal caste. The reader will recollect that it is to the "*Pious Æthiopians*"[2] that Homer makes Zeus and the other deities repair for a twelve days' banquet; and it is singular, that in a popular Indian drama, we have a notice of "the ceremony of the *twelve* years' sacrifice," with the elders who have gone to assist at its celebration, offering a curious analogy to the sacrifice noticed by Homer:—

> The sire of gods and all the ethereal train
> On the warm limits of the farthest main
> Now mix with mortals, nor disdain to grace
> The feast of Ethiopia's blameless race.
> Twelve days the gods indulge the genial rite,
> Returning with the twelfth revolving light.[3]

Tomarus and Someru, the myth of Zeus Pelasgikos.

With *Tomarus* again, we fall in with the most ancient myth of Zeus Pelasgikos, whose oracle was near this mountain,[4] not far from which he was brought up by the Dodonœan nymphs, the Hyades,[5] with whom the Indian epic deals under the name of "Wood-goers," (Vanechari;) whilst in Thrace we have Mount *Is-marus*,[6] with *Maro*, for the priest of Apollo. Mount Ossa, is evident in "Osha," the mountain of "Day-break;" whilst, by the southern Pelasgi, the chain of "Northern" or "Lofty" Mountains, would be "Ottra," appearing in more modern Greek as Othry-s.

The other band of emigrants were, in all probability, the Danavas, who, after passing into Egypt, possibly by the same route as Baird's overland army from India, subsequently moved forward into Greece. The

Danaus and his followers.

Danavas, then, would be no others than Danaus (Digamma, Danavas) and his followers, whose fifty daughters are said to have married the sons of Egyptus, or, in other words, whose people intermarried with the Egyptians generally. From this country, however, some act of violence obliged them to fly, as we may learn by the murder of the sons of Egyptus, a tale celebrated in mythology.

Composers of the Indian epic, how actuated.

It is highly probable that the popular epics of India were the composition of some of the dominant priesthood, in which their vanquished opponents were sung as Rakshas, or demons; and though these names may have, at one time, borne a different meaning to that affixed

Change of signification by new application.

to it by the priestly poet, the flexible nature of his language, enabled him thus to affix a stigma upon the vanquished party, in the same manner that the Greeks found no difficulty in finding an etymology, to suit any favourite theory or legend. When prominent epic names, therefore, reappear in Greece, they may, in fact, have had originally a meaning different from that which we now obtain through such

[1] This may have been a name originally given to this district from its having been the resort of robber tribes (Cambū, a plunderer).

[2] Δωδεκάτῃ δέ τοι αὖτις ἰλίνσεται Οὐλυμπόνδε. Il. i. 425.

[3] Pope's Homer, Il. i. *Vide* Uttara Rama Cherita, by Professor Wilson, p. 289.

[4] Hom. Il. ii. [5] Schol. ad Hom. xviii. 486.

[6] Od. ix. 197.

writings; for considered as a matter even of pure mythology, nothing can exceed the strong party feeling every where apparent. This latitude of signification we shall shortly elucidate. Thus, the Danavas and Daityas (Danai and Titans) would share in the same stigma. As in Greece, we have shown the names of Indian deities, rivers and mountains, as also terms in that language, descriptive of locality, we can, in conjunction with these philological evidences, on these principles, further demonstrate the original settlement of those singular people, the *Pelasgi*.[1] "*Pĕlāsă*," is actually the Indian name of the ancient Bahar, or Magadha. It further signifies "a demon," (and here we have the epic stigma). Let us recollect that the great and early chieftain of this country was *Peleus*: that his son is said to have been educated by the Thessalian Centaur, a monstrous creation, as was the

Philological evidence of the old Pelasgian settlements.

Peleus and Pĕlāsă.



Pĕlāsă; that the very name of that centaur was Cheiron, a name of the Indian *god of Love* (Chĕro, and nasalized Chĕron), that it signifies also "a *horse*," and "*one desirous of prohibited things*," and we shall at once see in this, the figure of the centaur, and the myth of the attack on the women of the Lapithæ. How exactly in keeping with this Indian idea of *Cheiron* is the Grecian, may be seen in the accompanying figure of the Centaur and Cupid, taken from an ancient Greek marble; add to this, that the figure of the Centaur occurs amongst the

Myth of Cheiron and Centaur elucidated.

[1] Pĕlāsă, and gă-m, "to go."

hieroglyphical sculptures, in the magnificent temple of Isis, in Egypt,[1] and we have another evidence of the identity of the Pelasgi and the Danai. Again, the name of the pupil of the Centaur, Achilles, proves to be a name of *Vishnu*, with a slight prefix being A'chila,[2] nor was anything more usual among the people of high antiquity, than to name children after some special deity, a custom which the history of the three Hebrews at the Chaldean Court will amply illustrate. Nor must we forget the more ordinary signification of Pelasa, "green or leafy," and we are at once reminded of the *leafy Pelion*, the very hill piled by the giants upon Ossa, or "Osha," the hill of "*Day-break*," let us remember, also, that Titan (τίταν) and "A-dityam" (accus.) are both names of "the *Sun*," and we have a strong chain of more than mytho-philological evidence, by which the east is united to the west, and by which we are irresistibly led to trace back to India, at once the source of this fable, and the strange race of the Pelasgi.

Name of Achilles.

Philological evidences of early fable.

If we survey more closely the *machinery* of Hesiod's theogony, we shall find it of a high antiquity. The Titans are thrust down into Tartarus, or to *Hadēs*, the same word in the Hindoo system, by Metathesis, is *Adhas*, *i. e.*, "down, or downwards;" and in both the Indian and Grecian theogonies, the Amrităh, or Ambr-osia, the "*immortal* cheer," confers immortality upon the partaker.

Epic machinery of Hesiod of Hindoo origin.

It is strange that with Sappho and Alcman[3] nectar is the *food* of the gods, and ambrosia their *drink*. And here again we have a singular philological confirmation of the direction of the Pelasgic emigration. While the purer Indian form tells us of *Amrităh* and *Adhas* (Ambrosia and Hadēs): the Indian emigrants through Persia tell us of *Nectar*[4] and *Tartarus*,[5] *i. e.*, the "*better*" drink of the gods, and the "*Darker*" infernal regions. Hence the confusion of classical authorities; because it is evident that the celestial cheer might be either the "better" drink or the "better" food.[6] In fact as early as the times of Homer the two terms seem quite confused.[7]

The weapons hurled by Zeus are candent thunderbolts (Arges, Digamma Varges, Sansc. Vagra). The instruments of fire or Agneyastra (fiery weapons) of the great Hindoo sages, are favourite arms of

[1] Denon, Pl. cxxxii. a. 2.

[2] Though the *a* is privative in Sanscrit as in Greek, there is no reason why it should not have been used as an euphonic; nor is it improbable that the present mode of writing the Greek warrior's name is a corruption from the genuine language of his day. The modern Persians often use a vocalic prefix to Greek names —as Istephan for Stephen (Στιφάνος); Iskander for Secander, *i.e.* Alexander.

[3] Od. 16.

[4] نیکتر (Nektar, better, compar. of نیک, nek, good). Classical authorities, absurdly enough, derive this from νη and κτάω.

[5] تار, Tar. dark; تارتر, Tartar, darker. Our own English term we get through the Saxon from another Persian form تاریک, Tarēk. Dar'k.

[6] *Vide* Il. iv. 3, Il. xix. 38, Od. v. 93.

[7] *Vide* Od. i. 339. See also Heyne's Exc. 9, ad Il. i. Obs. ad Il. 190.

the Indian Epic, and are bestowed as distinguished gifts, and seem endowed with a sort of living self-agency and personality.

Reviving power of the ambrosia or amrităh.

The ambrosia of Hesiod and the amrităh of Valmīki have the effect of giving additional vigour in both cases—

> Their spirits nectar and ambrosia raise,
> And fire their generous breasts to acts of praise.[1]

So also in the Indian Epic, the gods would have been defeated had they not refreshed themselves with the amrităh;[2] and Rahū, a giant who succeeds in getting a draught of this elixir vitæ, fares very well, though his head is severed from the trunk; and he is sufficiently vigorous to endeavour to devour the sun.

Didactic style of Hesiod, and relics of old systems.

We have now rapidly passed through some of the main points and chief machinery of the Hesiodic theogony, which the reader will perceive is not purely Grecian, but borrowed from Oriental sources. The didactic style of Hesiod is so totally different from the smooth flowing narrative of Homer, that while the former is often hampered with the relics of the old Indian system, the latter proceeds easily and fluently, and is never embarrassed by an endeavour to systematize.

Greek cosmogony, by Orpheus.

Let us now for a moment turn to the ORPHIC Cosmogony, and we shall observe all that authority of language and that elaboration of thought that attest the formation of collegiate dogmas; the original of which we shall find in the Indo-theistic accounts. Here, the first agent arising is Cronos; his successors are Chaos and Æther, whence Cronos produced the vast mundane egg.[3] From this sprang the first-born god Phanēs, or Mētis, sometimes called Hericapæus,[4] a being of twofold sex, who generated the mundane system, bearing within him the seed of the Gods.

First agent.

The mundane egg.

Orphic treatment of the birth of Jove.

The Orphic theogony handles the concealment and final escape of the infant Zeus substantially in the same form with Hesiod, though with more complexity. Here we find Zeus hidden in the cave of Nux or Night, in company with Eidē and Adrasteia. Tended by these, he owes his preservation to the armed dance and the resounding instruments of the Curetes; their tumult overpowers his infant cries, which are consequently unheard by Cronos. After having overcome his father, and gained the supremacy, he absorbed into himself Mētis, together with all the first elementary train of things, and then, out of his own nature, regenerated all things afresh. This process of absorption and reproduction is one of the strongest characteristics of the Indian

Absorbent and reproductive process completely Indian.

[1] Cooke's Hesiod, 941.

[2] ἀ (βροτος); so Sansc. a priv. and mrita, mors.

[3] "From the direction of spirit, with the acquiescence of intellect, there was formed an egg, which gradually expanded like a bubble of water." (Vishnu Pur. c. i.; *vide* translat. by Prof. Wilson.) So Aristophanes, who appears to have been well acquainted with the Orphic system: Τίκτει πρώτιστον ὑπηνέμιων νυξ, ἡ μελανόπτερος ὠόν.

[4] *Hericapæus* and *Hiranyakasipa*, I believe, from their position in the theogony of the East and West, will be found to be identical.

mythology, involving the grand fundamental doctrine of the Avatars; the latter principally occurs again in a marked manner in the case of Zagreus the horned child, whose body was the primary residence of the soul of Dionysus. Here the transmigrative element is again at work. This noble child, under the name of Zagreus, had been slain by the artifices of the Titans, who after cutting up his body and boiling it in a cauldron left the heart only, which being given to Semelē, Zagreus[1] was reborn from her under the guise of Dionysus.[2]

Zagreus.

From the consideration of these mystic chronicles, we turn to the chronicler himself. Orpheus and Æsop are representatives, the first of doctrinal, the second of moral apologue. Both were of Oriental birth: Ophos, dusky or dark; and Aithops, Ethiopian, or "the dark face," sufficiently point out the physical type of both. At an early period the sacerdotal colonies of Buddha, expelled from India by the power of the Brahmins, moved westward, and in their advance spread many of the tenets of their peculiar faith. Hence Orpheus is said to have come from Thrace, a region to the Greeks of most indefinite extent,—a region, however, which, as may be seen in Herodotus, was one of the main sources of the Hellenic sacred rites.

Orpheus and Æsop, whence.

Orpheus said to have come from Thrace.

We have seen that the names of several mountains and rivers in Thessaly, are of Indian origin, and we have noticed an emigrative movement progressing through Thrace into northern Greece. When we reflect upon the musical character of Orpheus, that he is said to be the son of Calliopē, one of the Muses; when we consider that the worship of the Muses guides us to Thrace, the very ground over which this emigration must have passed, and next points to Pieria, about Mount Olympus, the new Indian Mērū, and when we reflect upon the office of these graceful beings, the Muses, we are irresistibly led to their early original type.

Musical fame of Orpheus and the Muses.

They dwell upon Olympus,[3] are the goddesses of poetry, and song, and dance; and pour forth those festive songs at the repasts of the immortals.[4] The eastern Epic tells us of those graceful nymphs the Apsaras,[5] who dwell upon the lofty mountains of the gods; celestial dancers, celebrated for their beauty.

Position and parallel deduced.

[1] See the Dionysiaca of Nonnus, c. vi. 264. *Vide* also the Orphic Theogony, Brandis, c. xvii. and xiii. of his Handbuch der Geschichte der Griechish. Romisch. Philos., in which he justly considered this theogony as long preceding the earliest Ionic philosophy.

[2] Mr. Grote has considered that the Orphic is based upon the Hesiodic theogony, and in support of this view he points out that Zeus has in Homer one predecessor, in Hesiod two, and in Orpheus four. We differ from this opinion, drawing our inference from the relative completeness given by earlier time. The Orphic account is more complete, because it was given nearer the time of the first systematiser from the Oriental type. Thrace was in the line of Indian tradition; Homeric Ionia did not fall within its track.

[3] Il. ii. 488.

[4] Il. i. 604; Hymn to Ap. Pyth. 11.

[5] Like Aphrodītē, they rose from the foam of the sea; though, in one age, they are said to be the daughters of Kasyapa.

——— Myriads were they born, and all
In vesture heavenly clad, and heavenly gems;
Yet more divine their native semblance, rich
With all the gifts of grace, and youth, and beauty.[1]

There, too, celestial singers, redolent of immortal fragrance (as their name implies),[2] inhabit the heaven of Diupĕti (Zeu-pater), where they pour forth their heavenly strains at the banquets of the immortals. Celestial singers of Diupeti.

There where the bands in lucid rows assemble,
Flutes breathe, and citherns tremble.[3]

It is not a little remarkable, that one of the chief of those celestial nymphs of the mountain of the gods, should be Ulŭmbosha,[4] a name almost identical with Olympus.

The doctrinal basis of the Orphic theogony is in all respects identical with the Indian, while the musical powers of the great Thracian minstrel are found paralleled by results as astonishing, though of a more subtle cast: these we shall shortly notice. The doctrinal sources of the mundane egg, the abstinence from animal food, the incarnations of the deity, and of the soul under various forms, animal or vegetable, the το πάν, or the all-comprehensiveness of the Supreme Ruler of the world, his energizing emanations—these and other tenets of Orpheus, are to be sought in the great Brahminical dogmas taught in the Bhagavad Gita, the Vishnu Purana, and the Manavah Dherma Sastra. Identity of the prime Greek doctrines with the Indian system.

The Orphic doctrine of the universality of Zeus is thus recapitulated by Apuleius:—

Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀρχικέραυνος,
Ζεὺς κεφαλή, Ζεὺς μέσσα· Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται.
Apul. de Mundo.

"Zeus, the lofty thunderer, is the first and the last and the middle; from him all things proceed." In the Bhagavad Gita we find "Among weapons, I am the thunderbolt;" and again, "Among transitory nature, I am the beginning, the middle, and the end."[5] Both the Orphic and Pythagorean doctrines, Herodotus believed to have emanated from Egypt,[6] which would appear to support the fact of the double stream of emigration before noticed, by which these principles were brought through both Thrace and Egypt to Greece. Whilst the amazing resemblance of the Egyptian priestly ritual, and attire, to that of India, the similarity of several important deities and their offices,[7] together with the Hindoo form of many of the skulls of the Identity of Orphic and Indian doctrinal tenets continued. Double source of doctrinal influx into Greece.

[1] Prof. Wilson, from first book of Ramayuna.
[2] From "gandha," perfume, and "arbba," to go.
[3] Sir W. Jones, Ode to Indra.
[4] From "ŭlŭm," ornament.
[5] सर्गाणांमादिरन्तश्च मध्यं चैवाहमर्जुन
Bhag. Git. Lect. x. Slok. 31.
[6] Ὁμολογέουσι δὲ τᾶυτα τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοισι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι, ἐοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι.—*Herod.* ii. 81.
[7] *Vide* Lobeck Aglaoph. l. c.

Proofs drawn from sacred books.

Egyptian mummies which have been examined,[1] still further support the opinions advanced. The Orphic devotee believed that "belonging to the Universe, there was within Zeus, the splendid height of the ethereal expansive heaven," and that "whatever has been or will be, is produced within Zeus."[2] His Indian type, acknowledged that "the world was produced by Vishnu; that it *existed in him;* that it was the cause of its continuance and termination; in fine, that *he was the world.*"[3] The former believed that "Zeus was the source of the sea; that he was the sun and the moon;"[4] the latter that "he was taste in the water, light in the sun and moon."[5] In fact, it was the same noble doctrine, that has descended to the great moral poet—

Embodied by Pope.

> Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
> Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees.[6]

In the character of Lyrist, Orpheus towers amongst the mythologic clouds, and his apotheosis is of corresponding exaltation. His music captivates creation animate and inanimate:—

> What man, what hero, on the tuneful lyre,
> Or sharp-toned flute will Clio choose to praise?
> What god whose hallowed name
> Shall through the shade of Helicon resound
> On Pindus or on Hæmus ever cool?
> From whence the forests in confusion wild
> To vocal Orpheus urged their way;
> Who by his mother's art, harmonious muse,
> With soft delay could stop the falling streams
> And winged winds, with strings of concord sweet.
> Powerful the listening oaks to lead.
>
> *Francis' Horace.*

Doctrine of vocal sway and musical supremacy.

The doctrine of vocal sway and musical supremacy over not merely material but elementary nature, as held by the Hindoos, will illustrate at once this Orphic attribute and its sources. Each "raug" or musical mode has its own appropriate effect; some appear to have a mysterious connection with day, and others with night. An Oriental writer relates two striking mythic illustrations of the power of these modes occurring in the reign of the Emperor Akber. He observes, there is a

[1] See Blumenbach, Beiträge zur Naturgeschichte, wherein he notices three varieties: 1st, the Ethiopian form; 2nd, the Hindus-artige, or figure resembling the Hindoos; 3rd, the Berber-ähnliche, the Berber mould.

[2] Τοῦνεκα σὺν τῷ παντὶ Διὸς πάλιν ἐντὸς ἐτύχθη
Αἰθέρος εὐρείης ἠδ' οὐρανοῦ ἄγλαον ὕψος, ...
Ὅσσα τ' ἦεν γεγαῶτα, καὶ ὕστερον ὁπόσ' ἔμελλεν
Ἐγίνετο· Ζηνὸς δ' ἐνὶ γαστέρι σύῤῥα πεφύκει.
Procl. in Timæum. p. 95.

[3] Vishnu Purana, c. i.

[4] Ζεὺς πόντου ῥίζα· Ζεὺς ἥλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη·
Apul. de Mundo.

[5] Răso ăhăm ăpsū (Kounteyă), prăbhāsmi săsimūryăyoh.
Bhag. Git. Lect. vii. Slok. 7.

[6] Pope's Essay on Man, sect. ix.

tradition that whosoever should attempt to sing the raug *Dhee pook*, would be destroyed by fire. This raug the Emperor Akber ordered Naik Gopal, a celebrated musician, to sing. He endeavoured to excuse himself, but in vain. The Emperor insisted on obedience. He, therefore, requested permission to go home and bid farewell to his friends. It was winter when he returned, after an absence of six months. Before he began to sing he placed himself in the waters of the Jumma, till they reached his neck. As soon as he had performed a strain, the entire river gradually became hot; at length it began to boil, and the agonies of the unhappy musician were insupportable. Suspending for a moment the melody thus cruelly extorted, he sued for mercy from the monarch, but in vain. Akber wished to prove still more strongly the power of this raug. Naik Gopal resumed the fatal strain, flames burst with violence from his body, which, though immersed in the waters of the Jumma, was consumed to ashes.

How handled by the Hindoos.

Naik Gopal sings in the waters of the Jumma.

Consumed by fire.

Again, in the same reign, it is said, that Mia Tonsine, a wonderful musician, sang one of the night raugs at mid-day. The result was astonishing. He was performing in the magnificent halls of the Emperor, and the powers of his music were such that it instantly became night, and the darkness extended in a circle round the palace, as far as the sound of his voice could be heard.

Effects of music by Mia Tonsine.

The astronomical apotheosis of Orpheus and his harp follows the Hindoo system. There, the sage Dhruva, is made the pole star, by virtue of the imperial award; "a star shall be assigned to thee above the three worlds."[1] The Pythagorean doctrine of the music of the spheres, which was considered the result of the harmonious movement of the heavenly bodies, may possibly be found connected with Orphic Apotheosis, or with the Gandharbas, the choristers of Indra's heaven, especially as the greater proportion of the Orphic and Pythagorean doctrine is identical. We must not confound the comparatively modern written forms of the Orphic tenets with their actually very ancient practical existence. This would tend to invalidate the possibilities of correctness in history, unless recorded at or soon after the fact. And although many of the existing writings of Orpheus and Musæus may be proved to be compositions of poets of the Alexandrine age, it is impossible for us to pronounce dogmatically upon the old authorities which may have formed the basis of their writings. Plato[2] and Aristophanes[3] carry the antiquity of Orpheus considerably beyond that of Homer, and though Onomacritus, B. C. 610–510, is said by Pausanias[4] to have been the inventor of the tale of Zagreus, this, by no means, disproves the possibility of that author's having access to Orphic writings in existence in his day.[5] Not only in Hellas might similar doctrines have been accessible but in Persia, much nearer their

Musico-astronomical analogy.

Music of the spheres.

Alexandrine compositions not necessarily inventions.

Sources of Onomacritus unknown.

[1] Vishnu Purana, c. ix.
[2] Theatet, p. 179.
[3] Ranæ, 1030.
[4] Paus. viii. 37, 3.
[5] Nitzsch, in his Erklärende Anmerkungen zu Homeris Odyssee, enters deeply into the connection of the writings of Onomacritus with the Homeric poems.

original source. We know from Herodotus,[1] that when expelled from Athens, Onomacritus repaired to Persia, where influenced by Peisistratus, then at the Persian Court, he recited those ancient oracles of Hellas, which favoured the attempt of an invasion. In the army of Xerxes there was a large body of Indian auxiliaries; and, farther, the connection between the court of Persia and India must have been great, since the latter government had constructed a grand military and commercial road into the heart of central Asia. From these sources, therefore, in addition to emigration and individual travel, the Orphic doctrines would have access to Greece.

Onomacritus repairs to the Persian Court.

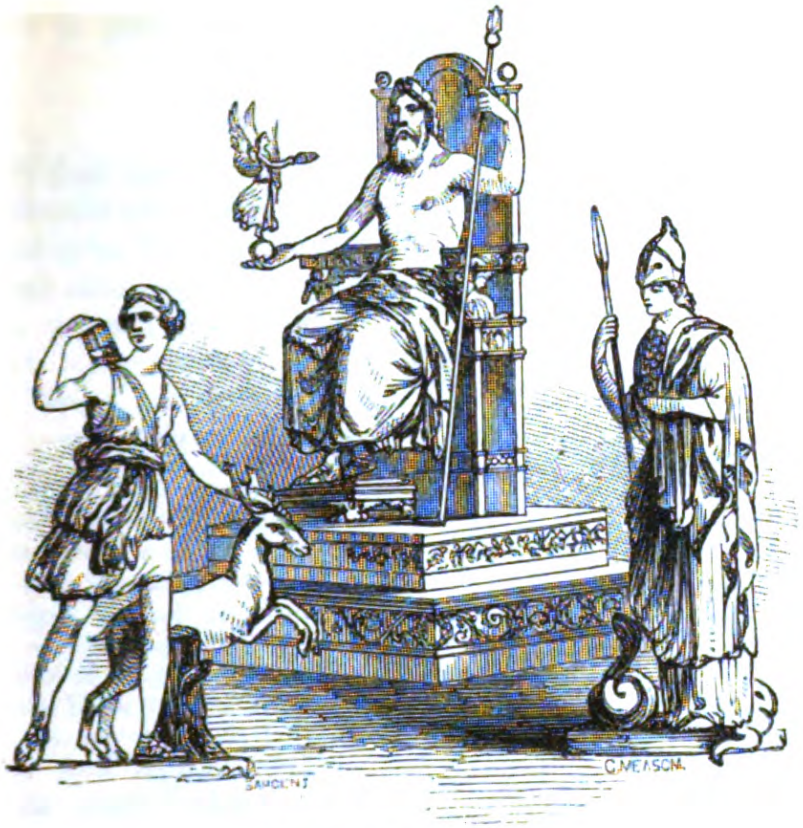
Indo-Persian connection.

We shall now turn from the investigation of national and collegiate relics to the more popular and simple treatment of individual myths, by the Homerid of Chios, about B. C. 660, whose simplicity of style and easy flow of language led Thucydides to imagine his compositions to have been the work of the great author of the Iliad.

Legends of Homer of Chios.

[1] Herod. vii. 6.





CHAPTER IV.

POPULAR LEGENDS OF THE GODS.

NAMES OF THE GREEK AND ROMAN DIVINITIES OR HEROES.

Greek.	*Latin.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*
Zeus	Jupiter.	Artemis	Diana.
Poseidōn	Neptune.	Aphrodītē	Venus.
Arēs	Mars.	Eōs	Aurora.
Dionysus	Bacchus.	Hestia	Vesta.
Hermēs	Mercury.	Lētō	Latona.
Hēlios	Sol.	Dēmēter	Ceres.
Hēphaistos	Vulcan.	Persephonē	Proserpine.
Hadēs	Pluto.	Hēraclēs	Hercules.
Hērē	Juno.	Asclēpius	Æsculapius.
Athēnē	Minerva.	Odysseus	Ulysses.

Those names which are the same in Greek and Latin have been omitted.

THE productions styled the "Homeric Hymns" were preludes (προιμία) chanted by the Rhapsodist, at the festival of the gods, as an overture to the epic poems there recited in honour of each special deity. They are of a most believing, simple, and primitive spirit.[1] Their style and treatment were calculated to enlist irresistibly the feelings of a Greek auditory, and to continue the same delightful stream of enjoyment, and the same mythical colouring which so pre-eminently distinguished the author of the Iliad. Of such a nature, dashed with its full share

Nature of the proimia.

Easy style of the Homeric hymns.

[1] *Vide* Müller's Greek Lit. p. 74.

of the terrible and supernatural, is the popular song in honour of Dionysus.

THE LEGEND OF DIONYSUS.

Poetic picture of Dionysus.

The Homeric hymn describes DIONYSUS as standing on a projecting point of the sea-shore, in the guise of a young man in the bloom of youth, his magnificent sable locks waving around his noble form, and a purple robe floating over his massive shoulders. He is suddenly seen and seized by some Tyrrhenian pirates:—



Swiftly sailed the pirate crew
Of the gallant bark in view
The purple waters o'er.
Soon the signal-nod they sighted,
Whom the doom of fate invited,
Bounding fleet ashore;
Dashed they gaily at their prey,
Seized, and shipward bore away.[1]

They fancied him the son of some noble prince, and would bind him with rigid bonds; but these spontaneously burst away from hands and feet, and he sat down smiling with his azure eyes. The helmsman perceiving this at once called out to his comrades, and warned them, lest they should have been binding some god, it might be Zeus, or Apollo of the silver bow, or even Poseidōn, at the same time pointing out his majestic mien, more like the immortals than a human being. He conjures the crew to set Dionysus ashore, lest in his indignation he should raise against them fierce tempests and hurricanes. He is laughed at, and Dionysus is carried out to sea. But the skipper fiercely chid the steersman:—

The helmsman derided.

"You meddling lubber, heed the gale;
Taut everything—sheet home the sail—
My crew shall watch the knave.

I fancy Egypt he may view,
Or Cyprus—the far Northmen too—
Nay, sail a little farther.

---

[1] . . . . . τάχα δ' ἄνδρες ἐϋσέλμου ἀπὸ νηὸς
Λῃσταὶ προγίνοντο θοῶς ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον,
Τυρσηνοί· τοὺς δ' ἦγε κακὸς μόρος· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες
Νεῦσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους, τάχα δ' ἔκθορον· αἶψα δ' ἑλόντες
Εἷσαν ἐπὶ σφετέρης νηὸς, κεχαρμένος ἦτορ.

The rogue, I doubt me, at the last,
Will find his tongue, and gabble fast
Of heaps of pelf—
Of friends and brothers.[1]

They sail out to sea with Dionysus.

So saying they hold on everything, and with a strong gale stand out to sea. But soon miraculous appearances are but too evident:—

First sweet-draughted wine forth streaming,
Fragrant, murmuring as the rill,
Through the dark ship eddied, seeming
With ambrosia heaven to fill;
Stupid as the seamen gazed,
Wonder filled them all amazed.

Vines quick round the topsail twining,
Wreath on wreath with tendrils hung,
Clustering grapes unnumbered shining,
Dark the masts with ivy clung.[2]

The oar-pegs also are covered with garlands. On beholding this prodigy they all earnestly entreated Medeides, the helmsman, to steer towards shore. Dionysus now assumes the form of a lion and roars awfully, whilst a horrible shaggy bear is seen standing near him. Terrified, the crew all rush to the stern:—

Assumes the form of a lion.

Agonized with horror, they
Round the pious helmsman poured;
Sudden sprang, and bore away,
The beast, their skipper. Overboard,
To shun that doom, all wildly leap
The crew into the awful deep,
And dolphins they become![3]

Fate of the crew.

Compassionating the discreet helmsman, Dionysus prevented him

[1] Δαιμόνι, οὖρον ὅρα, ἅμα δ' ἱστίον ἕλκεο νηός
Σύμπαντ' ὅπλα. λαβών· ὅδε δ' αὖτ' ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει.
Ἑλτόμαι, ἢ Αἴγυπτον ἀφίξεται, ἢ ὅγε Κύπρον,
Ἢ ἐς Ὑπερβορέους, ἢ ἑκαστέρω· ἐς δὲ τελευτὴν
Ἐκ ποτ' ἐρεῖ αὐτοῦ τι φίλους καὶ κτήματα πάντα
Οὓς τὲ κασιγνήτους· . . . . . .

[2] Οἶνος μὲν πρώτιστα θοὴν ἀνὰ νῆα μίλαιναν
Ἡδύποτος κιλάρυζ' ἰυώδης, ὤρνυτο δ' ὀδμὴ
Ἀμβροσίη· ναύτας δὲ τάφος λάβε πάντας ἰδόντας.
Αὐτίκα δ' ἀκρότατον παρὰ ἱστίον ἐξετανύσθη
Ἄμπελος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, κατεκρημνῶντο δὲ πολλοὶ
Βότρυες· ἀμφ' ἱστὸν δὲ μέλας εἰλίσσετο κισσός.

Hymn, Dion. 35–40.

[3] Ἀμφὶ κυβερνήτην δὲ, σαόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντα,
Ἔσταν ἀρ' ἐκπληγέντες· ὃ δ' ἐξαπίνης ἐπορούσας
Ἀρχὸν ἵλ'· οἱ δὲ θύραζε, κακὸν μόρον ἐξαλύοντες,
Πάντες ὁμῶς πήδησαν, ἐπεὶ ἴδον, εἰς ἅλα δῖαν,
Δελφῖνες δ' ἐγένοντο. . . . . .

Hymn, Dion. 49–53.

Lucian very humorously carries out the Greek doctrine of sympathies in his dialogue between the Dolphin and Neptune: "Don't wonder," says the Dolphin (in allusion to his having rescued the harper Arion), "that we are well disposed to mankind, since we ourselves, who are now fish, were once men."—Ποσειδ. καὶ Δελφινων.

The helmsman saved.

from going overboard, and made him "truly happy"[1] by thus addressing him:—

> Honest seaman, cheer thee now,
> Dear unto my heart art thou![2]

He then declares his name and lineage from Zeus and Cadmeian Semelē; and the hymnographer concludes by this parting doxology to the god:—

> Hail, fair son of Semelē!
> Ne'er may I forgetful be
> To warble forth sweet strains to thee.[3]

In this narrative the easy flow of language, and the simplicity of effect, form a striking contrast to the subsequent worship of the god, when all was frantic clamour, fury, and the very madness of inspiration; nor is there anything of the dramatic complexity of plot exhibited by Euripides.[4] In the one instance, Silenus and his Bacchanals go in quest of Dionysus, and, in the other, it is the hatred of Hērē, that impels the pirates to their plot against the god. The great diversity of opinion which prevailes relative to the birthplace of Dionysus is a singular feature in his history. His great mythologic lineaments, however, are all of an oriental cast. By some he is described as the son of Indus.[5] But the usual tale makes him the son of Semelē, by Zeus. Hērē, jealous of the beautiful favourite of the Thunderer, induced her to request a visit from Zeus in all his majesty and glory. After repeatedly entreating Semelē to desist from this request, but in vain, Zeus at length yielded, and appeared to her in lightnings and thunders. Seized by the vivid fires, and overpowered by the unearthly spectacle, she gave premature birth to her offspring, Dionysus. We have noticed the saving of the child by Zeus, and the legend of the thigh (Mēros), and its connexion with the fabulous Indian mountain of that name. We are told Dionysus derived his name from the city of Nysa, situated on this mountain. The most famous incident in his wanderings is his expedition to India, which lasted, it is said, fifty-two years.[6] It is not a

Contrast of the Dionysus of Homer and Euripides.

Various accounts of Dionysus.

Usual tale.

Greek etymology of Dionysus.

[1] Πανόλβιον.

[2] Θαρσεῖ, δῖε κάτωρ, τῷ ἐμῷ κεκαρισμένε θυμῷ·

Κάτωρ, a word which Greek Lexicons pronounce to be "corrupt or unknown," is clearly the termination of the form mar-*cator;* it is used in a familiar way, as Tony for Antony. The crew of the ship was *Tyr-rhenian*, which establishes their dialect. A form of this vocable is also found in the Arab. كت (catto), Vir qui multum *colligit* et lucratur (Kamūs); *vide* Freytag also, sub. v. Connected with this root also is the Latin *Cater*-va, Gaelic *Catheran*, Saxon *gaderian*, and English *gather*. What was the Gaelic *Catheran* is well known. The Mar-cator pursued his roving profession by *sea;* he was *Mare-cator*, combining the characteristics of *pirate and trader*. Mer-cer, and Mer-cator, are offshoots of the term.

[3] Χαῖρε τέκος Σεμέλης εὐώπιδος· οὐδέ σε λήσω
Σεῖο γε μνησόμενον γλυκερὴν κοσμῆσαι ἀοιδήν.
Hymn, Dion. 58, 59.

[4] Eurip. Cyc. 112; Bacchæ, 286.

[5] Philostr. Vit. Apoll. ii. 9.

[6] Diod. iii. 63; iv. 3.

little singular that the surname of Dio-nichi should still be used to designate Siva, the Indian Bacchus. Dionysus, in his conquest of India, was accompanied by a host of Satyrs, Pans, and Sylvans.[1] This closely resembles the great expedition of Hanūman, the Simian chief, with an army composed of the same description of warriors, recorded in the Ramayuna of Valmīki. A singular parallel to the tale of Semelē's death is also seen in the Indian myth of Pārvatī, who believing that her child was an extraordinary prodigy, requested the great deity, Shuni (Saturn), to look at it. The god, knowing that his gaze would be destruction, refused compliance, but the importunate mother would not be denied. At length, giving way to her entreaties, he looked upon the infant, whose head was instantly consumed to ashes.

Indian surname.

Grand expedition of Dionysus and analogy.

Analogy of Semelē and Pārvatī.

As Dionysus was considered by Pindar as the companion deity of Dēmēter in his worship, we shall follow this arrangement, as seen in his Isthmian Ode,[2] and present the reader with the Homeric legend of Dēmēter.

THE LEGEND OF DĒMĒTER.

The origin of the popular Athenian belief in the mysteries of Eleusis is well portrayed in the Homeric hymn; Persephonē, the daughter of DĒMĒTER, had been seized by Hadēs, while gathering flowers in a meadow, in company with the Nymphs of Ocean. The struggling Persephonē vainly shrieked, invoking the aid of her father, Zeus; from him no help could be expected; he it was who caused those flowers to grow which had tempted her virgin fancy, and he had agreed to give the maid to Hadēs.

Origin of the popular Attic belief in Dēmēter.

Persephonē carried off.

Her cries were heard by Hēlios and Hecatē only; and Dēmēter, distracted at the loss of her daughter, wandered in quest of her for nine days and nights, her sorrowing path lighted by torches; but without success. No nectar nor ambrosia did she taste, and she bathed not on her toilsome journey. On the tenth day she met Hecatē, who informed her that the cries of Persephonē had been heard, but that she did not know by whom she had been carried off. At length they both repaired to Hēlios, "the spy of gods and men,"[3] and standing before his steeds conjured him to reveal who it was, whether god or man, who had carried her off. Hēlios replied that Hadēs was the ravisher, and with the consent of Zeus. Indignant at the treachery of

Dēmēter and Hecatē repair to Hēlios.

[1] Strabo, xi. p. 505.—The Sylvans of Valmīki were, as usual, an express creation for an express object.

> Te gŭjachŭlasŭnkāsān vŭyooshmŭntā mŭhabŭlā
> Rŭkshŭvānŭrogopoochchā kshiprŭmŭnvabhijugnire.
>
> *Ram. B.* i. Sect. 15, Slok. 17.
>
> These ursine and simian warriors and gopoochas, in bulk equal to elephants or mountains, and of vast prowess, were quickly generated.

[2] χαλκοκρότου πάρεδρον Δημήτερος. *Isth.* vi. 3.

[3] Hymn, Dem. 62.

Dēmēter at Eleusis.

the son of Saturn, Dēmēter, entirely separated from the council of the Immortals and from glorious Olympus, wandered amongst mankind in sorrow, till her form could be no longer recognised. At length she came to Eleusis, at that time under the sway of the warlike Celeus. Here, disguised as an old woman, she sat down by the road side, close to a well, beautifully shaded by olives. Hither the blooming daughters of Celeus soon came with their pails of brass for water, and, on seeing her, inquired who and whence she was, and why, thus aged, she was so far from hospitable shelter? To this the goddess replied:—

Fictitious account given of herself by Dēmēter.

> Dēō my name—such my chaste mother gave,
> But now from Creta, o'er the sea's broad ridge
> I come—no will of mine. Me forced by might
> Compulsive, pirate robbers dragged away.
> Then, with swift sail, at Thoricus they touched,
> Where crowding females on the sands debarked.
> Themselves the crew, hard by the hawser, there
> Prepared their evening meal. But me no thought
> Of cheering food possessed. In secret I
> Sprang forward o'er the dusky land, and 'scaped
> My haughty masters.[1]

Dēmēter nurse to Dēmophoōn.

The goddess then solicited employment as a servant. The daughters of Celeus persuaded their mother, Metaneira, to accept her services in the capacity of nurse to Dēmophoōn, their infant brother. Here, with paleness on her cheek, her noble form bowed down by protracted sorrow, the once majestic Dēmēter remained a long time in silence, refusing to be seated on the splendid couch before her, nor would she smile nor taste food, until the prudent Iambē, the maid servant, by playful caresses and jests, succeeded in rendering her more calm and cheerful.[2] Now nursed on the fragrant bosom of the goddess, the infant Dēmophoōn grew up like a god; he tasted no food, however, but he was anointed with ambrosia, and by night, unknown to his parents, he was plunged into fire, like a torch. "And now," says the poet, "would the goddess have made him exempt from age, and immortal," had not the fair Metaneira, indiscreetly watching by night from her fragrant chamber, beheld the act. With the deepest horror and anguish of soul, she shrieked aloud, when the indignant goddess, setting the infant on the ground, said, "Know that, but for thy indiscretion, I had procured immortality for thy dear son. Yet shall he be

Dēmophoōn, how reared.

Metaneira watches the goddess.

[1] Δηὼ ἐμόιγ' ὄνομ' ἐστί· τὸ γὰρ θέτο πότνια μήτηρ.
Νυν αὖτε Κρήτηθεν ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης
Ἤλυθον οὐκ ἐθέλουσα βίῃ δ' ἀέκουσαν ἀνάγκῃ
Ἄνδρες λῃστῆρες ἀπήγαγον· οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα
Νηῒ θοῇ θορικόνδε κατίσχεθον ἔνθα γυναῖκες
Ἠπείρου ἐνέβησαν ἀολλέες, ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
Δεῖπνον ἐπηρτύνοντο παρὰ πρυμνήσια νηός.
Ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ οὐ δόρποιο μελίφρονος ἤρατο θυμός
Λάθρῃ δ' ὁρμηθεῖσα δι' ἠπείροιο μελαίνης
Φεύγον ὑπερφιάλους σημάντορας. . . . . .

[2] Hymn, Dem. 204.

ever honoured, because he has sat upon my knees, and has been cradled in my arms. I am the venerated Dēmēter, the joy and help of gods and men. But, come, let the united people erect my temple and my altars above the fount Callichorus; I myself will order the method of their sacrifice, and the means of propitiating my favour." The goddess now ended, and revealed herself in all her majestic grandeur:— Dēmēter reveals herself.

Changed form and stature now,
Age vanished from her brow,
And beauty breathed around.
Forth from her fragrant robes sweet perfumes flowing
Far flashed the goddess-form with splendour glowing.
Whilst golden o'er her shoulders flow
Those radiant locks unbound;
And as the lightnings blind the gaze,
So filled those halls the frequent blaze.[1]

The goddess now left the palace, and so terrified was Metaneira, that in her speechless fright she was unable to raise her son from the ground. Her daughters now entered, and proceeded to tend the child; they could not, however, soothe their infant brother —he had lost his divine nurse. Dēmēter now took up her abode in the temple built for her by Celeus; but still indignant with Jove, and pining for her daughter, she withheld her bounteous aid from mankind for a whole year —a year full of dreadful want. She suffered not the seed to spring from the earth; and had not Zeus pacified her, the human race must have perished from starvation. Vainly did Zeus send Iris and all the train of deities; the recovery of her daughter would alone satisfy her. Hermēs was now despatched in earnest to Hadēs; and Persephonē most joyfully accompanied the imperial messenger on his return. Dēmēter hailed the restoration of her daughter with transports of joy. Metaneira left by the goddess.



[1] . . . . . μέγεθος καὶ εἶδος ἄμειψεν
Γῆρας ἀπωσαμένη περί τ' ἀμφί τε κάλλος ἄητο·
Ὀδμὴ δ' ἱμερόεσσα θυηέντων ἀπὸ πέπλων
Σκίδνατο τῆλε δὲ φέγγος ἀπὸ χροὸς ἀθανάτοιο
Λάμπε θεᾶς, ξανθαὶ δὲ κομαὶ κατεννήνοθεν ὤμους·
Αὐγῆς δ' ἐπλήσθη πυκινὸς δόμος, ἀστεροπῆς ὥς.

Return of Persephonē.

Now, rendered placable, the goddess again exercised her powers, and the teeming earth was speedily covered with fruits and flowers. Gladly would she have retained Persephonē for ever by her side; but this was impracticable; and it was finally arranged that Persephonē should depart from her every spring, at seed-time, and



should pass one-third of the year in the palace of Hadēs. Dēmēter now prepared for her return to Olympus; and on the eve of her departure, she imparted to her devotees, Celeus and his daughters, and to Triptolemus, Dioclēs, and Eumolpus, the divine solemnities which were to be maintained in her worship.[1] All things thus arranged, she now repaired to the assembly of the blessed gods. So commenced the sacred Eleusinian Mysteries; and certainly, in the whole circuit of the Delian hymnography, there is no temple legend more pictorial in its effect, nor better supported by local and representative associations.

Dēmēter communicates her sacred rites.

Privileged families.

The privileged families of Eumolpus, Dioclēs, and Triptolemus, continued their hereditary functions at the Eleusinia, and to the national faith was added the charm of historical truth, by the existence of the well still shaded by the olive-trees, the stream Callichorus, and the prominent temple-hill. This myth is a strong instance of the post-prophetic principle, where legend does not spring *from*, but is cut out expressly *for*, locality.[2] Still its object was answered; national feeling was impressed, and national imagination affected; to the devout worshipper, the most sacred romance became the most faithful history.

Post-prophetic principle of the legend.

Preservation of a grand doctrine in the legend.

The religious dignity of Dēmēter is evidenced by her temple at Thermopylæ, where the Amphictyonic council assembled. One great doctrinal point of this myth, unconsciously preserved by the poet,

[1] Hymn, Dem. 475.

[2] Of this principle Virgil has ably availed himself in his prophecy of the "Trojan Cæsar."

is the purifying influence of fire. Dēmophoōn is plunged in the fire, to be purified for immortality; the same process, for the same purpose, is applied to Achilles by Thetis. In both cases, we have the Indian[1] and wide-spread oriental doctrine of fire as the great moral purifier, varied in the instance of Achilles by the application of water, another purifier: here he is plunged into the river Styx.[2] But there was yet another method of imparting immortality to human nature. This consisted in the simple will and pleasure of the friendly deity, as in the case of Ganymēde, or in that of Tithonus,[3] where a nice distinction is drawn between an immortality of youth and an immortality of old age—a distinction clearly noted in the early epic of India. In the Ramayuna we are introduced to the hundred daughters of the royal sage Koosha Nabha, maidens who

Nice distinctions in immortality.

> In lovely form unmated through the earth,
> Shone like the beaming stars amid the clouds.[4]

Vaya thus addresses them :—

> ——————— My consorts be ye all!
> Resign humanity, the immortal life
> Assume. Forever fleeting 'midst mankind
> Is youth! Unfading youth receive, and be
> Immortal.[5]

Primitive melodrama of Iambē.

We learn from Aristophanes[6] that the Eleusinian legend gave rise to a kind of primitive melodrama, in which the character of Iambē was played by some shrewd individual in female attire, posted on the bridge over the Cephissus, whence he addressed with sarcastic jokes the Eleusinian procession as it was passing on its way.[7] As might be anticipated, so august a divinity would be gladly claimed by various localities, as participating in the hospitality of special families at the time of her earthly sojourn. Hence the Megareans supported the dignity of the Dēmētrion, or temple of Dēmēter, near their city; whilst the ancient gens, called the Phytalids, attached much importance to their family on account of the reception of the goddess by Phytalus, their ancestor, on which occasion she first presented mankind with the fruit of the fig-tree.[8]

Local claimants for religious importance.

[1] For the purifiers of embodied spirits (sooddheh kartrinidehinām), *vide* Manavah Dherma Sastra, c. v. Slok. 105. *Vide* also Hindu Mythol. article Agni.

[2] Fulgent. Myth. iii. 7.

[3] Hom. Hymn in Ven. 219. Apollod. iii. 12, sec. 4, Tzetz. ad Lycoph. 18.

[4] 1st Book Ramayuna.

[5] . . . . . Sārvā bhāryā māmā bhāvĭshyā
Manūshyāstyājatān bhāvā dīvanāysarvāpsyāthā
Chālān hī yūvānām nityām mānūseshū viseshitāh
Ukshayan yūvānām prāptā āmāryāschān bhāvishyā.

[6] Aristoph. Vesp. 1363. *Vide* also Suidas, γεφύριζων.

[7] The reader who wishes further information on this myth may consult Preller, "Dēmēter und Persephonē, ein Cyclus myth. untersuch." Hamb. 1837, 8vo.

[8] Paus. i. 37, 2.

Athenian sacerdo-agricultural claims.

The incorporation of Eleusis with Athens gave the Athenians, likewise, an opportunity of claiming the merit of being the uniting link between gods and man, by communicating to the world at large the vast blessings of agriculture, which the goddess Dēmēter had first revealed to Triptolemus at Eleusis, by disclosing to him the art of sowing corn.

THE LEGEND OF APOLLO.

Homeric legend of Apollo.

We now proceed to notice another celestial personage of vast importance, not only in the Greek mythical world, but also, inferentially, in his political bearing upon the oracles of Greece.

In the devotional feeling of Hellas, however secondary to Zeus might have been the state and dignity of APOLLO, no deity so prominently called forth the piety of his votaries, and none ever elicited such mingled sympathy and awe. From the first sentiment, the innate elegance of Hellenic genius was called forth by the patron god of music and of poetry; by the latter, faith in the oracles of Phœbus was made more implicit, and devotion more profound. This twofold character of graceful dignity and religious force is beautifully portrayed by the blind bard of the Isle of Delos, at whose inspiring note creation gives forth the trumpet-call of glorious praise. After struggling with the majesty of his theme, the poet bursts forth with a magnificent exordium:—



With thee each rock, each headland brow
Of lofty mountains rang;
While rivers in their seaward flow,
And toppling cliffs with waves below,
And creeks, thy praises sang.[1]

But how came it to pass that a deity of such majesty and power should be born in so rugged and barren a spot as the Isle of Delos?[2] This the poet proceeds to explain. Among the numerous beautiful favourites of Zeus, Lētō and Dēmēter occupied a prominent position; by the first of whom he had Apollo, so illustrious in the Hellenic devotional calendar. Harassed[3] by the persecuting jealousy of Hērē, the

Wanderings of Lētō.

[1] Πᾶσαι δὲ σκοτιαί τοι ἄδον καὶ πρώονες ἄκροι
Ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων, ποταμοί θ' ἅλαδε προρέοντες,
Ἀκταί τ' εἰς ἅλα κεκλιμέναι, λιμένες τε θαλάσσης.
Hymn, Apoll. 22–4.

[2] V. 27, *ut supra.*

[3] In several Myths, Lētō and her two children, Artemis and Apollo, are represented as pursued by the serpent, Pytho. *Vide* p. 53.

consort of Zeus, Lētō wandered distractedly over the earth, unable to find a spot for the birthplace of her offspring. Many were the places in Greece and its islands, and on the coast of Asia, to which the distracted wanderer in vain repaired for shelter. The fury of Hērē was not to be lightly braved, and everywhere Lētō was repulsed. Heart-broken, as a last resource, she turned her steps towards the barren Isle of Delos, promising that, if protection were granted, she would make this the site of the wealthy shrine of Apollo. The condition was joyfully accepted, and here her babe was born. Scarcely had the divine infant tasted the immortal nectar and ambrosia, when he sprang into the full splendour of vigorous maturity—the Harp, the Bow, the Prophetic office were at once pre-eminently his own, and Delos in after ages became the glorious resort of the Hellenic race, where flourished periodically the magnificent festivities of the Ionians in honour of his name. So nobly exhilarating were these solemnities, with their displays of dance, song, and athletic rivalry, that the poet thus describes, in glowing language, their effect upon the spectator:—

Lētō repairs to Delos.



Ionian assembly at Delos.

> Untouched by age—immortal would he deem
> Ionia's sons, could he but greet them then;
> The grace combined might scan; his breast would teem
> With joy, each manly form, each lovely maid to ken;
> The swift-winged barks, and boundless wealth of men.[1]

Still as the deity benignly vouchsafed to reveal to the human race the will of his father Zeus, a propitious spot for his oracle was to be found. Wide was the range of country passed over by the "god of the silver bow," till at length, having reached the sweet fountain of Telphusa, he was about to fix his oracle at the charming spot, when the nymph, jealous of the beauty of her favourite place, began to insinuate that the horses which watered at her stream would destroy the hallowed tranquillity of his shrine. The god was persuaded. The southern verge of Parnassus, where, amid lofty and overhanging cliffs,

Apollo at Telphusa.

At Parnassus.

[1] Φαίη κ' ἀθανάτους καὶ ἀγήρως ἤμμεναι αἰεί,
"Ος τότ' ἐπαντιάσει, ὅτ' Ἰάονες ἀθρόοι εἶεν.
Πάντων γάρ κεν ἴδοιτο χάριν, τέρψαιτο δὲ θυμόν,
Ἀνδρας τ' ἰσορόων, καλλιζώνους τε καὶ γυναῖκας,
Νῆάς τ' ὠκείας ἠδ' αὐτῶν κτήματα πολλά.
Hom. Hymn, Apoll. 152.

there reigned an awful solemnity, seemed an appropriate site for his oracle. On viewing it, the deity exclaimed—

> Here do I plan to rear my noble shrine,
> An Oracle for mortals, who shall aye
> Hither their perfect hecatombs lead forth,
> They who the wealthy isle of Pelops hold,
> Or Europe and her island waters claim.[1]

He now approached the deep recesses of Parnassus; its rock-fountain was guarded by a tremendous serpent, the identical nurse o the prodigious Typhaōn, formerly blasted with lightning by his father Zeus. Apollo now took aim at, and slew, the deadly monster, leaving its huge carcase to putrify in the sun. The temple of the archer-god now rapidly rose, under the guidance of the Orchomenian Trophonius and Agamedes, whose vicinity sent forth a multitude of eager hands to assist in the holy work. Meanwhile Apollo discovered the interested fraud of the nymph Telphusa, to whom he repaired with indignant haste. "Telphusa," said he, "thou shalt not carry out thy fraud, by retaining this lovely spot and beautiful water; know that the glory of this spot shall be mine, and not thine, alone." The far-darter ended, and tumbling down a craggy point, completely blocked up the stream, and erected an altar for himself, in a thick grove hard by a fair fountain, "where mankind still worship the princely Apollo Telphusius, so called from his indignant contempt of the nymph Telphusa." But the resistless power of the glorious god was to be still further displayed in the instantaneous conversion of a whole band of roving mariners into the select priests of his temple; for of these he had, as yet, selected none. From his lofty watch-tower he espies a tall bark sailing from Crete to the Peloponnesus. His form is changed; now, like a huge dolphin, he throws the foam on high, shakes the vessel to its centre, and terrifies the crew, driving the ship with a mighty hurricane along the rugged coast of the Peloponnesus. On, on she glides, with resistless power, through the foaming Corinthian Gulf, till she reaches the harbour of Crissa, where she grounds. A youth of glorious form is seen on the shore; it is Apollo. He inquires of the terrified crew, who were too much affrighted to come on shore, who they were, and their object. The Cretan captain related their marvellous and irresistible voyage. Apollo now revealed himself, pointing out his own agency in the miraculous voyage, and their future exalted sacrificial duties. He told them they must never think of returning to their much-loved native place, or their dear wives; all was to be given up to the honour of his rich shrine. They showed a cheerful obedience to his commands: furling the sails, they drew the ship high on the

Slays the serpent.

Destroys the fountain of Telphusa.

Chooses priests for his temple.

Metamorphosed to a dolphin.

Apollo reveals himself.

The crew become his priests.

[1] Ἐνθάδε δὴ φρονέω τεύξειν περικαλλέα νηόν,
Ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώποις χρηστήριον, οἵτε μοι αἰεὶ
Ἐνθάδ' ἀγινήσουσι τελήεσσας ἑκατόμβας,
Ἡμὲν ὅσοι Πελοπόννησον πίειραν ἔχουσιν,
Ἠδ' ὅσοι Εὐρώπην τε καὶ ἀμφιρύτας κατὰ νήσους.—κ. τ. λ.
Hymn, Apoll. 287.

beach, reared an altar by the side of their sable bark, and, pouring out a libation to the immortal gods, indulged in a genial feast:—

They follow Apollo to the heights of Parnassus.

Thus nobly feasted, cheered with wine,
Led by Jove's princely son divine,
That wonderous harper, lyre in hand,
Strode grandly on; the Cretan band
Danced following to the holy land.
Crete's Pæan-minstrels hymned the god,
Within whose breasts the mellow flood
Of song the goddess Muse had poured:
Their step untoiled that upwards soared,
Soon scaled Parnassus' crested hill,
The lovely spot where they should dwell,
By crowding pilgrims honoured still.[1]

He showed them his rich temple, and the site of his Oracle, at the view of which their inmost affections were moved towards Apollo. "But now," they inquired, "since you have brought us so far from our beloved friends and native land, how are we to subsist? Here is neither land for the vine, nor corn, nor pasture." "Foolish mortals," replied the god, smiling, "ye who anticipate only severe toils and privations, I will show you an easier course, and do you remember it well: with the knife in your right hand, ye shall always have abundance of cattle, which the pious shall bring to my shrine for sacrifice. Your duty will be to guard my temple, and to receive the pilgrims who crowd hither. But if ye be guilty of wrong, in word or deed, to others—

Sacerdotal mode of subsistence and office pointed out.

Then ye, for ever and for aye,
Shall groan in bondage 'neath their sway.
Tis said. My word within your bosoms weigh."[2]

In Homer, Apollo and Hēlios, or the Sun, are perfectly distinct; and this distinction subsisted for several centuries after the great poet. A fragment of an ancient Doric hymn, however,[3] declares the oracle of Delphi to have been founded by the Hyperboreans, whence also Lētō is said to have come. This again takes us over the track of the Indian immigration. The Indian, like the subsequent Greek system, makes Sūrya the personification of the Sun; he is represented seated

[1] Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο
Βάν ῥ' ἴμεν ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν ἄναξ, Διος υἱὸς, Ἀπόλλων·
Φόρμιγγ' ἐν χείρεσσιν ἔχων, ἀγατὸν κιθαρίζων,
Καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάς· οἱ δὲ ῥήσσοντες ἕποντο
Κρῆτες πρὸς Πυθώ, καὶ ἰηπαιήον' ἄειδον
Οἷοί τε Κρητῶν παιήονες, οἵσίτε Μοῦσα
Ἐν στήθεσσιν ἔθηκε θεὰ μελίγηρυν ἀοιδήν
Ἀκμητοι δὲ λόφον προσίβαν, αἶψα δ' ἵκοντο
Παρνησὸν καὶ χῶρον ἐπήρατον, ἔνθ' ἄρ' ἔμελλον
Οἰκήσειν πολλοῖσι τε τετιμένοι ἀνθρωπόισιν.
Hymn, Apoll. 513.

[2] Τῶν ὑπ' ἀναγκαίῃ δεδμήσεσθ' ἤματα πάντα.
Εἴρηταί τοι πάντα· σὺ δὲ φρεσὶ σῇσι φύλαξαι.
Hymn, Apoll. 543–545.

[3] Paus. x. 5.

in his splendid car drawn by a seven-headed horse; and his similarity to the Greek system is seen in the following invocation from the Sanscrit, by Sir W. Jones:—



But oh! what pencil of a living star
Could paint that gorgeous car,
In which, as in an ark supremely bright,
The lord of boundless light
Ascending calm o'er the empyrean sails,
And with ten thousand beams his awful
beauty veils!

The accompanying cut, of which the original was discovered at Portici, gives a spirited idea both of the Greek and Roman conception of this important divinity. In the "Legends of Heroes" he plays an important part, particularly in the siege of Troy.

THE LEGEND OF HERMĒS.

Legend of Hermēs.

Notwithstanding the national veneration of the Greeks for their divinities, just in proportion as they were a people of quick feelings, just so they scrupled not to enjoy heartily any ludicrous trait of character, national or divine. Hence, while the deepest veneration accompanied their ideas of Zeus and Apollo, they freely amused themselves with the trickish knavery and ingenious qualifications of HERMĒS.

Appropriate duties of the hymnographer.

In fact, it was the appropriate business of the admiring hymnographer to place the god in that very point of view which would best display his most distinguishing characteristics. In accordance with this feeling, the minstrel of Delos speaks out freely, and sings of Hermēs with all the jovial carelessness of good-fellowship subsisting between the sportive deity and mankind. After invoking the Muse, and giving the usual genealogy, the poet merrily leads off the juggling adventures of this smooth-tongued and acquisitive god by a very comprehensive though rapid summary of his accomplishments:—

Mercurial accomplishments of the deity.

Born with the dawn, at mid-day perfect harper,
At eve—Apollo's oxen, stole the sharper.[1]

One of the first specimens of his ingenuity and casuistry was his turning to a musical purpose a tortoise which he met on the threshold. No sooner had the acquisitive son of Zeus, the patron god of luck, set eyes upon the animal, than, considering its appearance as a token of good fortune, he exclaimed, smiling,—

Meets a tortoise.

Hail thou charming creature, hail
Tortoise of the varied shell!
Glad appearing to my glance,
Sounding at the choral dance,
Companion of the feast!

[1] Ἠῶς γεγονὼς, μέσῳ ἤματι ἐγκιθάριζεν,
Ἑσπέριος βοῦς κλέψιν ἐπηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος.

Whence, thou toy of fair delight,
Tortoise-dweller of the height?
Useful soon shalt thou become,
Nay—I'll bear thee to my home,
Nor scorn thee, first of luck to come![1]

This was followed up by the consoling casuistry that "a dead tortoise, made musical, was preferable to a live one that was dumb."[2] His ingenious musical discovery proves a splendid invention, and it is now duly deposited in his cradle. But scarcely had the sun descended, when the gifted rogue, full of deep subtlety, plans a nocturnal raid upon the cattle of Apollo:—

Makes a musical instrument of its shell.

Now sank the sun to ocean o'er the earth,
With steeds and car. Meanwhile the shady heights
Pierian of the Eternals, Hermēs gained,
Where the immortal beeves o' the blessed gods
Were folded, pasturing lovely meadows pure.
From these, 'twas now the keen-eyed Argicide,
The son of Maia, fifty lowing beeves
Off-severed from the herd.[3]

Carries off the oxen of Apollo.

Apollo, in the mean time, by virtue of his prophetic powers, discovers the plunderer, and, after considerable trouble, makes his appearance in the cave of Cyllēnē. The affected innocent is lying in his cradle; notwithstanding, the god of the silver-bow indignantly exclaims—

Boy, in thy cradle lying! haste, point out
My oxen, or we both, indecorous, soon
Fall out. Thee, seized, to gloomy Tartarus
I whirl—a darkness dire and hopeless. Nor
Thy mother to the light, nor e'en thy sire,
Shall set thee free; but thou beneath the earth
Shalt wander roaming, guide to mortals few.[4]

Is visited and threatened by Apollo.

In spite of this direct charge, the child with stubborn effrontery denies the theft, and even affects to consider it as a ridiculous impossibility. Soon, however, he is detected by Zeus, and is forced to

[1] Χαῖρε, φυὴν ἐρόισσα, χοροίτυπε, δαιτὸς ἑταίρη,
Ἀστασίη προφανεῖσα· πόθεν τόδε καλὸν ἄθυρμα,
Ἀιόλον ὄστρακον, ἐσσί χέλυς ὄρεσι ζώουσα;
Ἀλλ' οἴσω σ' ἐς δῶμα λαβών· ὄφελός τί μοι ἔσσῃ,
Οὐδ' ἀποτιμήσω· σὺ δέ με πρώτιστον ὀνήσεις.

[2] Hom. Hymn, Herm. 37, 38.

[3] Ἠελίος μὲν ἔδυνε κατὰ χθονὸς Ὠκεανόνδε
Αὐτοῖσιν θ' ἵπποισι καὶ ἅρμασιν· αὐτὰρ ἄρ' Ἑρμῆς
Πιερίης ἀφίκανε θεῶν ὄρια σκιόεντα,
Ἔνθα θεῶν μακάρων βόες ἄμβροτοι αὖλιν ἔχεσκον,
Βοσκόμεναι λειμῶνας ἀκηράσιους ἰρατεινούς.
Τῶν τότε Μαιάδος υἱὸς ἐϋσκοπος Ἀργειφόντης,
Πεντήκοντ' ἀγέλης ἀπετάμνετο βοῦς ἐριμύκους.

[4] Ὦ παῖ, ὃς ἐν λίκνῳ κατάκεισαι μήνυε μοι βοῦς
Θᾶσσον· ἐπεὶ τάχα νῶϊ διεισόμεθ' οὐ κατὰ κόσμον.
Ῥίψω γάρ σε λαβὼν ἐς Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα,
Ἐς ζόφον αἰνόμορον καὶ ἀμήχανον· οὐδέ σε μήτηρ
Ἐς φάος, οὐδὲ πατὴρ ἀναλύσεται, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γαίῃ
Ἐρρήσεις, ὀλίγοισιν ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἠγεμονεύων.

disclose the hiding-place in which he has deposited the cattle. Shortly after this occurrence, Apollo is so deeply fascinated with the lyre of Hermēs, and so eager to possess it, that he readily pardons the malversation of the young lyrist, and is desirous of gaining his friendship. Hermes now surrenders to Apollo the lyre, and receives in exchange the golden rod of wealth, the sovereignty over flocks and herds, and the guardianship of the woodland tribes. Zeus approves of and sanctions the arrangement. But the keen, bargain-striking divinity is not forgetful of his own interests, for he strives hard to obtain from Apollo the gift of prophecy. The latter is specially pledged never to grant that high function to any deity whatever. Notwithstanding, he creates Hermēs the messenger of the gods to Hadēs. So little confidence has Apollo in Hermēs, that he is still apprehensive that this keen-witted deity may steal the lyre from him. Accordingly, he binds Hermēs with a solemn oath by the infernal Styx never to pilfer his property nor invade his sanctuary. In return, Apollo gives a sacred promise to hold none dearer to himself, amongst gods or men, than Hermēs. The Homeric lyrist then sums up the results of these counter-movements and interchanges of gifts, by observing frankly upon the character of Hermēs:—

Exchange of gifts under the sanction of Zeus.



Frank Homeric character of Hermēs.

> Thus Maia's son Apollo loved,
> With favour marked, and Zeus approved,
> And so midst men and gods he roved;
> *But little good does he:*
> For, in the darkling shades of night
> His countless frauds escape the sight
> Of frail humanity![1]

Main points in the character of Hermēs.

This is the most ancient continuous description we possess of Hermēs; and his main distinctions are his bargaining, juggling, and inventive traits, dashed off by the poet with mingled honesty and archness. The author of the Iliad has not failed to specify, amongst

[1] Οὕτω Μαιάδος υἱὸν ἄναξ ἐφίλησιν' Ἀπόλλων
Παντοίῃ φιλότητι· χαρὶν δ' ἐπιθήκε Κρονίων
Πᾶσι δ' ὅγε θνητοῖσί καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμιλεῖ
Παῦρα μὲν οὖν ὀνίνησι, τὸ δ' ἄκριτον ἠπεροπεύει
Νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην φῦλα θνητῶν ἀνθρακιών.
Hom. Hymn, Herm. 574–578.

other offices of Hermēs, these prime qualities.[1] It is important to note the most ancient genealogy, which is to be found, not in the hymnographer just quoted, but in his predecessor, the author of the Odyssey.[2]

Etymologizing tendencies.

We have here demonstrated to us clearly the influence of that kindred spirit of etymologizing which ranges throughout the Hindoo and Grecian epic, upon which we shall often have occasion to remark, a spirit arising from the easy flexibility of those cognate dialects, and creating a similar taste in the poets of both nations.[3]

Maya, an Indian vocable; its force.

Hermēs is said by Homer to be the son of Maia, and never did tradition better preserve an appropriate title, distinctive at once of mythologic source and the characteristic of the god. Maya is a Sanscrit term, signifying "illusion," "a trick," "a juggler;"[4] and when Hērmes is said to be the son of Maia, or, in other words, the son of Illusion, it is nothing more than the usual oriental personification of that quality. The identity of the Hindoo with the early Greek mythology, will be evident when the reader recollects that Maya was the wife of Brahma.

Instantaneous perfection of the immortal race.

Hermēs, like Apollo, burst at once into the full vigour of his deity; there is, in either case, little or no intermediate process. Here, again, we have the Indian epic model, where the divinities (as, again, in the case of Pallas Minerva) spring at once to the maturity of their functions; in both cases the progenitor is divine, and his offspring participates in his nature. This is the *doctrinal* side of the myth, stamped by tradition on the Hellenic mind, but received with the implicit belief of *personality*. The case is altered in the heroic legend. There the hero, partaking more fully of the *human* essence, *gradually* expands into maturity. Hēraclēs, however mighty in the cradle, goes through the ordinary process of increasing growth and vigour. The first is of purely *mental*, the second of *physical* mould; the first is the Indian, the second the Hellenic type.

Heroic gifts gradual.

Other characteristics of Hermēs.

In addition to the characteristics of Hermēs laid down by the hymn just quoted, he is the herald of the gods and the patron of eloquence;[5] is the author of various inventions, as the syrinx, the alphabet, astronomy, music, and gymnastics;[6] is the escort of the shades;[7] and so

[1] Il. v. 390; xxiv. 24.

[2] Odys. viii. 335; xiv. 435; xxiv. 1.

[3] Brahma purposed to create a son who should be like himself. A youth of purple complexion appeared crying with a weak cry and running about. "Why weepest thou?" said Brahma. "Give me a name," answered the youth. "Let *Rudra* be thy name." (From "Rūd" to cry, and "Drū" to run).

[4] Thus ابن الوقت the son of the time being, *i.e.* a flatterer or sycophant. —Ibn zakā, the Child of the Sun, *i.e.* Aurora, or the Dawn.—Ibn al inab, the Son of the Grape, *i.e.* Wine. And so of the relative term "Father." Thus, Abū 'l Malīh, the Father of the Charming, *i.e.* the Lark, ابو اطلاب; the Father of Desires, *i.e.* a Lover.

[5] Il. iv. 193; vii. 279.

[6] Hygin. Fab. 277; Plut. Sympos. ix. 3

[7] Νεκροπομπός, ψυχοπομπός. Hom. Od. xxiv. 1, 9.

versatile are his talents, that he tries his hand as cupbearer and charioteer.[1]

Typical promise of Hermēs.

The promise given by Hermēs to Apollo to respect his sanctuary at Delphi, seems typical of that caution with which the thief, single-handed, ever abstained from laying pilfering hands upon the treasures of Apollo; which, though sometimes plundered, were seized by a powerful force.



THE LEGEND OF POSEIDŌN.

Poseidōn.

Second in power to Zeus alone was POSEIDŌN, the mighty Enosichthōn, or "Shaker of the Earth." By his imperial consort, Amphitrītē, he had three children,[2] and by other divinities and nymphs of mortal birth a numerous progeny, the greater proportion men of heroic mould and of vast corporeal powers. Perhaps the most prominent individual of this race is the gigantic cyclops Polyphēmus,[3] whose portrait is so vigorously drawn by Homer, and whose sufferings at the hand of Odysseus, his father so bitterly avenged. In the most ancient poems, Poseidōn is described as being equal in dignity to Zeus, though inferior in power to the mighty Thunderer.[4] Notwithstanding, Poseidōn scruples not occasionally to utter threats against his lordly brother; and on one occasion we find him uniting in the grand conspiracy of the gods and goddesses to bind and overthrow the sovereign of the skies.[5] Ægæ, in Eubœa, claimed the poetic dignity of providing a

Rank of Poseidōn.

Position of his palace.

[1] Hom. Odys. i. 143; Il. xxiv. 178, 140. For the whole range of his offices the reader is referred to the classical writers, or a complete system of mythology. Valuable figured illustrations will be found in Hirt's Mythol. Bild.

[2] Triton, Rhodē, and Benthēsicumē. Hes. Theog. 230.

[3] The Cyclops, like the Hecatoncheires, are well typified in the Indian system. Siva has an additional eye and a large crescent in the centre of his forehead.

[4] Hom. Il. viii. 210; Od. viii. 148. [5] Hom. Il. xv.

palace for the ruler of the waves, in whose depths was situated the goodly structure. Here were his steeds, glorious with their golden manes and brazen hoofs. Borne along in his chariot by these swift ministers of his will, he passes over the tumbling billows of the deep, whose waving crest sinks to perfect stillness on his approach, and whose monsters, recognising their sovereign lord, gambol in a thousand fantastic gaieties around his gliding car,[1] of which the great legendary poet of Greece has thus sung:—

Homeric description of his equipage.

In the deeps of ocean-flood,
Where his glorious palace stood,
Golden, dazzling, undecaying,
Entereth now the ocean god.
He his fleet-footed steeds in their car is arraying;
All brazen their hoofs;—see their shoulders, that laves
The gold of their mane that so gloriously waves.
See, gold the gods form in a vesture of light,
See, gold is the lash which he holds in his right,
As he mounts in his chariot so bright.
Now over the ocean his coursers on-urging,
Forth gambol wild crowds of her monsters up-surging.
As they rise from the lairs of their watery night
They hail him their lord,
And wide smiles the ocean with joy at his sight![2]



Sacrifices to Poseidōn at Calaureia.

The island of Calaureia, in the Saronic Gulf, where flourished the ancient Amphictyony which honoured Poseidōn by sacrifices, was to him what Delos was to Apollo,[3] whilst the isthmus of Corinth, and Onchestus, in Bœotia, were renowned for his worship, and dignified by his traditionary residence. But far above other favoured spots was the rocky Acropolis of Athens, whence, by a stroke of his mighty trident, sprang forth a well of water. This sacred place Athēnē subsequently claimed for herself, by planting the sacred olive-tree of

[1] Il. viii. 27.

[2] . . . . . ἵνθα δὲ οἱ κλυτὰ δώματα βίνθισι λίμνης,
Χρύσια, μαρμαίροντα τετεύχαται, ἄφθιτα αἰεί.
Ἔνθ' ἐλθὼν ὑπ' ὄχεσφι τιτύσκετο χαλκόποδ' ἵππω,
Ὠκυπέτα, χρυσήνησιν ἐθείρῃσιν κομόωντε·
Χρυσὸν δ' αὐτὸς ἔδυνε περὶ χροΐ· γέντο δ' ἱμάσθλην
Χρυσείην, ἐῢτυκτον, ἰοῦ δ' ἐπιβήσετο δίφρου·
Βῆ δ' ἐλάαν ἐπὶ κύματ' ἄταλλε δὲ κήτεϊ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
Πάντοθεν ἐκ κευθμῶν, οὐδ' ἠγνοίησεν ἄνακτα·
Γηθοσύνη δὲ θάλασσα δύστατο· . . . . . *Hom. Il.* xiii. 21–29.

[3] Strab. viii. 374.

Decision of Erectheus and its effects.

Pandrosus. The decision pronounced by Erectheus on this occasion in favour of Athēnē exasperated Poseidōn against the Erectheids, whose family he succeeded in entirely overthrowing. The Athenians took especial care to dignify their early prince Theseus, by asserting that he was the son of Poseidōn, and the immediate successor of the Erectheids, whose fame he so far surpassed by his glorious reign.

Contentious character of Poseidōn.

Whatever was the extent of the realms of Poseidōn, his history is full of contentious disputation with other deities for the possession of some favourite spot. He disputed the claim of Hērē to Argolis, though it had been adjudged to that goddess by important river gods,[1] upon whom he avenged himself by drying up their streams. With Zeus and Dionysus, too, he disputed possession, with the former of Ægina, with the latter of Naxos;[2] while the same grasping spirit led him to claim the entire sovereignty of Corinth from Hēlios. Here he was more successful, for though to Hēlios was adjudged the Acropolis of Corinth, to Poseidōn was awarded the Isthmus.[3]

Acquires the sovereignty of the isthmus.

Creates the horse.

One of the most prominent and ancient myths connected with this deity is his creation of the horse; whence he is considered the first instructor of mankind in the art of managing and training this animal by means of the bridle, and is the especial patron of horse-races.[4] Hence, too, he is styled the "Equine Prince,"[5] and he is generally found on horseback, or borne along in a chariot drawn by his ocean steeds. The site of the creation of this noble animal is placed by the most ancient authority in Thessaly, where, too, Poseidōn presented to Peleus those famous horses which figured with such distinction at Troy.[6]



Temporary servitude of the gods.

One of the most peculiar tenets in Grecian mythology, in common with the Hindoo system, was the temporary captivity and servitude of the gods to certain of the human race. Thus Poseidōn, as well as Apollo, were degraded by a protracted slavery under Laomedōn, king of Troy, though we must not forget that it was at the especial command of Zeus. As they toil on and drudge in a human capacity, it is but meet that they should receive the usual wages earned by frail humanity. Yet we find both of these powerful deities defrauded of their just reward. To build the mighty walls of imperial Troy had been the task assigned by Laomedōn, the despot of that city. But he not only refusing the stipulated reward, but by the addition of fierce threats, he laid the foundation of that deep animosity which Poseidōn

Laomedōn refuses their reward.

[1] Cephisseus, Inachus, and Asterion; Paus. ii. 15. [2] Plut. Symp. ix. 6.
[3] Paus. ii. 1. [4] Hom. Il. xxiii. 307; Pind. Pyth. vi. 50.
[5] Ἵππιος ἄναξ. [6] Hom. Il. xxiii. 277.

afterwards evinced against the Trojans.[1] The doctrine of divine servitude, however simple and consonant with the early notions of the non-speculative poet, in after ages became highly obnoxious to the philosophic school of Greece; and even Pindar, as far as possible, smooths down traditions appearing to him derogatory to the dignity of the celestial nature.

Doctrine of servitude obnoxious to philosophic Greece.

THE LEGEND OF APHRODĪTĒ.

We now pass on to notice one of the most distinguished deities among the twelve of Olympus, whose all-pervading influence is everywhere acknowledged. APHRODĪTĒ, with whose history are interwoven the golden tissues of love—with whose supremacy the joyous, the pathetic, and the tragic are alternately connected, is by the Homerid of Chios depicted by the various influences shown in early legend; while in more modern poets her agency becomes unbounded. There were, however, three memorable exceptions to her universal sway—Athēnē, Hestia, and Artemis—

Aphrodītē goddess of beauty.

> The trine that 'scaped the soothing snares of love.[2]

Exceptions to her sway.

The early simplicity of the first Homer stands out strongly in this myth when compared with the guarded language of his successor, the Homerid of Chios. The former fully sings the divine lineage of the Trojan hero Æneas, and everywhere acknowledges him as the son of Aphrodītē; whilst the templar bard of Delos introduces her severely enjoining Anchises not to disclose the parentage of Æneas:—

Caution of the bard of Delos.

> But shouldst thou aught reveal or madly boast,
> Cythēra's vanquished charms divine,
> Indignant Zeus shall blast thee with his bolt.[3]

In Hesiod, as in the Homeric hymn, the goddess, rising from the foam of the sea,[4] first approaches the island of Cythera; she now proceeds to Cyprus; whilst beneath her gentle steps, even from the barren sea-coast, flowers spring up. Accompanied by Eros and Himeros,[5] she enters the assembly of the gods, every one of whom, struck with admiration at her surpassing loveliness, desires her as his consort. The supremacy of Aphrodītē is indicated (as in the case of Dionysus) by the vengeance she inflicts upon those who neglect her divinity, or despise her power.

Aphrodītē arises from the foam of the sea.

One of the most celebrated myths in connection with Aphrodītē, and standing in connection with the Trojan war, was her fondness for Anchises, the father of Æneas, who greatly distinguished himself amongst the Trojan heroes. It was Zeus who had surreptitiously

Myth of Anchises and Aphrodītē.

[1] Il. vii. 452.

[2] Hom. Hymn, Aphrodītē, 7.

[3] Εἰ δὲ κεν ἐξείσηῃς, καὶ ἐτεὸν ἔπος ἄφρονι θυμῷ
Ἐν φιλότητι μιγῆναι ἰϋστεφάνῳ Κυθερείῃ,
Ζεὺς σε χολωσάμενος βαλλείῃ ψολόεντι κεραυνῷ.
Hymn, Apoll. 287–289.

[4] Of the same nature is the genesis of the Apsaras in the Hindū Mythology; their name is from "Apo," water, and "Sara," to move.

[5] Love and Desire.

inspired her with this flame, and the result was as we have already related. Her cestus, or magic girdle, had such power in kindling love, that Hērē scrupled not to borrow it from the lovely Aphrodītē when desirous to stimulate the affection of Zeus.[1] The worship of Aphrodītē in Greece was of a purely Hellenic character, and appears to have been very early introduced into that country. One exception, however, to the simplicity of her worship is strongly marked in the case of Corinth, where this is found to be of an eminently Asiatic cast, which is easily accounted for by the magnificence and wealth introduced by a vast and prosperous commerce.[2]

Worship of Aphrodītē.

Corinthian worship of Aphrodītē.



Aphrodītē sides with the Trojans.

During the fierce struggle between the Greeks and Trojans, Aphrodītē sided with the latter; nor is this to be wondered at, when we reflect on her intimate connection with the royal family of Troy, as well as the decision given in her favour by the beautiful Paris, whom she afterwards saved before the walls of Troy from the fury of the incensed Menelaus—

Paris saved by Aphrodītē.

> Who thirsting for his blood, with brazen spear,
> Sprang forward yet again; him, snatched from death,
> With ease the goddess power of Venus saved.
> Then in deep mist involved; thence bore away,
> And fragrant in his chamber gently laid.[3]

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[1] Hom. Il. 214.

[2] Aphrodītē, the ideal of female grace and loveliness, formed the fairest subject for the exercise of Hellenic genius. Cos and Cnidus were renowned for their splendid representations of this divinity. *Vide* Hirt, Mythol. Bilder. iv. 133.

[3] Αὐτὰρ ὅ ἂψ ἐπόρουσε, κατακτάμεναι μενεαίνων,
Ἔγχει χαλκείῳ· τὸν δ' ἐξήρπαξ' Ἀφροδίτη.
Ῥεῖα μάλ' ὥστε θεός· ἐκάλυψε δ' ἀρ' ἠέρι πολλῇ,
Καὶ δ' εἷς ἐν θαλάμῳ εὐώδεϊ, κηώεντι. *Hom. Il.* iii. 379–382,



THE LEGEND OF HĒRĒ.

In close connection with this legend stands HĒRĒ—the bitter, haughty, and unrelenting Hērē, the prime moving power of the Trojan war, and the powerful guardian deity of Jason.[1] This eldest daughter of Cronos and Rhea, and the sister of Zeus,[2] was reared by Oceanus and Tethys, as Zeus had seized on the throne of Cronos: she afterwards became the consort of the mighty Thunderer. When raised to this high dignity, the Olympian gods honoured her with the same reverence which they paid to Zeus.[3] The obstinate, contentious, and jealous character of Hērē, however, is a perpetual source of discomfort to the imperial Thunderer. She even joins in the grand conspiracy of the gods for putting Zeus in chains. Her sovereign lord is sometimes so exasperated with her as to proceed to the most violent measures. On one occasion we find the queen of heaven suspended in the clouds, with her hands chained together, and two anvils suspended from her feet.[4] Terrified with threats of a similar vengeance, she is afterwards more placable, and has recourse to artifice to compass her objects.[5]

Myth of Hērē.

Her violent character.

The most renowned sanctuary of Hērē was at the foot of Mount Eubœa, between Argolis and Mycene. In this was placed her noble statue by Polycletus, ever afterwards considered the grand ideal of the goddess, who is represented as a majestic woman of mature age, with a noble forehead and full lustrous eyes.[6]

Sanctuary and statue of Hērē.

[1] Ἐπεὶ φίλος ἦεν Ἰήσων. κ. τ. λ. *Hom. Odyss.* xii. 72.
[2] Hom. Il. xvi. 432.
[3] Hom. Il. xv. 85.
[4] Il. viii. 400.
[5] Il. xix. 97.
[6] Her hair is decked with a crown or diadem. The diadem, sceptre, veil, and peacock, are her usual characteristics. *Vide* Müller, Dor. ii. 10.

The boundless jealousy of Hērē towards the graceful favourites of the Thunderer, and her violent antipathies towards his sons, gave rise to numerous myths.

THE LEGEND OF ATHĒNĒ.

Myth of Athēnē.

If we consider individual feeling as being the only source of celestial politics, we shall see why it is that ATHĒNĒ ranges herself upon the same side as Hērē in the great conflict at Troy, and assumes the tutelary capacity of defender of the Greeks. Her pride had been wounded by the same decision of Paris that affected Hērē. We have already seen that the most ancient theogony makes Mētis the mother of Athēnē. This Mētis, or goddess of counsel, we have seen swallowed up by Zeus, who himself afterwards gives birth to Athēnē. She is thus a divinity of a purely ethical character, and as such we have already referred to her type as distinctly marked in the great epics of the Indian school. She appears as the protector of agriculture, the arts, and the sciences generally. She is the inventor of the plough, and the discoverer of the precious Athenian olive. Upon her, as we have already seen, the wiles of Aphrodītē are powerless; she is essentially the virgin goddess. Though clad in armour, and borne in a chariot of war, she deters mankind from warfare when prudence requires it,[1] and even repels that fierce love of slaughter and warfare which distinguishes the savage Arēs, whom she encounters and vanquishes;[2] and thus, though appearing with all the attributes of a warlike deity, she supports such undertakings only as are characterised by prudence. This principle is still further carried out by the signal care and protection which she ever vouchsafed to heroes who acted with forecast and judgment; Diomēdē, Odysseus, and Bellerophon are instances of this favourable regard. Though during the Trojan war she sided with the Greeks, they were not exempt from her righteous retribution for the defilement of her temple by the Locrian Ajax. This eminent character for counsel and judgment she evinced from her birth, since in the war of Zeus against the giants, her father, and subsequently Hēraclēs, were the glad recipients of her sage



Unaffected by Aphrodītē.

Characteristic of prudent warfare.

Sides with the Greeks at Troy.

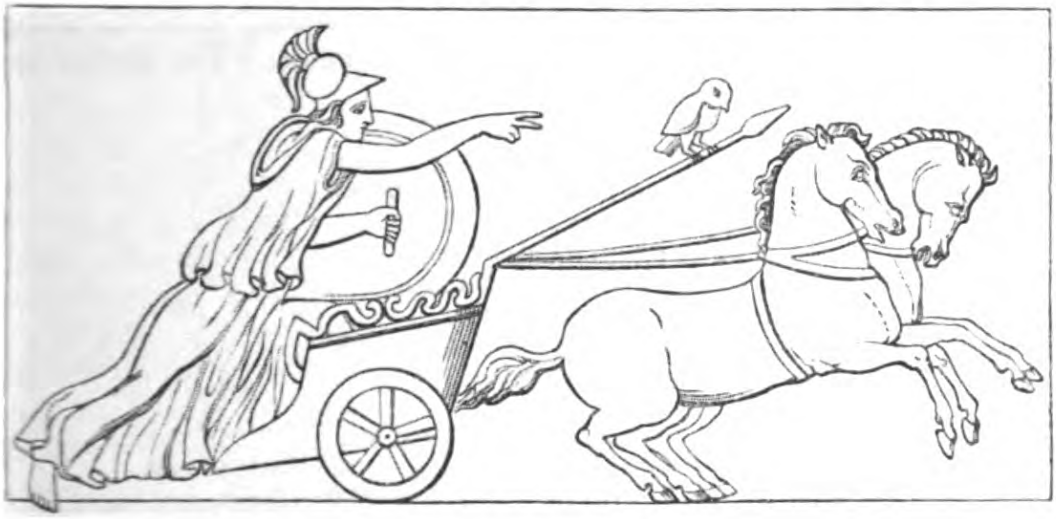
[1] Il. i. 199.

[2] Il. v. 840; xxi. 406.

counsels.[1] Nor was she herself an inactive spectator of the conflict, since she slew Pallas, and buried beneath the island of Sicily the giant Enceladus.[2] In our introductory discourse we have already united legend and philology to illustrate this myth.[3] We must not overlook one of the grand characteristics of Athēnē, found in the attributes of domestic economy and industry. Her divinity was worshipped by the potters of Athens,[4] with whose soil and people Athēnē is identified as early as the poet of the Iliad. Erechtheus, the very Autocthōn or progeny of the land, is reared and lodged in her temple, where he is worshipped by the Athenians with sacrificial solemnities.

Assists Zeus by slaying Pallas.

Worshipped by the potters of Athens.



THE LEGEND OF ARĒS.

Another of the twelve Olympians was ARĒS, who stands as the representative of mere brute force, in the conception of the speculative Greek of latter times, though such an idea is not consistent with the absolute individuality which animated every deity in the Homeric times. The character of Arēs is prominently contrasted with that of Athēnē, by its unheeding and reckless fury, and its total absence of forecast. The most ancient authorities represent him as the son of Zeus and Hērē.[5] It is his sister Eris that hounds on the war, and while Zeus guides its course, Arēs loves the maddening strife purely for its own sake. His delight is in the battle roar, in human carnage, and the sack of towns. No constancy even of party spirit has he, and

Myth of Arēs.

[1] In some of the beautiful representations of Athēnē which have descended to us, she wears the cloak or peplus; and sometimes, though rarely, the chlamys. Her whole figure is majestic, though its general cast somewhat resembles the male form. Her hair, which floats freely behind, by being combed backwards off the temples, displays features rather oval than round. See Welcker's Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Alten Kunst, p. 257.

[2] Apollod. i. 6.

[3] *Vide* p. 8 of Introduction.

[4] Hom. Hymn: Καμίνος ἡ Κέραμις.

[5] Hom. Il. v. 893; Hes. Theog. 921.

Inconstancy of his disposition.

Zeus stigmatizes him as the changeling of the bloody hour—now siding with this and now with the other party.[1]

Episode of Diomēdē and Arēs.

The episode of Diomēdē's conflict with Arēs on the plains of Troy is memorable in classic story. The fiery hero has already wounded Aphrodītē, and he now turns his desperate valour against the very god of war. Minerva, be it remembered, is still at hand to guide, and shield, and direct him. Arēs is fresh from the slaughter of the gigantic Periphas, an Ætolian chieftain. Athēnē, insuring her own invisibility by the aid of the helmet of Hadēs, in company with Diomēdē, and riding by his side in his war-chariot, advances against the tremendous deity. Thirsting for the slaughter of the Grecian chief, Arēs now urged against him his formidable brazen spear: Athēnē, seizing this, directed its devious flight below the chariot. The chance was now with Diomēdē:—

Battle of Diomēdē and Arēs.

> The hero of "The Mighty Shout"
> Now charged in turn with brazen spear;
> The goddess lent it weight; and where
> The belt Mars' lower form about
> Round girdled with its plated fold,
> There the son of Greece undaunted,
> In the belt his weapon planted,
> And pierced that form of godlike mould.
> Forth again the lance he tore,
> Arēs answered with a roar
> From brazen throat, heard loud and far,
> As shout of myriad hosts, where reels the shock of war.
> Then seized each warring band a trembling fright,
> So bellowed Arēs fierce, insatiable of fight![2]

Servitude of Arēs.

In common with Apollo and Poseidōn, as we have just seen, Arēs is kept in bondage by the gigantic Aloadæ, though much more rigidly treated, being a prisoner in chains for thirteen months; when he was at length delivered by Hermēs.[3] This deity, of grand and noble proportions, was beloved by Aphrodītē, to whom he lent his war-chariot.[4] Thrace was usually considered the residence of Arēs, in which, as well as Scythia, were the chief seats of his worship.[5]

THE LEGEND OF HĒPHAISTOS.

Myth of Hēphaistos.

The son of Zeus and Hērē, HĒPHAISTOS,[6] is the god of fire, displayed as one of the grand physical powers, and exemplified in volcanic dis-

[1] Hom. Il. v. 889.

[2] Αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἀνόρουσε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης
"Ελκεϊ χαλκείῳ· ἐπόρουσε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
Νείατον ἐς κενεῶνα, ὅθι ζωννύσκετο μίτρην·
Τῇ ῥά μιν οὔτα τυχών, διὰ δὲ χρόα καλὸν ἔδαψεν·
Ἐκ δὲ δόρυ σπάσεν αὖτις· ὁ δ' ἔβραχε χάλκεος Ἄρης,
Ὅσσον τ' ἐννεάχιλοι ἐπίαχον ἢ δεκάχιλοι
Ἀνέρες ἐν πολέμῳ, ἔριδα ξυνάγοντες Ἄρηος.
Τοὺς δ' ἄρ' ὑπὸ τρόμος εἷλεν Ἀχαιούς τε Τρῶάς τε,
Δείσαντας τόσον ἔβραχ' Ἄρης ἄτος πολέμοιο. *Hom. Il.* v. 855–863.

[3] Il. v. 385.

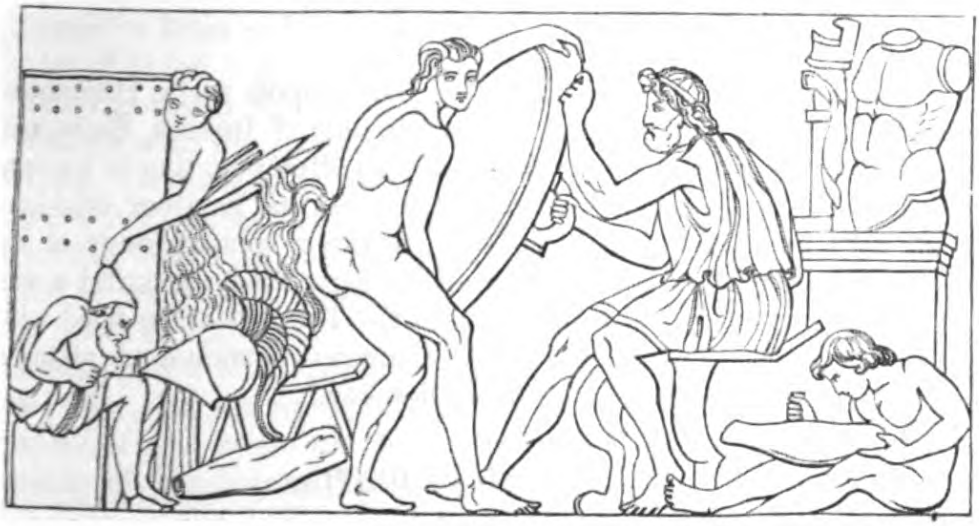
[4] Il. v. 363.

[5] Od. viii. 361.

[6] Il. i. 578; xiv. 338.

tricts; and he is the deity indispensable in duly fostering the arts and manufactures. One of the most beautiful works of technical skill that he ever produced was the far-famed shield of Achilles. His personal characteristics—the combination of skill and deformity—formed the source of numerous mythical tales. He was the type of whatever is curious and ingenious, just as Dædalus was amongst mortals. Here his position amongst the male deities was exactly that of Athēnē among the female; in fact, he was believed, conjointly with her, to have instructed mankind in the arts and embellishments of life.[1]

Arts and physical peculiarities of Hēphaistos.



As he was weakly from his birth, his mother, wishing to get rid of him, let him fall from Olympus. Kindly received, however, by Thetis and Eurynome, divinities of the sea, he continued with them for nine years, making for them many curious ornaments.[2] Though badly treated by his imperial mother, he was a dutiful and obedient son, and on one occasion his affection for her cost him dear, for he was punished by Zeus for interfering in a quarrel between himself and Hērē. The Olympian tyrant, seizing him by the leg, hurled him down from the lofty abode of the gods. This sad adventure of his, by which he became lame, he recounts to the assembled gods in a half-melancholy, half-jocular mood, as a kind of peace-offering, to restore harmony in the celestial banquet, which had lately been disturbed by a violent quarrel between Zeus and Hērē. He thus gives an account of his disaster:—

He is flung down by Zeus from Olympus.

> I was falling and falling throughout the long day,
> And when the sun sank with his last setting ray
> I fell into Lemnos. And know, for a god, I
> Had little breath left within my poor body.[3]

Describes his disaster at the banquet of the gods.

It was upon this occasion that he attempted the graceful part of the celestial cupbearer. His figure, unfortunately, was a striking contrast

Acts the cup-bearer.

[1] Od. xxiii. 160.

[2] Hom. Il. xviii. 394.

[3] Πᾶν δ' ἦμαρ φερόμην, ἅμα δ' ἠελίῳ καταδύντι,
Κάππεσον ἐν Λήμνῳ· ὀλίγος δ' ἔτι θυμὸς ἐνῆεν.
Il. i. 592, 593.

to his handsome predecessor's, which, together with his hobbling gait, propped up as he was with artificial supports manufactured by his own hand, excited the uncontrollable merriment of the immortals; his mother even could not help smiling as she received the goblet from her now laughable son; and as to the Olympian conclave, when they behold him, as

> From left to right to all he pours
> Sweet nectar from the goblet draining,
> Amongst the gods incessant roars
> Of laughter, in heaven's palace rise,
> To see the limping god maintaining
> The part of waiter to the skies.[1]

Favourite abode of Hēphaistos.

As each divinity had his favourite abode upon earth, Hēphaistos preferred Lemnos;[2] while the volcanic islands of Imbros, Sicily, and Lipara were considered his workshops.[3] In Olympus, too, in his own palace, which is marvellously brilliant, he has an amateur establishment, with anvil and twenty bellows, working spontaneously at his will;[4] and here are manufactured all his ingeniously-beautiful works of art, and arms for gods and men. In the Trojan war he sided with the Greeks, where his naturally mild character is shown by saving a Trojan from the slaughtering arm of Diomēdē.[5]

His workshop.

THE LEGEND OF HESTIA.

Myth of Hestia.

The chaste HESTIA, over whom we have seen that Aphrodītē had no influence, was the daughter of Cronos and Rhea. Like Athēnē, she was a maiden divinity, and though Poseidōn and Apollo sued for her hand, she swore by the head of imperial Zeus to remain for ever a virgin.[6] Her office was sacred; she presided at all sacrifices, and, as being the deity of the altar-fire, she shared in the sacrifices offered, of which the first part was presented to her.[7] The hearth itself was the sacred asylum for suppliants,[8] and so of the public hearth. Here were received guests and foreign ambassadors. From this Prytanitis, or sacred hearth of the state, all colonies took the fire that was about to burn upon the hearth of the new city.[9] Should this fire by any chance become extinct, it could only be renovated by drawing it from the sun by burning-glasses, or by producing it by friction. With this goddess the Roman Vesta was identical. Hestia was essentially the goddess of domestic life, since the hearth was justly considered its sacred centre.[10] The special invocation of this goddess as a sacrificial

Offices of Hestia.

Colonial custom.

Roman Vesta.

[1] Αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοισιν θεοῖς ἐνδείξια πᾶσιν
Ὠνοχόει, γλυκὺ νέκταρ ἀπὸ κρητῆρος ἀφύσσων
Ἄσβεστος δ' ἄρ' ἐνῶρτο γέλως μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν,
Ὡς ἴδον Ἥφαιστον διὰ δώματα ποιπνύοντα.

[2] Od. viii. 283. *Il.* i. 597, 600.
[3] Callim. Hymn, Dian. 47; Apoll. Rhod. iii. 41. [4] Il. xviii. 370.
[5] Il. v. 9. [6] Hom. Hymn, Aphrodītē, 22.
[7] Hom. Hymn, Aphrodītē, 31. [8] Hom. Od. xiv. 159.
[9] Dion. Hal. ii 65. [10] Callim. Hymn in Del. 325.

and purifying agent, both in Italy and in Greece, leads us to its oriental source. There the Brahminical priesthood are to maintain a perpetual fire, to which they offer oblations. The maintenance of the household fire is also a prime object in their religious tenets; it is produced by the attrition of two pieces of wood. Brahminical rites.

THE LEGEND OF ARTEMIS.

ARTEMIS is the last of those maiden deities who were never affected by the blandishments of Aphroditē. Hesiod and Homer ascribe her parentage to Zeus and Lētō.[1] She is the sister of Apollo, and born in the isle of Delos. As there were many points of view from which the Greeks considered this goddess, we shall select that which is most in accordance with the popular Hellenic notion, whose source we find in Arcadia. Here she is the female sovereign of the nymphs; while in this province her sanctuaries and her temples were very numerous and of ancient foundation: Mounts Taygetus and Erymanthus were the scenes of her sylvan exploits. Here it is that she hunts in company with her nymphs, of whom twenty formed a sort of regular retinue in the chase, while the daughters of Oceanus, to the number of an additional sixty, formed her choral dances in the mountain forests. The weapons of the chase—the bow, quiver, and arrows—were the workmanship of Hēphaistos, while Pan provided her with hounds. Four stags with golden antlers were attached to her chariot, and formed a swift and graceful equipage.[2] The usual position of her temples in Arcadia was contiguous to lakes or rivers, whence she is sometimes styled "Limnētis,"[3] or the "Goddess of the Lake." But the most ancient point of view in which Artemis was considered was as the sister of Apollo. In this character she is, like Apollo, armed with bow and arrows, often dealing out plague and death amongst animated creation. During the Trojan war she sides with the Trojans, as does her brother Apollo. Amongst the immortals she is the Ēlaphēbolos, or Stag-killer, and delights in the wild tumult of the chase.[5] But a still more ancient type of this goddess, in fact that whence the Arcadian Artemis takes its rise, is to be found in the union of "Artemis of the Stag," and Artemis, the sister of Hēlios, the Sun, or Apollo, in which case she would necessarily be Sēlēne, or the Moon. This notion we find in the Hindoo system, where Soma, or the Moon, is described as young, beautiful, and of dazzling fairness, riding in a car drawn by an antelope. He appears both as a male and female, which, again, establishes the fact of the Indian immigration into Egypt, where this deity was worshipped both as masculine and feminine, the men sacrificing to the divinity as Luna, and the women as Lunus. The Indian deity is the president of Soma-war, or Monday (Monday). Among other names, that of "Mriganka" is given

Myth of Artemis. Birth and parentage. Sovereign of the nymphs. Choir of Artemis. As sister of Apollo. Artemis as the Moon. Artemis of India.

[1] Hesiod Theog. 918. [2] Callim. Hymn in Artem. [3] Λίμνη, a lake.
[4] Paus. viii. 53. [5] Hom. Hymn in Art. 10.

to him—"He who has the deer in his lap." The hymn to Surya contains the following beautiful address:—

Hymn to Surya.

Thou nectar-beaming moon,
Regent of dewy night,
From yon bright roe that in thy bosom sleeps,
Fawn-spotted Sasin [1] hight;
Wilt thou desert so soon
Thy night-flowers pale, whom liquid odour steeps,
And Oshadi's transcendant beam,
Burning in the darkest glade?
Will no loved name thy gentle mind persuade
Yet one short hour to shed thy cooling stream?[2]

Hyperborean worship of Artemis.

We again hold a connecting link with this deity through the medium of Herodotus, by whom we are informed [3] that the worship of Artemis came from the Hyperboreans, and that the Hyperborean maidens brought sacrifices to Delos. Here, again, we are led over the Orphic track into Thessaly, with the Greek and Indian symbol of "The Fawn." In the latter system, we have this symbol occurring as "the dusky deer on the disk of the Moon." Nor is the myth of Artemis, and her connection with the Oreades, or Mountain Nymphs, and the Hamadryades,[4] or Tree Nymphs, less distinctive of the source of the legend. These, again, like Artemis, are of Arcadian origin.[5]

Connection of Artemis, the Moon, and the Nymphs.

Now, coupling the fawn of Artemis (the Moon) with the fawn of Soma (the Indian Moon), we have a strong elucidation of the identity of these two divinities, and the application of their offices. In the Vishnū Purana, we learn that the world was overrun with trees, and nature thereby much distressed. These the sages destroy with flames and with wind. On this occasion it is that the Moon, seeing but a few trees remaining, begs that their destruction may be stayed, and exclaims (and here is the Greek notion of the Hamadryades)—

Indo-epic illustration.

This precious maiden, daughter of the woods,
Marisha hight, I with my rays have fed;
Undoubted offspring of the grove is she.[6]



[1] Sasin, the Roe.
[2] Sir W. Jones, "Hymn to Surya."
[3] Herod. ii. 32.
[4] Hom. Hymn in Aphrod.
[5] Apoll. Rhod. iii. 477.
[6] Vish. Puran. C. 15. Horace has both the mythologic and poetic idea:—

Quamvis pontica pinus,
Silvæ filia nobilis. *Hor.* i. 14.

That prime type of the Grecian divinity, jealousy on account of neglected sacrifice, is strongly marked in the case of Artemis, who sent the memorable Calydonian boar as a visitation on Œneus for his neglect of her, while he did honour to the other divinities. Jealousy of Artemis.

It is impossible, in the brief space allotted to this department of our subject, to do justice to the ample stores of Mythology. We are compelled to close our sketches of the gods that we may be able to take in review the subject of the legendary heroes of Greece, most of whom will be found to hold a special connection with particular localities.





CHAPTER V.

LEGENDS OF HEROES.

IF the Theogony of Hesiod, on the one hand, has furnished us with the doctrinal relics of Orpheus, and through him of the great Indian system, the hymns of the Homerid of Chios have spread before us the most simple forms of divine agency personified, as drawn from poetic invention, and founded upon human modes of actions, the only difference being the comparative magnitude and power by which those actions are developed. From the Theogony of Hesiod we have now to repair to another storehouse, "The Works and Days," which he has filled with materials drawn from the same magazine that we have already examined.

Hymns of the Homerid of Chios.

Works and Days of Hesiod.

Golden age.

The Olympic gods, as the poet sings, formed the golden race happy, perfect, and good—men who subsisted upon the spontaneous productions of the earth. The tranquillity they enjoyed was like that of the immortals; disease and age touched them not, and their death was a gentle slumber:—

> In banquets they delight, removed from care,
> Nor troublesome old age intruded there;
> They die, or rather seem to die—they seem
> From hence transported in a pleasing dream.[1]

The Dæmons.

Even their very departure from this upper world became a source of benefit to their successors, for they became guardian agencies, pos-

[1] Cooke's Hesiod.

sessed subterranean invisibility, and, like Plutus, enjoyed the privilege of dispensing riches.

To this glorious race succeeded the silver race, reckless beings who disdained the immortal gods, and refused them sacrifice and worship. If the silver race was degenerate, what must be said by the poet of the succeeding age? The brazen race, which now arose was made of hard ash-wood, and the disposition of this race was pugnacious in the extreme. Of gigantic strength were they, and of adamantine soul. Their very arms and implements were of brass. Incessantly engaged in fierce conflicts, they mutually perished, and ignobly descended to the realms of Hadēs.

Silver age.

Brazen race.

The fourth race formed by Zeus were made more just, and in every respect superior to the former. They were heroes and demigods—the glory of the Trojan war. Here it was that some perished; others, by the gentle regard of Zeus, were removed to the happy islands of the blest:—

Fourth or Heroic race.

> There in the islands of the blest they find,
> Where Saturn reigns with endless calm of mind,
> And there the choicest fruits adorn the fields,
> And thrice the fertile year a harvest yields.[1]

The poet has now nearly passed through the whole of his graduated scale. One age alone remains; it is the iron age. And here that vein of melancholy reflection which more or less characterises this poem is most strongly marked. The poet sees nothing round him but dishonesty, injustice, ingratitude, and perjury, and he deeply regrets that his lot is cast in its degenerate days:—

The Iron age.

> For now the times are such, the gods ordain
> That every moment shall be winged with pain;
> Condemned to sorrows and to toil we live,
> Rest to our labour death alone can give.[2]

Such is the *system* of human agencies depicted by Hesiod. But, because it *is* a system, as is his Theogony, just in that proportion it loses the stamp of Grecian invention. Nothing of this doctrinal, classifying, and arranging tendency appears, as we have already seen, in the writings of Homer; his position in Ionia removed him from those influences which gave such a deep tinge to the writings of Hesiod. The same profound ethical development is prominently seen in the writings of Pindar. Both Hesiod and Pindar were natives of Bœotia; and the common allusions of both authors to the Orphic and Pythagorean dogmas, demonstrate some local and abiding source in Bœotia of those principles which we have already shown to be of Oriental origin. We cannot take a step in this early inquiry, without being met on the very threshold by evidences of the source of these deep reflections. Again, as in the Titanic war, Hesiod has had access to a system previously elaborated; just as Ovid has drawn upon Hesiod. The type of those various ages is clearly drawn in the different Yūgs, or Ages, of the Hindoo epic. Here again, as in the case

Ethical tone of Bœotia.

Pre-existent epical types.

Illustrated.

[1] Cooke's Hesiod. [2] Ibid.

of Ovid and Hesiod, Valmīki, the author of ancient Indian heroic poems, has had recourse, in his turn, to a system still more ancient, in which the four popular ages are distinctly noted. Even with such variations as might be expected, his comparison between the happy state of things subsisting under an able prince, who is the subject of his eulogy, and the Sūtya Yūg, or the happy age, clearly marks the origin of the Hesiodic type. The poet observes—

Four ages of the Indian epic.

Golden age of Valmīki.

> No cause to dread the fiery element
> Was there—all things the happy age
> Resembled! and of hunger's pangs no dread.[1]

And again—

> Within that realm the civic joy o'erflowed,
> In offspring fertile and for justice famed,
> Each soul enjoyed his own; and, truthful, grasped
> Not the wealth of others.[2]

And again—

> O'erflowed with corn each village and each town,
> And in this happy realm was no one deaf,
> Forlorn, nor ignorant.

Repeated copies of original.

Such is the picture drawn by an ancient poet—yet how close are all the chief features to the original! Just so in Hesiod, we see sufficient to trace the direct line of his Titanic war, and of his five ages.

Hesiod's ethics not entirely his own.

Even the melancholy sentimentalism of Hesiod is not entirely his own. A great moral teacher had preceded him in the same ethical vein, and tradition had not been unfaithful in preserving to Greece that tone of feeling. In the Vishnu Purana, the sage tells us, in anticipation of a worse than iron age, that in the "Kali Yūg" the life of no individual will exceed twenty-three years, and that the sole clothing will be the bark of trees; and, with this miserable defence against the elements, men will be "exposed to the sun, and rain, and cold."[1] There appears one bright spot in the sad desolation lamented by Hesiod: it is the connecting link which the gods have established between themselves and degraded humanity. The "Dæmons" of Hesiod, those invisible tenants of the world, still keep guard over mankind for the especial benefit of humanity. They are the unseen agents of the gods; they are in vast force; and this consideration points to the danger of violating the eternal laws of justice:—

Benevolence of the dæmons.

Office of the dæmons.

> Through cities then the holy dæmon runs
> Unseen, and mourns the baseness of their sons,
> Dispensing judgments, to avenge the crimes
> Of those who banish justice from the times.[3]

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[1] न चाग्निजं भयं किञ्चित यथा क्रतयुगन्तथा
न चापि क्षुद्भयंन्तत्र् न तस्कारभयन्तथा

Ram. c. 6, Slok. 108.

[2] Tăsmin pūrvāre hrishta dhărmātmăno băhūprājā
Nărāstūshtā dhănaih svaih svairālōbdhā sătyăvādīnāh.

Ram. c. 6.

[3] Cooke's Hesiod.

THE LEGEND OF PROMETHEUS.

Intellectual struggle between Zeus and Prometheus.

Of the four sons of the Titan god Japetus—Atlas, Menœtius, Prometheus, and Epimetheus—the two last appear by far the most interesting. If the struggle between Zeus and the Titans be one of force, that between Zeus and Prometheus is purely intellectual.

In the development of the respective duties and privileges of gods and men, the keen-witted Prometheus, the tutelary representative of man, had grossly overreached Zeus, who, in receiving what he had supposed to be the richest portions of the steer offered in sacrifice to him, was highly incensed to find that the fattest part which he had selected contained nothing but the bones which it craftily enveloped. Zeus felt that he had been outwitted, and to avenge the insult withheld from man the inestimable comfort of fire. The restless Prometheus again thwarted Zeus by stealing this ethereal product, and conveying it to man in the hollow of a ferule.[1]

Zeus indignant at being overreached.

Zeus, now still more indignant, resolved upon a more destructive stratagem. By his directions a lovely female, moulded and attired with every attractive grace, was presented to mankind. Pandora (such was the name of this attractive being) was brought to Epimetheus, during his brother's absence, and though the former had received strict injunctions not to receive any gifts at the hands of Zeus, the beauty of Pandora, the "all-gifted," was irresistible. But, alas! from the instant she was admitted among mankind, comfort and tranquillity fled, and in their place succeeded hardships of every kind. Before the arrival of Pandora, the evils to which humanity was liable had been safely enclosed in a casket, under the keeping of man. The malicious Pandora removed the lid, and forthwith out flew these dire calamities. Hope alone remained, for before she could escape, the fatal lid was replaced. The grand epic doctrine of the *Eidolon* here plays an early and prominent part, the very first which appears in any Greek system. The Homeric eidolon of Deïphobus stands in a narrative position, the Pandora of Hesiod in a doctrinal one. This is evident from its analogous treatment by the Puranas. Both the Greek and the Hindoo are treating of the Theogony where it forms a junction with human nature,—the one of Zeus and the Titan race, the other of Vishnū and the Daityas, whose mythologic identity we have shown; and though the scenery is different, the power exercised is the same. "Go," says the Divinity to the gods then advancing against the Daityas, after emitting from his body an illusory form, "Go, and fear not—let this delusive form precede you."[2] The type is sufficiently distinct to be at once recognised. But while the illusive Pandora is of this cast, the great body of the myth is as clearly a distorted legend of the creation of the great mother of the human race, and another source of legend, early flowing into Greece through the medium of Phœnician commerce, a source which we have before noticed.

Myth of Pandora.

Mischief of Pandora.

Narrative and doctrinal sources in contra-distinction.

Doctrinal eidolon of the Indian epic.

Hebrew original of the myth.

As for the daring champion of the human race, who rashly vied

[1] Hes. Theog. 566, Op. et Di. 52. [2] Vish. Pur. iii. c. 17.

Punishment of Prometheus.

with Zeus in sagacious penetration, he was secured by massy chains to a pillar, where he continued for many generations. Dire were his sufferings; each day did an eagle prey upon his liver, which again grew at night, a horrid sustenance for the suffering of the succeeding day.

At length Zeus permitted his favourite son Hēraclēs to kill the eagle, and thus rescue the suffering prisoner.[1]

THE LEGEND OF INACHUS.

Local myths leading to history.

We now begin to leave behind us the great elements of Divine agency in their grand application to human affairs, and have to contemplate local influences acting upon the faith of the chieftain or the invention of the poet.

We have pointed out the ease with which legend was made subservient to etymology, a principle, whose early, as well as later universality fed the abundant sources of this ample stream. Perhaps the earliest of these local Hellenic legends is that of Inachus, of Argive celebrity. He is said to have been a river god,[2] and king of Argos, son of Oceanus and Tethys. True to their usual system of etymology, the Greeks attributed the nomenclature of the river Inachus to the circumstance, that this their famous hero threw himself into it when pursued by the fury whom Zeus had sent to torment him.[3] Mythological chronology, guided by an assumed number of years for each generation, has placed the date of Inachus at B. C. 1986, about one thousand ages previous to the Olympiads. As such a conjectural system tends not to strengthen the dignity of history, but rather to induce a blind acquiescence in the great Hellenic failing before noticed, we shall treat the whole of these early local myths as such; entering upon the firmer arena of true history not before the times of Lycurgus.

Myth of Inachus.

Grecian history commences with Lycurgus.

THE LEGEND OF IO.

Phorōneus and Ægialeus were the sons of Inachus. In the Argive genealogies the latter was greatly celebrated, and in the ancient poem of the Phorōnis, is called "the father of mortal men."[4] To him is attributed the first knowledge of fire,[5] and the first dissemination of social habits; his power extended over the Peloponnesus, and his tomb was to be seen at Argos.[6]

Phorōneus first civilizer of mankind.

The son of Niobē, by Zeus, was named Argos; from whom the Peloponnesus received the same denomination. From this grand line descended Io, who furnished a favourite theme for the genealogical poets and Attic tragedians.

Io.

[1] For the mythus of Prometheus, *vide* the able article of Völcker, Mythol. des Japet Geschlechtes.

[2] The same unhesitating belief in the personality of river gods has ever prevailed in the Indian epic. *Vide* Ramay. the Address to Kūshiki, c. Slok.

[3] Plut. de Fluv. 18.

[4] Frag. Epic. Duntz. p. 57.

[5] The Persian epic makes civilization to accompany the invention of fire. The Persian king, Hoshang, is said to have discovered it by the spark emitted from a stone which dashed against a rock in his attack on a monstrous dragon.

[6] Paus. ii. 15, 5.

To the abduction of Io, the daughter of the king of Argos, by the Phœnicians, and to similar retaliatory measures between Greeks and Asiatics, Herodotus ultimately ascribes the Persian war. But it is in the Grecian accounts of Io's adventures that we are to see the myth most fully developed.

Phœnician account of Io.

Hērē had discovered the attachment of Zeus to Io, the priestess of the far-famed Heræon, or temple of Hērē, between Argos and Mycenæ. Zeus, to escape the charge of this amour, had metamorphosed his favourite into a white cow, which Hērē succeeded in placing under the charge of Argos Panoptes (All-eye). This guardian Hermēs slew; and now Hērē drove her competitor from her own country by the continued stinging of a gad-fly. The wandering Io roamed without sustenance over vast tracts of land, and passing an arm of the sea, gave her name to the Ionic gulf. She ranged through Illyria, the wild heights of Mount Hæmus, Caucasus, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, Scythia, many Asiatic regions, and finally Egypt, where at length she found repose.

Greek legend of Io.

Io under the charge of Argos Panoptes.

Wanderings of Io.

Iasus the Argive, Io's father, was succeeded by Crotopus, Sthenelas, and Gelanor. In the reign of the latter it was that Danaus and his fifty daughters came from Egypt to Argos. Danaus and Egyptus were two brothers, descended from Epaphus, the son of Io. Now, Egyptus had fifty sons who were desirous to marry the fifty daughters of Danaus. As the daughters of Danaus manifested the greatest repugnance to this union, their father took them to Argos. Here they were followed by their persevering suitors. Danaus was compelled to assent, but he contemplated a bitter fate for the sons of Egyptus. The wedding-night found each daughter of Danaus provided with a dagger, with which every husband, with the exception of Lynceus, was slain, Hypermnestra, whom he had married, having spared his life contrary to the express orders of Danaus, her father.

Arrival of Danaus and his daughters.

Followed by Egyptus.

The Danaides slay their husbands.

From this family did the Greeks derive and apply the name of "Danai," first to the Argives, and then to the Homeric Greeks at large.

When we consider the intimate connection of the two legends of Io and Danaus, we are still further confirmed in our opinion of the double stream of migration from India, before noticed. Here, after protracted wanderings, Io arrives at the spot where Prometheus the Titan is undergoing his long punishment; this spot, according to the last play of the trilogy of Æschylus, is Mount Caucasus. To this place then, a prime position of the Casyapates, Daityas, or Titans, does Io repair, in the form of a *cow*, an animal sacred in the religious systems both of India and Egypt. It is from the neighbourhood of a religious establishment that Io is driven—here she is a *white* cow. She reaches the settlements of the early immigrant into Greece, and finally arrives at Egypt, where she at last enjoys repose, is restored to her form, and gives birth to Epaphus, her *black* son. This confirms the idea of a religious people expelled from Greece by the stronger sacerdotal party. They repair once more to the early immigrative settlements of their

Io at Mount Caucasus.

Io as a white cow.

The myth elucidated.

Religious tendency of the myth.

race, Caucasus and Thrace, and once more reappear in Egypt among the original twin stream of emigrants. Here they have rest (*i. e.*, enjoy community of worship), while the *black son* of Io represents the physical and religious connection of the earlier settlers with that party who had newly arrived. Io is restored to her original form, or, in other words, the new emigrants practise their old form of worship. Add to this that Danaus and Egyptus were two brothers, descending from the son of Io; that Danaus sought refuge in the very country whence his ancestor had been driven; and we are led to conclude that a religious rupture took place between the older Egyptian colonies from India (the Danavas), here confounded as one of the descendants of Io, and the more modern sect represented by Io. It is from Prometheus the Titan that she learns her way to Egypt, the seat of the early Indian colonies. The Titan, Prometheus, too, is equally a sufferer for a religious cause; but he is fixed in one place, he cannot move, he can only give advice. From this, it would appear that the attachment of Zeus (the ruling power) to Io—the priestess—the white cow—or the Indo-European worship, led to its expulsion from Argos; and after a sojourn at Caucasus, its former onward resting-place towards Greece, its followers are, by the descendants of the old settlers, still remaining there under great difficulties and distresses from the ruling powers, directed to the early settlements of their religion in Egypt, where at length they are free from the *gad-fly*, or *persecution*. Now, although no allegory was ever contemplated in this myth by the believing Greek of antiquity, and although he felt firmly convinced of the positive personality of all the actors in it, still it is not the less probable that broken and disjointed traditions descending to the poet, would be by him moulded to something suitable to his idea of the nature of the gods and their power; and, by reversing this process of his, we may at last arrive at something not far from the truth.

Prometheus representative of an old emigration.

Indo-European worship expelled.

Inferences.

Danaus king of Argos.

By the voluntary abdication of Gelanor, the king of Argos, Danaus now became sovereign of that country, and was succeeded by his son-in-law Lynceus, whose successor was Abas. His two sons, Acrisius and Prœtos, divided between them the territory of Argos. Unhappily, the vengeance of some offended divinity overtook the beautiful daughters of Prœtos. They had been solicited in marriage by many noble suitors in Greece; but now, smitten with the loathsome visitation of the leprosy,[1] they wandered in this wretched state through Peloponnesus. Their father at length secured their restoration to health by the prayers of Melampus, the far-famed prophet and physician of Pylus: it was, however, at the expense of two-thirds of his kingdom.

Daughters of Prœtos.

THE LEGEND OF DANAĒ AND PERSEUS.

Meanwhile Danaē, the daughter of Acrisius, became involved in a tragical train of things, of a still more romantic cast. As an oracle

[1] Pherecyd. ap. Schol. Hom. Odyss. xv. 225.

had informed Acrisius that his daughter would give birth to a son by whom he should fall, he imprisoned Danaē in a subterranean chamber of brass. Notwithstanding, Zeus, her lover, found means to descend to her through these obstacles, in the guise of a shower of gold. Thus was vindicated the first part of the prophecy; the birth of a son, Perseus, soon fulfilled the latter. The cruel Acrisius now enclosed both mother and child in a coffer, which he cast into the sea. Here, buffeted by the winds and billows, the unhappy mother gave impassioned utterance to all the bitterness of woe in the language of a mother's heart:—

Myth of Danaë.

Danaë and her child cast into the sea.

Lament of Danaë.

My child, what woes does Danaē weep!
But thy young limbs are wrapt in sleep!
In that poor nook, all sad and dark,
While lightnings play around our bark,
Thy quiet bosom only knows
The heavy sigh of deep repose;
The howling wind, the raging sea,
No terror can excite in thee,

The angry surges wake no care
That burst above thy long deep hair;
But couldst thou feel what I deplore,
Then would I bid thee sleep the more.
Sleep on, sweet boy; still be the deep!
Oh, could I lull my woes to sleep!
Jove, let thy mighty hand o'erthrow
The baffled malice of my foe;
And may this child in future years
Avenge his mother's wrongs and tears.[1]

This frail ark of safety was borne to the isle of Seriphus, where Danaē and Perseus were rescued.

Danaë and Perseus rescued.

When Perseus grew up to maturity, his heroic courage was signalized by bringing back from Lybia the horrible head of Medusa, which possessed the power of turning into stone every one who looked upon it. By the tutelary protection of Athēnē, he returned in safety from this perilous enterprise. It was on his way homewards that he rescued Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus, who had been left to be devoured by a sea-monster; she became his wife. Unhappily, the predictions of the oracle were fulfilled in the case of his grandfather, Acrisius, whom he struck dead by an incautious swing of a quoit. The descendants of Perseus and of Mycēne, whose immediate progeny was numerous, range down to the latest kings of Sparta.

Perseus rescues Andromeda.

Accidentally kills Acrisius.

THE LEGEND OF HĒRACLĒS.

We have contemplated the Argive families of Inachus, Io, and Perseus, and we now turn to the far-famed myth of Thebes, which numbers amongst its heroes a name not less illustrious than that of Hēraclēs, the son of Alcmēne. Zeus had publicly boasted amongst the immortal gods, that a son should on that day be born to him, who

Myth of Hēraclēs.

[1] By the Authors of the Greek Anthology; from Simonides.

should rule over the heroic race of Perseus; this public boast he made at the instigation of Atē, the great mischief-maker. Hērē now called upon Zeus to confirm this by an irrevocable oath; this he incautiously did. Forthwith Hērē darted down from Olympus, and by the assistance of Eileithyiæ, having retarded the birth of Hēraclēs, hurried forward that of Eurystheus. She then returned to Olympus, and informed him of the birth of Eurystheus, son of the Perseid Sthenelos, and that by virtue of his own irrevocable oath the kingdom of Argos devolved upon Eurystheus. Zeus was for a moment overpowered by this result of his awful oath. Then turning to Atē, his evil counsellor, he seized her by the hair and hurled her for ever from Olympus.

Artifice of Hērē.

Zeus hurls Atē from Olympus.

Hēraclēs was only a few months old when Hērē sent two serpents into the apartment where Iphiclēs and his brother Hēraclēs were sleeping; but the latter strangled them with his own hands.[1] As the heroic child grew up, he received every advantage calculated to improve his vast natural powers. By Amphitryon he was instructed in the management of the chariot, by Castor in fighting in heavy armour, by Autolycus in wrestling, whilst Eurytus was his instructor in archery, and Linus taught him the art of playing upon the lyre.[2] His first great enterprise was his fight with and victory over the lion of Cythæron, who had made vast havoc among the flocks of Amphitryon. His next achievement was a conquest single-handed over the Orchomenians, by which the Thebans were delivered from the annual tribute they had hitherto paid. This valiant action so raised his glory amongst the Thebans, that Creon rewarded him with the hand of Megara, his eldest daughter. The hero now entered on his term of drudging toil and deep peril, in the course of which were accomplished the far-famed "twelve labours," of which our limits prevent our giving more than the mere titles:—

Accomplishments of Hēraclēs.

First enterprise.

Conquers the Orchomenians.

Enters upon the twelve labours.

1. The fight with the Nemæan lion. 2. Fight with the Lernæan hydra. 3. Capture of the stag of Ceryneia (stag with golden horns and brazen feet). 4. Capture of the Erymanthian boar. 5. Cleansing of the stables of Augeas. 6. Destruction of the Stymphalian birds. 7. Capture of the Cretan bull. 8. Capture of the mares of Diomēdēs. 9. Capture of the girdle of the queen of the Amazons. 10. Capture of the oxen of Geryones in Erytheia. 11. Seizure of the golden apples of the Hesperides. 12. Cerberus brought from Hadēs.

In addition to these grand achievements, the extra-enterprises, or "Parerga," of the hero, were numerous. He chained the Cercōpes, defeated the plundering Idones; threw the blood-thirsty Lytierses into the Mæander;[3] was in connection with the Argonautic expedition;[4] made an expedition against Troy, which he captured,[5] besides a vast variety of other warlike deeds.

Parerga of Hēraclēs.

Hēraclēs had married Deianeira, with whom, in consequence of an involuntary murder which he had committed, he had been compelled

Marries Deianeira.

[1] Pind. Nem. i. 49. [2] Tzetz. ad Lycoph. 49; Theoc. xxiv. 114.
[3] Schol. ad Theoc. x. 41. [4] Apollod. i. 9. [5] Eurip. Troad. 802.

to go into exile. In fording the river Euenus, the Centaur Nessus, who usually carried travellers across, attempted to insult Deianeira; Hēraclēs heard her screams, and no sooner had she arrived on the other side, than he shot the Centaur to the heart with an arrow. At his last gasp, the Centaur called to Deianeira to take with her his blood, as the certain means of maintaining her husband's affection.[1] Hēraclēs, after an absence from Deianeira of fifteen months, at length returned homewards. On his route, after storming Æchalia, and slaying Eurytus and his sons, he carried prisoner with him Iolē, the daughter of Eurytus. He now landed at Cenæum, a promontory of Eubœa, whence he despatched Lichas to bring from Trachis the white garment, which he was going to wear during the sacrifice he was about to offer to Zeus.

Slays the Centaur.

Deianeira, who had heard from Lichas the return of Iolē with Hēraclēs, fearing to lose her husband's affections, remembered the legacy of the dying Centaur. Steeping the sacrificial robe in a preparation made from the blood of Nessus, which unfortunately had been tainted by the poisoned arrow of Hēraclēs, she despatched it to her husband, who had no sooner put it on, than he was seized with the most excruciating pains. Resolved to put an end to his insupportable agonies, he raised a funeral pile upon Mount Œta, which, after having ascended, he ordered to be set on fire; with his last breath enjoining his eldest son Hyllus to marry Iole on his reaching maturity. The flames now rose aloft, and, amidst tremendous peals of thunder, a cloud descended from heaven, on which he was wafted to Olympus, there to enjoy immortality in an eternal union with the beautiful Hēbē, the daughter of Hērē.[2]

Deianeira sends to Hēraclēs the sacrificial robe.

His death.

The worship of the hero in Greece soon became widely extended. "The legend," observes Mr. Grote,[3] "of unquestionable antiquity, here transcribed from the Iliad, is one of the most pregnant and characteristic in the Grecian mythology. It explains, according to the religious ideas familiar to the old epic poets, both the distinguishing attributes and the endless toil and endurances of Hêraklês, the most renowned and most ubiquitous of all the semi-divine personages worshipped by the Hellênes,—a being of irresistible force, and especially beloved by Zeus, yet condemned constantly to labour for others, and to obey the commands of a worthless and cowardly persecutor. His recompense is reserved to the close of his career, when his afflicting trials are brought to a close; he is then admitted to the godhead, and receives in marriage Hêbê. The twelve labours form a very small fraction of the exploits of this mighty being, which filled the Hêrakleian epics of the ancient poets. He is found not only in most parts of Hellas, but throughout all the other regions then known to the Greeks, from Gadês to the river Thermôdôn in the Euxine, and to Scythia, overcoming all difficulties, and vanquishing all opponents.

Mr. Grote's observations on the legend of Hêraclês.

[1] Soph. Trach. 555. [2] Hes. Theog. 949; Hom. Od. xi. 600; Soph. Trach.
[3] Hist. Greece, vol. i. p. 128.

"Distinguished families are everywhere to be traced who bear his patronymic, and glory in the belief that they are his descendants. Among Achæans, Kadmeians, and Dôrians, Hêraklês is venerated; the latter especially treat him as their principal hero,—the patron hero-god of the race: the Hêrakleids form among all Dorians a privileged gens, in which at Sparta the special lineage of the two kings was included.

"His character lends itself to mythes, countless in number as well as disparate in their character. The irresistible force remains constant, but it is sometimes applied with reckless violence against friends as well as enemies, sometimes devoted to the relief of the oppressed. The comic writers often brought him out as a coarse and stupid glutton, while the Athênian philosopher Prodikos, without at all distorting the type, extracted from it the simple, impressive, and imperishable apologue still known as the 'Choice of Hercules.'"

The mythus of Hēraclēs reviewed.

In this masterly summary of the main national characteristics of the Grecian hero and their treatment, every reader of judgment must entirely concur. But while we thus view this famous Greek mythus from Hellenic ground, we propose, by the aid of philology and certain geographical considerations, to throw an entirely new light upon its real origin, as we have already done in the case of Thessaly and the Pelasgi. Our limits will necessarily contract our course of demonstration; but the most salient features of the great hero are, firstly, his name; secondly, his ubiquity; thirdly, his prominent connecting associates; fourthly, the scene and the manner of his death. There was not a nation of antiquity but had its Hēraclēs. Why was this? No doubt it was a proof of strong national pride; but this very universality of feeling, and, what is of more consequence, this universality of *name*, is to be sought for in some very early type, that made both the *name* and the *action* attached to it an object of zealous emulation. Such a one is to be found in the most ancient language and religion of the East: *Heracula* still figures in the venerable books of the Indians.

Hēraclēs an universal hero.

Heracula of the East.

The reader will recollect our notice of the early Pelasgian immigration into Thessaly; the connection of Cheiron and Achilles with Indian names and deities, and the identity of several rivers, mountains, and countries in Thessaly, with those in India: to these we have now to add that Hĕricēlīyă, or Hĕrikēlīya, is the Indian name of the province of *Bengal*. The first compound is significant; Hĕri is a name of Vishnu, of Indra, or Diupeti, (and here again the Greeks derived the name of Jupiter's consort Hērē). We have already traced the Pelasgi to their old province of Pĕlāsă or *Behar*, and we have now the name of Hĕrikēlīya leading us to *Bengal*. Hēraclēs figured in the conflict with the Centaurs of Thessaly. There it was, on Mount Œta, a prominent place in the *Titanic* war, that he closed his career. He sends Likhas (Likhă is in Sanscrit *a writing*, in all probability a written communication of some sort), to Deianeira, to bring his *white robe*, in which to sacrifice to Zeus. Here we have the characteristic

Hĕrikēlīya, old name of Bengal.

Origin of Hērē's name.

Œta, a Titanic position.

Likhas, a Sanscrit term.

of the Indian priest; and, finally, like the Indian Calanus, the gymnosophist, in the time of Alexander the Great, he ascends the funeral pile at Mount Œta. Coupling the geographical, national, and religious terms already noticed, common to India and Thessaly, this has every appearance of a Brahminical sacrifice. Again, in the legend of Hēraclēs, we have the tale of the Cercōpes. Zeus (Diupeti), it is said, involved in a war with the Titans (Dytyas), came to the Cercōpes, and changed them into monkeys. Here we have the Indian legend of Hanūman, and his army of monkeys created by supreme power, which fought in favour of Diupeti and the other gods; which again gives another connecting link by which the worship of monkeys became common to both India and Egypt.

The burning on Mount Œta, a Brahminical rite.

The tale of the Cercōpes.

Connection of the epic mythology and religion.

After the deification of Hēraclēs, his eldest son Hyllus, and the rest of his children, were expelled by Eurystheus; but being kindly protected by the Athenians,[1] Eurystheus invaded Attica, and in the struggle, perished by the hand of Hyllus. In this battle fell all the sons of Eurystheus, the inveterate task-master of Hēraclēs. The Hēracleids now strove for a restoration to their native land, which was to be decided by the champions chosen from the respective hosts. Hyllus was the representative of the Hēracleids, Echemos that of the Tegeans. In this encounter Hyllus fell, and with his fall, the Hēracleids retired from their native land, to live under the protection of the Dorians. On the expiration of the stipulated period of truce, a term of one hundred and fifty years, they prepared for a grand and final invasion. The formidable expedition now set sail from Naupactus towards Rhion in the Peloponnesus,[2] where the combined force of Dorians and Hēracleidæ vanquished Tisamenus, the sovereign of Argos, Sparta, and Mycenæ.[3]

Hēracleidæ expelled.

Hēracleidæ strive to regain their native country.

Retire to the Dorians.

Grand expedition of the Hēracleidæ.

Though the legend of Hēraclēs, and that of the Hēracleidæ, are amongst the most celebrated myths of Greece, there is no doubt that the adventures of the latter contain much genuine historical substance. Still the sources themselves of that legend began to flow, long before Greece had acquired any historical sense, and consequently are not entitled to any solid confidence, excepting so far as they furnish matter for just inferential speculation.[4]

DEUCALION, HELLĒN, AND HIS SONS.

If the myth of Hēraclēs was coequal with the extent of the ancient world, the great legend of the Deluge was not less the peculiar property of every country. But while the name of Hēraclēs was one of world-wide adoption, that of Deucalion was not only especially Grecian, but more particularly confined to a single province: we

[1] Apollod. ii. 8; Long. 27; Diod. iv. 57.
[2] Paus. iii. 1, 5.
[3] Paus. v. 3; Polyæn. i. 9.
[4] For the best information on this subject, see Müller's Dorians, and the treatise of Haar: Heraclidarum incursiones in Peloponnesum. Gröning. 1830.

shall point out the causes of this strange variation. This myth is of considerable importance, as opening the path to a fictitious history; a history accepted implicitly as fact by the Greeks, and very often as such by modern writers.

Importance of Deucalion.

Deucalion is the favoured individual saved by the gods at the time of the general deluge; and his importance is great, inasmuch as he is the father of Hellēn, the celebrated eponym, or name-giver, of the Hellenic race. Zeus, indignant at the awful wickedness of the existing Brazen Age, was provoked to send an universal deluge.[1] The destruction attendant upon this general calamity, Deucalion escaped, by constructing an ark according to the warnings of Prometheus his father. After floating for nine days upon the water, he landed upon the summit of Mount Parnassus; other legends say on Mount Othrys. Deucalion now prayed that Zeus would restore mankind. Accordingly himself and his wife were directed to cast stones over their heads; those thrown by Deucalion became men, those thrown by Pyrrha, women. Hence from these stones sprang a *stony race*,[2] as say the etymologizing Greeks, Hesiod and Pindar leading the way.[3]

Mankind restored by Deucalion and Pyrrha.

How firmly the reality of this deluge was impressed upon the general belief of the Greeks of the historical age, may be seen by the calculations of their chronologers, who pretended to settle the exact date of the deluge by reckoning up to that period by genealogies. Still farther to fix the reality of the tale, it was commemorated by sacred ceremonies, especially in Athens, where the priests poured into a cavity in the temple of Olympian Zeus, holy offerings, because they believed this the very passage by which the waters of the deluge had retired.[4]

Commemoration of the deluge at Athens.

Sons of Hellēn.

Hellēn and Amphictyon were the sons of Deucalion. From Hellēn sprang Dorus, Xūthus, and Æolus, among whom he divided his territory, and the people of Greece were now called Hellēnes. Xūthus, who had received the Peloponnesus as his portion, married Crëusa, by whom he had Ion and Achæus. Æolus assumed the sovereignty of Thessaly, and the country on the northern side of the Corinthian Gulf was held by Dorus. Hence their people were respectively named Achæans, Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians.[5]

Ion, Dorus, Achæus, and Æolus, Eponyms, or name-givers.

We would here repeat an observation we have elsewhere made,[6] that names so nicely quadrated to nations, carry an appearance too precise and artificial for early society, and partake more of poetic creation than of historical fact. Accordingly, the Greek genealogical tree, bears more or less the impress of artificial pruning. The same

[1] Dion. Hal. i. 17.

[2] The play is upon the words λαὸς (laos), people, and λᾶας (laas), a stone.

[3] So Virgil, "Unde homines nati, *durum* genus." Georg. i. 53.

[4] Paus. xl. 1.

[5] Apoll. i. 7, 4.

[6] Ionic Logographers, p. 211 of Hist. of Greek Literature, in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana: Καὶ Ξοῦθος μὲν λαβὼν τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἐκ Κρεούσης τῆς Ἐρεχθέως, Ἀχαιὸν ἐγγόνησε καὶ Ἴωνα, ἀφ' ὧν Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Ἴωνες καλοῦνται. κ. τ. λ. Apoll. i. 7, 3. Ed. Firm. Didot, Paris, 1846.

eponymizing tendencies have been at work among the poets as well of the east as of the west. By an Indian authority we are informed that *Hastin* is the founder of *Hastinapoor*,[1] while the Persian epic carries out the same principle. Ferdousi, speaking of Feridūn's distribution of his possessions to his sons, observes— Eponymizing tendencies in the East.

> Then next to *Tūr*, *Tūrānia's* soil he gave,
> Tūrkān and Cheen to sway, their chieftain brave.

And again—

> For *Iraj* next, whose claim alternate rose,
> His sire's behest, *Irania's* cities chose.[2]

As Apollodorus, the author of the genealogy of Hellēn, has drawn his records from *poetic* sources, we see the cause of this uniformity of nomenclature in the east and west. On the same principle, as a convenient resting-point for the political institutions of Greece, the Amphictyonic assembly is referred for its name to Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion. Causes of similarity.

LEGEND OF THE ÆOLIDS, OR SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF ÆOLUS.

ÆOLUS, who reigned in Thessaly, had seven sons[3] and five daughters. In the first Æolid line may be reckoned Salmōneus, Tyrō his daughter, Pelias, and Nēleus; Bias, Pērō, daughter of Nēleus, and Melampus Peryclymenus, son of Nēleus; Nestor, and the race of Nēleus, ending in Codrus. The most celebrated in the second Æolid line are Peleus and Jason. In the third Æolid line occurs the celebrated Sysiphus, remarkable for his craft. The grandson of Sysiphus, BELLEROPHON, is the hero of a romantic train of adventures, first noticed in the Iliad of Homer. Sons and daughters of Æolus. Myth of Bellerophon.

Anteia, the wife of Prœtus, king of Argos, had conceived a strong passion for the noble Bellerophon, but her offers being repelled by the

[1] Vish. Puran. iv. 19.

[2] دگر تورا داد توران زمین
ورا کرد سللار تورکان و چین
وز ان پس چو نوبت بایرج رسید
مر اورا پدر شهر ایران گزید

Shah. Nam. Calcut. 1829, vol. i. p. ۵۸

Mr. Grote (Hist. Gr. vol. i. p. 138, note) has some most pertinent remarks on this point. He observes, "How literally and implicitly even the ablest Greeks believed in eponymous persons, such as Hellēn or Ion, as the real progenitors of the races called after him, may be seen by this, that Aristotle gives this common descent as the definition of *γένος* (Metaphysic, iv. p. 118, Brandis). *Γένος λέγεται τὸ μὲν . . . . . τὸ δὲ, ἀφ' οὗ ἂν ὦσι πρώτου κινήσαντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι. Οὕτω γὰρ λέγονται οἱ μὲν, Ἕλληνες τὸ γένος, οἱ δὲ Ἰωνες· τῷ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Ἕλληνος, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἴωνος, εἶναι πρώτου γεννήσαντος.*"

[3] His sons were Sysiphus, Cretheus, Deion, Salmoneus, Athamas, Magnes, Perieres. His five daughters were Canacē, Peisidicē, Perimēdē, Alcyonē, and Calycē.

young hero, her love was turned into the deadliest hatred. She now accused Bellerophon to her husband of having made improper proposals to her, and insisted on his being put to death. Prœtus, however indignant, refused to commit a deed of bloodshed in his own palace; he, however, despatched him to his father-in-law Iobatēs, king of Lycia, at the same time giving into his charge a folded tablet full of symbols portending his destruction.[1] In order to carry out these murderous instructions, the most hazardous enterprises were allotted to Bellerophon. He was to attack the monstrous Chimæra, whose form

Anteia accuses Bellerophon.

Perilous enterprises of Bellerophon.



was a horrible compound of a lion, goat, and dragon. Bellerophon now mounted the winged horse, Pegasus, and thus soaring aloft in the air, slew the Chimæra from on high with his arrows; the warlike Solymi also, as well as the Amazons, were added to his dangers and his conquests. In the song of the Theban bard, Bellerophon

Slays the Amazons, Chimæra, and Solymi.

> Springs joyous on his winged steed, in brazen armour dight,
> From Æther's deserts deep and chill,
> The quivered female legions, smite
> His arrows true.

[1] Γράψας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ θυμοφθόρα πολλά.

Il. vi. 168.

And dire Chimæra, from whose gorge the blasts of glowing light
The welkin fill,
And Solymi he slew.[1]

On his return to Lycia, a band of the bravest Lycians who had been placed in ambuscade, rushed out upon him; he slew them all. Iobatēs, now convinced that it was hopeless to attempt his life any farther, showed him the tablet he had received from Prœtus, and gave him his daughter in marriage, together with half his kingdom. Such are the outlines of the myth of Bellerophon, whose grandchildren, Sarpēdōn and Glaucus, fought at the siege of Troy. Eustathius remarks that Homer knows nothing of Pegasus in this miraculous enterprise. It is, however, in strict keeping with the oriental epic. In India each god has his particular *vahan* or vehicle. Thus Vishnū rides upon the Garūda, a being with the head and wings of a bird, and the body, legs, and arms of a man. In the Kali Yūg (Iron Age) he is to appear as an *armed warrior mounted on a winged horse.* In the Persian epic, Hoshang, like Bellerophon, subdues and tames Raksh, a winged monster, whom he mounts and uses in all his wars against the Diws, or giants.

Marries the daughter of Iobatēs.

The vahan or vehicle of the gods, an Indian doctrine.

Vishnu, Hoshang, and Bellerophon.

The fourth Æolid line consists of Athamas and his successors, of whom our limits will not permit us to treat. We therefore pass on to the myth of the Pelopids.

THE LEGEND OF THE PELOPIDS.

Pelops, the Eponym or name-giver of the Peloponnesus, was the son of Tantalus, whose residence was near Mount Sipylus in Lydia; his sister's name was Niobē. Possessed of unbounded riches and happiness, he seemed placed above human wants. The gods even received him at their banquets, an honour which he hospitably acknowledged by inviting them to his own. But, unhappily, elated by such unbounded privileges, Tantalus stole from the gods nectar and ambrosia, and disclosed their secrets. To add still farther to the horrors of his domestic life, he slew his son Pelops, whom he served up to the gods at a banquet; they, however, knowing the horrid nature of the food set before them, would not touch it. Dēmēter, however, being absorbed by grief for her lost daughter,[2] had eaten a part of the shoulder. The gods now commanded Hermēs to place the limbs of Pelops in a cauldron, and thus to restore him to life again. As one shoulder, however, was wanting, Dēmēter supplied its loss with an

Myth of the Pelopids.

Tantalus displeases the gods.

Pelops restored to life by magic process.

[1] Ἵππον πτερόεντ' ἀναβὰς δ' ἰνθὺς ἐνόπλια χαλκοθεὶς ἔπαιζεν.
Σὺν δὲ πίνῳ καὶ ποτ' Ἀμαζονίδων
Αἰθέρος ψυχρᾶς ἀπὸ κόλπων ἱερήμου
Τοξόταν βάλλων γυναικεῖον στρατόν,
Καὶ Χίμαιραν πῦρ πνέουσαν καὶ Σολύμους ἔπεφνεν.
Pind. Olym. xiii. 86–90.

[2] Thetis is the name mentioned by some authors. *Vide* Schol. ad Pind. Ol. i. 37.

ivory one; whence his descendants, the Pelopidæ, were said to have one shoulder as white as ivory.[1] The punishment of Tantalus was terrible: consigned to the lower world, with fruit and water apparently within his reach, he was doomed for ever to grasp at them unavailingly, thus leaving hunger and thirst perpetually unappeased;[2] whilst over his head impended a huge rock, ever threatening to fall and crush him.[3]

Punishment of Tantalus.

THE LEGEND OF NIOBĒ.

Myth of Niobē.

NIOBĒ, the sister of Pelops, was equally the subject of tragical and romantic events. She had been married to Amphiōn, king of Thebes, by whom she became mother of six sons and six daughters. Though placed on an intimate footing with Lētō,[4] the mother of Apollo and Artemis, her exulting pride broke forth in disdainful comparisons between the number of her own children and that of Lētō. Indignant at this presumption, Apollo and Artemis slew her entire offspring. Niobē herself, thus rendered disconsolate and childless, repaired to Mount Sipylus, where she had the exquisite misery of suffering perpetual agony under the form of stone:—

Niobē's children slain by Apollo and Artemis.

> And, ever marble, ever suffering stands.[5]

Niobē and Daphnē representatives of Indian doctrines.

Niobē changed to stone, and Daphnē to laurel, are the representatives of religious doctrines known first in India and then in Greece, long previous to the times of Homer. They are doctrines again strongly revived in Greece B.C. 540–510, by Pythagoras, and by him ranging up, through Hesiod and Orpheus, to the great Indian school. The leading principles of these two metamorphoses are plainly stated in the Maneveh Dherma Sastra: "For sins committed in the body a man shall, after death, assume a vegetable or a mineral form."[6] The fate of Niobē is found duly chronicled by Valmīki in that of the nymph Rambha, long before the Homeric writings. Rambha was a beautiful nymph, who had attempted to captivate with her charms the affections of Vishwa Mitra, upon which daring attempt the great ascetic pronounced no very lenient sentence:—

Principles developed in the Maneveh Dherma Sastra.

Rambha changed to stone.

> The sage, indignant, thus the maiden hailed—
> "Since thou wouldst lure me, Rambha, with thy charms
> Of beauty boundless, in this sacred grove,
> Cursed by my art, a myriad years remain
> In living stone."[7]

The Orphic and Pythagorean belief in vegetable metamorphosis is not less clear in the teaching of Empedocles. What implicit credence

[1] Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 152; Pind. Ol. i. 37.
[2] Hom. Odyss. xi. 582.
[3] Eurip. Or. 5; Pind. Isth. viii. 21.
[4] Sapph. Frag. 82, Schneid.
[5] Hom. Il. xxiv. 617; Paus. i. 21, 5.
[6] Man. Dherm. Sast. xii. 9, Slok.
[7] Rămbhān kopăsămāvishtā idăm văchănămăbrăvīt
Yăsmăllobhyăsyē Rămbhē, mămātmăgūnăsămpădā
Tăsmāchchăilămyē bhūtwā sthāsyămīhā tăpovănē
Vărshānămăyătăn. Ityadi. *Ramayuna*, C. Slok.

this doctrine had obtained in the general system of the Hindoos may be seen in the writings of Calidasa, the Indian Shakspeare, whose drama of the "Hero and the Nymph," depicts the prince Purūravas, as restoring to her natural form, the object of his love, who had been transformed into a vine:—

PUR. What means this strange emotion—as I gaze
Upon this vine, no blossoms deck its boughs;
Nipped by the falling rains, like briny tears,
That wash the ruddy freshness from the lips,
The buds have perished, and the mournful shrub
All unadorned appears to pine in absence.
No bees regale her with their songs—silent
And sad, she lonely shows the image
Of my repentant love, who now laments
Her causeless indignation. I will press
The melancholy likeness to my heart.

Air.

Vine of the wilderness, behold
A lone, heart-broken wretch in me,
Who dreams in his embrace to fold
His love, as wild he clings to thee.
And might relenting fate restore
To these fond arms the nymph I mourn,
I'd bear her hence, and never more
To these forbidden haunts return.
(*Goes to embrace the Vine, which is transformed to Urvasī.*)

What can this mean! through every fibre spreads
The conscious touch of Urvasī—yet all
I deemed her charms deceived me—let me wake
And realize the vision, or dispel it.
'Tis no deceit—'Tis she—my best beloved (*faints*).

URVASĪ (*in tears*). Revive my Lord![1]

Orpheus, Empedocles, and Pythagoras.

Both Empedocles and Pythagoras held the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, and both equally prohibited the eating of animal food. Empedocles held that plants had souls, and that into plants, as well as into animals, the vital principle passed after death:—

A boy and a girl was I once, whom you see,
And a shrub, and a bird, and a fish of the sea.[2]

Sources of their principles.

With this exactly agrees the doctrine of the Maneveh Dherma Sastra. "Souls sunk in darkness in this world" transmigrate into "vegetable and mineral substances, worms, insects, reptiles, and fish," &c. The author then particularises the various punishments. For a gross crime against a spiritual or natural father, the sinner migrates one hundred times into the forms of grasses, of shrubs with thick-set

[1] Vikrama and Urvasī, by Professor Wilson, p. 255.

[2] Ἦδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ γενόμην κοῦρός τε κόρη τε,
Θάμνος τ', οἰωνός τε καὶ ἐξ ἁλὸς ἔμπυρος ἰχθύς.
Sturz. ad Emped. Frag. p. 466.

Migratory punishments.

stems, and of deciduous and twining plants.[1] He who steals *grain in the husk* will be born again as a *rat;* if he purloins *meat*, as a *vulture;*[2] if he steals *carriages*, he will be born a *camel.*[3] In these doctrines, then, we discern the whole cycle of the Greek and Roman metamorphoses, long before they are visible in the Hellenic writings of the western world.

Scene of Niobē's transformation.

We must not forget, in our estimate of this myth of Niobē, that the final scene of her change into stone is laid *out of Hellas*, and in a part of Asia.[4] The implicit credit that was attached to this tale may be seen by the fact that in the time of Pausanias, people still imagined they could see the petrified form of Niobē on Mount Sipylus.[5]

Niobē a famous subject of sculpture.

The myth of Niobē furnished ample scope for ancient art, of which one of the most celebrated specimens adorned the pediment of the temple of Apollo Sosianus, at Rome, where it was discovered in the year 1583. This magnificent group, which the Romans themselves were uncertain if it were the work of Praxiteles or of Scopas,[6] is now at Florence.

Pelops comes from Lydia.

When Pelops came from Lydia into Greece, Œnomaus, the son of Arēs, was sovereign of Pisa, a district adjoining Olympia. The king of Pisa having been informed by an oracle that his death would follow the marriage of his daughter Hippodameia, refused her to every suitor who could not beat him in a chariot race from Olympia to the Isthmus of Corinth: the defeated competitor was doomed to forfeit his life. Already had thirteen unsuccessful claimants for Hippodameia's hand paid the penalty with their lives, when Pelops entered the lists. Induced by his earnest prayers, the god Poseidōn supplied him with a golden chariot and winged horses,[7] by which he won Hippodameia. Myrtillus, the charioteer of Œnomaus, induced by Hippodameia herself, loosened the wheels of the king's chariot, who was thus overturned, and perished in the race. Pelops now became prince of Pisa, and amongst his numerous family were Trœzen and Epidaurus, who gave their names to two Argolic cities, and Atreus and Thyestes, who figure prominently in Greek legend.

Œnomaus and his daughter Hippodameia.

Pelops supplied by Poseidōn with chariot and horses.

Pelops is prince of Pisa.

Domestic quarrels augmented with Agamemnon.

The domestic quarrels in this unhappy family increased with Agamemnōn, the son of Atreus, and Ægisthus, the son of Thyestes. Thyestes had intrigued with Æropē, his brother's wife; he had also plundered from his flocks the lamb with the golden fleece.[8] This

[1] तृणगुल्मलतानांचक्रव्यादान्दंष्ट्रिणामपि
क्रूरकर्मकृताचैवशतशोगुरुतल्पगः

Man. Dh. Sast. C. 12, Slok. 58.

[2] Maneveh Dherma Sast. C. 12, Slok. 62.
[3] Ibid. Slok. 67.
[4] Apollod. iii. 5, 6.
[5] Paus. i. 21, 5.
[6] *Vide* Welcker, Zeitschrift fur die alte Kunst, p. 589.
[7] Pind. Ol. i. 109. The legend of the winged horses was to be seen on the chest of Cypselus. Paus. v. 17.
[8] Eust. ad Hom. p. 184.

animal had been placed amongst the flocks of Atreus by the craft of Hermēs, expressly with a design to ruin the whole family. In order to take a more terrible revenge, Atreus pretended to be reconciled to Thyestes, and accordingly invited him to Mycenæ. After murdering the two sons of Thyestes, Atreus served up their flesh at the banquet, and their father ignorantly partook of the dire repast. Thyestes, on seeing the bones of his children brought in, was horror-struck at the sight, and, cursing the house of Tantalus, hastily fled. So terrible was the spectacle, that even Hēlios turned back his chariot to the east, that he might fly from the horrible scene.[1] Soon were the curses of Thyestes fulfilled, for not only was the kingdom of Atreus afflicted with famine, but the whole of his family became involved in the most tragical disasters.[2] Still later, even the son of Atreus, Agamemnōn, "the king of men," blest with unrivalled riches and power, the sovereign of wealthy Mycenæ, and the supreme chief of the combined Hellenic force at Troy—even he was doomed to taste the bitterness of Thyestes' protracted curse. In complete ignorance of the treachery of his wife Clytemnestra, he had now returned victorious to his native land from the plains of Troy. Scarcely had he landed, when Ægisthus, the base paramour of Clytemnestra, aided by the treacherous queen herself, slaughtered Agamemnōn and his comrades, "as at his crib men slay an ox."[3] At the same time perished Cassandra, the prophetic daughter of Priam,[4] murdered by the hand of Clytemnestra. Orestes, however, the only son of Agamemnōn, was saved by his nurse, and placed in security with the Phocian Strophius.

Revenge of Atreus.

Curse of Thyestes and flight of Hēlios.

Fate of Agamemnon.

Is murdered by Ægisthus and Clytemnestra.

At length, Orestes, now grown to manhood, returned, and fulfilling the retribution announced by the gods, slew Ægisthus, his father's murderer, and Clytemnestra, his gulity mother, recovered the kingdom of Mycenæ, and succeeded to the sovereignty of Menelaus in Sparta.

Ægisthus slain by Orestes.

Such is the history of the powerful, wealthy, but unfortunate dynasty of the Pelopids.

LEGENDS OF THEBES.

The celebrity of Thebes originates with its first great founder CADMUS, the son of Agenor and Telphusa. His sister Europa had been carried off by Zeus to Crete; and now, in company with his brothers Phenix and Cilix, he set out in search of her, at the express command of her father. After long wanderings, the oracle at Delphi directed him to follow a cow of a particular description until she should sink down with fatigue.[5] He accordingly followed the animal to the site of Thebes, where the conditions of the oracle were fulfilled. A neighbouring fountain, whither he had despatched some people for water, was guarded by a tremendous dragon, the progeny of Arēs. This monster Cadmus slew, and, by the advice of Athēnē, sowed his teeth

Cadmus, founder of Thebes.

Slays the dragon of the fountain.

[1] Soph. Ajax. 1266. [2] Hygin. Fab. 88. [3] Hom. Odyss. xi. 411.
[4] Od. iv. 512–537. [5] Paus. ix. 12, 1.

in the earth, out of which armed men sprang up, who slew each other, with the exception of five, whom the legend names as the ancestors of the Thebans. At the instigation of Arēs, Zeus now compelled Cadmus to a servitude of seven years, after which he obtained the government of Thebes, with Harmonia for his wife, to whom he presented the magnificent necklace made by Hēphaistos, together with a beautiful peplus, a species of shawl. The concourse of the gods at this wedding was splendid in the extreme, and corresponded with their nuptial gifts and congratulations. The offspring of this marriage was one son, named Polydorus, and four daughters, Semelē, Ino, Autonoē, and Agavē. The five great families of the dragon race were named Sparti.[1] All the daughters of Cadmus were celebrated in legendary song. Semelē became the favourite of Zeus, but perished on a visit of the god, overpowered by the awful majesty and the blaze of lightnings attendant upon the "king of gods and men." Ino was the consort of Athamas, the son of Æolus; while Agavē, who married Echion, one of the Sparti, gave birth to Pentheus. This prince violently opposed the worship of Dionysus, who, after wandering over India, Asia, and Thrace, now came to Thebes at the head of a troop of Asiatic females. Though Cadmus and the prophet Tīresias acknowledged the divinity of the god, no miracles of Dionysus could assuage the vehement opposition of Pentheus. A large body of Theban women, headed by his mother Agavē, influenced by the frenzy of Dionysus, were celebrating his orgies on Mount Cithæron. In order to survey the female multitude, Pentheus had climbed a tall pine tree; the female worshippers detected him, pulled down the tree, and tore him in pieces, his mother Agavē herself being the most eager in the attack.

Seven years, servitude of Cadmus.

Wedding of Cadmus and Harmonia.

Celebrity of the daughters of Cadmus.

Myth of Pentheus.

Opposition of Pentheus to Dionysus.

Is slain by the Theban Bacchantes.

THE LEGEND OF ACTÆON.

Autonoē, the remaining daughter of Cadmus, was mother of ACTÆON, the renowned hunter. He had been trained in the art by the Centaur Cheiron, and had been a favourite companion of Artemis. He at length, however, became the subject of her anger, either because he had seen the goddess while bathing in the vale of Gargaphia,[2] or because he had loved and sued for Semelē,[3] or, as another legend states,[4] because of his presumptuous vaunts of superior skill in hunting. Being transformed into a stag by the goddess, he was set upon and devoured by his own dogs. Evidences of the Orchomenian tradition were not wanting. The very rock of Actæon, haunted by his spectre—the rock upon which he used to sleep when fatigued in the chase—was shown on the road to Megara, not far from Platæa.[5]

Myth of Actæon.

Is transformed into a stag.

[1] Σπαρτοι, sown.
[2] Callim. Hymn in Pallad. 110.
[3] Accusil. ap Apollod. iii. 4, 4.
[4] Diod. iv. 81.
[5] Paus. ix. 2, 3; Apollod. iii. 4, 3.

The venerable Cadmus and his consort, now retiring among the Illyrians, were changed into serpents, and, by the permission of Zeus, were wafted to the Elysian fields.[1] Cadmus wafted to the Elysian fields.



THE LEGEND OF ŒDIPUS.

With the Theban king Laius, the son of Labdacus, commences a series of tragic events unparalleled in the wild catastrophes of antiquity. Laius having been forewarned by an oracle that he would fall by the hands of his son, on the birth of ŒDIPUS, had him exposed on a wild part of Mount Cithæron. Here he was discovered by the herdsman of Polybus, king of Corinth. As Œdipus grew up, being resolved to know his parentage, he applied to Delphi. The oracle admonished him that, should he return to his native country, it would be his destiny to slay his father and become the husband of his mother. As Corinth was, as he imagined, his native country, he resolved to abandon that city. It so chanced, however, that as he was leaving Delphi by the "Schistos Hodos," or forked road that leads to Bœotia and Phocis, at the points where the roads divide he met his own father Laius, riding in a chariot;[2] and as Polyphetes, the charioteer, seemed inclined to push him from the road, a fierce struggle ensued, in which Œdipus slew both Polyphetes, his father, and his retinue. Thus was fulfilled one part of the oracle. Creon, the brother of Jocasta, the relict of the late king Laius, succeeded to the kingdom of Thebes. His succession, however, occurred at a most disastrous time, for Thebes was now scourged by a terrible monster,

Myth of Œdipus.

Œdipus leaves Delphi.

Part of the oracle fulfilled.

[1] Eurip. Bacch.

[2] Schol. ad Europ. Pheniss. 39.

Prodigy of the Sphinx.

called the Sphinx. This prodigy, sent by the wrath of Hērē,[1] took post upon Mount Phikium, close to the city. The Sphinx had the face of a woman, the wings of a bird, and the tail of a lion, and propounded to the Thebans a riddle which she had learned from the Muses, and every passenger who was unable to solve it the monster killed. Induced by this calamity, and the universal distress, Creon offered the crown and his sister Jocasta to any individual who should solve the enigma. At this critical period Œdipus arrived, and made his appearance before the Sphinx, who propounded the following riddle: "A creature with four feet has two feet and three feet, with but one voice; but its feet vary, and when it has most it is weakest."

Œdipus at Thebes; solves the riddle.



Œdipus, king of Thebes.

Œdipus solved the enigma by observing that it was man, whereupon the Sphinx cast herself from the rock and disappeared. Œdipus, now become king of Thebes, unwittingly married Jocasta, his mother, so that the oracle was thus fulfilled. The dismal result of this incestuous alliance, of which no one was then aware, was the dreadful visitation of Thebes by a plague, and the oracle enjoined the expulsion of the murderer of Laius. Œdipus now pronounced upon the murderer a solemn curse, with sentence of exile whenever detected: little did he imagine himself to be the guilty individual. Tīresias, the blind prophet, however, after a bitter and protracted interview with the

Plague at Thebes.

Interview with Tīresias.

[1] Φῖκ' ὀλοήν τίκτει, Καδμείοισιν ὄλεθρον.

Hes. Theog. 326.

king, strongly shadowed forth that monarch as the murderer of his father, and finally left the palace, observing—

Thee do I tell, that him thou searchest out
With threats and proclamations, yea that man,
That very man is here; a settler deemed,
But soon approved a Theban born; no welcome news
To him: for blind, once seeing—poor, once rich—
Shall he o'er foreign lands assay his way,
A wanderer with his staff.[1]

The dramatist who relates this terrific tale then bursts out in an awful apostrophe to the guilty:—

Choral apostrophe to the guilty.

Where lurks the wretch with gore-stained hands,
Horror of horrors who hath wrought,
Denounced by Delphi's rocky lands,
Prophetic? Time it were he sought
To wing in his flight
A foot strong and light
As the coursers of the storm-driven cloud.
For armed with volley'd light, and with thunders pealing loud,
See the mighty son of Jove
Spring in fury from above![2]

Quarrel of Œdipus and Creon.

A fierce altercation now ensued between Œdipus and Creon, whom the former accused of treacherous designs upon his crown, threatening at the same time to put him to death. At this juncture Jocasta interposed, and Creon retired. At length by comparing the information given by Jocasta, with the place where he himself was deserted, and afterwards discovered, the wretched Œdipus is convinced of his incestuous and murderous connection. To Jocasta, Œdipus gave an account of his visit to Delphi, and of the horrible revelations made by the oracle:—

Œdipus relates his journey from Corinth.

From Corinth's realm by starry light
Forth measuring my hapless flight,
I gat me where I ne'er might see
Fulfilled that direst prophecy!
Toil-worn I reach that very spot
Where, as thou say'st, his dismal lot

---

[1] Λέγω δέ σοι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, ὃν πάλαι
Ζητεῖς ἀπειλῶν, κἀναπηρύσσων φόνον
Τὸν Λαΐειον, οὗτός ἐστιν ἐνθάδε,
Εἶνος λόγῳ μέτοικος, εἶτα δ' ἐγγενὴς
Φανήσεται Θηβαῖος· οὐδ' ἡσθήσεται
Τῇ ξυμφορᾷ. τυφλὸς γὰρ ἐκ δεδορκότος
Καὶ πτωχὸς ἀντὶ πλουσίου ξένην ἔπι
Σκήπτρῳ προδεικνὺς γαῖαν ἐμπορεύσεται.

Œdip. Tyr. 449, 456.

[2] Τίς ἔντιν' ἃ θεσπέσια Δελφὶς εἶπε πέτρα
Ἄρρητ' ἀῤῥήτων τελέσαντα φοινίαισι χερσίν;
Ὥρα νιν ἀελλάδων
Ἵππων σθεναρώτερον
Φυγᾷ πόδα νωμᾶν.
Ἔνοπλος γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπανθρώσκει
Πυρὶ καὶ στεροπαῖς ὁ Διὸς γενέτας·

Œdip. Tyr. 463–470.

The monarch met. I hide it not!
To thee divulge I all the truth.
When wending on my way, in sooth,
There met me on the triple road
Meets his father, Laius, and the herald. A herald in a car that rode;
Where, drawn by fiery steeds, was seen
One by his side of aged mien,
Just as thou say'st! There met they me,
And both would urge me forcefully
From off the road. In passion rough
I smote him who would force me off,
That charioteer. The aged man
Marked watchful where I passing ran,
And from his car, with double goad,
Smote with its full descending load
On my mid-brows—but yet, I trow,
He paid a penalty enow!
Laius and his retinue slain. For quick, staff-smitten by this hand,
The chief rolled prostrate on the land
From out his car—I slay his band!
Should this same stranger of the road
And Laius be of kindred blood,
Than I, e'en I, who more hath need,
Unhappy wretch! of pity's meed?
What mortal man on earth hath stood
Abhorrent more to heaven and God?[1]

In order to set at rest his horrible doubts, and calm the deep anguish of his mind, Œdipus now sent for the herdsman who had saved him on the desolate wilds of Cithæron, and after many evasions, succeeded in unravelling the whole truth. Previous to this horrible discovery, Jocasta, with a woman's penetration, had discerned the

[1] . . . . . τὴν Κορινθίαν
Ἀστροις τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκμετρούμενος χθόνα
Ἔφευγον, ἔνθα μήποτ' ὀψοίμην κακῶν
Χρησμῶν ὀνείδη τῶν ἐμῶν τελούμενα.
Στείχω δ' ἱκνοῦμαι τούσδε τοὺς χώρους ἐν οἷς
Σὺ τὸν τύραννον τοῦτον ὄλλυσθαι λέγεις.
Καὶ σοι, γύναι, τἀληθὲς ἐξερῶ· τριπλῆς
Ὅτ' ἦν κελεύθου τῆσδ' ὁδοιπορῶν πίλας,
Ἐνταῦθά μοι κήρυξ τε κἀπὶ πωλικῆς
Ἀνὴρ ἀπήνης ἐμβεβὼς, οἷον σὺ φῂς,
Ξυνηντίαζον· κἀξ ὁδοῦ μ' ὅ θ' ἡγεμὼν
Αὐτός θ' ὁ πρίσβυς πρὸς βίαν ἠλαυνέτην.
Κἀγὼ τὸν ἐκτρέποντα, τον τροχηλάτην,
Παίω δ' ὀργῆς· καί μ' ὁ πρίσβυς ὡς ὁρᾷ,
Ὄχου παραστίχοντα τηρήσας μέσον
Κάρα διπλοῖς κέντροισί μου καθίκετο.
Οὐ μὴν ἴσην γ' ἔτισεν, ἀλλὰ συντόμως
Σκήπτρῳ τυπεὶς ἐκ τῆσδε χειρὸς ὕπτιος
Μέσης ἀπήνης εὐθὺς ἐκκυλίνδεται·
Κτείνω δὲ τοὺς ξύμπαντας, εἰ δὲ τῷ ξένῳ
Τούτῳ προσήκει Λαΐῳ τι συγγενὶς,
Τίς τοῦδε νῦν ἔστ' ἀνδρὸς ἀθλιώτερος·
Τίς ἐχθροδαίμων μᾶλλον ἂν γένοιτ' ἀνήρ.

Œdip. Tyr. 794, 816.

fatal tendency of the examination of the herdsman by Œdipus. She rushed distractedly from his presence, and committed suicide by hanging. Meanwhile the unhappy king of Thebes sought out his wretched consort, and filled with some frenzied and unearthly power— Jocasta commits suicide.

With fearful yells, as with some demon guide,
Full against the portals urging,
See the double doors divide—
Wrench'd the hollow staples, wide
From their deepest fixture surging.
See upon the floor he sinks, the chamber of his bride!
Horror! horror! there he views
Dangling in the twisted noose,
Jocasta's lifeless form!
Soon, poor wretch! with bellowing roar, the hanging knot he rends,
Sinks the corse upon the floor, and all in horror ends![1]

The frenzied Œdipus now tore the gold-embossed clasps from the robes of Jacosta, and repeatedly smote their sharp points into his eye-balls, until, in the strong language of the tragic poet, "a black hail storm of blood-drops fell."[2] Œdipus blinds himself.

Thrilled with shuddering horror, the king's attendants awaited the opening of the gates, when such a spectacle presented itself, as even an enemy must pity. Groping his way in the gloom of blindness, the wretched Œdipus now made his appearance:—

Oh! my cloud of darkness, falling
Unutterably dread, appalling,
Unvanquished night art thou,
And waves thy crest of gloom
O'er Ruin's brow!
Ah me! ah me! yet—yet again resume
The maddening shafts of woe
Their bitter flight:
Those goads of memory and of bleeding sight![3]

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[1] Δεινὸν δ' ἀΰσας, ὡς ὑφηγητοῦ τινὸς,
Πύλαις διπλαῖς ἐνήλατ'. ἐκ δὲ πευθμένων
Ἐκλινε κοίλα κλῆθρα, κ' ἀμπίπτει στίγη.
Οὗ δὴ κρεμαστὴν τὴν γυναῖκ' ἐσείδομεν,
Πλεκτραῖς ἰώραις ἐμπεπλεγμένην. ὁ δὲ
Ὅπως ὁρᾷ νιν, δεινὰ βρυχηθεὶς τάλας,
Χαλᾷ κρεμαστὴν ἀρτάνην. ἐπεὶ δὲ γῆ
Ἔκειτο τλήμων, δεινὰ δ' ἦν τἀνθένδ' ὁρᾶν.
Œdip. Tyr. 1260, 1267.

[2] . . . . . ὀμοῦ μέλας
Ὄμβρος χαλάζης αἱματός τ' ἐτέγγετο.
Œdip. Tyr. 1279.

[3] Ἰὼ σκότου
Νέφος ἐμὸν ἀπότροπον, ἐπεπλόμενον ἄφατον,
Ἀδάματόν τε καὶ δυσούριστον ὄν.
Οἴμοι
Οἴμοι μαλ' αὖθις· οἷον ἐσέδυ μ' ἄμα
Κέντρων τε τῶνδ' οἴστρημα καὶ μνήμη κακῶν.
Œdip. Tyr. 1313, 1318.

Is dependent upon his two sons.

The wretched king now became dependent upon his sons, Eteoclēs and Polyneicēs, and resolving that nothing should remind him of his former state and grandeur, he had laid aside every luxury and ornament that could recall his once exalted rank. Unhappily Polyneicēs one day set before him the silver table and magnificent wine-cup of Cadmus, which Laius had been accustomed to use. No sooner was the old king aware of this, than, overpowered by the recollection of his once regal magnificence and that of his father, his frenzied mind was overturned by the shock, and he imprecated undying hostility and bitter curses upon his sons; they were heard by the goddess Erynnys. Once again, on the occasion of some unfeeling insult, he prayed the gods that they might perish by each other's hands. The wretched king now became a wanderer from the halls of his fathers, his trembling steps supported by his daughter Antigonē. After the death of Œdipus, the parental curse was too soon apparent in the fierce discord of his sons Eteoclēs and Polyneicēs, who had agreed to rule at Thebes each annually. Eteoclēs having tasted the sweets of power, refused to resign the throne to Polyneicēs, whom he expelled. The exiled prince repaired to the court of Adrastus, king of Argos, whose daughter Argeia he married. The king of Argos now resolved to restore his son-in-law Polyneicēs to his throne. Of all the Argive chiefs, Amphiarāus alone opposed the expedition;[1] and as the descendant of the prophet Melampus, foretold the death of himself, and of the leading chiefs. Nor could his reluctance be overcome, until he was prevailed upon by Eriphylē, his wife, who was sordid enough to barter the life of her husband for the tempting gifts of Polyneicēs.[2] This prince had brought with him from Thebes the marriage robe and necklace of Harmonia, presented to her by the gods, on the occasion of her nuptials. And now, tempted by this magnificent bribe, the sordid wife induced Amphiarāus to join the expedition. As the warlike prophet was mounting his chariot to depart, he enjoined his sons to avenge his death by slaying the base Eriphylē. The Argive army now made its appearance before the walls of Thebes, headed by the seven chiefs, Adrastus, Capaneus, Amphiarāus, Hippomedōn, Tydeus, Parthenopæus, and the exile Polyneicēs, a number which gave rise to the celebrated tragedy of Æschylus, "The Seven against Thebes." On the approach of this mighty force, preceded by clouds of cavalry, terror reigned within the city:—

Imprecates curses upon his sons.

Death of Œdipus and discord of his sons.

Polyneicēs at the court of Adrastus.

Argive host before Thebes.

Its description by Æschylus.

Hark to the tramp
From the hostile camp!
Like the crested steeds of Ocean,
Flowing vast in motion,
Their waving horse appears and heads the wild array!
And the earth-clouds that rise
Vast and silent to the skies
Their faithful message say.

[1] Pind. Nem. ix. 30.

[2] Apoll. iii. 6, 2.

And the thunder of the clanging hoof that startles our repose
Near and more near is rolling through the air
O'er the plain from our foes,
With deepening roar,
As checkless pour
The torrent hosts, that through their mountain channel tear.[1]

Resolution of Eteoclēs.

Before these terrors of the citizens, Eteoclēs maintained a resolute countenance. "What!" said he, "does the mariner gain safety by quitting the helm, and flying to the prow, when his bark is labouring amid the ocean billows?" and his resolute advice was at length effectual in calming their fears. A messenger now entered, giving a terrific description of the seven chiefs, who had posted themselves, each before one of the seven gates. Tydeus faced the Prœtœan gate—

His triple plumes dark waving fly,
And crest his helm, o'erarching high:
The brazen bells within his shield
The note of terror wildly yield.
That shield a haughty bearing shows—
A sky with stars that blazoned glows—
Shines in mid-orb the full moon bright,
That boast of heaven and eye of night.
Such vaunting bearings of his arms
He madly shows mid war's alarms.
Rings wildly through the crowded ranks
His war-cry on the river's banks.
As champs the bit, to be at large,
Some war-horse, ere the battle charge,
And marks the piercing trumpet's bray,
So burns he for the desperate fray.[2]

The bans are driven back to the city.

Previous to the assault of the town, the united force of the Cadmeians, Phlegyæ, and Phocæans had marched out to meet their invaders, but being defeated in a battle near the heights of Ismenus, they were driven back within their walls. Menætius, the son of Creon,

[1] Μιθεῖται στρατὸς στρατόπιδον λιπὼν,
Ρεῖ πολὺς ὁδὶ λεὼς πρόδρομος ἱππότας·
Ἀιθιρία κόνις μι πίιθει φανεῖς',
Ἀναυδος, σαφὴς, ἴτυμος ἄγγιλος·
Ἐλιδιμνὰς πιδιπλόκτυπός τ'
Ἐγχρίμπτιται βοὰ, ποτᾶται,
Βρίμει δ' ἀμαχέτου
Δίκαν ὕδατος ὀρεκτύπου. *Sept. cont. Theb.* 79, 86.

[2] . . . . . τριῖς κατασκίους λόφους
Σείει, κράνους χαίτομ', ὑπ' ἀσπίδος δὲ τῷ
Χαλκήλατοι κλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβον·
Ἔχει δ' ὑπέρφρον σῆμ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος τόδε,
Φλέγονθ' ὑπ' ἄστροις οὐρανὸν τετυγμένον·
Λαμπρὰ δὲ πανσέληνος ἐν μέσῳ σάκει,
Πρέσβιστον ἄστρων, νυκτὸς ὀφθαλμὸς, πρέπει·
Τοιαῦτ' ἀλύων ταῖς ὑπερκόμπαις σάγαις,
Βοᾷ παρ' ὄχθαις ποταμίαις μάχης ἐρᾶν,
Ἵππος χαλινῶν ὡς κατασθμαίνων μίνει,
Ὅστις βοὴν σάλπιγγος ὁρμαίνει μίνων.
Æschyl. Sept. ap. Theb. 384, 394.

Menœtius sacrifices himself for Thebes.

having heard from Tīresias, the blind prophet, that should he offer himself up as a sacrifice to Arēs, victory would declare for Thebes, went forth from the city, and slew himself before the gates. The storming of the town now began. Parthenopæus was killed by a stone from Periclymenus, and the warlike Capaneus, who had already mounted the wall by a scaling-ladder, was smitten down lifeless by a thunderbolt from Zeus. Terror-struck at this interposition of divine power, Adrastus and his Argive bands drew off from the walls, and the Thebans, sallying forth in pursuit, a single combat ensued between the rival brothers, who were so exasperated by fury that, intent only upon inflicting mutual death, and regardless of self-defence, they both fell lifeless upon the spot:—

Capaneus struck down by a thunderbolt.

Combat between Eteoclēs and Polyneicēs.

> A deadly kindred, they
> All hate-dissevered lay
> In anger's frenzy 'mid the closing strife.
> That hate has ceased, and, true to kindred birth,
> Lies reeking on the sod the blood of life,
> Commingling in the earth.[1]

Amphiarāus miraculously saved by Zeus.

Amphiarāus, though struggling hard to stem the tide of battle, was carried away by the fugitives, and being closely pursued by Periclymenus, had been pierced by the spear of that warrior, had not Zeus miraculously rescued him, by receiving within the bosom of the opening earth the hero, with his chariot and horses, uninjured.[2] An incident so memorable was vouched for by a sacred tomb, built on the spot, and shown by the Thebans even in historic times. All the Argive chiefs had perished in the disastrous fight. Adrastus, now bereft of the prophet-warrior, left alone in his flight, and saved solely by the matchless speed of his horse Areion, reached Argos, bringing with him—

Adrastus saved by the speed of his horse.

> Saved by his mighty courser's speed,
> Nought but his garb of woe and black-maned steed.[3]

Noble action of Antigonē.

Is condemned to be buried alive.

An edict had been issued by Creon refusing burial to the fallen Argives, and forbidding the body of Polyneicēs to be consigned to the tomb. Antigonē, his affectionate sister, undeterred by threats, yet unable to gain assistance, was burying the body with her own hands, when she was detected by Creon. That tyrant condemned her to be buried alive. His son, to whom she was betrothed, overpowered by despair, slew himself in the sepulchre of Antigonē; while Creon's wife, unable to endure the loss of her son, put an end to her miserable

[1] Ὁμόσποροι δῆτα καὶ πανώλεθροι,
Διατομαῖς οὐ φίλαις,
Ἔριδι μαινομένᾳ,
Νείκιος ἐν τελευτᾷ
Πίπτανται δ' ἴχθος.
Ἐν δὲ γαία ζωὰ
Φονοῤῥύτῳ μίμικται·
Κάρτα δ' ὑς' ὅμαιμοι.
Æschyl. Sept. ap. Theb. 933, 940.

[2] Pind. Ol. vi. 21; Plut. Par. 6.

[3] Paus. viii. 25, 5.

existence. And thus sank the dynasty of Œdipus in the gloom of horror.

The disastrous legend of Thebes is not yet closed, for those youthful warriors, the Epigoni, or sons of the seven chiefs, aided by auxiliaries from Corinth, Arcadia, Messene, and Megara, encountered the Thebans on the banks of the river Glisas, where the latter were defeated, and driven within the shelter of the walls, by Alcmæon, the renowned son of Amphiarāus. Incapable any longer of resistance, by the advice of Tīresias, the Thebans offered to surrender the town, provided themselves, wives, and children might retire in safety. The proposals were accepted, and Thersander, the son of Polyneicēs, was seated upon his father's throne.

The Epigoni and their allies.

Thebes surrendered to the Epigoni.

THE ARGONAUTIC EXPEDITION.

This enterprise, one of the most popular in the whole cycle of Greek mythology, was headed by the gallant and romantic Jason, at whose invitation fifty of the noblest and bravest Greeks embarked in the perilous undertaking.[1] Being commanded by Pēlias to bring back the golden fleece of the ram which had carried away Phryxus and Hella, Jason directed Argos, the son of Phryxus, by the advice of

Jason, the leader of the Argonauts.



Athēnē, to build the celebrated Argo, into the prow of which was inserted a piece of timber from the far-famed speaking oak of Dodōna. The expedition was fitted out with the most brilliant accessories. They were attended by Idmon, the prophetic son of

Splendid accessories of the expedition.

[1] Amongst other renowned names were Hēraclēs, Thēseus, Pēleus, Telamōn, Castor and Pollux, Idas and Lynceus; Meleager, Cepheus, Menætius, Amphiarāus, Laertēs, Actor, Autolycus, Anceus, Eupherus, Erginus, Pæas; Zetes and Calaïs, the winged sons of Boreas; Periclymenus, Augeas, Cæneus, Leitus, Eurytus, Admētus, Arastus, and other celebrated chiefs.

Apollo, their steersman was Typhys, and Orpheus brought the charms of his harp to enliven and cheer the perils of their voyage:—

Their hawsers now they loose, and on the brine
To Neptune pour the consecrated wine;
Then from his native shore sad Jason turns
His oft-reverted eye, and silent mourns.
As in Ortygia, or the Delphic fane,
Or where Ismenus laves Bœotia's plain,
Apollo's altar round, the youthful quire,
The dance according with the sounding lyre,
The hallowed ground with equal cadence beat,
And move in measure their alternate feet;
Together so Thessalia's princes sweep
With well-timed oars the silver curling deep:
While, raising high the Thracian harp, presides
Melodious Orpheus, and the movement guides.
Dashed by their oars the foaming billows broke,
And loud remurmured to each mighty stroke.
Swift sailed the ship, the sun refulgent beamed,
And bright as flame their glittering armour gleamed;
While to their outstretched oars the heroes bow,
The parted ocean whitening foams below.[1]

Received by Cyzicus.

Hēraclēs left behind.

Argonauts assist the blind prophet, Phineus.

Dangers of the Symplegades.

Narrow escape of the Argo.

After touching at the island of Lemnos, their course lay up the Hellespont. On the southern coast of the Propontis they were kindly entertained by Cyzicus, king of the Doliones, whom they were unfortunate enough to kill by a fatal mistake occurring during a night attack. As they were coasting along Mysia, they had the grief to leave behind them Hēraclēs, who had gone ashore in search of Hylas, his favourite youthful companion, who had been carried off by the nymphs of a fountain. In their voyage they visited the Bebrycians, whose king, Amycus, perished in a boxing-match with the famed Pollux. On reaching Bithynia, the adventurers had the satisfaction of relieving the blind prophet, Phineus, from the tormenting and foul assaults of the Harpies, by the instrumentality of Zetes and Calaïs, the winged sons of Boreas. Grateful for this kindness, Phineus forewarned the Argonauts of the perils of their voyage, and showed them the means of passing between the wild rocks of the Symplegades, which opened and shut alternately with rapid and horrible collision. At this dangerous spot a dove was let loose by Euphēmus, which flew through, barely escaping with the loss of her tail feathers. On this signal of success which Phineus had predicted, they rowed so vigorously as to pass in safety between the closing rocks: even this, perhaps, they would not have effected, had not the mighty arms of Athēnē kept asunder the closing masses; and so narrowly did they escape, that the ornaments of the Argo's stern were crushed to atoms.

On wave-worn cliffs, the coast's high margin o'er,
Boiled the light foam, and whitened all the shore;
Round whirled the ship; the rocks with rapid sway
Lopped from the dove her steering tail away;

[1] Fawkes's Apoll. Rhod. i. 525.

Yet still securely through the straits she flew:
Loud joy inspired the circumspective crew.
But Tiphys urged the chiefs their oars to ply,
For the rocks yawned, tremendous to the eye.
Then terror seized them, when with sudden shock
The refluent billows forced them on the rock;
With chilling fear was every nerve unstrung,
While o'er their heads impending ruin hung.
Before, behind, they saw the spacious deep,
When instant, lo! a billow, vast and steep,
Still rises higher, and still wider spreads,
And hangs a watery mountain o'er their heads.
The heroes stooped, expecting by its fall
That mighty billow would o'erwhelm them all;
But Tiphys' art relieved the labouring oars:
On Argo's keel th' impetuous torrent pours,
Which raised the ship above the rocks so high,
She seemed sublimely sailing in the sky.
Euphēmus hastening urged the valiant crew
Their course with all their vigour to pursue.
Shouting, they plied their oars, but plied in vain,
For the rough billows beat them back again;
And as the heroes unremitting row,
Their labouring oars were bent into a bow.
Swift down the mountain billows Argo glides,
Like a huge cylinder along the tides,
Entangled with thick, craggy rocks around,
Her seams all bursting, and her planks unbound.
In that nice moment the Tritonian maid
To sacred Argo lent her timely aid;
Her left hand raised her from the craggy steep,
Her right dismissed her gently to the deep:
Then, like an arrow from th' elastic yew,
Swift o'er the foaming waves the vessel flew,
Yet had the clashing rocks, with adverse sway,
Torn the tall prow's embellishments away.[1]

By virtue of a decree of the gods, the passage now having been once effected, remained for ever after safe. On the coast of the Maryandrians they had the misfortune to lose their steersman Typhys. After his death they continued to sail on till they reached Mount Caucasus, where they had the horror of seeing Prometheus still nailed to the rock, and of hearing his groans whilst the vulture was preying upon his liver. The Argonauts now arrived at Colchis, where they demanded from Æētēs the golden fleece. The king refused, unless Jason could harness two fierce bulls with brazen feet, and with fire blazing from their nostrils; and with these untameable animals could plough a large field, and sow it with the teeth of a dragon. By the magical aid of Mēdēa, the king's daughter, who had fallen deeply in love with Jason, he completely accomplished the enterprise. Notwithstanding Æētēs refused to surrender the golden fleece, and even basely planned the murder of the Argonauts, during the night of a festival banquet, and contemplated setting fire to their ship. At this

Typhys, the steersman, dies.

Arrival at Colchis, and demand of the golden fleece.

[1] Fawkes's Apoll. Rhod.

Mēdēa lulls to sleep the dragon.

perilous juncture Mēdēa, by a magical potion, lulled to sleep the dragon who guarded the golden fleece, and placing that precious prize on board the Argo, set sail in company with Jason, carrying with her in her flight her younger brother Absyrtus. The rapid pursuit of Æētēs and his forces would have left the Argonauts no chance of escape, but for the stratagem of Mēdēa. The sorceress, after slaughtering her brother Absyrtus, cut his body in pieces, and scattered his limbs about on the sea, and while the Colchian king was collecting the scattered fragments of his son's body the Argonauts succeeded in escaping. This horrible murder so provoked the righteous indignation of Zeus, that the Argonauts were doomed to protracted perils and hardships, in which they were obliged to carry the Argo on their shoulders overland by a wearisome journey. They at length reached the waters of the Mediterranean. Near the isle of Thera the romantic voyagers were overtaken by a tremendous hurricane, from the perils of which they were only saved by the supernatural aid of Apollo. The god, darting from his golden bow an arrow which pierced the waters like a ray of light, caused a new island to spring up on their path, into which they ran as into a port of refuge.

Slays her brother Absyrtus.

Hurricane near the isle of Thera.

Repulsed by Talos, the brazen man of Hēphaistos.

Their perils, however, were not yet over. The Argonauts had attempted a landing on the coast of Crete, but were repulsed by Talos, a man of brass, the workmanship of Hēphaistos, and the guardian of the island. As the vessel advanced, the mighty sentinel hurled against the Argonauts vast fragments of rock, by which, but for the successful stratagem of Mēdēa, by which Talos perished, they must have been destroyed. After touching at Ægina and coasting along Eubœa, they at length reached Iolcos, on the Pagasæan gulf, the place whence they had set out on their perilous enterprise. Meanwhile, fully convinced, from the protracted voyage of the Argo, that Jason and all on board had perished, the tyrant Pēlias put to death Jason's father, mother, and infant son. The actual return of that prince was the signal for the infliction of retributive justice upon the murderous and oppressive Pēlias. This, however, could only be effected by a deep-laid stratagem, and this Mēdēa readily devised. Feigning herself a fugitive from the cruelty of Jason, she succeeded in gaining access to the daughters of Pēlias. In their presence she displayed her magical powers, by taking a ram of great age, which, after cutting up and boiling in a cauldron with herbs, she produced again in the guise of a young and active lamb. In the firm belief that a similar process would be attended with the like result in the case of their aged father, they with their own hands cut him up, cast his limbs into the cauldron, and awaited the moment when Mēdēa should restore him to renovated youth. Mēdēa now pretended that it was necessary to invoke the moon, and as though for that purpose ascended to the top of the palace, where making a signal, Jason and the Argonauts rushed in and possessed themselves of the city. As to the ship Argo, which had borne the prime of the Grecian heroes on their glorious enterprise,

Return to the port of Iolcos.

Cruelty of Pēlias.

Stratagem and magical powers of Mēdēa.

The Argonauts possess themselves of the city.

after passing through so many perils, she was consecrated to Poseidōn, at the isthmus of Corinth.[1] The recording poet thus winds up the adventures of the daring Argonauts:—

> Hail, happy race of heroes, and repay
> With tributary praise my tuneful lay!
> With pleasure still may distant times rehearse
> And added years on years exalt my verse!
> For here I fix the period of your woes,
> And with your glorious toils my numbers close.
>
> *Fawkes's Argonautics.*

We cannot more appropriately close the myth of the Argonautic expedition, than by presenting to the reader a prominent reflection of Mr. Grote, an author whom we have just quoted, and to whom Grecian history is so much indebted. "Not only," does he observe,[2] "are we unable to assign the date, or identify the crew, or decipher the log-book of the Argo, but we have no means of settling even the preliminary question, whether the voyage be matter-of-fact badly reported, or legend from the beginning. The widely-distant spots in which the monuments of the voyage were shown, no less than the incidents of the voyage itself, suggest no other parentage than epical fancy. The supernatural and the romantic not only constitute an inseparable portion of the narrative, but even embrace all the prominent and characteristic features; if they do not comprise the whole, and if there be intermingled along with them any sprinkling of historical or geographical fact,—a question to us undeterminable,—there is at least no solvent by which it can be disengaged, and no test by which it can be recognised. Wherever the Grecian mariner sailed he carried his religious and patriotic mythes along with him. His fancy and his faith were alike full of the long wanderings of Jason, Odysseus, Perseus, Hêraklês, Dionysus, Triptolemus, or Io. It was pleasing to him in success, and consoling to him in difficulty, to believe that their journeys had brought them over the ground which he was himself traversing. There was no tale amidst the wide range of the Grecian epic more calculated to be popular with the seaman than the history of the primæval ship Argo and her distinguished crew, comprising heroes from all parts of Greece, and especially the Tyndarids Castor and Pollux, the heavenly protectors invoked during storm and peril. He localised the legend anew wherever he went, often with some fresh circumstance suggested either by his own adventures or by the scene before him. He took a sort of religious possession of the spot, connecting it by a bond of faith with his native land, and erecting in it a temple or an altar with appropriate commemorative solemnities. The Jasonium thus established, and, indeed, every visible object called after the name of the hero, not only served to keep alive the legend of the Argo in the minds of future comers or inhabitants,

Mr. Grote's reflections on the myth of Argo.

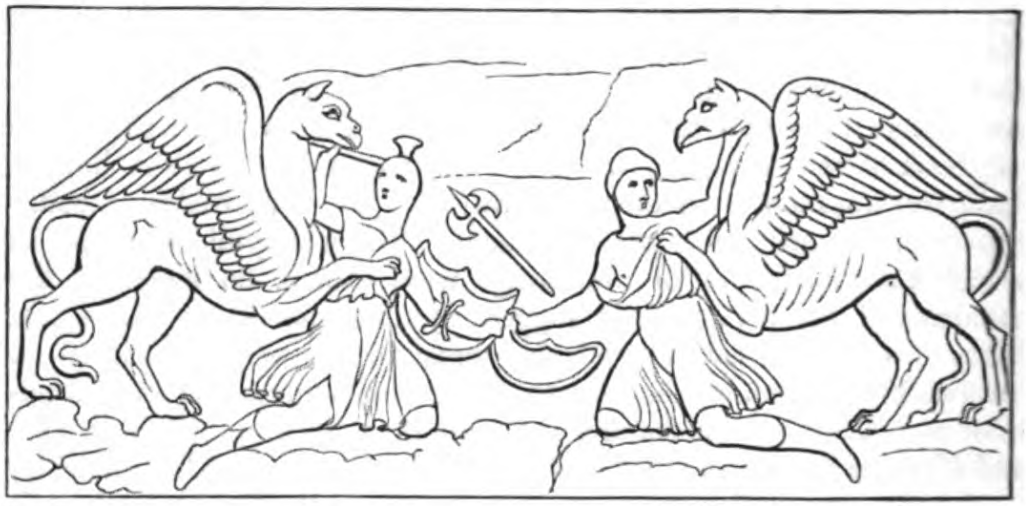
[1] Diodorus says that she was translated to the heavens by Athēnē, and became a constellation. Diod. iv. 53.

[2] Hist. Greece, vol. i. p. 333.

but was accepted as an obvious and satisfactory proof that this marvellous vessel had actually touched there in her voyage."

Ariamaspi and Griffins.

The germ of the legend of the Argonauts and the golden fleece has also been considered[1] to be found in the fable of the Arimaspi and Griffins. The former, as Herodotus was told,[2] were a Scythian people, who waged a continual war with the griffins who collected the gold of the country. The writer to whom we have alluded, imagines that these were the symbols of two contending parties. The griffin was especially a fabulous animal of the Persians.



THE LEGEND OF THESEUS.

Attic ancestry.

The Athenians, with their usual fondness for national aggrandisement, ran up the genealogy of their race, till it became identified with the soil. By this process they organized a pure, independent, and most ancient lineage, highly flattering to their pride as a people.

Erechtheus, the Autochthōn, or their "Own-Earth-Sprung," was the great ancestor of the Attic race, which in the earliest Greek poet is styled the " people of the magnanimous Erechtheus," whom

> Jove's daughter nourished, and the fertile soil
> Produced. . . . . .[3]

This Homeric authority was a famous addition to their heraldic escutcheon. To Erechtheus succeeded Cecrops the Second, and to the latter, Pandiōn the Second. Of the four sons of Pandiōn, Ægeus, Lycus, Pallas, and Nisus, the former obtained considerable distinction as the father of the celebrated Theseus; though other legends ascribe his parentage to Poseidōn. Æthra, the daughter of Pitheus, king of Trœzen, the mother of Theseus, had been directed by Ægeus, in case her offspring should be a son, to send with him, on his reaching

Myth of Theseus.

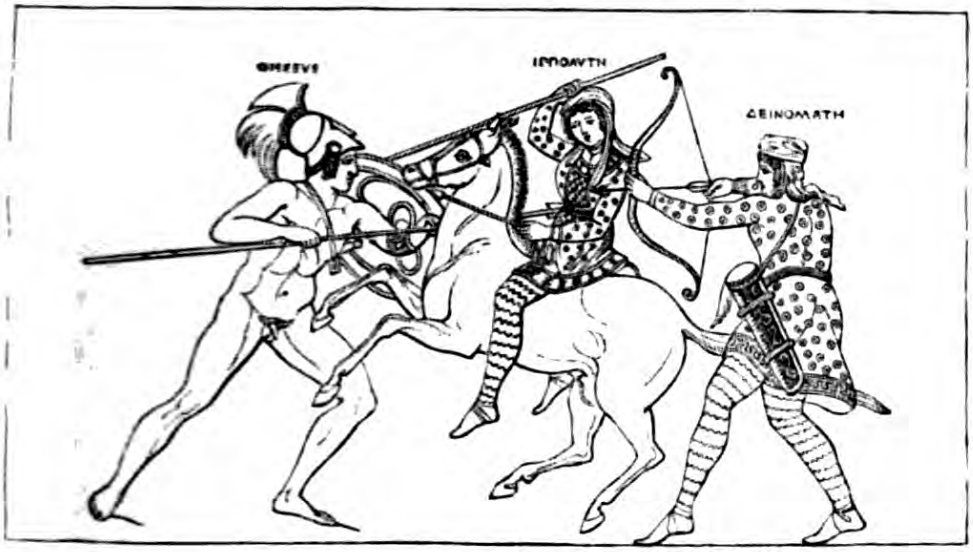
[1] Ritter, Vorher. 481.

[2] Herod. iv. 27.

[3] Δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγαλήτορος ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη
Θρέψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος Ἄρουρα.
Hom. Il. ii. 547, 548.

maturity, the secret tokens which he had communicated to that princess previous to his departure. Theseus, having grown up athletic in body and ardent in mind, now repaired to his father at Athens. Inflamed by the exploits of Hēraclēs, who subsequently presented to him in marriage Hippolytē, the queen of the Amazons, whom he had vanquished, he resolved to sweep away those bands of robbers that everywhere infested the country. Periphētēs, the Epi-

Exploits of Theseus.



daurian club-bearer, was the first who fell beneath his prowess, while his next victory was over the renowned Sinnus, the pine-bender, an atrocious wretch who used to fasten unhappy travellers between the heads of two pines, which, after being drawn together and suddenly released, by their springing back tore to pieces the victims of his cruelty. He also threw down a precipice Sciron, the Megarean robber, and put to death Procrustēs, who had been accustomed to force the body of strangers to fit the size of his own bed. His next exploit was to kill the Minotaur of Crete, a monster half-man and half-bull, which he effected by the aid of Ariadnē, with whom he set out for Athens. Previous to the Cretan expedition, Theseus had agreed with his father Ægeus that, should it be successful, the black sail with which the vessel set out should be exchanged for a white one. On approaching Attica, both Theseus and the pilot were so overjoyed, that they forgot to hoist the appointed signal of safety, and Ægeus, in consequence, overwhelmed with despair, cast himself down a precipice, and was dashed to pieces.

Slays the Minotaur.

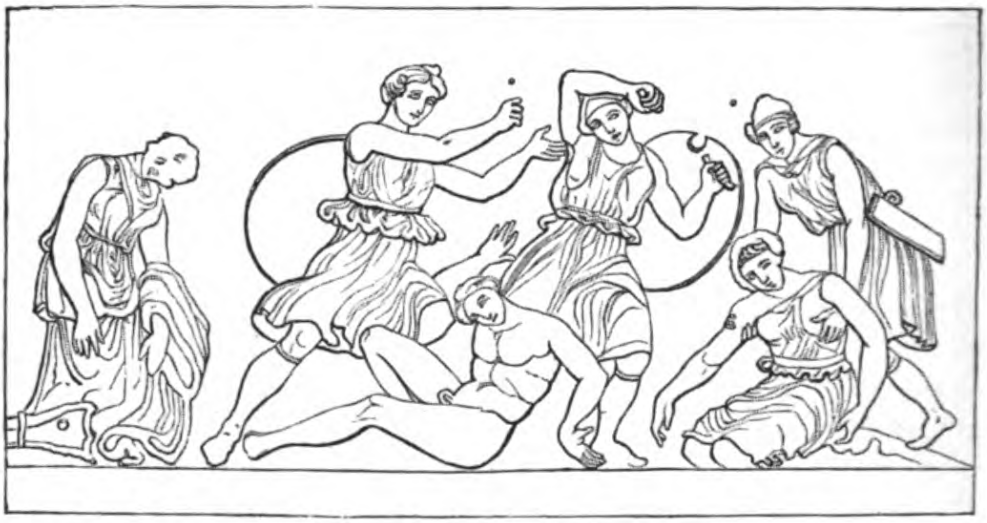
On ascending the throne, Theseus is said to have united into one, the twelve districts into which Cecrops had divided Attica; their separate councils were abolished, and blended into the Prytaneum; the currency was marked with the impression of an ox; and the Isthmian Games, in honour of Neptune, restored.

Political achievements of Theseus.

He is further said, not only to have enlarged the capital, but to

have added to his country the territory of Megara. Notwithstanding these statesmanlike occupations, the romantic military fame of Hēraclēs continued to stimulate the same ardent feelings in Theseus. He took a prominent part in the conflict of the Lapithæ with the Centaurs, joined in the celebrated chase of the wild boar of Calydon, and vanquished the Amazons. His enterprises, however, were not always of

Emulates the heroic acts of Hēraclēs.



an honourable nature. Accompanied by Pīrithous, he seized on Helen, then a young girl, as she was performing a dance in the temple of Artemis, and after escaping their pursuers, who followed them as far as Tegea, they agreed to determine by lot to whom she should belong; and thus it was that Theseus became possessed of her. His next enterprise was in company with Pīrithous, in order to gain for that prince Persephonē, the daughter of Aidoneus, king of the Molossians. Pīrithous, however, perished miserably, being thrown to Cerberus, the king's dog, while Theseus was cast into prison, from which he did not escape till rescued by Hēraclēs. On the return of Theseus, he found his kingdom torn by domestic and public factions; Castor and Pollux, the brothers of Helen, indignant at the treachery of Theseus, were ravaging Attica, and he was compelled to take refuge in Scyros, at the court of king Lycomēdēs.

Carries off Helen.

Theseus returns to his kingdom.

After the death of Theseus, the oracle of Apollo ordered that his bones should be taken up, and borne to Athens, which was afterwards effected by Cimon, the son of Miltiades. Over the tomb of Theseus was erected a temple, which was richly decorated, and which became the asylum of the wretched.

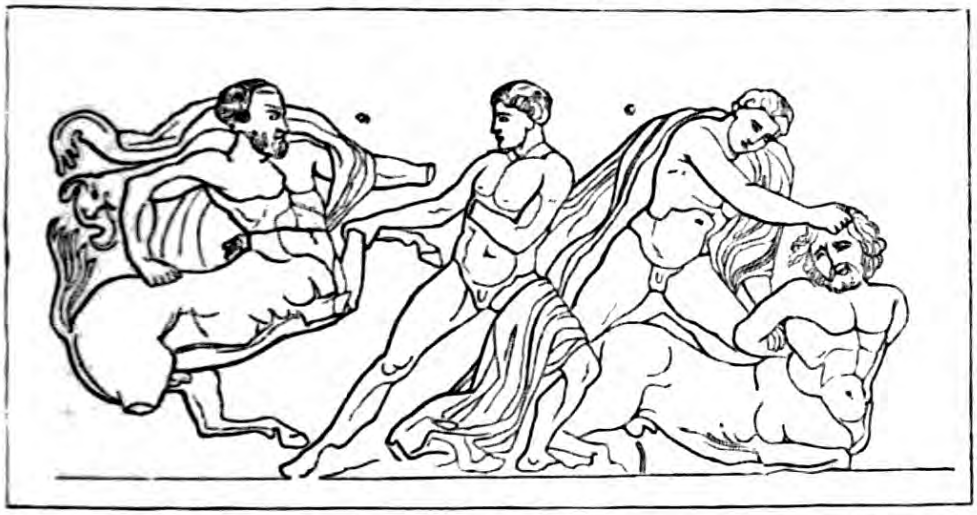
Tomb of Theseus.

It was on the occasion of the marriage of Pīrithous with Hippodameia, that the fierce conflict between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ took place.[1] In the midst of the feast, one of them had endeavoured to carry off the bride of Pīrithous, which was the cause of the catastrophe. In the fable of the Centaurs, we see much information pre-

Centaurs and Lapithæ.

[1] Hom. xi. 630.

served to us by philology, quite in keeping with the received idea of that strange race. They are described as living a rude and savage life, sometimes carrying off the women of their neighbours; as covered with hair, and ranging over their mountains like animals. Cheiron, one of their number, was skilled in medicine and music, and taught Æsculapius, whose sons, Podalirius and Machaon, exercised their art at the siege of Troy. The scene of the contest with the Centaurs is placed in Thessaly, and the spot in which they took refuge was on Mount Pindus, two places we have already shown to be connected with an Indian emigration. Homer calls them "Phēres," a term misunderstood by the Greeks, but which is preserved, with slight alteration, in the ancient dialect just noticed, signifying "heroes or warriors."[1]



Homeric name of the Centaurs.

The Centaurs appear, then, from their local position in Thessaly, and afterwards on Mount Pindus, from their knowledge of the arts, from the language in which their leader's name, Cheiron, is preserved, as well as that of their general body, "Centaurs," just noticed, to have been a part of the Indian emigration, before treated of, who made several attempts forcibly to get themselves wives from the original inhabitants. It is not a little singular that Greek, Indian, and Persian mythology should record monstrous agencies as the teachers of mankind in the arts and sciences. In the first, we have seen Cheiron assuming the musical and medical professions; in the second, we observe Seesha, the great serpent, the "first teacher of astronomical science," and, strange to say, like Atlas, "bearing the whole world upon his head;"[2] in the third, the Simorg, a species of griffin bird, is a professor of the medical art and a guardian and instructor of youth.[3]

Monstrous agencies, as teachers of the arts.

[1] The Greeks considered the term φῆρες equivalent to θῆρες; but the more ancient form is at once seen in the Sansc. वीर, "vēra," a warrior.

[2] Vish. Puran. ii. 5.

[3] *Vide* Shah Nam. sub. V. "Rūdabeh;" also, "Rūstam." The Simorg attends as a physician on the fair Rūdabeh, and like the Centaur and Achilles, trains and

Grote's remarks on Theseus.

As to the amount of history and of legend contained in the tale of Theseus, Grote has admirably observed,[1] "Thucydides delineates the character of Theseus as a man who combined sagacity with political power, and who conferred upon his country the inestimable benefit of uniting all the separate and self-governing dēmes of Attica into one common political society. From the well-earned reverence attached to the assertion of Thucydides, it has been customary to reason upon this assertion as if it were historically authentic, and to treat the romantic attributes which we find in Plutarch and Diodorus as if they were fiction superinduced upon this basis of fact. Such a view of the case is, in my judgment, erroneous. The athletic and amorous knight-errant is the old version of the character; the profound and long-sighted politician is a subsequent correction, produced, indeed, by men of superior mind, but destitute of historical warranty, and arising out of their desire to find reasons of their own for concurring in the veneration which the general public paid more easily and heartily to their national hero. Theseus, in the Iliad and Odyssey, fights with the Lapithæ against the Centaurs; Theseus, in the Hesiodic poems, is misguided by his passion for the beautiful Æglē, daughter of Panopeus; and the Theseus described in Plutarch's biography is in great part a continuation and expansion of these same, or similar, attributes, mingled with many local legends, explaining, like the Fasti of Ovid, or the lost Aitia of Kallimachus, the original genesis of prevalent religious and social customs. Plutarch has, doubtless, greatly softened down and modified the adventures which he found in the Attic logographers, as well as in the poetical epics called Thêsêis; for in his preface to the life of Thêseus, after having emphatically declared that he is about to transcend the boundary both of the known and the knowable, but that the temptation of comparing the founder of Athens with the founder of Rome is irresistible, he concludes with the following remarkable words: 'I pray that this fabulous matter may be so far obedient to my endeavours as to revive, when purified by reason,

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brings up the heroic Zal, the father of Rūstam, on Mount Alberz. The infant, exposed to destruction by its parents, was by a divine voice placed under the especial charge and teaching of the Simorg:—

نگهدار این کودک شیرخوار
کزین تخم مردي در اید ببار
زپیشتش جهان پهلوان وردان
بیایند مانند شیر ژیان

Shah Nameh. ۱۵۳

Watch o'er this boy of warlike mould,
From whom shall spring a hero bold,
Whose aspect warrior chiefs shall fly,
As from the lion raging nigh.

[1] Hist. Greece, vol. i. p. 283.

the aspect of history; in those cases where it haughtily scorns plausibility, and will admit no alliance with what is probable, I shall beg for indulgent hearers, willing to receive antique narrative in a mild spirit.' We see here that Plutarch sat down, not to recount the old fables as he found them, but to purify them by reason, and to impart to them the aspect of history. We have to thank him for having retained, after this purification, so much of what is romantic and marvellous still. It was the tendency of the enlightened men of Athens, from the days of Solon downwards, to refine and politicise the character of Theseus; even Peisistratus expunged from one of the Hesiodic poems the line which described the violent passion of the hero for the fair Æglê, and the tragic poets found it more congenial to the feelings of their audience to exhibit him as a dignified and liberal sovereign, rather than as an adventurous, single-handed fighter." Theseus.

THE LEGEND OF TROY.

As in the opinion of the Greek traditionists the Argonautic expedition preceded that of Troy by about one generation, we cannot do better than follow this imaginary chronological arrangement. This celebrated legend, which has assumed such dignity and importance through the medium of Greek nationality and poetry, gained a quasi-historical character from its notice by the great Thucydides. Its evidences, however, rest on a basis not more solid than several of those legends which we have already contemplated. The extraordinary extent of the Homeric, Cyclic, and Tragic narratives of the Trojan expedition, will permit a bare outline only of its chief features. Insufficient historical basis of the legend of Troy.

From Dardanus, the son of Zeus, first of the Trojan line of kings, sprang his son Ericthonius, whose wealth was vast, and on whose rich pastures fed a splendid stock of three thousand mares. His son Tros, the eponym of the Trojans, had three sons—Ganymēdē, a beautiful youth, whom the eagle of Zeus transported to Olympus to be the celestial cup-bearer, and Ilus and Assaracus. From the line of Ilus descended Laomedōn, Priam, and Hector; from Assaracus, Capys, Anchises, and Æneas. The sons and daughters of Priam, by his wife Hecabē, were numerous. Of the former the most noted were Hector, Paris, Deïphobus, Troilus, Helenus, and Polydōrus; among the latter were Cassandra, Creüsa, Laodicē, and Polyxena. Notwithstanding his parents had exposed Paris, when born, on the heights of Mount Ida, in consequence of a dream of Hecabē, portending destruction from Paris, he was preserved by the unwelcome kindness of the gods. He now grew up amongst the flocks and herds, active and graceful, the exquisite symmetry of his person still further enhanced by flowing tresses of beautiful hair. As he was the especial favourite of Dynasty of the Trojan kings.



Sons and daughters of Priam.

Paris, a castaway, is preserved by the gods.

Aphrodītē, and had decided the claim of beauty in her favour, in preference to Athēnē and Hērē, that goddess had promised him the possession of Helena, the loveliest of women, the wife of Menelaus the Spartan. Notwithstanding the hospitable reception of Paris by Menelaus, the Trojan prince basely seduced the affections of Helena, with whom he set sail for Troy, carrying with him a large sum of money, the property of Menelaus. That prince, whose absence at Crete had hitherto prevented his receiving information of this act of treachery, now hastily returned, and succeeded in raising a formidable league of the whole Grecian power against Troy, headed by his brother Agamemnōn, king of the wealthy Mycēnæ. It was at Aulis, in Bœotia, that the confederate force assembled, amounting to 1,186 ships of war, and more than 100,000 men, who seem to have been draughted from the most opposite points of Hellas, of whom a complete catalogue is presented by Homer. Among these heroic chiefs, Ajax, Diomēdēs, and the politic Nestor occupied a high position; while the most distinguished valour and sagacity were represented respectively by Achilles and Odysseus. The formidable host of Agamemnōn had set sail from Aulis, on the coast of Bœotia; but after reaching the coast of Mysia, their fleet was dispersed by a furious storm, and driven back to Greece, where it again rendezvoused in the same harbour where it had first assembled. Here the anger of the goddess Artemis detained the fleet by contrary winds, and Agamemnōn, the chief who had excited her wrath, could only appease the goddess by the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigeneia. The armament then set sail with a fair wind, and anchored off Tenedos, whence Odysseus and Menelaus were sent to Troy to demand the surrender of Helena and the plundered wealth of the Spartan chief. The Trojans, meanwhile, were not inactive. They had collected a large body of allies from Thrace and Asia Minor, but their attempts to oppose the landing of the Greeks were entirely vain; they were routed, and Cycnus, son of Poseidōn, one of their bravest warriors, was slain by Achilles. That heroic chief, after driving the Trojans within their walls, stormed twelve towns on the sea-coast, and carried off an immense booty, capturing Troilus, the son of Priam, and very nearly surprising Æneas, whose cattle he drove off. Unfortunately for the Greeks, a violent quarrel arose between their great champion and Agamemnōn, the commander-in-chief. The wealthy "king of men," as Homer styles him, had torn from Achilles his prize, the fair Briseis, and had acted in a manner so tyrannical as to excite the indignation of the renowned leader of the Myrmidons, who, but for the soothing advice of Athēnē, would have rushed upon Agamemnōn sword in hand, and avenged his wrongs, though that chief was then surrounded by a formidable band:—

Paris carries off Helena.

Greek confederate force at Aulis.

Set sail from Aulis.

Sacrifice of Iphigeneia.

Allies of Troy.

Prowess of Achilles.

Quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnōn.

> Achilles heard, with grief and rage oppress,
> His heart swelled high, and laboured in his breast.
> Distracting thoughts by turns his bosom ruled,
> Now fired by wrath, and now by reason cooled:

That prompts his hand to draw the deadly sword,
Force through the Greeks, and pierce their haughty lord;
This whispers soft his vengeance to control,
And calm the rising tempest of his soul.

Pope's Homer.

Bold language and threats of Achilles.

Influenced by the prudent advice of Athēnē, though Achilles restrained his sword, he gave unbounded liberty to his tongue, and after denouncing the cowardice and tyrannical government of Agamemnōn, swore by a tremendous oath that he would never more assist the Greek forces against Troy:—

"Now by this sacred sceptre hear me swear,
Which never more shall leaves nor blossoms bear,
Which severed from the trunk, as I from thee,
On the bare mountains left its parent tree;
This sceptre, formed by tempered steel to prove
An ensign of the delegates of Jove,
From whom the power of laws and justice springs
(Tremendous oath! inviolate to kings)—
By this I swear, when bleeding Greece again
Shall call Achilles, she shall call in vain;
When flushed with slaughter, Hector comes to spread
The purpled shores with mountains of the dead,
Then shalt thou mourn the affront thy madness gave,
Forced to deplore when impotent to save;
Then rage in bitterness of soul to know
This act has made the bravest Greek thy foe."
He spoke, and furious hurled against the ground
His sceptre, starred with golden studs around.

Pope's Homer.

The Greeks continually worsted.

The Greeks, now deprived of their bravest champion by the impolitic and rash conduct of Agamemnōn, continually suffered in their engagements with the Trojans, notwithstanding the valour of Ajax, Diomēdēs, and Odysseus, who each performed many brilliant achievements. Still the tide of success continued to run strongly against the confederate Greeks. Hector, the great bulwark of the Trojan host, daily signalized his prowess on their best and bravest, who were defeated and driven back to their ships, to which the victorious Trojan hero set fire with his own hand. The illustrious poet of Greece has drawn a brilliant picture both of the personal appearance of Hector and of his daring achievements:—

Exploits of Hector.

Full in the blazing van great Hector shined,
Like Mars commissioned to confound mankind;
Before him flaming, his enormous shield,
Like the broad sun illumined all the field:
His nodding helm emits a streamy ray,
His piercing eyes through all the battle stray,
And while beneath his targe he flashed along,
Shot terrors round that withered e'en the strong!

Pope's Homer.

Fiercely pressed by the Trojans, the Greeks made a last and desperate stand at their ships, where, headed by the gigantic Ajax, the combat

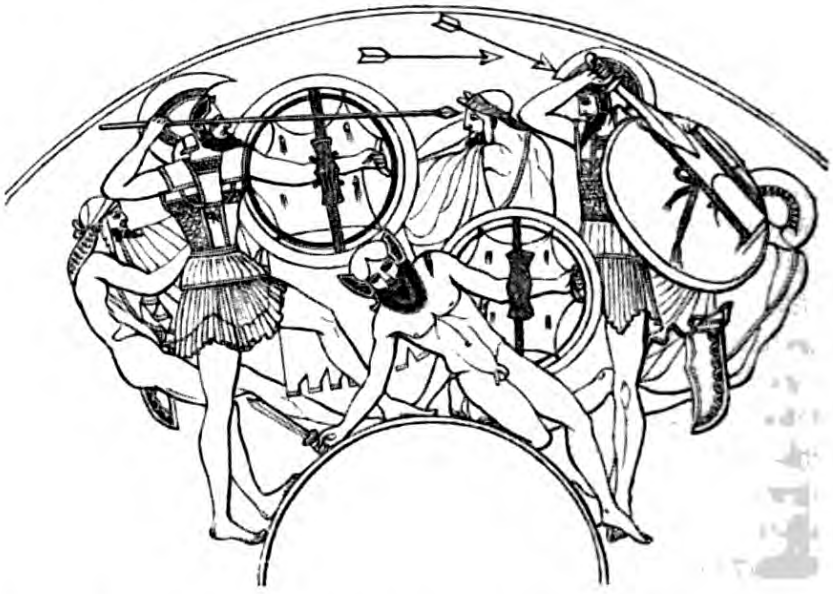
Fierce struggle at the ships.

thickened, and the close encounter raged with the rush and fury of a whirlwind:—

> No room to poise the lance nor bend the bow,
> But hand to hand, and man to man, they grow;
> Wounded they wound, and seek each other's hearts
> With falchions, axes, swords, and shortened darts:
> The falchions ring, shields rattle, axes sound,
> Swords flash in air or glitter on the ground;
> With streaming blood the slippery shores are dyed,
> And slaughtered heroes swell the dreadful tide;
> Still raging Hector with his ample hand
> Grasps the high stern, and gives this loud command:
> "Haste! bring the flames! the toil of ten long years
> Is finished! and the day desired appears;
> This happy day with acclamations greet,
> Bright with destruction of yon hostile fleet."
>
> *Pope's Homer.*

Patroclus heads the Greeks, and is slain by Hector.

Patroclus now entreated Achilles to permit him to advance to the assistance of the Greeks, clothed in the armour of his friend, and heading his troops. The Trojans, at the sight of Patroclus in the armour of Achilles, imagining him to be that hero, were in great consternation, and even Hector fled. Patroclus, however, pursuing the foe to the walls of Troy, was disarmed by Apollo, wounded by Euphorbus, and finally slain by Hector.



Fight for the body of Patroclus.

It was on this occasion that a fierce struggle took place between Hector and the Greeks over the dead body of Patroclus, which they at last succeeded in rescuing from the Trojans and in conveying in safety to Achilles.

Achilles, now forgetting his anger in his deep grief for the loss of his friend, again advanced against the Trojans, after being provided with fresh armour by Vulcan. The Trojans, unable to endure his

fierce assault, were driven within their walls with immense slaughter. Hector alone, chained down by fate, awaited his approach on the open plain; but seized with a sudden panic on the approach of the mighty Achilles, took flight, chased by the Greek thrice round the walls of Troy. At length, deceived by the fictitious appearance of Deïphobus, which Athēnē had sent to lure him to his ruin, Hector stood firm, calmly awaiting the approach of his terrible foe. Unhappily, however, he soon found that his confidence in the assistance of Deïphobus was misplaced, and he nobly prepared himself to submit to the decrees of fate:—

Approach of Achilles.

Hector deceived by the image of Deïphobus.

All desolate he stands, then, with a sigh,
" 'Tis so, heaven wills it, and my hour is nigh!
I deemed Deïphobus had heard my call,
But he secure lies guarded in the wall.
A god deceived me; Pallas, 'twas thy deed!
Death and black Fate approach! 'tis I must bleed.
No refuge now, no succour from above,
Great Jove deserts me, and the son of Jove,
Propitious once and kind: then welcome fate!
'Tis true I perish, yet I perish great:
Yet in a mighty deed I shall expire;
Let future ages hear it, and admire!"
Fierce at the word his mighty sword he drew,
And all collected on Achilles flew.
So Jove's bold bird, high balanced in the air,
Stoops from the clouds to truss the quivering hare.
Nor less Achilles his fierce soul prepares;
Before his breast the flaming shield he bears,
Refulgent orb! above his fourfold cone
The gilded horsehair sparkled in the sun,
Nodding at every step; Vulcanian frame!
And as he moved his figure seemed on flame.

Pope's Homer.

Notwithstanding the intrepidity of Hector in this last closing scene of his life, he was doomed to fall before the conquering arms of Achilles; and the victor sullied his triumph by dragging thrice round the walls of Troy the dead body of his enemy, attached to his triumphal car. The Trojans, however, did not as yet despair. Their courage was revived by the arrival of the fierce Amazon, Penthesileia, and next of the swarthy Memnon, who brought with him a powerful band of his dark Ethiopians. Both these champions, notwithstanding their desperate valour and consummate skill in arms, fell before the conquering weapons of Achilles. His own fate, however, was near at hand. An arrow from the quiver of Paris, directed by the unerring Apollo, pierced the hero near the Scæan gate, as he was chasing the Trojans within their walls. The glorious armour which Hēphaistos had wrought for Achilles was now, by the command of Thetis, offered as a prize to the bravest warrior of the Grecian army. It was adjudged to Odysseus, in consequence of which Ajax, bereft of his senses by grief, in a fit of madness slew himself.

Slain by Achilles, and dragged round the walls of Troy.

Achilles slain by Paris.

Ajax slays himself.

Unable now to capture the city of Troy by open force, the Greeks

Stratagem to take the city.

had recourse to stratagem. They constructed a capacious wooden horse, in which they concealed the bravest of their warriors, while the Greek fleet sailed away, pretending to have abandoned the siege. As many of the Trojans, influenced both by gratitude at their deliverance and by the advice of the traitor Sinon, wished to dedicate the monstrous fabric to the gods, they were at length induced to drag within their walls the deadly instrument of their ruin.

Troy surprised and sacked.

The destruction of Troy was now irrevocably decreed. During the festivities of a night of fatal rejoicing, the Grecian chiefs descended from their hiding-place within the horse, and opening the gates of the lost city to their comrades, who had now returned from their feigned departure, the associate bands joined in a final and tremendous attack upon the unguarded town, which was sacked and fired, the male inhabitants slaughtered, and the females carried into captivity.

Return of Grecian chiefs.

The return of the victorious chiefs from Troy formed a copious fund for the Greek epic, of which the only complete specimen remaining is the Odyssey, or the return and wanderings of Odysseus.

Mr. Grote's remarks on the historical basis of the war of Troy.

On the *historical* basis of this legend Mr. Grote has observed,[1] "Of such events the genuine Trojan war of the old epic was for the most part composed. Though literally believed, reverentially cherished, and numbered among the gigantic phenomena of the past by the Grecian public, it is, in the eyes of modern inquiry, essentially a legend, and nothing more. If we are asked whether it be not a legend, embodying portions of historical matter, and raised upon a basis of truth; whether there may not really have occurred at the foot of the hill of Ilium a war purely human and political, without gods, without heroes, without Helena, without Amazons, without Ethiopians under the beautiful son of Eōs, without the wooden horse, without the characteristic and impressive features of the old epical war—like the mutilated trunk of Deïphobus in the under-world; if we are asked whether there was not really some such historical Trojan war as this, our answer must be, that as the possibility of it cannot be denied, so neither can the reality of it be affirmed. We possess nothing but the ancient epic itself, without any independent evidence: had it been an age of records, indeed, the Homeric epic, in its exquisite and unsuspecting simplicity, would probably never have come into existence. Whoever, therefore, ventures to dissect Homer, Arktinus, and Leschês, and to pick out certain portions as matter-of-fact, while he sets aside the rest as fiction, must do so in full reliance on his own powers of historical divination, without any means either of proving or verifying his conclusions."

Perhaps, within the whole compass of mythology, there is no system altogether more plausible than the Grecian. Its coherence betrays art in arrangement, but weakness in the main incidents. A basis, however, it undoubtedly possessed, which was neither inventive

[1] Hist. Greece, vol. i. p. 134.

nor fictitious. What that basis was, is certainly not to be eliminated from either poet, or logographer, or historian, independent of extraneous aids. Such aids are presented to the inquiring mind in those two most durable records of a nation—its language and its monuments. These adjuncts, though of foreign origin, are fortunately available for the elucidation of Greek mythology.

There is nothing more calculated to blunt the keenness of investigation than any theoretic axiom which lays down some general position to meet general difficulties. Here acquiescence must be the rule, and research the exception. Nothing can be more tempting to indolence. To assume individual or national *feeling* as the exponent of *fact*, and fact, too, possibly foreign to that individual or nation, must be a perilous mode of rescuing from error, or re-establishing truth.

Theory of "the Myth."

The theory of "The Myth," as laid down by some distinguished German writers, and adopted by certain authors in this country, is, at the best, only capable of sound application where a people has had *no connection with another nation by commerce, war, religion, or other intercommunication*—a category, in fact, which *history* scarcely supposes. "There is," says this theory, "in the human mind a tendency, when excited by any particular feeling, to body forth that feeling in some imaginary fact, scene, or circumstance, in the contemplation of which it may find relief." Again, we are told that "whatever thought arose in a man's mind, whatever sensation varied his consciousness, could be expressed by him only in one way, namely, *by dragging forth the concrete images, fictions, or inventions, that he felt arise contemporaneously with it.*"

In a volume elucidatory of the true sources of Greek legend, I shall demonstrate that the great mythi of antiquity are not *feelings bodied forth to relieve the mind*, still less are they concrete images, fictions, and inventions. Wherever an important *mythus* has existed, an important *fact* has been its basis. Great principles do not arise from idealities: a *national myth* cannot be generated without a *national cause*, and a national cause implies *agency*, not *invention*. After facts, obscuration may arise, the conditions of which latter are easier as the facilities of record are scarcer. Imitation then steps in, and supplies a garbled or an exaggerated copy of the original: but a theory deduced from the evidences of *feeling*, is as mythical as a myth itself.

Modes of mythical interpretation.

For the immense mass of legendary matter that swells the early chronicles of Hellas, there are usually assigned three methods of interpretation: 1st, *The Literal;* 2ndly, *The Rationalistic*, or *Allegorical;* 3rdly, *The Mythical*, which, as we have observed, considers the whole as purely fictitious matter, secreted from the Greek mind itself, with or without external stimulus. To these systems I shall add a fourth, *The Pictorial*, or *Imitative*, of which I shall, in the treatise referred to, advance abundant evidences; and these evidences will still farther have the effect of restoring some of the earliest outlines of Grecian history, now nearly obliterated.

The industry and profound classical knowledge of European scholars have thoroughly classified and exhausted whatever information is to be acquired, or inference to be drawn, from Hellenic literature alone; and he who would seek for new light must have recourse to other sources. Such a source is presented in the SANSCRIT: its literature more venerable than the Greek; its language as polished, and more euphonic. Other aids will be found in geographical, religious, or historical considerations.

Imitative basis of European poems.

If we contemplate the great fictions of European poets, we shall find them reposing upon an imitative basis. A Milton has freely borrowed from Tasso, Dante, Virgil, Homer, and the inspired writings; the Mantuan bard has drawn largely from the great poet of Greece, and from Hesiod, who, in his turn, has copied the traditions of the Indian cosmogony. But one main reason why history and religion, in the hands of the Greeks, degenerated into mythology, was that, coming after a race whose language was somewhat similar to their own, they were led, by identity of sound, to consider as purely Hellenic, many customs, religious rites, and achievements not their own; and thus to misunderstand the early history of their own country. On this basis, they subsequently, on the same imitative system as that of Milton, but without the accuracy of his models, constructed their doctrinal and heroic poems. But whatever were their ποιήματα, or inventions, they rested upon a *previous* foundation, and were not *independent* fictions: the outline was by a foreign limner, the colouring was that of a native artist.

Its application to Greek mythology.

On this principle, then, the student, with the original of the Hellenic painting before him, will be prepared to receive cumulative demonstration of deviation from, or adherence to, truth. The errors of Bryant, Creuzer, and others, who have trusted to a discursive philology as the basis of rationalistic explanation, should warn the inquirer after *truth* to call in aids strictly and solely in unison with that object.

Interspersed with the doctrinal and heroic mythologies of Greece, I have furnished, in the present volume, copious illustrations of the Indian source of her doctrinal principles, her similar vein of thought, and her geographical nomenclature. I have referred to her colonization by immigrants from two distinct points, and I have given such evidences of the presence and action of one of these colonies (the PELASGI), as, I trust, will prove convincing.

The limits of the present work forbid my entering into a more detailed account of the oriental sources of Greek mythology, to which, as I have already intimated, it is my intention to devote a separate treatise, in which I shall demonstrate the early sacerdotal and political institutes of Hellas and their occidental progression.



CHAPTER VI.

SKETCH OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF GREECE.

If we are to consider the sea as one of the mightiest agents in the civilization of mankind, we shall readily confess the supremacy of its influences over the land of Hellas. Situated between Italy and Asia, Greece extended her open palm to give and to receive the physical and intellectual wealth of nations; and her beneficent sway over the early fortunes of our race is attested by the noble colonies which left her fertile bosom. **Maritime position of Hellas.**

But it was not merely as a maritime country that she was distinguished: it resulted from her configuration that her people united the hardihood of the mountaineer with the activity of the seaman; and perhaps nowhere did a country of such varied physical qualities call forth such varied intellectual excellence.

We look in vain for similar effects among the cumbrous monarchies of the East, and we are led to contrast, with astonishment, the smallness of the country with the vastness of its achievements. With an area about one-third less than the modern kingdom of Portugal, Greece ranging from the parallel of Mount Olympus on the north, to Tænarus her southern headland, extended 250 miles; whilst two-thirds of that distance would conduct the traveller from Leucadia, her western extreme, to the temple of Minerva, on the eastern promontory of Sunium. **Dimensions of Greece.**

But if the superficies of Hellas was insignificant, the extent of her coasts was great; its indentations supplied the paucity of her southern rivers. Greece was essentially a region of mountains, Thessaly forming almost the only considerable champaign land; and this characteristic imparted that peculiar feature which Homer designated by the title of mountain torrent.[1] Nature has divided Hellas into two grand portions in separating the north from the south by the Corinthian Gulf. We shall take a rapid survey of the former, and we shall have occasion to observe, very generally, an attendant parallelism between its rivers and mountains. The Cambunian range, the north-eastern barrier of Thessaly, is sedulously attended by the river Haliacmon, till it flows into the Thermaic Gulf on the east, while Mounts Asnaus and Æropus follow the sweep of the river Aous, till it falls into the sea on the western coast, near Apollonia.

Chief characteristic of Greece.

Parallelism in rivers and mountains.

Having thus observed the northern boundary of Greece, we now remark two mountain ranges running from north to south; they are —Pindus, accompanied by the river Achelous, flowing into the entrance of the Corinthian Gulf; and the range of Tomarus, again running south, attended by the Arachthus, which finds an outlet in the Ambracian Gulf; the Peneus sweeps along harmoniously with the waving line of Mounts Phæstus and Cercetius, till it forces a passage for its waters through the vale of Tempe, between Mounts Ossa and Olympus, and here it reaches the Thermaic Gulf: thus on the north-east are four corresponding curves, two of rivers and two of mountains. Still more to the south the river Spercheius follows the line of Mount Othrys, and the Cephissus, Mount Œta and Cnemis.[2] We have, therefore, in Greece the same features which characterise the mountain system in Spain, the construction of gigantic walls by Nature for the guidance of her waters. Whilst Epirus, forming the north-west

Pindus and Tomarus.

The river Spercheius.

[1] Χείμαῤῥος. The "Wadis" of Arabia, literally "channels," were of a similar nature. In the course of time the term was used to designate rivers in general, and hence, as a special term by the Moors of Spain, the "Guadalquivir," *i. e.* Wad-al-qabir, the great channel.

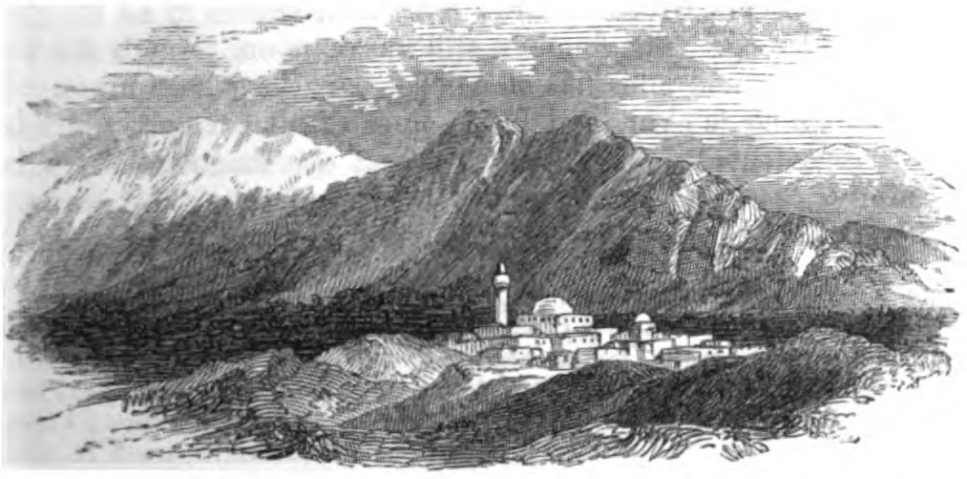
[2] Thessaly was divided into five districts; Histiœotis, Pelasgiotis, Thessaliotis, Phthiotis, and Magnesia. The chief towns of the first province were, Gomphi, Tricca, Phæstus, Ithōmē, a rock castle belonging to Metropolis, and Pharycedon. The streams and tributaries of the Peneus were, Lethæus, Ion, Eurotas, Curalius, and Atrax. Pelasgiotis, once frequently inundated by the Peneus, had, as chief cities, Larissa (capital of Thessaly); Scotusa; Cynoscephalæ, famed for the defeat of Philip II. of Macedon by the Romans; Gonni, at the entrance of Tempē; Pheræ, celebrated by Jason; and Elatæa. Its chief streams were, the Onchestus and its tributary the Arausus: its lakes were Bæbeis and Nessonis. The chief towns of the Œnianes, the inhabitants of Thessaliotis, were Hellas, the original seat of the Hellenes; Hypata, the key of Southern Thessaly; and Pharsalus, now Forsa, near the spot where Pompey was defeated by Cæsar. In Phthiotis, the country of Achilles, the promontories were, Posidium and Pyrrhæ. In this fabulous land of the Centaurs and Lapithæ, the most remarkable towns were, Phthia, the capital; Larissa; Cremaste; Thebæ; Pteleum; Lamia, renowned for the Lamiac war; and Thaumaci, overlooking the Maliac Gulf. Magnesia contained Demetria, on the Pelasgic Gulf; Methonē; and Melibœa, on the eastern shore.

division of Greece, was scantily supplied, nature seems to have lavished abundance upon the rich plains of Thessaly. A glance at her sweeping mountain barriers will at once convey the idea of an enormous basin favourable to spontaneous production. Fertility of Thessaly.

Not only does the Peneus, descending from Pindus, glide through this rich land, but a crowd of tributary streams helps to increase its fertilising powers. While Thessaly enjoyed the facilities for internal navigation, an advantage which attached to no other district of Greece, nature, by bursting the mountain barriers of Ossa and Olympus,[1] and fashioning the delightful vale of Tempē or the Cut, had reclaimed from the stagnant waters a vast tract of country, now enriched by the fertilising deposits of ages. Thus Thessaly became essentially a land of flocks and herds, and smiling corn-fields; it was the pasture-ground of warlike steeds, and witnessed the mythologic array of the wild Centaurs.

Its coasts were rich in harbours; amongst them was Iolcos, whence the Argonauts embarked on their romantic voyage. But the wealth which nature showered down upon this delightful region was abused, and no people in Hellas so indulged in sensual enjoyments. Iolcos, the Argonautic port.

Immediately to the south of Thessaly the traveller observes a succession of mountain ranges and isolated peaks. Mounts Œta and Tymphrestus are particularly prominent. Beneath the towering cliffs of the former stood Leonidas, with the illustrious three hundred. Parnassus, Helicon, and Cithæron then take up the chain of mountain heights, till they terminate in Mount Brilessus, adjoining the glorious field of Marathon.



As Thessaly exhibited on her southern frontier a gigantic natural wall productive of fertility by retaining within its bounds the rich alluvium, a similar process is displayed in Bœotia,[2] though on a Bœotia.

[1] Herod. viii. 6.

[2] The chief towns of Bœotia, whose poetical name is Æonia, are, Ascra, the native place of Hesiod; Elatæa, the mythological birth-place of Dionysus, Eleu-

smaller scale. Here Parnassus, Helicon, Cithæron, and Ptous enclose a wide plain; while the Bœotian Cephissus, and numerous mountain streams, after enriching the soil, formed several lakes, of which Copais, celebrated for its eels, is the largest. A great part of the rich Bœotian plain would be speedily covered by the waters of the Copais, did they not escape by subterraneous passages, or Katabothra, as they are styled by the modern Greeks. In the north-western frontier of Bœotia was Phocis; its chief harbour, on the Corinthian Gulf, Crissea, made it a nursery for seamen. Œta, on the north, trained its hardy mountaineers; while Mount Parnassus, in the centre, fostered the devout pilgrimages of the inhabitants of all Greece. Here rose Delphi, overshadowed by the awful rock of Pytho, hard by the oracle of Apollo. Hither despots, cities, tribes, and nations despatched, in countless abundance, their costly offerings, all placed under his especial protection; a treasury oftener plundered by the barbarians than defended by the guardian deity.[1] Here the majestic Council of Amphictyon, with a solemnity corresponding to the scenery, held its sittings. Here, pouring down from the double rift of Parnassus, and fed by the perpetual snow of the mountain, was the translucent spring of Castalia, where the poets of Greece poured forth their strains in all the rivalry of hallowed song. The fountain still murmurs on, though the voices of the pilgrims, and minstrels of Apollo, have long been mute. The Castalian spring is clear, and forms an excellent beverage; the fountain is ornamented with pendent ivy, and overshadowed by a large fig-tree: after a quick descent to the bottom of the valley, through a

Lake Copais.



Delphi.

Amphictyonic Council.

Spring of Castalia.

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theris, and Libethrius. Its rivers are, the Cephissus, Ismenus, and Asopus. The inferior streams are, the Lamius, Olmius, Permessus, Platanus, Lophis, and Triton. The cities of Bœotia were, Orchomenos, renowned for its wealth even in Homer's time; Chæronæa, remarkable for the defeat of the Athenians by the Thebans, B. C. 447, and subsequently by Philip, B. C. 338; Lebadæa; Coronea; Copæ, on the north of Lake Copais; Anthēdon, a harbour famed for its trade in sponge; Crissa, a harbour on the Corinthian Gulf; Platæa, renowned for its long siege by Sparta; the harbour Oropus; and the capital, Thebæ, celebrated as the birthplace of Hēraclēs, Pindar, Pelopidas, and Epameinondas.

[1] The chief river, the Cephissus, flows into lake Copais; the smaller streams are the Pleistus, the Cachales, and the Charadrus. The most remarkable cities of Phocis are, Cirrha, the sacred port of Delphi; Crissa, placed in the fertile vale of Crissa, but destroyed by the Amphictyons; Anticirrha, the head port; the sacred Delphi, on the declivity of Parnassus; Elatæa; Abæ; Panopeæ; Daulis; and Phocion, celebrated for the congress of the Phocian deputies.

narrow and rocky glen, it joins the little river Pleistus.[1] Of Delphi and its 3000 statues not a vestige remains.

The mountain range of Parnassus, Helicon, and Cithæron, has now conducted our footsteps to ATTICA,[2] the land of civilization and the arts. This renowned division of Greece, which still continues to exercise a living influence wherever mind exists, is a peninsula of irregular triangular form, fifty miles in length by about thirty in breadth, gradually tapering to the southern headland of Sunium, which looked either to the innumerable gulfs and bays of Peloponnesus, to the islands of the Ægæan, or the fertile coasts of Asia. Attica was thus placed by nature in the vanguard of colonization, and nobly did she fulfil her mission. She was gifted too with the internal elements of self-education. While her air was light and pure, her soil was superficial: hence necessity urged her to habits of industrious cultivation, and she thereby escaped the moral and physical perils engendered by the fertility of Thessaly. The barrenness of Attica resulted from her geological formation. Her northern frontier running east and west, consists of a range of mountains of primitive limestone, whilst her western hills of a similar stratification form a boundary which is traversed by elevations of varying character from north to south, terminating in the celebrated silver mines of Laureium. On the sides of this hill there is a scanty growth of the mountain pine, though throughout the hills of Attica few timber trees are to be found. But this barrenness of vegetation was nobly compensated by the richness of her marble quarries, which fostered not only the physical but the immortal existence of her intellectual children, by rendering their works of art eternal. Though Attica never produced as much corn as would supply her own inhabitants, her commercial activity and the culture of the olive, tended to encourage habits of successful industry: how far these were pushed, may be seen by the traces of laborious cultivation carried up artificial mountain-terraces. Nor are the chief features of the country changed: no sooner do the plains alternate with the mountains, than forests of olive-trees, grove after grove, rise in endless array, while each century sends forth new scions to succeed the parent stock.[3] These olive-groves are described as extremely beautiful. The streamlets which flow from the Cephissus and Ilissus are clear as crystal, whilst the purity of the atmosphere has given to her marble relics the peculiar golden tint of ripened corn.[4] Athens herself, the imperial mistress of the seas, lies in a plain surrounded on three sides by mountains at a moderate distance

Attica.

Form and position.

Influence of physical properties.

Geological formation.

Scanty vegetation.

Laborious cultivation.

Attic olive trees and streams.

Position of Attica.

[1] Dodwell's Travels, i. 172.

[2] The promontories of Attica not mentioned in the text are, Zoster, Astypalæa, Amphialē, facing Salamis, and Cynosura, on the eastern shore. Besides Athens, the capital, the principal towns were, Decelea; Acharnæ; Phylæ, the stronghold of the patriotic Thrasybulus; Eleusis; Aphidna, the harbour of Panormus, on the eastern coast of Attica; and Harma.

[3] Parnes and Ægialeus, vol. i. pp. 505–509, by Dodwell.

[4] See Dr. Clarke's Travels in Greece.

from her fortified walls. She was styled by way of eminence, "Astu," or the City.[1] In this noble temple of freemen the embellishments of life appeared in their fairest perfection. The sublime dignity of Æschylus, and the harmonious sweetness of Sophocles united to adorn the glory of human nature. Painters, who had attained the noblest purity of design, adorned the magnificent halls of their native city with the forms of illustrious heroes. At the magic touch of Phidias sculpture sprang into life, and rendered every part of Athens august and venerable by the breathing forms of warriors and of deities, while temples were reared, of which the smallest portions still excite the utmost delight and wonder. Imagination can conceive nothing more glorious than this city; its halls and temples of the most exquisite workmanship—the dazzling whiteness of its buildings relieved by the freshest verdure—the multitude of statues disposed with the finest taste—and all its far-stretching crowd of domes and columns, overhung by a sky of the deepest blue, and connected by a noble line of fortresses with the free and sparkling ocean.

General appearance of Athens.

Rising above Mount Hymettus (then as now celebrated for its honey), the Pentelic Heights, forming the range of the Attic highlands, after trending eastward, bounded the glorious plain of Marathon, with the aid of Mount Parnes, and the waters of the Eubœan channel; whilst a low range of hills divided the Mesogaia, or midland district, a tolerably level tract, from the coast. As the Attic seaman rounded Cape Sunium, he might discern the lofty spear and helm of his guardian divinity towering high above the Attic soil in front of the hallowed temple of the goddess—he was everywhere reminded of his nationality and his religion.

The Mesogaia.

Doris, a narrow tract of undulating land, whose soil was rich in grain and pastures, fenced in by the rugged cliffs and deep glens of Parnassus and Œta, was watered by several small streams. The traveller enters Doris on the north, either by the narrow pass that traverses the eastern point of Œta, or by its western ridge, whilst a mountain tract running southward, conducts him to the vale of Crissa. The small territory of Doris[2] obtained a mythologic celebrity, as the residence of the Heracleidæ, when in exile: from this insignificant district proceeded those powerful Doric tribes which wrought such mighty revolutions in Southern Greece.

Doris.

Doris the residence of the Heracleidæ.

The western Locrians, lying to the south of Doris, touched the Corinthian Gulf on one side, on the other Ætolia;[3] this is a consider-

Western Locrians.

[1] Nationality and religion have similar tendencies. The Arabs styled Jatreb, in Arabia, "Medineh," "The City," from its being the seat of the Mahomedan empire.—*Vide* D'Herbelot's Bibliothèque Orientale, "Medinah."

[2] The Dryopes were the original inhabitants of Doris, with whom the Hellenic Dorians subsequently joined. The chief cities were, Pindus, Boius, and Erineus.

[3] The mountains of Ætolia were, Bomia, Corax, Panætolium, Chalcis, Aracynthus, Taphiassus, and Tymphæstus, an extension of Pindus. In addition to the Achelous, the chief river, forming the boundary between Acarnania and Ætolia,

able district, savage and rugged in the extreme, where the severity of the highland winter is such, that the intercommunication of the villages, which are nestled on rocky heights, is entirely cut off during considerable intervals. The broad and fruitful plains, however, traversed by the Achelous, the most important river in Hellas, form an exception to these severe characteristics. During the Roman conquest of Greece, the Ætolians made a fierce but unsuccessful resistance: their country lay next to Acarnania, a triangular region, bounded on the north by the Ambracian gulf, on the west by the Ionian sea. The most westerly headland of Acarnania is the Leucadian promontory, a white perpendicular cliff of great elevation,[1] which, in the Homeric time, was joined to the main land.[2] It obtained a still greater celebrity as the Lover's Leap. Acarnania, like Ætolia, was a mountainous land, though less conspicuous; its hills are yet covered with dense forests, while its valleys embrace extensive lakes bordered by verdant pastures. Cape Leucadia.



The province immediately conducting the traveller from Attica to the Peloponnesus is Megaris,[3] which derived its chief importance from its two ports, Pagæ and Nisæa; the first, on the Corinthian Gulf, her northern waters; the second, looking towards the important island of Ægina, in the Saronic Gulf. While a mountain-pass traversed the ridge of Geraneæ from sea to sea, another led southward towards Central Peloponnesus, through Corinth.[4] Megaris.

Corinth, the land of elegance and taste, many of whose works of art still survive the conquests of barbarians and of Time, combined the Corinth.

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the smaller streams are, the Thermissus and the Evenus; the lakes are, Cynia, Hydra, Melitē, and Trichonis. Though a rugged and wild country, Ætolia gave birth to the heroes Meleager, Ætolus, Œneus, Oxylus, Thoas, and Diomēdēs. Calydonia, the neighbourhood of Calydon, the capital, was the renowned scene of the grand hunting-party of Meleager. The other towns were, Curium, the ports Eleus, Molycria, Metropolis, on the Achelous, and Thermon, so named from its hot medicinal waters.

[1] *Vide* Gell, Itiner. Greece. [2] Odyssey, xxiv. 377.

[3] The promontories of Megara are, the Scironian rocks, renowned for the freebooter Sciron; and Minoa. The principal cities are, the capital, Megara, with its two fortresses, Alcathoos and Caria; Nisæa, and Tripodiscus. The seaports of Megara are noticed above.

[4] The Pelasgi, the first inhabitants, were joined by the Æolians, who were soon expelled by the Dorian Aletes. Not far from Corinth were the temples of Bellerophon and Aphroditē; likewise Craneum, a delightful grove.

Military and commercial position of Corinth.

singular advantages of a commercial and military position of the highest character. With a port on its northern and its southern sea, the former to receive the wealth of Europe, the latter the riches of Asia, this province became the emporium of commercial production, and, by fortifying the isthmus, Corinth might have been the arbiter of Greece, had not her strong bias for commerce swallowed up every other inclination.



Isthmus of Corinth.

The Diolcos.

This important isthmus, the key to the Peloponnesus, is nearly five miles in length. Here was the Diolcos, or ship-traverse, by which vessels were drawn by machinery overland from sea to sea, near to the town of Schœnus. With heavy ships of war this was not usual, the operation being principally applied to trading vessels; still the process conveys a fair idea of the progress of the Corinthians in the mechanical arts. The expense of the operation, however, and still more the tediousness of Peloponnesian circumnavigation, led to many efforts to unite the waters of the Corinthian and Saronic Gulfs. It is certain that the engineering skill of the age was quite equal to any effort of this kind; to be convinced of this, we have only to observe the brilliant enterprise of the Samians, crowned with complete success, the construction of a tunnel through a mountain 4247 feet in length, in the centre of which was an aqueduct conveying water from a copious spring: while their magnificent breakwater, carried to a length of 1213 feet at a depth of one hundred fathoms,[1] clearly evinces the feasibility of an Isthmian canal by Corinthian artificers. Successive attempts, however, appear to have been made by Periander, Demetrius Poliorcētes, Alexander, Julius

Samian engineering.

Efforts to cut through the Isthmus.

[1] Herod. ii. 62. *Vide* also Life of Herodotus, in "History of Greek Literature," of this series, by the Editor.

Cæsar, Caligula, Nero; all of which, though commenced with considerable energy, were abandoned.[1] But the chief interest attached to this district lies in the city of Corinth herself, styled "the wealthy," and in modern times, and not without good reason, "the Gibraltar of Greece." At the height of nineteen hundred feet towered the magnificent hill of Acrocorinthus, for one hundred generations the fortress of the sons of Corinth. Scarcely did any city in Greece lay claim to a higher antiquity, and possibly with great justice, since the pre-eminent advantages of its position must have made it one of the earliest seats of opulence. Sisyphus, Bellerophon, and a long line of mythologic heroes were its sovereigns: it is noticed by Homer,[2] in his day, as "the wealthy;" and the greatest historian of Greece mentions that the Corinthians were the first to build war galleys.[3]

Citadel of Corinth.

Noticed by Homer and Thucydides.

The arts of painting, sculpture, bronze work, were at Corinth carried to the highest perfection, rendering that noble city the emporium of the fine arts in Greece; and so beautiful were its vases that they realized high prices at Rome, whither they were sent by Cæsar's colonists, who had ransacked the tombs to procure them: the Corinthian brass was particularly prized. We shall not be surprised to find that this grand exchange for Asiatic, Italian, and Phœnician merchandise, realised from its duties a revenue so vast as to become a magnificent and voluptuous temple for the worship of Aphrodītē. From the city walls ran two long lines of masonry to the sea-shore, connecting it with Lechæum, its harbour, on the Corinthian Gulf; whilst a road to the south-east, at the distance of five miles, led to Cenchræa, its other harbour on the Saronic Gulf, and travellers between the Peloponnesus and Northern Greece passed beneath its seductive walls. The remains of the theatre, stadium, and amphitheatre, are still to be seen near the ancient town, and several seats of the latter, hewn in the rocky soil, are visible. Corinth still possesses an abundance and purity of water unequalled by any other maritime city of Hellas.

Corinthian skill in the Fine Arts.

Long walls of Corinth.

Antiquities.

After leaving Achaia,[4] a long strip of territory bordering upon the southern shores of the Corinthian Gulf, the traveller reaches Arcadia, the centre of the Peloponnesus, a mountainous district, highly characteristic of the whole region of southern Greece, which has been aptly compared to the outline of the plane-tree leaf. Of the six provinces of the "Island of Pelops," this is the largest, and contains within itself the sources of most of the Peloponnesian rivers. Of the triple mountain range that traverses Southern Greece from north to south, the

Achaia.

Arcadia.

[1] "....Augustias eas, tentavere, Demetrius rex, dictator Cæsar, Caius princeps, Domitius Nero, infausto ut omnium exitu patuit incepto." See also Dodwell's Tour, ii. 184. Plin. H. N. iv. 5.

[2] Il. ii. 570; xiii. 663.

[3] Thucyd. i. 13.

[4] The chief products of Achaia were oil, vegetables, corn, and wine. On the sea-coast the land often suffered from floods. The promontories were Rhium, Drepanon, and Araxus. The cities were Pellene, on the east; Ceraunia; and Panormus, an excellent roadstead.

Pastures of Arcadia.

middle chain intersects Arcadia, a land celebrated not only for its streams and mountains, but for the freshness and verdure of its pastures. The numerous torrents which descend from the mountain sides into the rocky hollows of the Arcadian crater discharge themselves through the gorge of Mount Lycæus, situated at its northern foot.

Course of the Alpheus.

Taking a north-westerly direction, the rivers of central Arcadia, after mingling their waters with the Alpheus, find their way into the Ionian Sea. On the eastern face of Arcadia, morasses similar to those in Bœotia would everywhere be seen, were it not for the geological formation of this pastoral land, for on the eastern side of Arcadia there is no similar vent to that we have just described.

Perforation of the limestone, and formation of emissaries.

The limestone strata, however, are perforated by these streams, by which emissaries have been formed fertilising the adjacent regions. Thus the river Stymphalus, after flowing below the southern base of Cyllēnē, enters the earth at the foot of a limestone precipice, whence, after running its dark course beneath a mountain range, it emerges from the recesses of Mount Chaōn, runs rapidly into Argolis, and, under the name of Erasinus, mingles with the sea in the Argolic Gulf. The usual phenomenon of latitude balanced by elevation of surface is seen in the case of Peloponnesus. While snow whitens the hills of Arcadia and the plains of Tegea, in the region of Argos, at no great distance, the sun shines and violets bloom, nor are fruitful vales wanting as the country slopes off towards the south. Essentially a

Characteristics of Arcadia.

land of shepherds and of mercenary soldiers, Arcadia, like the mountain regions of the globe, may furnish no inconclusive theory to the physiologist. Switzerland, Scotland, Nepaul, and Affghanistan, have ever sent forth their quota of mountain warriors, ready for foreign service; trained hardihood and poverty, however, are the real elements which have ever been at work in producing corresponding

Rugged habits of the Arcadians.

results. The Arcadians[1] were scarcely an Hellenic race; hence, we are not to be surprised that they retained their pastoral habits and rugged manners; their worship of Pan, and the music of their pipe maintained its place, and even found a favourable admittance at the

Modern description by a German traveller.

classic representations of the polished Athenian. "Nature," observes Bartholdy,[2] has destined this country for herdsmen; the pastures in summer are always green; the shade and moisture preserve them. The country has an appearance similar to that of Switzerland; the Arcadians in some measure resembled the inhabitants of the Alps. They possessed a love of freedom, and of money; wherever there was money you might see Arcadian hirelings. But it is the west of Arcadia where Pan invented the shepherd's flute, which deserves the

[1] The principal heights of these highlands are Cyllēnē on the north-east, with the ridges of Lampi, Pholoē, Erymanthus, Artemision, and Stymphalon. The southern chain is Mount Lycæus. The lesser heights are Alesium, Ænus, Acacesium, Nomia, Anchisia, Orchomenus, Cerausium, and Mæralium. In the east stood the famous city of Mantineia, renowned for the glorious death of Epameinondas.

[2] Bruch. zu nähern Kennt. d. Griech. 239.

name of a pastoral country. Innumerable brooks, rushing impetuously, or gently murmuring, pour down the mountains. Vegetation is rich and magnificent; everywhere freshness and coolness are found. One flock of sheep succeeds another as far as Taygetus, where there are numerous herds of goats." To enhance the dignity of remote origin, the Arcadians gave to their tribe the imposing title "Proseleni," (before the moon); their country was originally styled Drymotes, The Woodland. The principal mountains, whence descend the streams that water the Peloponnesus, are Mænalaus, Erymanthus, Cyllēnē, Lycæus, Olygirtus, and Crathis.

Claims of the Arcadians to antiquity.

To the west of Arcadia lay Elis, the "Holy Land" of Greece. If Laconia was essentially the abode of war, this was indubitably the land of peace; and it was considered under the direct protection of the patron god of the Olympic games, which were here celebrated. So much was this sacred district respected in early times, that troops obliged to pass through it, delivered up their arms on entering it, and on leaving the frontier received them again.[1] In addition to the principal rivers—the Peneus and Alpheus, flowing into the Ionian Sea—numerous streams water the southern parts of Elis. Its chief districts were Elis proper, on the north; Pisatis permeated by the Alpheus, and Triphylia, its southern division. A spectator posted upon the lofty watch-tower of the Lycæan heights of Arcadia, as he gazes towards the north-west, beholds the fruitful plains of Elis ranging along the plains of Peloponnesus, whilst his delighted vision takes in the wide and luxuriant plain of Olympia, rendered verdant by the waters of the meandering Alpheus.

Elis.

A sacred territory.

From Arcadia, the vast natural bulwark of the Peloponnesus, whose mountain walls are carried out to the extreme south, the traveller enters Laconia, the land of warriors. The river Eurotas—its waters are unsurpassed in Greece for clearness and purity—flowing southward into the Laconian Gulf, takes a middle course through this province corresponding with the waving lines of Mount Taygetus on the west and Parnon on the east. The extent of Laconia[2] may be stated at about sixty miles in length by thirty-five in breadth. Nothing but the military tendencies of the Spartans prevented their becoming a flourishing commercial people; since their coasts were furnished with many sea-ports, towns and harbours, the chief of which were Gythium, Epidaurus, Trinassus, and Acria. Their shores were likewise celebrated for yielding a shell-fish, whence was obtained a beautiful purple dye. The chief city of Laconia was Sparta, situated on the Eurotas. Here the long valley which runs southward

Laconia.

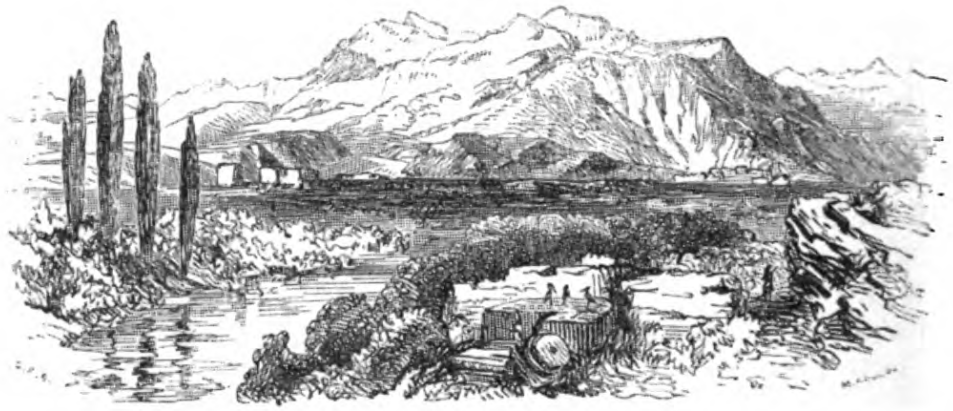
Chief city and river.

[1] Xenoph. Hist. Gr. iii. 2, 20.

[2] The most remarkable products of Laconia were an excellent breed of hounds; wild goats, boars, deer, and vast quantities of game harboured on the wooded heights; wool wrought and dyed by the Lacedæmonian women, and a blackish-green marble at Tænarus. The coast cities were Leuctrum, Thyridēs, and Tænarum.

towards the sea, is so contracted by the heights on either side of the river, as to leave space for little more than the channel of the river; this valley, however, suddenly expands into the great plain of Laconia, which would extend uninterruptedly to the sea, were it not for Mount Evoras, a spur of the great mountain ridge of Taygetus. This ridge, separated on the north from Mount Menelaus by the basin of the Alpheus, reaches its greatest elevation about its centre; here, under the name of Pentedactylon, it is conspicuous by its five snow-capped peaks, and is formidable by the rugged steepness of its sides; its extremity is the rocky peninsula of Tænarus.

Ridge of Taygetus.



Vale of Sparta.

The vale of Sparta is picturesque, screened by its triple mountain barriers from the piercing gale, but open to the breezes of the southern sea; it is remarkable for the luxuriant fertility of its shrubs and fruit trees. While its lower grounds are clothed with pomegranates, oranges, and myrtles; the mountain slopes are clad with plantations of olives. As the traveller rises to loftier heights, he encounters forests of firs, and deep gullies grooved out by the headlong torrents of Taygetus. The aspect of the mountain now assumes a bleak and savage character. Rugged ledges of precipitous rock and profound ravines are frequent; it then suddenly towers aloft into jagged and snow-capped peaks. It has been said by a celebrated poet, that "mountains interposed make enemies of nations;" and in the case of Sparta this was particularly correct.

The Apennine of Laconia.

The long Apennine of Laconia was the barrier between Messenia and Sparta, whose bitter enmity raged so fiercely and so long, ending only with the national extinction of the former. Had the line of the Taygetus been less formidable, it is probable that the Messenians would have harmoniously blended with their inveterate conquerors, and with them have formed the solid neucleus of an invincible Hellenic confederation. In addition to the Pamisus, the chief river of Messenia, which flows through the plain of Stenyclerus into the Messenian Gulf, there are numerous small streams everywhere fringing the west and south-western Messenian coast, adding greatly to the

exuberant fertility of this region so celebrated in poetry, a portion of which was styled "the blessed." The plain of Stenyclerus became the terrible arena of battle between the rival bands of Sparta and Messenia, since the passes leading from the north, east, and west severally fall into it. On the western coast is the deep bay of Pylos, renowned in ancient history for the sovereignty of Nestor, and in modern days by the sea-fight of Navarino. The northern boundary of Messenia[1] was formed by the river Neda, so much connected with the independence of the land, which, after rising in Arcadia, and flowing through a deep and savage glen near Mount Eira, falls into that part of the Ionian Sea, known under the name of the Cyparissian Gulf.

Macaria, or "The Blessed Land."

Bay of Pylos.

Messenia.

In noticing the component parts of ancient Greece, besides her colonies, we must not omit the important island of Eubœa, separated by the channel of the Eurīpus from Attica and Bœotia; the groups of the Sporades and the Cyclades; the great islands of Lesbos, Chios, and Samos off the coast of Asia; with her Hellenic sea-board towns, and the southern isles of Rhodes, Crete, and Cythēra.

Greek Islands and sea-board towns of Asia.

From this outline of Grecian geography, it will be seen that, with the exception of Thessaly and Attica, Hellas is among the most mountainous countries in Europe, since, after we have done all to classify the various prominent ranges, there are so many scattered peaks and craggy heights of different magnitudes, that the level ground is insignificant to the entire area, and even the valleys are perpetually checked by spurs from the main ridges, or by isolated hills. Even of the present kingdom of Greece, which does not embrace Thessaly, nearly two-thirds are taken up by rocks, mountains, forests, lakes, and rivers; the remainder being olive and currant grounds, vineyards, and land capable of cultivation.[2] There are two causes, however, which have given increased fertility to Greece; the one arising from the detritus of the older rock formations washed down by the mountain streams; the other, the enriching filtration of various lakes, whose waters permeate the limestone structure; while the Cyclades, Eubœa, and Attica, consist principally of micaceous schist; western and central Peloponnesus are of a calcareous formation, whose colour and consistency, though frequently varying with locality, usually belong to the chalk. Conglomerates of lime and sand, calcareous breccia, and deposits of pebbles, are not unfrequently found. Though the mountain tracts were well wooded in ancient times, they are now generally, with the exception of the Acarnanian and Ætolian ranges, destitute of timber and useful vegetation, while an additional inconvenience is found in the irregular and insufficient supply of water. In the spring the mountain streams are copious, but

Independent mountain character.

Extent of land not cultivable.

Sources of fertility.

Geological formation.

Deficiency of wood and water.

[1] The Leleges are said to have been the first inhabitants of Messenia, then the Argivi, Æolians, and Dorians. Cyparissæ, Pylos, Stenyclerus, and Messenia, were its principal towns. Eira, the Messenian frontier town, was defended for eleven years, by Aristomenēs, against the whole power of Sparta.

[2] *Vide* Strong, Statist. of Gr.

before the close of the summer they are exhausted. As there are not a few basins completely trenched in by rocky formations,[1] it is evident that their waters could find no egress but by subterranean rifts, an instance of which has been noticed in Copais in Bœotia, to which (in the same district) may be added Hylicē and Harma. To relieve these efforts of nature, the ancients, in some instances, constructed an artificial tunnel with perpendicular shafts, of which a relic may be seen in the now obstructed emissary of the Cephissus. But while the rapid succession of valley and mountain in Greece produced political results unfavourable to federative union, it in some measure balanced these results by producing intercommunication amongst its various tribes, through the medium of migratory shepherds, who, with their flocks and herds, during the heat of summer, repaired to the freshness of the hill pastures. Greece, ranging under the same parallels of latitude with southern Italy and Spain, in favourable positions, abounded in the products of those fertile countries; the grape, the olive, flax, barley, enriched her inhabitants and embellished her landscape; whilst a copious variety of plants, herbs, and trees was rendered available to commercial and domestic economy. The deficiency of a regulated internal trade in Greece, produced extensive importations of corn from the Euxine, Sicily, and the Tauric Chersonese. Like the fare of the mountaineers of Scotland, the barley cake was more usually eaten than the wheaten loaf, which, with vegetables and salt-fish from the Propontis and Gades, formed the staple food of the Attic Greek; the Spartans and Arcadians, however, consumed a good deal of animal food, the former living much upon pork; fresh meat was generally eaten at sacrifices and festivals, and the milk of ewes and goats was esteemed superior to that of cows.[2] While Athens imported salt-fish, peltries, and pulse of various kinds, her exports were the silver of Laureion, pottery, figs, olives, and oil; and the superior activity and cultivation attendant on these processes, rendered the territory of ancient Hellas much more healthy than at present. Similar deteriorating elements have been at work in various parts of Italy to a most pernicious extent.

Adits driven, and shafts constructed.

Effects of physical geography.

Products of Greece.

Diet of the Greeks.

Attic imports and exports.

On this subject Mr. Grote observes,[3] "There is reason to conclude that ancient Greece was much more healthy than the same territory is at present, inasmuch as it was more industriously cultivated, and the towns both more carefully administered and better supplied with water. But the differences in respect of healthiness, between one portion of Greece and another, appear always to have been considerable, and this, as well as the diversities of climate, affected the local habits and cha-

[1] The physical phenomena of Greece, differing from those of any other country, present a series of beautiful plains, successively surrounded by mountains of limestone, resembling—although upon a larger scale, and rarely accompanied by volcanic products—the craters of the Phlegræan fields.—*Vide* Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. c. 4.

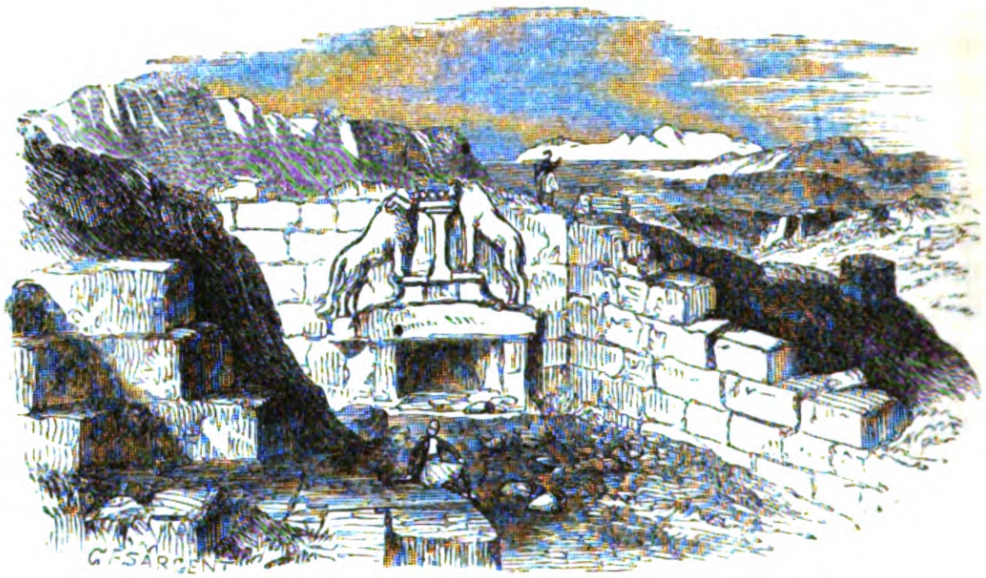
[2] Ar. Hist. An. iii. 15.

[3] Hist. Greece, ii. 309.

racter of the particular sections. Not merely were there great differences between the mountaineers and inhabitants of the plains—between the Locrians, Ætolians, Phokians, Dorians, Œtœans, and Arcadians, on one hand, and the inhabitants of Attica, Bœotia, and Elis, on the other—but each of the various tribes which went to compose these categories had its peculiarity."

We have then observed that Hellas, from her central maritime position and from her mountains, united in the Greek the character of mountaineer and seaman. On the other hand, we perceive how, from the variety of her provinces and tribes, her independence became fractional, and she was reduced to an aggregate of slavery. The political events connected with the physical geography of this wonderful country will be developed in the sequel of this work.





CHAPTER VII.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE PELOPONNESIAN STATES.

B. C. 884 TO B. C. 585.

B. C. 884. THE foundation of an historical sense in Hellas, and the adoption of an historical canon by its writers, came too late to rescue many of her most powerful political agents from the darkness of antiquity, save that which is enlightened by the uncertain glimmer of tradition. The romantic legends planted by the great poet of Greece, cling with so tenacious a hold to the columns of the temple of Truth, that, in the effort to remove their venerable luxuriance, the edifice itself is greatly shaken. Nor can we approve of the succedaneous material of which those columns have since been re-formed. The rationalizing process introduced by the logographers, and carried forward by Euēmerus, Palœphatus, and finally by the Neologists of Germany, has only substituted ingenious theories for supposed facts—theories which, however plausible, must ever remain incapable of demonstration.[1]

Late foundation of historical criticism in Greece.

Rationalizing processes.

The first portion of Hellas that, aided by historic light, emerges from the mists of legend, is the province of Sparta; and we are called to survey the formation of her political structure, rather than the personality of the builder. The former reposes upon an historical basis; the latter has no identity, and, as a political agent, is as legendary as the heroic personalities.[2] With the exception of some slender notices in Tyrtæus, Alcman, and Simonides, Plutarch, our chief informant on the Spartan institutes, quotes no authority of greater antiquity than Xenophon and Plato. The artificial arrangement of the whole line of

Earliest historical portion of Greece.

Sources of information few and slender.

[1] *Vide* Grote's chapter on "Allegory," in History of Greece.

[2] *Vide* Müller's Dorians, I. vii. 6.

the Lycurgean ancestry, and the care with which it is carried up to a divine original, give us an insight into the limited trustworthiness of Hellenic genealogy, and illustrate that ambitious failing of the Greek character.[1]

[1] Sparta, the rival of Athens, in arms, if not in arts, is one of the most remarkable of the early states of Greece. Not exempt from the usual prejudices of antiquity, the kings of Sparta ascribed their origin to the gods, threw a veil of splendour over the obscurity of their origin, and thus supported the allegiance of the people by superstition. Accordingly we find it alleged, that Lacedæmon, the first king of Sparta, was the son of the god Jupiter, by a mortal named Taygeta. This monarch married Sparta, or Spartē, the daughter of Eurotas, gave his own name (Lacedæmon or Lacedæmonia) to the country which he governed, and honoured his wife by bestowing hers (SPARTA) upon the city which he founded there. Perhaps the only fact to be deduced from these records is, that monarchy was the earliest form of government in this country. Twelve kings, after Lacedæmon, are said to have reigned over Sparta; not indeed in lineal male succession, although they were all connected by relationship, whose names it may be sufficient here to mention; for little else has come down to us concerning the greater part of them, and of the rest, much of what has sometimes passed for truth is now placed, by the best critics, amongst the *terra incognita* of history. Thus we have Amyclas, the successor of Lacedæmon, and after him his three sons, Angalus, Cynortas, and Hyacinthus; the latter of whom is said to have been killed by Apollo, and by that god afterwards turned into a violet. Then followed Œbalus, the son of Cynortas, who gave his own name to a particular district of the country, of which he assigned the government to his son Hippocoon, and the rest of the kingdom to another son, Tyndareus; but Hippocoon afterwards drove Tyndareus from the throne. A story is then told of the god Hēraclēs having been offended by Hippocoon, whose sons had beaten to death one Æonus, a cousin of that god; and that Hippocoon and ten of his sons were slain in an engagement with the followers of Hēraclēs. Tyndareus, the banished monarch, was then reseated on the Spartan throne, and succeeded by his sons, the demigods Castor and Pollux, in whom the male line of the divinely-descended Lacedæmon became extinct. Menelaus next governed Sparta, in right of his wife Helen, the sister of Castor and Pollux, and the fatal cause of the Trojan war. Helen was first stolen away by Theseus, and, after she was recovered by her brothers, her suitors took an oath that they would leave her to fix her own choice of a husband, to whom, in case she should be again carried off, they would all unite in restoring her. Menelaus being the husband of her own election, and this firebrand of beauty being again seized by Paris, her former lovers, in fulfilment of their oaths, undertook the siege of Troy.

Clytemnestra, the other daughter of Tyndareus, was the cause of almost equal discord and calamity with her sister Helen; for having lived in adultery during the absence of her husband, Agamemnōn, on his return from Troy, she caused or connived at his murder. Menelaus, after the siege of Troy, returned to Sparta, and was succeeded on the throne by his two sons, Nicostratus and Megapenthēs, not the offspring of Helen, but of another wife. The Lacedæmonians, however, threw off the yoke of these spurious kings, and elected for their monarch Orestes, son of Clytemnestra by Agamemnōn, who had revenged his father's murder by that of his mother; an act for which he is said to have been accused by his uncle Perilaus before the court of the Areopagus, though we are not informed of the issue. Orestes enjoyed a long reign, and died in Arcadia. Tisamenēs, the son of Orestes by Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus and Helen, was now raised to the throne, in whom this short dynasty ended on his expulsion by the Hēraclīdæ, the descendants of Hēraclēs, the ancient enemy of the Spartan kings. The reign of these celebrated sovereigns is by some writers said to have begun in the persons of Eurysthenes and Procles, sons of Aristodemus, while others assign that honour to Aristodemus himself. With its new masters, the government of Sparta now took a singular form,



LYCURGUS.

B. C. 884, *Thirlwall.* B. C. 830–820, *Grote.*

Lycurgus.

In Sparta, previous to Lycurgus, the following names are recorded s bearing the title of king, whatever were the separate powers of their sovereignty. Echestratus, the son of Agis; Labotas, son of Echestratus; and Doryssus. Then followed Agesilaus and Archelaus; in the same line, that of Eurosthenēs. In the line of Proclēs followed Soüs, Eurytion, and Prytanis, Eunomus, and Polydectēs. From Eunomus[1] sprang the illustrious LYCURGUS, the great lawgiver of the nation, to whom Polydectēs, the son of Eunomus by another wife, left the kingdom on his death; and Lycurgus thus became cotemporary sovereign with Archelaus. During the period of the above-mentioned dynasties, nothing of moment occurs in the annals of Sparta, except a war with the Cynosureans, a colony of Argives, the issue of which appears to have been very indecisive. It seems clear, however, that the internal state of the kingdom was generally that of much confusion and disorder.

These circumstances, therefore, together with the rank to which Lycurgus was entitled by birth, afforded him an opportunity to display those talents which otherwise might have been entirely obscured.

This celebrated lawgiver, by the fame of his institutions, has

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and under the twin brothers, Eurysthenēs and Proclēs, became a diarchy, or a double monarchical state, both these kings reigning with equal authority throughout the whole kingdom; a mode of administration which seems to have been continued, not only during the lives of its founders, but in their descendants through several generations. In the one line, Agis succeeded his father Eurysthenēs, and from him the title of Agidæ was given to *his* successors; on the other side, Eurytionidæ became the name of those princes who descended from Proclēs, so called from Eurytion, the grandson of that prince. The jealousies of the rival sovereigns, however, at length gave birth to hostile parties in the state, and every contention between the governors increased the weakness of the kings whilst it augmented the power of the people.

[1] Eunomus, or *Good-law*, is a most suspicious name for the parentage of Lycurgus, and well exemplifies the Greek fondness for artificial etymology.—EDIT.

attracted the attention of inquisitive and reflecting minds in every age; while the circumstances of his personal history, and even the precise nature of those institutions, the manner in which they were received by his countrymen, and the extent to which they were adopted, are points all involved in an uncertainty which it is now impossible to remove.

Plutarch, whose Life of Lycurgus, and "Laws and Customs of the Lacedæmonians," we must be content to follow through some portion of our way, appears to have diligently collected and preserved most of the information on those subjects which had escaped the ravages of time. He wrote, too, at a period when, though Sparta, with the rest of Greece, had been reduced to the condition of a Roman province, yet her institutions still retained some of their influence, and curiosity would naturally be excited to learn the history of her lawgiver. It appears from Horace[1] that *patiens Lacedæmon* was a theme among the courtiers of Augustus. Livy, also, in the same age, had celebrated her rigid discipline,[2] and described the city as distinguished, not by magnificent buildings, but by a well-ordered government.[3] Yet, so little had been done to separate truth from fiction in the Spartan story, that Plutarch commences his account of her lawgiver by the confession that he has "nothing to relate that is certain or incontrovertible; for there are different accounts of his birth, his travels, his death, and especially of the laws and form of government which he established."

The first difficulty which occurs to a modern biographer of Lycurgus is, how to select what may have a just claim to authenticity among the varying accounts of the age in which he flourished. Sir Isaac Newton, in his "Chronology,"[4] has placed him at the year 708 before the Christian æra, chiefly relying on the testimony of "Socrates and Thucydides," who "made the institutions of Lycurgus about 300 years older than the end of the Peloponnesian war." In this opinion Mr. West, in his learned "Dissertation on the Olympic Games,"[5] appears to coincide. It is also adopted by Dr. Priestley, in his "Chart of Biography," though with some marks of uncertainty, and this is the date which we have thought proper to follow. Yet some able modern chronologers concur in receiving the authority of Aristotle and Strabo. Thus they consider Lycurgus as the contemporary and associate of Iphitus, and place the commencement of his legislation on his return from his travels, at about 884 years before the Christian æra. With this date a passage in Livy remarkably agrees, where, describing the submission of Lacedæmon to the Acheans, (189 years before

Difference of chronology.

[1] Lib. i. Od. 7.

[2] In a speech which he ascribes to the Roman Consul, *Tarentinis quid ex Spartana dura illa et horrida disciplina mansit?* L. xxxviii. c. 17.

[3] In the progress of Paulus Æmilius through Greece, *Inde Lacedæmonem adit; non operum magnificentia, sed disciplina institutisque memorabilem.* L. xiv. c. 28.

[4] Page 36.

[5] Sec. 11.

Christ), he represents the institutions of Lycurgus as having then subsisted 700 years.[1]

Sparta had long been governed by two kings of equal authority, the descendants of Eurysthenēs and Proclēs, sons of Aristodēmus, of the race of Hēraclēs. Eunomus, the father of Lycurgus, was of the family of Proclēs. He lost his life in a popular commotion, leaving his share in the kingdom to Polydectēs, the elder son, on whose decease, after a short reign, the royalty descended on Lycurgus. Yet he no sooner understood that the deceased king had left his widow in a state of pregnancy, than he declared that the regal authority would belong to her issue, should it prove a son, and in the meantime he administered the government under the title of *Prodicos*, by which the Lacedæmonians denominated the guardians of a *minor* king.

The widowed queen, in whom ambition appears to have prevailed over moral sentiment and natural affection, now made to Lycurgus the inhuman proposal of procuring the destruction of the child, if he would promise to espouse her on thus succeeding to the royalty. He abhorred the suggestion, yet disguised his resentment, and persuaded the cruel mother, from a regard to her own life, to abandon the present destruction of her child, promising that he would take care to destroy it immediately on the birth.

Birth of Charilaus.

Having thus diverted the queen from her barbarous design, he gave strict orders to her attendants, that if she were delivered of a girl, the child should be committed to the care of the women; but, if of a boy, that he should be immediately brought into his presence, however he might be engaged. The infant, proving to be a son, was carried to Lycurgus, who was then at supper with the magistrates; to whom he is reported to have said, "Spartans! see here your new-born king!" naming him Charilaus, because of the joy and admiration of his own magnanimity and justice, testified by all present towards so faithful and disinterested a guardian.

"Thus," says Plutarch, "the reign of Lycurgus lasted only eight days. But the citizens had a great veneration of him on other accounts; and there were more that paid him their attentions, and were ready to execute his commands, out of regard to his virtues, than those that obeyed him as guardian of the king, and director of the administration." There were, however, some who opposed his advancement, as too high for so young a man; particularly the relations and friends of the queen-mother. He therefore took the resolution of travelling into other countries, till his nephew should be grown up and have a son to succeed him in the kingdom. The guardianship of the infant king was now probably assumed by Leonidas, brother of the queen, whose violent hostility to Lycurgus must have contributed to his resolution of becoming a voluntary exile.

[1] *Nulla tamen res tanto erat damno quam disciplina Lycurgi cui per septingentos annos assueverant, sublata.* L. xxxviii. c. 84.

Travels o. Lycurgus.

At this period of his life, when, as we have just learned from Plutarch, he was still young, may be placed, with most probability, his interview and co-operation with Iphitus, king of Elis. Mr. West says, "That prince may with great justice be styled the *founder* of the Olympic games, for he seems to have been the first that reduced that festival into a regular or coherent system or form; united the sacred and political institutions; and gave it, by the establishment of the *Olympiad*, that principle of life and duration that enabled it to outlive the laws and customs, the liberty, and almost the religion of Greece."[1] Plutarch claims for Lycurgus a share in this high reputation, and imputes to him the "providing for a cessation of arms during the Olympic games," as "a mark of the humane and peaceable man." Of his introduction to the king of Elis, he has borrowed from Hermippus and others the following marvellous account: "Lycurgus had no communication with Iphitus; but coming that way, and happening to be a spectator, he heard behind him a human voice (as he thought), which expressed some wonder and displeasure that he did not put his countrymen upon resorting to so great an assembly. He turned round immediately to discover whence the voice came, and, as there was no man to be seen, concluded it was from heaven. He joined Iphitus, therefore, and ordering, along with him, the ceremonies of the festival, rendered it more magnificent and lasting." An Olympic *discus*, mentioned by Aristotle, on which was inscribed the name of Lycurgus, is supposed to confirm the opinion of his co-operation with Iphitus.

To Crete.

The visit of Lycurgus to Crete is less disputed; and there he appears to have derived the largest assistance towards his future plans of legislation for Sparta. Minos, the king of Crete, was famed for his jurisprudence; and his laws, which he professed to have received from Jupiter, remained in vigorous exercise to the time of Plato, more than a thousand years after the death of the legislator. Here Lycurgus associated also with Thalēs, whom he persuaded to settle in Sparta. He was a poet, famed likewise for political wisdom, then generally recorded in traditionary verse, to which he procured the attention of the people by the attractions of his lyre.

Into Asia Minor.

From Crete, Lycurgus passed into Asia Minor,[2] desirous to compare the Ionian expense and luxury with the Cretan frugality and hard diet. There, in the reputed country of Homer, and amidst the scenes on which his genius had conferred immortality, he is reported to have discovered the entire poems of the bard, of which only a few detached pieces had been known in Greece. "Observing," says Plutarch, "that many moral sentences, and much political knowledge, were intermixed with his stories, which had an irresistible charm, he collected into

[1] West, Olympic Games, sect. 11.

[2] Διζῶ. ἦ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι, ἢ ἄνθρωπόν·
Ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεόν ἔλπομαι, ὦ Λυκόοργε.
Herod. i. 63.

Travels of Lycurgus.

one body, and gladly transcribed them, in order to take them home with him; for his glorious poetry was not yet fully known in Greece, only some particular pieces were in a few hands, as they happened to be dispersed. Lycurgus was the first that made them generally known."

The proverbial wisdom of the Egyptians scarcely failed to attract the attention of Lycurgus, who could not indulge his personal security from enemies at home without seeking to acquire among foreign states all the information which could enable him, on his return, to improve the institutions of his own country. Nothing, therefore, is more probable than the opinion, that during his travels, which appear to have extended through ten, or, probably, a greater number of years, he

To Egypt.

visited Egypt, to examine those remarkable laws and customs which were early celebrated among the nations of antiquity. "He was most pleased," says Plutarch, "with their distinguishing the military men from the rest of the people;" a regulation which he is said to have adopted at Sparta, though it is not easy to comprehend what distinction could exist among a people who, as to the free citizens, if they are correctly described, were all *military*. So indeed were many of the Helots, who accompanied their masters in battle, though their valour was frequently so ill requited. The accounts of the visits of Lycurgus to Libya and Spain, and his interview with the gymnosophists of India, appear to rest, according to his biographer, on insufficient authority.

His inquiries into the institutions of foreigners were, however, suddenly terminated by the situation of his own country, probably long before the period which he had proposed for his return. This he had intended to defer till the infant king should have attained to manhood, and become a father, a period during which time might lessen the number of his enemies, and abate the rancour of those who survived. But here we must revert to the earlier history of Sparta.

Laconia, of which that city was the capital, is said to have been repeopled about eleven hundred years before the Christian era, after having been reduced to a desert by the devastations of intestine wars. Two kings, the sons of Aristodēmus, as before mentioned, then shared the regal authority. This divided rule, uncontrolled as it afterwards became by a *senate*, appears to have little promoted the public tranquillity. The nominal authority, indeed, still descended in the two branches of the royal family, yet it was perpetually disputed, till at length that tumult occurred which proved fatal, as we have seen, to the father of Lycurgus.

Previous to his departure from Sparta, he had administered the government only a few months, but in that time his abilities had become known to his fellow-citizens, who now, more sensible of his merit, sent deputations to him, in conjunction with the kings, to solicit

Invited home.

his return. At length Lycurgus determined to revisit his country, and, as the only remedy he could devise for the existing evils, to new-model the government.

Influenced by the superstitious notions of his time, or rather, perhaps, by the policy of encouraging them, he deferred the execution of his great design till he had visited the far-famed oracle of Delphi. The *Pythia*, who was, no doubt, prepared for his reception, saluted him as *beloved of the gods, and rather a god than a man.* "So great was either the reputation of Lycurgus to command this testimony, or so great his art in procuring it," say the learned and accomplished writers of the *Athenian Letters.* Consults the oracle at Delphi.

Returning with this sanction from the oracle, he soon engaged in his design the principal citizens, of whom Arithmiadēs was his chief supporter. They agreed, to the number of twenty-eight, to assemble armed in the public square, lest any other citizens should oppose him. None of this description appeared, and Lycurgus proceeded to accomplish the suggestions of his extraordinary mind, aided by the lights which his travels had afforded him.

He found the royal authority in the possession of Charilaus, his nephew, and Archelaus, who had both attained it by hereditary descent. But this authority was undefined, and frequently disputed, while the people passed by rapid transitions from the suffering of tyrannical oppression to the indulgence of licentious anarchy. Lycurgus now undertook to remedy both these evils, and to secure the liberty of the citizens, by tempering its exercise, while, by limiting the sovereign power, he consolidated and confirmed it.

Archelaus does not appear to have resisted his projects, or to have expressed any alarm; but Charilaus, remarkable for the gentleness of his disposition, and still a youth, was terrified by the appearance of armed men, and apprehending a design against his person, took refuge in the *Chalcoicos*, or brazen temple of Athēnē; but he was soon satisfied, accepted their oath, and joined in the undertaking.

Lycurgus next established a senate, consisting of twenty-eight members; and nominated to that office those citizens who had been the first promoters of his design. Plutarch quotes the opinion of Aristotle that they were only twenty-eight, because two of Lycurgus's friends had deserted him through fear; though he himself concludes that this number was chosen, that, with the kings, the whole body might consist of thirty members. Of these, no one must be under the age of sixty years. This election, determined, according to Plutarch, by the shouts of the people, was for life; and the senators were not responsible. Both these regulations are censured by Aristotle. He especially considers it as prejudicial to the public weal, that those should continue to possess a control over their fellow-citizens who had survived their capacity of forming a wise and equitable decision. Plutarch applauds this establishment of a senate, as an intermediate body, which, "like ballast, kept the state in a just equilibrium; the senators adhering to the kings whenever they saw the people too encroaching, and supporting the people whenever the kings attempted to make themselves absolute." New models the government.

Supported by the oracle at Delphi.

"Lycurgus," says Plutarch, "had this institution so much at heart, that he obtained from Delphi an oracle in his behalf, called *rhetra*, or the decree. This decree, which was couched in very uncommon terms, recognised the establishment of a senate of thirty persons, including the two kings. It also directed that the people should be occasionally summoned to an assembly between *Babyca* and *Cnacion*, and that they should have the determining voice." These boundaries are supposed to describe a spot where they held their assemblies, "having neither halls nor any kind of building for that purpose. Lycurgus thought these things of no advantage to their counsels, but rather a disservice; as they distracted the attention, and turned it upon trifles; on observing the statues and pictures, the spendid roofs, and every other theatrical ornament. The people thus assembled had no right to propose any subject of debate, and were only authorized to ratify or reject what might be proposed to them by the senate and the kings."

Of these popular assemblies there were two descriptions. One, which was held once a month, and called *the lesser assembly*. This consisted exclusively of the citizens of Sparta. They decided on all questions respecting the regal succession; the choice or removal of magistrates; the punishment to be inflicted on public criminals; and all important questions of internal policy or religious rites. The larger assembly comprehended, with the citizens of Sparta, the deputies from the cities of Laconia, and those of their allies, and even from any nations who came to implore their succour. In these assemblies of the people, no one was allowed to give an opinion till he had completed his thirtieth year, and he might lose the privilege by misconduct. When any subject which engaged the attention of the assembly had been sufficiently discussed, one of the Ephori called for their voices, or ascertained their opinion by the numbers on a division.

Ephori.

Whether these magistrates, named the Ephori, were established by Lycurgus, or appointed under the sanction of the oracle, more than a century after his time, is uncertain. Herodotus and Xenophon attribute their appointment to Lycurgus, while Plutarch, after Aristotle, places their institution 130 years later, in the reign of Theopompus, of whom it is related, that when his wife upbraided him that he would leave the regal power to his children less than he received it, replied, *Nay, but greater, because more lasting.*

The Ephori were five in number, like the *Quinqueviri* at Carthage. They were annually chosen by the people, in their general assemblies, and designed to be a check on both the senate and the kings; thus possessing a power not unlike the tribunitial authority in Rome. In the exercise of this power they were obliged to be unanimous. It was among the duties of the Ephori not only to preside in the assemblies of the people, and collect their suffrages, but also to proclaim war and negotiate peace; to decide on the number of troops to be embodied, and to appoint the funds for their maintenance. They appear, indeed,

at length to have engrossed nearly the whole power in the administration of the government; yet, according to Herodotus, the kings still possessed an authority and distinction scarcely consistent with such a power in the *Ephori*.

The priesthoods of the Lacedæmonian and celestial Zeus were assigned to the kings. They had the power also of making hostile expeditions wherever they pleased; nor might any Spartan obstruct them without incurring the curses of their religion. In the field of battle their post was in the front; when they retired, in the rear. They had one hundred chosen men as a guard for their person (three hundred according to others). When on their march, they might take for their own use as many sheep as they pleased, and had the chine and skin of all that were sacrificed.[1] Such were their privileges in war. In peace they had many distinctions. In the solemnity of any public sacrifice the first place was reserved for the kings, to whom not only the choicest things were presented, but twice as much as to any other person. In the public games they sat in the most distinguished place, appointed the *Proxeni* (entertainers of ambassadors), and each of them chose two Pythii, who were sent to the oracle at Delphi, and maintained, like the kings, at the public expense. If the kings did not choose to take their repast in public, two *chœnices* of meal, with a *cotyla* of wine, were sent to their respective houses; but if they were present they received a double portion. The oracular declarations were preserved by them, though the Pythiæ also must know them. The kings alone had the power of deciding in the following cases, and they decided these only. They chose an husband for an heiress, if her father had not previously betrothed her. They had the care of the public ways. Whoever chose to adopt a child must do it in the presence of the kings.[2] Such were the honours paid by the Spartans to their princes, according to Herodotus; who has here left some interesting traces of ancient manners, but whose account we shall find, on some points, at variance with the representations of Plutarch.

Privileges of the kings of Sparta.

Lycurgus, having established his new government, and defined the powers by which it should be administered, proceeded to the important objects which he considered as essential to its permanence. The first innovation on the existing forms of society at Sparta which he attempted, was a measure of extraordinary hazard, in which nothing could have encouraged or supported him but the reputation he had now acquired as a favourite of the oracular Apollo.

"He found," says Plutarch, "a prodigious inequality; the city overcharged with many indigent persons, who had no land, and the wealth centered in the hands of a few. These he persuaded to cancel all former divisions of land, and to make new ones in such a manner that they might be perfectly equal in their possessions and way of living. His proposal was adopted. He made nine thousand lots for

Lycurgus divides landed property.

[1] See, On the διφθερικὸν, or hide-money. Bœckh. Pub. Econ. Ath. iii. 7, p. 333.

[2] They likewise possessed extensive regal domains, and received frequent presents.

the territory of Sparta, which he distributed among so many citizens, and thirty thousand for the inhabitants of the rest of Laconia. Each lot was capable of producing (one year with another) seventy bushels of grain for each man [as master of the family], and twelve for each woman, besides a quantity of wine and oil in proportion." A story goes of our legislator that, some time after, returning from a journey through the fields, just reaped, and seeing the shocks standing parallel and equal, he smiled, and said to some that were near him, "How like is Laconia to an estate newly divided among many brothers!" This journey has been attributed to the apprehensions of the legislator from the public odium which his innovations had excited. If the story is taken for granted, we must concede, what probably never yet happened in any district, that the fertility of the lands in Laconia, and their cultivation, were in exact proportion. We are also left vainly to conjecture, how this equality of lands could be preserved, at the furthest, beyond one generation, considering the unequal increase of families; and especially how there could be always one of the nine thousand shares, the reserve of which will presently be mentioned, as the portion of an infant who was deemed strong enough to be permitted to live. Colonization is the only expedient which has been suggested; but great inequalities would occur before this relief could operate.

Lycurgus next projected an equalization of personal property; "but," according to Plutarch, "he soon perceived that the people could not bear to have their goods directly taken from them, and therefore took another method. First he stopped the currency of the gold and silver coin, and ordered that they should make use of iron money only. Then, to a great quantity and weight of this, he affixed a very small value; so that to lay up ten *mina* (about thirty pounds sterling) a whole room was required; and to remove it, nothing less than a yoke of oxen. He next excluded unprofitable and superfluous arts; which, if he had not done, most of them would have fallen of themselves, when the new money took place, as the manufactures could not be disposed of." Plutarch adds, that their *iron coin* would not pass in the rest of Greece, but was ridiculed and despised. And, as the result of this contrivance of our lawgiver, he states, that "luxury, losing by degrees the means that cherished and supported it, died away of itself; when even they who had great possessions had no advantage from them, since they could not be displayed in public, but must lie useless in unregarded repositories." But, in his *Laws and Customs of the Lacedæmonians*, he says, that there was a law against covetousness, which made it a capital crime to amass gold or silver; for which several had been put to death. On this subject it is easy to discern the advantage the Spartans derived from having no money which would invite to their country "sophists, wandering fortune-tellers, or keepers of infamous houses;" but there is nothing very agreeable in the account that they "had no means of purchasing any foreign or curious wares, nor did any merchant ship unlade in their harbours."

Iron and leather money.

Another purpose of this *iron coin*, and, as some authors add, of *leather money*, was to discourage avarice, and the injustice of which it is so frequently the parent. This design was generally effected. Yet a striking exception occurred about a century after the time of Lycurgus, which deserves to be recorded; as nothing brings more credit on any institution than a view of the evils incurred by its violation. We refer to the story of Euæphnus the Lacedæmonian, as related by Pausanias. This unworthy Spartan, by the desire of wealth, was tempted to possess himself of the property of the Messenian Polychares, which the latter had entrusted to him, and afterwards to betray his too easy confidence by the murder of his son; crimes which principally gave occasion to the first Messenian war, horrible and calamitous, though at length successful to Sparta.

Public repasts.

The next institution of Lycurgus was that of "public tables, where all were to eat in common of the same meat, and such kinds as were appointed by law. They had not the privilege of eating at home, and so to come without appetite to the public repast; and they made a point to observe ony one that did not eat and drink with them, and to reproach him as an intemperate and effeminate person who was sick of the common diet." When returning home from the tables they were forbidden to use a light, that they might be accustomed to march in the night without apprehension. At these public repasts, the plan of which Lycurgus appears to have borrowed from the institutions of Crete, there were about fifteen persons to a table. "Each was obliged to contribute monthly a bushel of meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, and a little money to buy flesh and fish. If any of them happened to offer a sacrifice of first fruits, or to kill venison, he sent a part of it to the public table; for after a sacrifice, or hunting, he was at liberty to sup at home, but the rest were to appear in the usual place." Plutarch adds, what cannot be easily reconciled with the account of Herodotus, "that when King Agis returned from a successful expedition against the Athenians, and from a desire to sup with his wife, requested to have his portion at home, the *Polemarchs* (chief men who distributed the commons) refused to send it."

In these public halls there were distinct tables or *messes*, to which a new member could only be admitted by ballot. The favourite dish of the Spartans was their *black broth;* of its ingredients we have no very inviting description. Yet the old men were so fond of it, that they ranged themselves on one side, and ate it, leaving the meat to the young people. Plutarch relates of a king of Pontus, what he has also, as well as Cicero, ascribed to Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, that he purchased a Lacedæmonian cook for the sake of this broth. But when he came to taste it, he strongly expressed his dislike, and the cook made answer, *Sir, to make this broth relish, it is necessary first to bathe in the Eurotas;* with which expression the Spartans connected labour and abstinence.

We can easily credit the information of Plutarch, that this institution of *common* repasts was peculiarly unacceptable to those who had enjoyed the distinctions of opulence. In this connection he has introduced an interesting story, too creditable to the conciliating talents of Lycurgus to be omitted in an account of his life.

Assaulted by Alcander.

"The rich were more offended with this regulation than any other, and rising in a body, they loudly expressed their indignation; nay, they proceeded so far as to assault Lycurgus with stones, so that he was forced to fly from the assembly, and take refuge in a temple. Unhappily, however, before he reached it, a young man, named Alcander, hasty in his resentments, though not otherwise ill-tempered, came up with him, and, upon his turning round, struck out one of his eyes with a stick. Lycurgus then stopped short, and without giving way to passion, showed the people his eye beaten out, and his face streaming with blood. They were so struck with shame and sorrow at the sight that they surrendered Alcander to him, and conducted him home with the utmost expressions of regret. Lycurgus thanked them for their care of his person, and dismissed them all except Alcander. He took him into his house, but showed him no ill treatment, either by word or action, only ordering him to wait upon him instead of his usual attendants. The youth, who was of an ingenuous disposition, without murmuring, did as he was commanded. Living in this manner with Lycurgus, and having an opportunity to observe the mildness and goodness of his heart, his strict temperance, and indefatigable industry, he told his friends that Lycurgus was not that proud and severe man he had been taken for, but above all others gentle and engaging in his behaviour. This, then, was his chastisement, and this punishment he suffered; and thus from a wild and headstrong young man, Alcander became a very modest and prudent citizen. In memory of his misfortune, Lycurgus built a temple to *Minerva Optiletis*, so called by him from a term which the Dorians use for the eye." Plutarch adds, from Dioscorides, that his eye was hurt, but not struck out, and that he built the temple in gratitude to the goddess for his cure. In memory of the accident, the Spartans never afterwards carried staves to their assemblies.

By proscribing the currency of the precious metals, Lycurgus had rendered the indulgence of those luxuries which ingenious artists must supply scarcely attainable. As an additional guard against the propensity, he ordered, that "the ceilings of houses should be wrought with no tool but the axe, and the doors with nothing but the saw," taking it for granted that into such houses no one would introduce highly wrought and costly furniture. Plutarch, however, attributes to the Spartans excellent workmanship "in their useful and necessary furniture," and instances their "cup called *cothon*, which was highly valued, particularly in campaigns." But we must now inquire how the lawgiver of Sparta provided for more important objects.

He encouraged marriage by setting a brand of disgrace upon celibacy.

The bachelors were liable to a prosecution, and obliged to appear naked in the public market, even in the winter season, and sing verses containing ridicule of themselves. They were likewise refused those honours to old age, which were in all other cases so scrupulously paid by the Spartans. On the other hand, those who married had many privileges, and if they had four children were free from taxes. Plutarch says, that "in their marriages, the bridegroom carried off the bride by violence, and she was never chosen in a tender age, but when she had arrived at full maturity." He proceeds to describe the circumstances attending the commerce of the sexes at Sparta, and affects to commend the lawgiver's gross expedient for preventing adultery, by encouraging a community of wives. Lycurgus encourages marriage.

Lycurgus considered children not so much the property of their parents as of the state. Under this notion he established the following severe regulation :—The father "was obliged to carry the child to a place called *Lesche*, to be examined by the most ancient men of the tribe, who were assembled there. If it was strong and well-proportioned, they gave orders for its education, and assigned it one of the nine thousand shares of land; but if it was weakly and deformed, they ordered it to be thrown into the place called *Apotheta*, which is a deep cavern near the mountain Taygetus, concluding that its life could be no advantage either to itself or to the public, since nature had not given it at first any strength or goodness of constitution." How much wiser to have reflected, as observed in the "Athenian Letters," "that a weak constitution often settles into a state of health, and that nature sometimes makes amends for a feeble and deformed body by the strength and beauty of the understanding." Children exposed.

As to the children who survived this ordeal, the parents were not at liberty to educate them as they pleased. How the girls were initiated does not appear, except that they were taught "to exercise in running, wrestling, and throwing quoits and darts," and that Lycurgus "accustomed the virgins occasionally to be seen naked, as well as the young men, and to dance and sing in their presence, on certain festivals." Such is Plutarch's account; and he is disposed to excuse, if not to commend this indecorous custom, which was, however, guarded by a law, which punished capitally the violation of a virgin's chastity.[1] Education.

When a boy had passed the examination of the ancient men, and

[1] The learned author of Anacharsis (c. xlviii.) is also an apologist for this custom of occasional exposure, and claims for the female Spartans the praise of exemplary purity: "Les femmes de Lacédémone se distinguèrent par la pureté de leurs mœurs." Bayle, on the other hand, in his article Lycurgue, says of this custom, "N'étoit-ce pas le moyen de les rendre devergondées? Et se faut-il étonner après cela, que les filles de Lacédémone aient été en si mauvaise réputation." He adds, from the ancient writers, examples sufficiently numerous of the character which the Spartan matrons obtained and deserved, as being the most immodest women of all the Greeks. They had, however, the praise of being excellent nurses, and for this purpose were frequently employed in neighbouring countries.

was allowed to live, he was laid upon a buckler, and a spear placed within his reach, that his very first efforts might be warlike. The boys, at seven years of age, were enrolled in companies, where they were all kept under the same order and discipline, and had their exercises and recreations in common. He who showed the most conduct and courage amongst them, was made captain of the company. The rest kept their eyes upon him, obeyed his orders, and bore with patience the punishments he inflicted. The old men were present at their diversions, and often suggested some occasion of dispute, or quarrel, that they might observe with exactness the spirit of each, and their firmness in battle. At twelve years of age their under-garment was taken away, and but one upper one a year was allowed them. Hence they were necessarily dirty in their persons, and not indulged in the great favour of baths and oils, except on some particular days of the year. They slept in companies, on beds made of the tops of reeds, which they gathered with their own hands, without knives, and brought from the banks of the Eurotas. They were introduced to the public tables; and when they first entered, the oldest man present pointed to the door, and said, *Not a word spoken in this company goes out there.* In the education of the Spartans, the higher branches of literature appear to have been excluded upon principle, as also were arts and sciences, except some attention to the art of design, probably for the purposes of war; poetry, such as might consist with their habitual conciseness, and music, on an instrument, the form of which was limited by law. Thus Terpander, though he had the merit of setting the laws of Lycurgus to music, was severely reprimanded by the *Ephori* because he had added a string to the lyre.

Community of life.

Among the Spartans was an instructor called *Iren*, who had left the class of boys two years, and was twenty years old. It was his employment to improve the boys by conversation, and to draw out those concise repartees for which the Spartans were celebrated, and which gave birth to the epithet *laconic*. The *Iren* also presided over the juvenile contests, which were designed to prepare the combatants for those perilous encounters which were their sole manly occupations. These contests were severe, and maintained with a perseverance of which history has furnished few, if any, adequate examples.[1]

Juvenile contests.

It was also the business of the *Iren* to inure the boys to hardships, and to encourage feats of craft and agility. These adventures have been, perhaps, improperly censured as thefts, which they could scarcely be called, when we consider the community, especially of subsistence, which prevailed in Sparta. Plutarch says that the *Iren* sends the eldest of the boys "to fetch wood, and the youngest to gather pot-herbs. These they steal where they can find them, either slily going into gardens, or else craftily and warily creeping to the common tables.

[1] They are thus described by Cicero (Tuscul. v.77): "Adolescentium greges Lacedæmone vidimus ipsi incredibili contentione certantes pugnis, calcibus, unguibus, morsu denique ut exanimarentur prius-quam se victos faterentur."

But if any one be caught, he is severely flogged for negligence or want of dexterity. The boys steal with so much caution, that one of them having conveyed a young fox under his garment, suffered the creature to tear out his bowels with his teeth and claws, choosing rather to die than to be detected. So highly, indeed, was dexterity valued by the Spartans, that for a victory gained by valour they offered only a cock, but for one acquired by a stratagem, which spared the lives of their countrymen, they sacrificed an ox."

Another severe discipline of the Spartan youth, by which "Laconia nursed her hardy sons to war," was also one of their religious rites, performed at the altar of Artemis. Plutarch appears to have witnessed this celebration, and to have seen many of the youths "expire under the lash." In his *Laws*, &c. he thus describes the scene:— Spartan severity.

"There was, indeed, a strange and unnatural custom annually observed at the celebration of the bloody rites of *Artemis Orthia*. A number of children, not only of the common, but of the higher class, were whipped, almost to death, with rods, before the altar of the goddess, their parents and relations standing by, and exhorting them to resolution in suffering. Though this barbarous ceremony lasted a whole day, yet they endured these severities with such extraordinary cheerfulness and resolution, as could not have been expected from the tenderness of their age. They did not express one sigh or groan during the solemnity. But, from an emulation of glory, they contended each to excel his companion in suffering the length and sharpness of his pains, and he who held out the longest was ever the most valued person among them."[1]

Though thus early trained to hardihood, the Spartans appear not to have been admitted into military service till thirty years of age. For this service Lycurgus established various regulations. Their dress was scarlet, probably to hide the appalling spectacle of blood. They were never to march before the full moon, nor to fight often against the same enemies, lest they should thus teach them, though by severe experience, the art of war. They slept all night in their armour, except the advanced guard, who were not allowed their shields, that they might depend solely on their vigilance. After every meal they sang hymns to their gods, who were always represented in armour, that every thing might foster the military spirit. The king, who commanded the army, was attended by two Pythii, or augurs, with the *Polemarchs*, who formed a council of war, and he had an Olympic champion to fight by his side. On his departure from the city he offered a sacrifice to Zeus; a youth took from the altar a flaming brand, and bore it, at the head of the troops, till they reached the frontiers, when the king offered another sacrifice. Just before the onset of battle he sacrificed to the Muses, that they might perform deeds worthy of praise. The troops then advanced to the sound of Admitted to military service.

[1] Well might Cicero say, as in the words immediately preceding the passage we lately quoted, "Pueri Spartiatæ non ingemiscunt verberum dolore laniati."

flutes, and with chaplets on their heads, as if in anticipation of a victory, the king singing the pæan, or hymn of Castor, as a signal to engage.

Courage of the women.

The Spartan wives and mothers encouraged their sons and husbands to the fight, conjuring them to return, either with their shields or upon them; never lamenting those who died in battle, but rather thanking the gods for the honour they entailed on their families. Those who fell in battle were buried in scarlet cloth, and had inscriptions on their tombs, which was not generally permitted. And that his Spartans might be familiarised with mortality, Lycurgus, contrary to the practice of the Greeks, his contemporaries, directed their tombs to be built around their temples; among which he is said to have built a temple to Laughter, and was at length honoured with one, which Sparta dedicated to her lawgiver. Whether, after all, Lycurgus was himself a soldier, it is impossible to determine. Plutarch has quoted two directly opposite testimonies; one, that he "was a man of great personal valour, and an experienced commander," which is also the report of Xenophon; the other account is, "that he never had any military employment, and that there was the profoundest peace imaginable when he established the constitution of Sparta."

Helots reduced to slavery.

There is one striking feature in the legislative system of Lycurgus, of which we have yet said nothing, but which well deserves to be considered; we mean the case of the *Helots*. A maritime town of Laconia, called *Helos*, was conquered, and the inhabitants were reduced to slavery by the Lacedæmonians, some ages before the time of our lawgiver. From them all the slaves in Laconia are supposed to have been called Helots.[1] Plutarch certainly considers the domestic slaves as Helots, whom he describes as tempted, or rather forced, to intoxication, and then brought into the public halls, to deter the youths by their example.

To these Helots, who were far more numerous than the free inhabitants of Laconia, were appropriated all mechanic arts, and the cultivation of their lands; for the free Lacedæmonians, when not engaged in war, or preparing for it by martial exercises, claimed the privilege of idleness, which they accounted dignity. Plutarch, in his *Laws*, describes the Helots as "employed not only in all kinds of servile offices, but especially in tilling the fields, which were let out to them at reasonable rates." But, in his Life of Lycurgus, these Helots are represented as the victims of most wanton cruelty. They were slaves not only of individuals but of the public. The youth massacred them in cold blood, to prepare themselves for the slaughter of foreign enemies; and, lest they should become too numerous for the safety of the freemen of Laconia, they sallied forth in the evening to cut off great numbers of them as they returned home from reaping their harvests.

[1] The author of Anacharsis (c. xlii.) distinguishes them from those who were domestic slaves, and describes their condition as like that of the serfs or villeins under the feudal establishments. "Ils tiennent plutôt le milieu entre les esclaves et les hommes libres."

This occasional destruction of the Helots appears to have been brought into a regular system by the institution of the *Cryptia*, or ambuscade, which Plutarch describes, but is disposed to consider as an invention of much later date than the time of Lycurgus. Xenophon, however, attributes it to our lawgiver; nor is it difficult to believe that he may be correct. Even in this enlightened country, negroes were scarcely allowed to be *human* beings, till that æra when Granville Sharp lived and laboured for their deliverance. Was it, then, extraordinary that Lycurgus, whose legislation, after all, was only a systematic barbarism, should have considered the Helots as brutes, whose lives might be sacrificed to any purpose which his policy required?[1] The Cryptia.

How long Lycurgus remained in Sparta to superintend the practical application of his laws, and under what circumstances he finally left the country, are questions involved in the common uncertainty of his story. Plutarch describes him as living on good terms with his countrymen, and highly gratified by the effect of his institutions. He represents him as pretending an occasion for visiting the oracle at Delphi, and obliging the Spartans, by an oath, to alter nothing till his return, which he never intended. He then, after an interview with the *Pythia*, is said to have put an end to his life by abstaining from food, at the age, according to Lucian, of eighty-five; which must, in that case, have been after a long residence at Sparta; yet Plutarch evidently supposes him to have died in the prime of life. Tertullian, in his *Apology*, differs from Plutarch as to the retirement of Lycurgus. He twice alludes to the circumstance,[2] and attributes it to the determination of the Spartans to mitigate the severity of his laws, on which he withdrew in disgust, and pined to death. These laws, which certainly discover a mind superior to the general information of his age, have been panegyrised in all times, though several of them need only a description to be justly censured. At best, they considered war rather than peace as the business of life; and it has been well observed that Sparta flourished while she was in perpetual hostilities, but in the enjoyment of tranquillity presently decayed. As to their operation on domestic life, if women were not depressed in Sparta as in other countries, yet they were formed to roughen to the sense, and appear destitute of all that cheers and softens life. But, as to human nature in general, considering the great proportion of slaves in Laconia, how ill was that provided for by Lycurgus! If we compare the two lawgivers who appeared in different ages, both learned in the wisdom of the Egyptians, and merely consider how one provided to mitigate the evils of bondage, and to maintain, in the commerce of the sexes, a decorum on which the other lawgiver seemed to have placed no value, we cannot avoid the conclusion that Lycurgus had only availed himself of the false pretensions of the Pythia, though with a laudable design, Death of Lycurgus. Lycurgus and Moses compared.

[1] Yet he has found an able advocate in the author of Anacharsis, whose note to his sixty-seventh chapter the reader will do well to consult.

[2] C. iv. xlvi.

but that Moses had repaired to that only Oracle, which is neither the author nor the victim of delusion.



PHEIDŌN AND ARGOS.

B. C. 770—750.

Though we have contemplated Sparta as the earliest portion of Hellas subject to historic evidence, we must not fall into the error of supposing it to be the earliest well-regulated power of Greece, simply because our authorities do not furnish us such minute details as are exhibited in the Lycurgean code: those authorities are rather deductive than direct—more general than special. The great centre of Dorian rule in the Peloponnesus was Argos, the metropolis of many confederated inland settlements, which were independent cities colonized by her own population. No prominent historical fact, however, connected with individual ascendancy among this people, occurs before the time of Pheidōn the Tēmenid,[1] between B.C. 770 and 750. Medōn, the grandson of Tēmeneus, had gradually been straitened in his influence and prerogative, and, under the title of a monarchy, popular power had become nearly paramount. The energetic ability of Pheidōn broke through the trammels that had for many years shackled the royal authority; and he now re-established the ancient supremacy of Argos over her confederate and now subject towns.

Argos the centre of Doric rule.

Pheidōn the Tēmenid.

B. C. 770–750.

This enterprising chief next gained sway over Corinth, and with a view to the permanency of his rule, laid a treacherous snare for seizing upon one thousand of her chief citizens—a scheme only frustrated by Abron, a confidential friend, more faithful to public liberty than private interest. Not satisfied with claiming the sovereignty of Peloponnesus, as being a descendant of Hēraclēs, he now advanced a title to preside at the celebrated games founded by his remote ancestor, especially the Olympic, a presidency which was both a dignified prize of ambitious headship, and exceedingly lucrative. The power of Pheidōn, however, received a severe check from the rising vigour of Sparta. The Pisatans, who, together with the loss of their independence, had been deprived

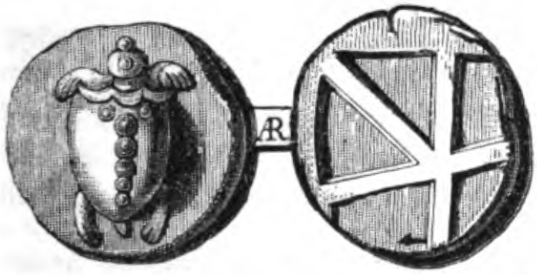
Becomes despot of Corinth.

Aims at the presidency of the Olympic games.

[1] A descendant of Tēmeneus—according to Theopompus, the fifth in descent.

by the Eleans of their presidency over these celebrated games, invited the powerful aid of the despot of Argos to reinstate them in their privileges. He acceded to their request, and as co-president headed, in conjunction with them, the games of the 8th Olympiad. This Olympiad, therefore, the Eleans, thus unceremoniously dislodged from their dignified post, refused to register, and invoking the armed interference of Sparta, Pheidōn was defeated, the superintendence of the games reverted to Elis, and she was still further secured in her sway over Triphlyiæ and Pisatis.[1]

Presides at the 8th Olympiad.



While the political talent of the great chief of Argos is evinced by his self-emancipation from democratic bondage, his commercial and financial activity are proved by his being the first to issue a coinage of silver and copper in the island of Ægina, accompanied by a scale of weights and measures;[2] the adoption of which, throughout Peloponnesus, and subsequently in Thessaly, Bœotia, and Macedonia, demonstrates no inconsiderable commercial as well as political influence.[3] The maritime vigour of Argos at this period must have been great; her confederated towns embraced the whole coast-range of the Argolic and Saronic Gulfs, besides the Doric colonies of the Ægean, the south-western angle of Asia Minor, including Cos, Rhodes, and various seaboard towns. We have no evidence stating the causes of the decay of Argive supremacy, nor the ultimate fate of Pheidōn, whose statical and monetary scales demonstrate both the mental ingenuity of the prince and the commercial development of his people. There is every reason to believe that the almost impregnable position of Sparta,[4] her rigid military discipline, and ambition to seize the supremacy of southern Greece, led her by degrees to cripple the power of Argos, as she did that of Messenia and northern Arcadia. The spirit of Argos, however, even as late as B.C. 547, was not crushed. In that year she made a strong effort to recover Thyrea from the Spartans. A memorable combat took place between three hundred select champions on each side,[5] while the main armies retired from the field. A conflict ensued so fierce and so equal, that of the six hundred warriors, only

Commercial and financial activity of Pheidōn.

Statical and monetary scales of Pheidōn.

The power of Argos declines.

Combat of the three hundred champions.

[1] Strabo, viii. 354–358.

[2] *Vide* Bœckh, "Metrologische Untersuchungen über Gewichte, Münzfusse, und Mässe des Alterthums," Berlin, 1838.

[3] Φείδωνος . . . . . τοῦ ὑβρίσαντος μίγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων ἁπάντων. Herod. vi. 127.

[4] *Vide* Leake's Travels in the Morea, vol. iii. c. xxii.

[5] Herod. i. 82.

three survived; on the Spartan side Othryades—among the Argeians, Alcēnor and Chromius. The victory was claimed by both nations, which led to a general battle in which the Argeians were defeated. This last conquest gave to Sparta an unbroken line of coast from the Nedon on the west of Peloponnesus to the north-eastern coast of Thyreatis. The extent and population of the Spartan territory were thus greater than those of any state in Greece, while it carried out the principle of centralization in the most efficient manner known to any province of ancient Hellas.

Centralizing principle of Sparta.

THE SPARTAN MILITARY SYSTEM.

As we shall shortly have to view the results of the Laconian discipline, in the conquest of Messenia, we shall here make a few observations upon the military system of Sparta, the powerful engine of her ambition.

Training of the Spartans.

The training of the Spartan citizen was not calculated like that of the Theban for gymnastic superiority alone, but for the more valuable quality of military endurance; and when in after times we find Socratēs declining the ample diet of the professed athlete, as requiring prodigious supplies to maintain a forced muscular development, and adhering to the patient hardihood of the true soldier, we have in his military training the most valuable eulogy on the Spartan system.

Early military perfection of the Spartans.

We have the testimony of Aristotle to prove that at a time when the Greeks as a nation neglected gymnastic and warlike training, the Spartans had in perfection these two elements of their ultimate military ascendency. Though the arms of this warlike people were identical with the ordinary Greek heavy-armed soldier, one of the chief causes of their superiority over the Hellenic states in general lay in the length of their military service and the completeness of their drill.

Spartan military system.

The enōmoty or company, whose number varied from twenty-five to thirty-six men, headed by the Enōmotarch or captain, the best soldier in its ranks, was not only drilled together to the most efficient evolutions, but its members were mutually bound to each other by an oath. When the company moved forward in single file its captain gave the order of march, at the same time leading off; and should circumstances require the formation of several files, the Enōmotarch took post on the front left; the front and rear rank of each file were men of tried valour.[1] The smallness of these Enōmoties gave a precision and rapidity in their practical handling by their officers, that communicated its virtue to the larger bodies which constituted their complete force. Their change from file to line marching, and their system of wheeling, so as to oppose their best men to the enemy, were brought to great perfection. In the ordinary drill, as in regular action, the charge

Facility of manœuvring.

[1] *Vide* Müller, Hist. Dor. iii. 12, and Cragius, Repub. Laced. iv. 4.

step was regulated by the Dorian reed, so beautifully amplified by Milton—

> ——————— Anon they move
> In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood
> Of flutes and soft recorders; such as raised
> To height of noblest temper heroes old
> Arming for battle, and instead of rage
> Deliberate valour breathed, firm and unmoved
> With dread of death, to flight or foul retreat.

Scale of officers.

The officers, who held rank above the Enōmotarch, were the Penteconter or commander of fifty; the Lochagus, of twice that number; the Polemarch, general over the Mora, equal to four Lochi or four hundred.[1] In times of necessity, as in the battle of Mantineia,[2] or when the military population was great, these divisions were enlarged to double or quadruple their complement, still retaining the original technical name. The cavalry of Sparta was a very inefficient force; nor indeed was it one that was capable of being generally manœuvred in the hilly country of Laconia; nor had this arm of the service been contemplated in the system of Lycurgus: its inferiority, however, was never severely felt till the great struggle with Epameinondas. Such were the military institutes of the great Spartan lawgiver.

Spartan cavalry inefficient.



[1] *Vide* Thirlwall's Greece, vol. i. appendix 3.

[2] See Thucydides, v. 68.

THE FIRST MESSENIAN WAR.

B. C. 743 TO B. C. 723.

Origin of Messenian war.

The account of the first Messenian war is the earliest historical information we possess of the Messenians, the rivals of Spartan valour, though even here our authorities are often obscure or contradictory. The origin of the fierce conflict between these two brave people is as follows:—

Tēleklus lays a snare for the Messenians:

On the mountain territory, west of the highest ridge of Taygetus, stood the border temple common to the Lacedæmonians and Messenians dedicated to Artemis Limnatis. It is said that the Spartan king Tēleklus laid here a treacherous snare for the Messenians, by disguising as virgins some young Spartans whom he armed with daggers, and with whom he attended the border sacrifice. A fierce conflict ensued, in which Tēleklus was slain. Notwithstanding the death of the king war did not actually commence at that time, but it became inevitable in consequence of the violent dispute between the Spartan Euæphnus and the Messenian Polycharēs. The latter, finding his suit for redress rejected by the Spartans, avenged himself by indiscriminate aggressions upon several of his enemy's countrymen. The Lacedæmonians, without any declaration of war, surprising the frontier town of Ampheia, slaughtered the garrison, and, after sweeping the defenders from the open territory of Messenia, unsuccessfully attacked several of her towns.

is slain.

Lacedæmonians surprise Ampheia.

After four years of warfare, the Spartans had made but little progress; in the fifth a vigorous effort was attempted. Polydōrus and Theopompus, their two kings, encountered the full force of the Messenians under the command of their prince Euphaēs. The conflict, though desperate and indecisive, had the effect of so far enfeebling the Messenians as to compel them to take post on the fortified mountain of Ithōmē, and to leave undefended the more open districts of the country. The war had now continued thirteen years, when another fiercely contested battle was fought, distinguished by no decisive result except the death of the brave Euphaēs.

Messenians take post at Ithōmē.

Aristodēmus was elected his successor, and after five years of vigorous warfare vanquished the Lacedæmonians, and once more drove them to take shelter within their own frontiers. The Delphic oracle was now successfully consulted by the Spartans, and the manifestations of the Divine wrath were portentously displayed against the devoted nation of Messenia. For two years longer did this gallant people struggle with the disciplined bravery of their inveterate foe and the disheartening predictions of Apollo. Their devoted heroism, however, was in vain, and in the twentieth year of the war their stronghold of Ithōmē was abandoned as untenable, razed to the ground by the Lacedæmonians, and the remaining inhabitants completely reduced; a few gallant spirits, who disdained submission, taking refuge in Eleusis or Arcadia.

The Delphic oracle consulted.

Ithōmē abandoned.

Tyrtæus, the martial poet of Sparta, has drawn a most pitiable account of the absolute subjection of the Messenians at this period. "Worn down by intolerable burdens," he observes, "they were forced to surrender to their masters the entire moiety of their agricultural produce, and themselves and wives to attend personally at Sparta in the weeds of woe as mourners on the decease of their princes and chieftains." Description by Tyrtæus.

THE SECOND MESSENIAN WAR.

B. C. 685 to B. C. 668.

A yoke so galling to freemen was not to be tamely endured, and in the next generation Aristomenēs, the great champion of Messenian freedom, stood forth as the leader of the second Messenian war. Three fierce engagements ensued in speedy succession; the first at Deræ, with indecisive result; the second at the Boar's Grave, in which the Messenians gained a glorious victory; and the third which the treachery of Aristocratēs, the bribed ally of Sparta, turned into a disastrous defeat. Second Messenian war. Treachery of Aristocratēs.

Notwithstanding this defeat, Aristomenēs with unparalleled daring, at the head of his own band made incursions into the Spartan territory. Here he surprised two of their chief towns, and at midnight penetrated even the unfortified outline of Sparta itself, where, in the temple of Athēnē of the Brazen House, he suspended his shield as a bold defiance. His personal strength and valour were incredible. Thrice did the Messenian hero sacrifice to Zeus Ithomatēs, the Hecatomphonica, the symbol of slaughter, by his own hands, of one hundred enemies; thrice was he a prisoner; in two instances effecting a marvellous escape; in the third a more disastrous fate awaited him. Aristomenēs defies Sparta.

The Ceadas, a rocky gulf in Mount Taygetus, was the horrible spot into which the Spartans usually precipitated their criminals. Into this terrible cavity fifty Messenians had been already cast: they perished; he alone, miraculously supported by the favour of the gods, reached the bottom unhurt. Here in this horrible dungeon of nature he perceived only the sky above and the naked sides of the cavern surrounding him. But the great champion of Messenia was not to perish in gloom and loneliness. He had wrapped himself up in his cloak resigned to death, when on the third day sounds of life saluted his ears. He observed a fox creeping amongst the dead bodies; watching his opportunity he seized the animal by the tail, and led by this singular guide, he was enabled to find the aperture by which the creature had entered. With much difficulty he enlarged the opening, and once more emerged to light; and to the great surprise of both friends and enemies, he appeared again in full vigour at Eira. The relation of the numerous exploits and daring adventures of this invincible chief might be greatly extended; he totally destroyed a Corinthian army on its march to join the Spartans; he subsequently fell into an ambush of Cretan bowmen in Spartan pay, but again burst his bonds through the Is precipitated into the Ceadas. Escapes from the cavern of the Ceadas. Destroys a Corinthian force.

instrumentality of female compassion. He rewarded the maiden for this generous action by bestowing on her the hand of his son Gorgus.

Decision of the oracle. At length the eleventh year of the siege of Eira arrived; it proved the term of Messenian independence, for the oracle had said that "when a goat should drink of the water of the Neda, the destruction of Messenia should be near at hand." A wild fig-tree (in the dialect of Messenia, signifying a goat also,) overhung the stream, and now at length its boughs stretched down to the water. Thus warned, Theoclus the seer pronounced the oracle accomplished. Unfortunately,

Aristomenēs disabled. at this crisis of his country's fortune, Aristomenēs was incapacitated by a wound from making his usual exertions; the discipline of the garrison had greatly relaxed, and the roughness of the weather induced the sentinels to leave their posts and seek shelter. Under the guidance

The Spartans surprise Eira. of a traitor the Spartans now scaled the walls; though surprised, the inhabitants still contested every inch of ground; the combat was fierce and obstinate in the extreme, even the women armed themselves and fought amongst the men. For three days and nights, with the rain falling in torrents, the thunder pealing around them, and the lightning

Theoclus perishes. flashing in their eyes, they maintained the desperate struggle. Theoclus, the Messenian seer, now bade Aristomenēs preserve the relics of his band, and rushing into the thickest of the conflict fell amidst heaps of slain. Aristomenēs formed his warriors into a hollow square, in which the Messenians placing their wives and children, forced a passage through the ranks of the foe, and effected a safe retreat to Arcadia,

End of the second Messenian war. **B. C. 668.** where they were hospitably received. Thus in the first year of the twenty-eighth Olympiad (B. C. 668), the second Messenian war terminated in the complete subjugation of this gallant people. Manticlus and Gorgus, the sons of Aristomenēs, sailed to the city of Rhegium on the Italo-Sicilian Straits, where they found some of their countrymen who had settled there at the close of the former war. Aristo-

Aristomenēs dies at Rhodes. menēs himself died peacefully at Rhodes in the house of his son-in-law Domagetus: here a noble monument was raised to his memory, and his posterity became the most illustrious family in the island.

A conquest so important could hardly have been effected by the unaided energies of the Spartans alone. They in all probability

The Periœci. received valuable assistance from states early subjected to the Dorian sway over Peloponnesus. Such a policy was always acted upon by the Romans; and it is evidenced in the case of the Periœci, in the Peloponnesus, who date their origin from the Dorian conquest of the Achaians, the old inhabitants of the country. The Periœci served in the Spartan armies, and they themselves occupied the maritime towns, and exclusively carried on the trade and manufactures of the country. In after times many of them became distinguished artists.[1]



[1] Müller, Dor. iii. 2, s. 3.

Soon after the final subjugation of Messenia, we observe simultaneous political phenomena, operating throughout Hellas, with the exception of Sparta, viz., the rapid rise and fall of despots or despotic dynasties, and the decay of the once-venerated Homeric kingships. A political problem, so general and so especially applied to the maritime parts of Hellas and her colonies, is solved by the vast mercantile development of this period, productive at once of great wealth to the merchant, the future despot, and of free ideas to the mercantile population; ideas gradually penetrating to states more inland. This æra of change ranges from B.C. 650 to 500, by which time the general democratic feeling had become strong in Greece.

Simultaneous change of Hellenic government.

Democratic feeling in Greece from B.C. 650–500.

CORINTH.

B.C. 650 TO B.C. 585.

The noble maritime position of Corinth rendered her peculiarly liable to innovations. Here the dynasty of the Bacchiads[1] was overthrown by Cypselus, B.C. 650. This chief was of an opulent and ancient family, tracing his descent through the Æolian nobility. With the real history of Cypselus, we have not yet shaken off legend; for we find his lineage carried up to Cœneus, a king of the Lapithæ; and the oracle again plays a prominent part in the tale of the ancestor of Cypselus, Melas, who was the attendant of the first Dorian chief Aletēs, the head of the original settlers at Corinth. This colonist was warned by an oracle to refuse admittance to Melas, and its prophetic voice was again heard, immediately before the birth of Cypselus. The Bacchidæ were warned that his mother was about to give birth to an infant who should prove formidable to the ruling power. The emissaries whom the Bacchidæ despatched to murder the infant spared its life; a second attempt was made, but by this time his mother had concealed him in a chest (kupselos) whence his name.[2] We may now return to history, which informs us, that afrer growing up to manhood, he became the champion of the democracy, by whose aid he first expelled

The Bacchiads overthrown by Cypselus.

Melas is warned by the oracle.

Cypselus preserved from death.



the Bacchidæ, and then established himself as tyrant. By means of those popular qualities by which he had obtained the supremacy, he

B.C. 655–625.

[1] The descendants of Bacchis, the first king of their race.

[2] These post-fictitious names were usual with the Greek. Compare the case of Œdipus (Οἰδίπους, or Swell-foot.)

continued, for the space of thirty years, to maintain his sway in Corinth, nor had he ever any occasion for the usual body-guard of the Greek despots.[1] His rule was distinguished by the costly works of art, with which he adorned various Grecian temples, particularly that of Olympia, in which he erected, and dedicated to Zeus a statue of pure gold.[2]

Characteristics of his reign.

On the death of Cypselus, B. C. 625, his son Periander succeeded to the throne. As in the case of his father, the historical notices we have received of Periander are very contradictory; hence, we may fairly infer, that party spirit must have run high during his government. By one class of writers his character is drawn in the darkest colours, and tales of a revolting domestic nature are related of him; by others he is distinguished as a warrior, a patron of poetry and music, and he is even included in the number of the seven wise men of Greece. Still there is no feature of his character, recorded by his most partial historians, incompatible with the dark traits of inhumanity, cruelty, and oppression; characteristics not unfrequently attending martial vigour and a taste for the fine arts. He kept on foot a powerful body-guard, and many of his exactions were appropriated to votive offerings at Olympia. The chief incidents in his career which may be most relied upon are his quarrel with his son Lycophron, and his barbarous treatment of a number of noble youths of Corcyra. Periander had married Melissa, the daughter of Proclēs, the Epidaurian despot. This princess Periander put to death, and his son, deeply exasperated, conceived an antipathy to his father, not to be overcome by mildness nor severity. After many efforts to conquer this feeling, but without success, Lycophron was sent to the island of Corcyra. Soon after, desirous to continue his dynasty, Periander invited him to return to Corinth; but the obstinacy of the son and the anxiety of the father were rendered alike unavailing by the murder of Lycophron by the Corcyræans. Periander, enraged at this atrocity, avenged himself by seizing on three hundred of their most noble youths, whom he sent over to Alyattes, the king of Lydia, at Sardis, that they might be reduced to worse than perpetual bondage. Happily, they were rescued from this terrible fate by the Samians, at whose island the Corinthian vessels had touched; and soon after the death of Periander they returned to their native country. The contradictory notices of Periander, transmitted to us by history, or rather by faction, however varying in themselves, yet, collaterally, demonstrate the existence of a state of society wealthy, prosperous, and enterprising in the highest degree. Whatever may have been the individual acts of tyranny committed by the despot, it is clear that his people generally had imbibed the true spirit of commerce, which

Contradictory accounts of Periander.

Fond of the fine arts.

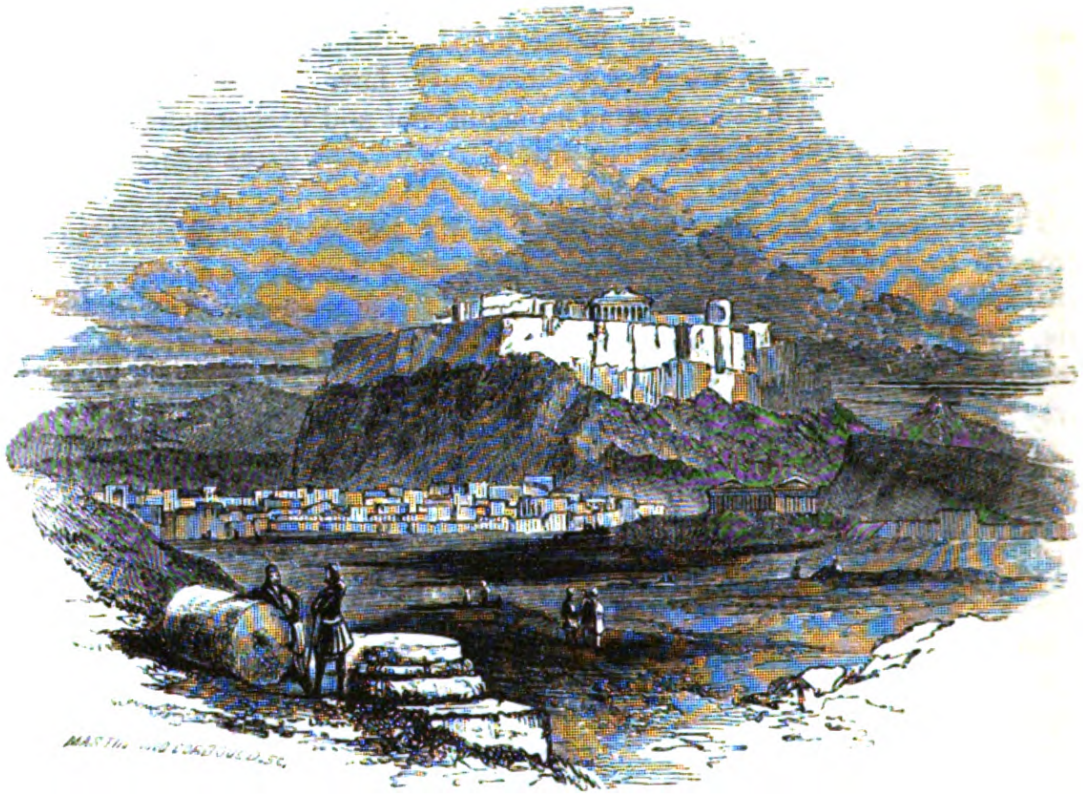
[1] Polyœn., v. 31; Aristot. Pol. v. 9.

[2] A Corinthian orator in Herodotus describes Cypselus as a cruel tyrant, who robbed and murdered his people, numbers of whom he banished, taking from the Corinthians the whole of their property in taxation. Herod. v. 92. See also Pseud. Arist. Œconom. ii. 2.

they embodied in the most energetic action. A power so important as this would never permit an indiscriminate despotism. We may, therefore, presume that a tacit agreement may have subsisted, on the one hand, to submit to the sway of a magnificent and occasionally cruel tyranny, and on the other not to interfere with the great mercantile energies of the Corinthian people. B. C. 585.

The power of the Corinthian state under the sway of Periander appears to have been very extensive, embracing Leucas, Anactorium, Ambracia, Corcyra, and other possessions. The dynasty of the Cypselids, of which the last member was Psammetichus, the son of Gordius, continued seventy-three years, of which the reign of Periander lasted forty, B. C. 625–585.





CHAPTER VIII.

ATHENS AND OTHER GREEK STATES, FROM THE TIME OF CODRUS TO THE IONIC REVOLT.—B. C. 500.

THE LEGEND OF CODRUS.

Legend of Codrus historicised.

ALTHOUGH the life of CODRUS is as mythical as any of the preceding legends, the continued attempts of the Greek historians have so stripped it of its wild proportions, and vested it with such a species of regularity, as to make it appear somewhat inconsistent with the scope and tendency of the previous myths. This, therefore, is one of those cases in which subsequent history appears so closely connected with previous legend, that an entire separation is a matter of considerable difficulty. As the Ionic emigration stands immediately in connection with Codrus and his family, this at once draws in its train a quasi-historical narrative. The proportion of truth mixed with fable is, at this distance of time, difficult to determine. We shall, therefore, present to the reader's notice the semi-historical narrative, modified by successive writers who have been desirous of giving dignity to the kingly founder of the Attic state, and the parent of the great Ionic emigrants.

Kings of Athens after Theseus.

KINGS OF ATHENS AFTER THESEUS.—Menestheus, who succeeded Theseus on the throne of Athens, advocated a better title to that

honour than his predecessor, having been the descendant of Erechtheus, one of its oldest kings. This monarch, finding himself firmly seated in the kingdom, after the death of Theseus, joined in the Grecian confederacy against Troy, and, accompanied by his brother Achamus, led fifty ships, and a proportionate land force, to join the attack of Agamemnōn and Menelaus upon that devoted town. Under the walls of Troy Menestheus fell, and is scarcely noticed by historians, amidst the heaps of slain in that memorable conquest; although the duration of his reign over Athens has been pretty generally fixed at twenty-four years. At his death we find Dēmophoōn, the son of Thēseus by Phædra, restoring the line of that monarch to the Athenian throne. To Dēmophoōn is attributed, by some writers, the honour of having first established the famous court of the Ephetæ, which consisted of fifty Athenians and as many Argives; continuing in that form until it was remodelled by Draco. To this tribunal was awarded the power of trying murders and all capital offences; and a singular act of justice is recorded of its founder. Having accidentally killed one of his subjects, as he was riding under the walls of Troy, he submitted to be tried by this court for the offence, and the issue only appears from the circumstance of Dēmophoōn having reigned in tranquillity thirty-three years afterwards, and leaving the undisturbed possession of the kingdom to his son.

Court of the Ephetæ.

Of this son, whose name was Oxyntes, nothing is recorded, but that he held the sceptre twelve years, and left it to Aphydas, a prince who was assassinated, in the first year of his reign, by his illegitimate brother Thymætes. In the eighth year of the reign of Thymætes, the Athenians being at war with the Bœotians, it was resolved that the two kings of the contending nations should decide the difference by single combat, to which Xanthus, the Bœotian sovereign, readily acceded, but Thymætes declined the contest. Melanthius, however, a noble Messenian, eagerly accepted the office of champion on behalf of the nation, and the combatants entered the lists. The Athenian cause proved victorious by the stratagem of Melanthius, and the conqueror being now elected to the throne of Athens, a feast was instituted in commemoration of the victory, which the Athenians entitled Apaturia. Of the deposed Thymætes we hear no more. Melanthius seems to have held the government with a firm and a judicious hand for thirty-seven years, and was the father of the brave and patriotic Codrus.

Melanthius.

CODRUS.

Codrus.

Although the records of this monarch do not particularise many of his actions, it is clear, from the general tone of history, that his advancement to the throne may be considered as an important epoch in the civilization of his people, while the manner of his death throws the greatest splendour around his name.

The Hēracleidæ (the descendants of Hēraclēs) and the Dores, their

confederates, in the twenty-first year of the reign of Codrus, had made an irruption into Attica. The Athenian forces, led by their king, marched to meet the enemy, and the invaders having consulted the Delphic oracle respecting its success, the reply was, "that they should be victorious, if they avoided slaying the Athenian king." Every precaution which human prudence could suggest was taken to prevent such an accident; but Codrus, being informed of the oracle, in a spirit which that age deemed magnanimous, determined to sacrifice his own life to the cause of his country. Disguised, therefore, in the habit of a peasant, and, eluding the observation of his own troops, he penetrated to the camp of the enemy. Here he purposely provoked a quarrel with some private soldiers, and fell a sacrifice to the safety and glory of Athens. The tidings of his death reaching the Athenian camp on the following day, an embassy was despatched to the enemy demanding the body of their king. The invaders, panic-struck at the remembrance of the oracle, broke up their camp in fear, and retired from Attica without striking a single blow.

Oracle respecting him.

With the death of this gallant monarch ended the regal sovereignty of Athens, which, between the reign of Cecrops and that of Codrus, is stated to have extended over a period of nearly five hundred years. On the principle of high veneration for the memory of Codrus, the Athenians are said to have made an express declaration that they deemed none worthy to bear the title of king after him, and thus arose the government of the Archons; a title which they first conferred on Mēdōn, the eldest son of Codrus. But the election of Mēdōn being opposed by his brother Neileus, on the plea of his intellectual incompetency, and from his lameness, the Athenians applied to the oracle, which confirmed the title of the elder son, who, in consequence, enjoyed the chief magistracy for his own life, and transmitted it to his heirs for twelve generations: the Archontes derived from Mēdōn were commonly known in history by the name of the Mēdōntidæ.

History of his family.

The Archons.

Attic population increases.

The population of Attica had now very considerably increased, and many of the superior families being admirers and supporters of Neileus, a younger son of Codrus, the brothers placed themselves at the head of considerable bands of the Athenians, and formed various settlements in the neighbourhood. To these adventurers have been attributed the founding and peopling of twelve cities of Ionia, on the coast of Lesser Asia—Ephesus, Milētus, Priēnē, Colophōn, Myus, Teōs, Lebedos, Clazomenæ, Erythræ, Phocæa, Chios (situated in an island), and Samos; at first governed each by its separate king, but afterwards united into one state, which attained considerable celebrity. In the mean time the Mēdōntidæ enjoyed their dignity in undisturbed succession, until the archonship of Alcmon, or Alcmæon, the son of Æschylus, who died after having exercised his office only two years. The Athenians were now ambitious of strengthening the democratic part of their constitution, by limiting the duration of the archonship to ten years, and subsequently a still further alteration was made in

Archonship elective.

favour of the people, who declared the office in future to be elective and annual. Hippomenēs, the last of the line of Codrus, is said to have been deposed for his cruelty to his own family, having had his son torn to pieces by wild horses, and his daughter stoned to death.

THE IONIC EMIGRATION.

Emigration of Neileus.

On the death of Codrus, his two sons, Mēdōn and Neileus, having quarrelled about the succession, the latter resolved on emigrating. In his resolution he was confirmed by the decision of the Delphic oracle, which assigned the throne to Mēdōn. Under the guidance of several members of the Codrid family, headed by Neileus, the memorable Ionic emigration sailed forth to the shores of Asia Minor. In this extensive movement, not only did the Ionians recently driven from the Peloponnesus join, but the unsettled population which had been for a considerable time crowding towards Attica increased its numbers; while many distinct races, such as the legendary Cadmeians, the Abantes of Eubœa, the Bœotians, and the Arcadian Pelasgians, helped to swell the vast moving throng who now sought to settle on more prosperous lands.

Components of the Ionic emigration.

Early maritime power of Athens.

This great occidental confluence of various races, and the facility with which such large bodies were transported across the Ægæan, demonstrate alike the unsettled state of the Hellenic race and the early maritime ascendancy of Athens. She colonized the Cyclades, the islands of Chios, Samos, and ten important cities on the Asiatic coast, ranging from Phocæa on the north to Milētus on the south. Lycian chiefs, also, the descendants of Glaucus and other princes celebrated in Homeric song, were distinguished leaders in this enterprise. These settlements, however, were not always of a peaceful nature, the Carians and Leleges, who then inhabited a considerable part of the coast, being expelled with much slaughter.

Twelve colonies founded.

The twelve colonies thus formed were Samos, Chios, Milētus, Priēnē, Ephesus, Colophōn, Lebedus, Teōs, Erythræ, Clazomēnæ, and Phocæa. Milētus, the position chosen by Neileus himself, of all these settlements laid claim to the purest Ionic blood. Here the followers of the Athenian prince slaughtered all the males whom they found, compelling the women to become their wives, an action which these females treasured up as a bitter legacy to their daughters, whom they bound by oaths never to share their meals with their husbands, nor salute them by their names. In the state of society then subsisting, the cruel onslaught of these invaders appeared an honourable action, nor was it reprobated by Isocratēs, who afterwards, even in the prime of Grecian civilization, applauds his Athenian ancestors for having by this emigration provided a home for his countrymen at the expense of barbarians.

Settlement of Milētus.

Opinion of Isocratēs on the colonization of Milētus.

Prior to the settlement of Milētus, Ephesus, and Colophōn, the worship of Apollo Didymæus existed among the Asiatic population of

these towns, and the continuance of the local rites harmonized with the feelings of the Greeks, by whose energetic superintendence they derived increased renown. Milētus, Priēnē, and Myus being situated near the river Mæander, and Ephesus adjoining the embouchure of the Caïster, the advantages of such a valuable communication with the interior gave a most rapid development to their nascent prosperity; whilst, together with the neighbouring island of Samos, they exercised at an early period the chief influence in the Pan-Ionic Amphictyony, who held their meetings on the north side of the promontory of Mycale, at the temple of Poseidōn.

Advantageous position of the Ionic towns.

The chief founder of Ephesus was Androclus, who, after lingering on the isle of Samos, received at length an oracular intimation to colonize part of the hill of Coressus, at the fountain of Hypelæon, near the temple of Artemis; and so rapidly did the resources of Androclus increase that he soon effected the conquest of Samos, expelling from that island Leōgorus, its prince. After various fortunes, however, Androclus perished in a fierce conflict fought in defence of Priēnē, and his dead body, being brought from the field of battle, was buried near the gates of Ephesus. Soon after his death, a revolt broke out against his sons, and the popular party, aided by reinforcements from Teōs, established a republican government, permitting the descendants of Androclus to retain the hereditary priesthood of the Eleusinian Dēmēter.

Androclus founder of Ephesus.



His descendants retain the priesthood.

Though the legendary grouping of the Ionic emigration points alone to one grand political movement of that enterprising offshoot of the Hellenic race, its historical analogies lead us to consider the effects produced as the results of distinct and successive settlements, gradually blending with Lydians and Carians. The whole Ionic sea-board was at the height of prosperity between 700 and 500 B.C., when the commercial splendour of Milētus almost rivalled that of Tyre and Carthage. Her trade by sea was principally carried on in the Euxine and the Palus Mæotis, whose shores were studded with her colonies, by means of which she monopolised the northern trade in slaves, dry fish, pulse, and furs. Her land trade flourished by the great military road constructed by the Persians into the heart of Asia, whilst so great was the expansion of her naval power, that four harbours scarcely sufficed to contain the mercantile and warlike armaments which left her coasts.

Ionic settlements gradual.

Importance of Milētus.

Trade by land and sea.

Contemporaneous with this magnificent period of her prosperity, Phocæa carried her commercial enterprise to the west as vigorously as did the Milesians towards the north. Her navigation stretched to Gades, and her commercial spirit founded colonies in Italy, Corsica,

Commercial enterprise of Phocæa.

and Gaul. On the rise of the Persian dominion, 540 B.C., this spirited people, rather than succumb to the yoke of Persia, forsook the land of their fathers and migrated to Corsica.

The Phocæans emigrate to Corsica.

Under the sway of Polycrates, 540–523 B.C., Samos was distinguished by its trade and naval power. A century subsequent to the former date we find Samos dependent upon Athens, which, together with the introduction of a democratic government, made this the grand rendezvous for her fleets and troops during her war with Sparta.

Samos and its political position.



But we must not only contemplate with admiration the vast commercial energy developed by these colonies of Hellas, we shall also be deeply impressed by the noble spirit of brotherhood which animated their vigorous maturity. The central festival of Delos was the grand theatre where the Ionic race, both continental and insular, assembled to foster those feelings of kindred which were so deeply felt by the mother state and her children. From 660–560 B.C. this festival was at its greatest height, and the Homeric Hymn to Apollo presents us with a most imposing description of that great solemnity, in which both Peisistratus of Athens, and Polycrates of Samos, took a deep interest.

Grand Ionic festival of Delos.

At its height B. C. 660–560.

For the concluding history of this great commercial community, the reader is referred to "The Ionic Revolt," the term of the independence of the Asiatic Greeks.





DRACO.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 621.

B. C. 621. THE early history of Attica, like that of the other Grecian States, is involved to such an extent in fable, that it is difficult to select any ancient narration on which a reader may, with confidence, rely. So numerous, indeed, and contradictory, are the marvels recounted concerning the founders and restorers of these states, in respect and in proportion to their subsequent consequence and splendour, that we can hardly repress our incredulity as to the simplest facts that are related concerning them.

We have had occasion repeatedly to notice these disadvantages in the study of ancient history; and with regard to Athens, from the age of Theseus to the period at which we are now arrived, six centuries elapsed, whose records furnish us but with the single name of Codrus as a subject of biography; and of his life, as we have seen, the materials are few.

Nine archons appointed.

On the close of the archonship of Eryxias, and some time after the death of Hippomenēs, the last of the Mēdōntidæ, the people having made the office of archon elective and annual, nominated nine of the richest citizens to the chief magistracy, and assigned to each his peculiar duties. The title of Archon was confined to the first of these magistrates, and the year in which he was chosen was distinguished by his name; the second was honoured with the title of Basileus, or king, and had his distinct tribunal for the administration of justice; the third was called Polemarchos, and his chief occupation was the management of the military affairs of the country; the six remaining archontes were called indiscriminately Thesmothetæ.

From the commencement of the Athenian republic, it is worthy of remark, that although both the nobles and the people joined in the wish to limit the powers of their rulers, yet there existed a contention between themselves for power and authority; which, indeed, though always fluctuating, was not unequally divided. For the right of electing the supreme magistrates, the archontes, was settled in the people; but it was from amongst the nobility alone that these officers could be chosen. The first of the nobles who exercised this office, under the new limitations, was Creōn; to him succeeded Tlesias; then Lysias;

Right of electing the Archontes.

Antosthenēs; Archimēdēs; Miltiadēs; Dropis; Damasias; Epœnetus; and lastly, the celebrated lawgiver, DRACO, the subject of our immediate inquiries. Draco.

Of Draco's early life nothing is recorded, and the year of his accession to the archonship is a point of considerable uncertainty; of his after progress to fame, and even of his institutions, very few particulars remain scattered through various authorities, among which we are chiefly indebted to Pausanias. Some authors place his archonship in the second, while others refer it to the thirty-ninth Olympiad. The commencement of his legislation is now, however, generally placed at the year 621 before the Christian æra, when he appears to have been considerably advanced in age. B. C. 621.

Under the different sovereigns of Attica there were probably many attempts to legislate; but it does not appear that there were any laws in a connected form till the time of Draco, when the flourishing state of Sparta might awaken the Athenians to a sense of the value of a regular legislation. According to Demosthenes (who mentions a law of Theseus engraven on stone), till Draco compiled and framed a regular code, neither the criminality nor punishment of any action had been distinctly defined. Obscurities in Draco's history.

The precise nature of the institutions of Draco, though they have become proverbial in all history for their sanguinary character, is little known. He renewed an extravagant law for the prosecution even of inanimate things which had caused the death of any one. Another law, attributed to him by Diogenes Laertius, was designed for the prevention of idleness; a habit which (as may be seen in our account of Lycurgus) was differently estimated at Sparta, where it formed a distinction between the free citizen and the slave. It has been said that Draco also depressed the authority of the *Areopagus*, by instituting a tribunal called the *Ephetæ*, but Plutarch considers the Areopagus as not established till the time of Solon.

Aristotle, who highly esteemed the laws of Draco, has preserved an ancient censure of them, as less the work of a man than of a dragon, alluding to the name of the legislator. The orator Demades also declared that they were written with blood rather than with ink. Excessive severity appears upon the whole to have been their striking feature, and death was the punishment of almost every crime, from a trivial theft to the foulest murder; a severity which, indeed, entirely frustrated the legislator's design. Severity of Draco's laws.

Notwithstanding the divine sanction which Draco assumed, by directing that his laws should be named *Thesmoi* (if the conjecture of Herodotus respecting the origin of the word Θεὸς may be followed, that this term was applied to the gods because they *laid down* or disposed all things), they were presently neglected, and their author compelled to fly from the indignation of his countrymen. In his old age he took refuge at Ægina, where he met with a most flattering reception; but his residence there was short, and the manner of his

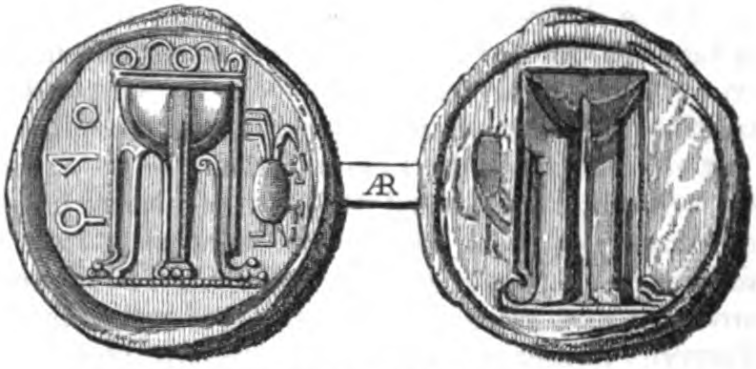
Death of Draco.

death singular as it was tragical. Entering the theatre, the audience, to testify their regard, threw upon him their cloaks (a mode of homage then in use), and under this load of honours Draco perished. Thus is the transaction represented. Yet the character of Draco was the last to excite the fond though indiscreet enthusiasm of a mixed assembly, and it is most probable that the real design of this semblance of respect was accomplished in his assassination.

His repulsive characteristics.

From the concurrent testimony of historians, Draco appears to have possessed a stern integrity, united with a disposition harsh and austere. The first is probable from the choice of him by the Athenians to the important functions he exercised, though he failed in the execution of his trust. But of how dark a cast must that mind have been, and of how questionable a character his heart, to whom the most trifling crime of a fellow-creature appeared as an atrocity admitting of no palliation, and who to the charge of that excessive severity is said to have answered, "the smallest crime deserves death, and I can find no higher punishment for the greatest!"—thus confessing that his rigour was bounded only by his ability. Such was Draco, according to the scanty remains of him discoverable in antiquity. As a legislator he might have shone with distinguished lustre at Sparta, but he was ill prepared, by his unqualified austerity, to conciliate the milder genius of Athens.

We must now turn our attention towards the western colonies of Greece, and briefly survey the effects of legislation, springing from the powerful agencies of science and religion.



PYTHAGORAS.

BORN B. C. 580; FLOURISHED B. C. 540–530.

THE POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS, AND SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE GRECIAN PHILOSOPHY.

B. C. 580.

Amongst a nation so acute and impressible as the Greek, there were few objects, however ideal in their original treatment, that did not subsequently assume a practical form. Thus the imaginative sublimities of their poets became embodied in their glorious sculptures, and the theories of their early philosophy were wrought out politically, or gave way to cumulative mathematical demonstration.

Practical tendencies of Greek poetry and philosophy.

One mind there was, indeed, of a grasp so capacious, that the very vastness of its native energies has formed the groundwork of incredulity to modern times, and the histories standing in connection with its achievements have taken the characteristics of the supernatural. Thalēs, Anaximander, and Xenophanēs were the predecessors of PYTHAGORAS in the wide field of philosophy. Their doctrines, however, were purely speculative, nor were they calculated to evolve principles of action, political or religious: their subtle generalities, however laudable as expositions of unaided thought, were barren of results. Not so the tendencies of the Pythagorean doctrines. Pythagoras, the founder of an order whose institutes partook of the nature of the monastic system, was a native of Samos, the son of a wealthy merchant, Mnesarchus by name, born about the fifteenth Olympiad, or B.C. 580.

Speculative nature of the early philosophy.

B. C. 580.

Birth and parentage of Pythagoras.

The Pythagorean brotherhood, first founded upon a religious and scientific basis, next wielding vast political influence, was the powerful offshoot of a great original mind, deeply learned in the political and religious institutes of various nations. Pythagoras is said to have visited the Syrians, Arabians, the Phœnicians, the Chaldæans, the Indians, and the Druids of Gaul, and thirty years of laborious travel are assigned to the training of his reflective intellect. Some of these extensive journeys have been considered apocryphal. Certain it is that he visited Egypt, Phœnicia, and Babylon. The first of these countries could not fail to impress so contemplative a mind with the grandeur of its monuments, and the religious mysteries of its priesthood. In the reign of Amāsis, when Pythagoras visited Egypt, that country still preserved a large portion of its own peculiar and native character, and conveyed a tolerably correct picture of its ancient existence. The mysteries, the secret rites and traditions of its priests, stimulated the researches of Pythagoras, and held forth, through the medium of religion, the hopes of political sway.

Travels of Pythagoras.

Egypt in the time of Pythagoras.

He is said to have been the first Greek who assumed the title of philosopher. But that which chiefly distinguished him was his ardent pursuit of mathematical knowledge; whilst his geometrical, astronomical, and musical discoveries were the result of this decisive mental bias. Hence, Pythagoras imagined that numbers represented the properties of all things. On the return of Pythagoras from his travels in the East, Polycratēs was the despot of Samos, and the philosopher finding little encouragement for the introduction of his system under the government of the tyrant, resolved to seek a more favourable position. Meanwhile the renown of the wisdom and sanctity of the great philosopher had preceded him into Greece. Here he tarried some time, enhancing his reputation, and extending the circle of his knowledge. He now visited specially Crete and Sparta, stopping on the same journey at Olympia and Delphi. At the latter place he gained many ethical dogmas from Themistoclēa, the priestess. Nor did the genuine acquirements of Pythagoras constitute his sole claim

Title, and distinguishing pursuits of Pythagoras.

Returns to Samos.

Tarries at Greece, and visits Crete and Sparta.

Wide claims of Pythagoras.

to popular favour: his pretensions took a wider range, and were commensurate with the general credulity of the age. He asserted the privilege of distinctly remembering the various forms of existence through which his soul had previously passed, and affirmed that this privilege had been bestowed on him by the god Hermēs. On one occasion, seeing a dog beaten, and hearing him howl, Pythagoras compassionately exclaimed, "Hold! beat him not, for it is the soul of a dear friend, whom I recognise by his voice." From both legends and historical relics which have reached us, it is evident that Pythagoras was a man of ascendant mind, whose claims to the gift of inspiration and the power of effecting miracles drew round him a special brotherhood, united by peculiar religious rites and observances.

Pythagorean doctrine of the Metempsychosis.

Chief outlines of the Pythagorean system.

The employment of music in calming the disordered passions,—the knowledge of physiognomy, so applicable to the right admission of candidates to the noviciate,—a long introductory course of silence, self-scrutiny, and discipline of the memory, together with vigilance to insure sobriety and bodily vigour,—these were the great outlines of his system.

Repairs to Croton.

B. C. 535–530.

In 535–530 B.C., Pythagoras directed his course to Croton, a prosperous city of the Italian Greeks, celebrated for the superiority of its physicians, and still more for the conquerors it had sent forth to the Olympic games. In Croton the supreme authority was administered by a council of one thousand, the heirs or representatives of its chief founders. Its power and population were of great extent, though the majority had no share in the political franchise. Of the system of filling the executive offices we are ignorant.

Results of Pythagoras's arrival at Croton.

On the arrival of Pythagoras at this important city, the most astonishing results were produced upon the popular mind; a moral and political reform in their most powerful sense. Luxury was abandoned; simplicity took the place of seductive attire; and incontinence was banished. At the very first discourse of Pythagoras two thousand individuals were converted; and the supreme council, penetrated with the noble powers of the great missionary of morality, offered him the exalted post of their president, and placed at the head of the religious female processions his wife and daughter.

Is made president of the supreme council.

Influence in Italy and Sicily.

But his influence was not bounded even by the populous city of Croton: much of Italy and Sicily were to experience the moral and political regeneration: Sybaris, Rhegium, Metapontum, Himera, and Catana felt the edifying power of his doctrines. In Croton, the reverence of the multitude towards Pythagoras was unbounded; while a select body of the wealthy and aristocratic, to the number of three hundred, bound themselves in a mutual vow, and in an oath of obedience to their founder. This powerful brotherhood adopted a distinct diet and ritual, the token of their unity, which at length became so intricate as to produce political results of a high order, though its initiatory course had been religious and scientific only. The characteristics of the Pythagoreans, however, embraced not only the

Political brotherhood established.

elements of union, but of disruption also; for the haughty exclusiveness of its members, and their contempt for every other individual beyond their own religious and political pale, excited the bitter enmity of many of the wealthier citizens, whom Pythagoras did not consider it expedient to admit into his society. Notwithstanding, the order continued to acquire amazing ascendancy in the government of Croton; and, as its ramifications extended to other cities, it gradually influenced public affairs throughout nearly the whole of Magna Græcia. The political principles of the association were decidedly aristocratic, and diametrically opposed to the control of the people; in which respect, indeed, they coincided with the previous institutes of the city of Croton.

Its exclusive character.

Ascendancy and ramifications.

Meanwhile the widening influence of the Pythagoreans had excited increasing popular discontent, and nothing but the employment of force would satisfy their enemies; nor were there wanting powerful chiefs to lead the opposition. Cylon and Ninon were the champions of democratic enterprise; the virulence of the former was roused by being refused admittance to the Pythagorean order, on account of his bad character. The propositions now advanced were, that a new senate, taken by lot from the general body of the people, should be created, and that to this assembly the magistrates should be accountable on the expiration of their office. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Pythagoreans, supported by the One Thousand, this change of the government was completed; and this change Cylon and Ninon wielded as a formidable weapon for the total political subversion of the order. By dint of frequently exasperating the populace against the association, they at length succeeded in provoking actual violence against its members. This result, however, they would not have been able to produce, had not circumstances of a peculiar character assisted their efforts.

The institute excites enmity.

Cylon proposes the election of a new senate.

Immediate causes of the overthrow of the Pythagoreans.

It happened just at this critical period that the civil commotions of Sybaris had ended in an insurrection against the oligarchs of that city: the result was the expulsion of the entire body, to the number of five hundred, who took refuge at Croton. At the head of the insurgents was Telys, a popular leader, who now haughtily sent to demand the surrender of the refugees, under a threat of instant war in case of non-compliance. Croton, by the advice of Pythagoras, resolutely refused, and armed for the approaching conflict. Three hundred thousand men, the whole power of Sybaris, advanced against the city of Croton. They were encountered by a third of that number, under the command of the renowned Milo, the disciple of Pythagoras. Callias, too, the celebrated soothsayer, seceding from the Sybarites, came over to the cause of the Crotonians, and announced that calamities were impending over their enemies. The two hosts now encountered on the river Traeis, or Toronto. The great athlete, Milo, clothed in the costume of Hēraclēs, and armed with his massy club, made prodigious slaughter amongst the enemy; while the Spartan Dōrius (the brother of King Cleomenēs), then coasting along the gulf of Tarentum, landing with

War between Croton and Sybaris.

Battle of Traeis and command of Milo.

Defeat of the Sybarites and destruction of their city.

his colonists, formed an irresistible reinforcement to the Crotonians. The Sybarites were totally defeated; in seventy days their whole power was completely crushed; and so exasperated were the Crotonians, that they swept away the very vestiges of Sybaris, by turning through the town the course of the river Crathis.

Pythagoreans refuse the conquered lands to the commonalty.

Elated by this victory, the Pythagoreans and the senate of Croton claimed the exclusive privilege of retaining, as administrators of the state, the whole of the spoils, as well as the lands of the conquered, and refused to concede any share to the commonalty. This resolution produced intense irritation, and the whole fury of the multitude was directed against the Pythagoreans by the artful Cylon. A tumult ensued: Milo's house was fired, and numbers of the Pythagoreans, who had assembled there, perished in the flames. The young and vigorous sought safety in exile; while Pythagoras himself, who does not appear to have been at Croton during the commotion, died not long after at Metapontum. Thus perished the political power of the Pythagoreans, and with their fall at Croton sank also their influence at Tarentum, Metapontum, Caulonia, and other leading cities of Magna Græcia.

Pythagoras dies at Metapontum.



SOLON.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 594.

BORN B. C. 638.

The history of Attica, after the expulsion of Draco, has preserved no name of eminence before that of SOLON, her second and more successful lawgiver, who also attained a high distinction among the sages of Greece. He was born, according to the most approved computation, in the second year of the thirty-fifth Olympiad, which answers to the year 638 before the Christian æra.

Family of Solon.

The name of Solon's father, according to one author, was Euphoriōn; but Plutarch decides in favour of the more common opinion, that he was the son of Execestidēs. His family was eminent among the Athenians, and is said to have been descended from their king

Codrus. They must have resided in the isle of Salamis at the birth of Solon, according to Diogenes Laertius, who in one place calls him a Salaminian, and in another speaks of his native country of Salamis. His mother was related to Peisistratus, with whom Solon formed an intimate friendship, although, as will appear in the sequel, he refused to sacrifice the liberties of his country to his friend's ambition.

The father of Solon is said to have reduced his fortune by liberality and habits of expense; so that his son inherited a small property, inadequate to the support of his rank. It must, however, be added, that Aristotle describes Solon as one of the inferior citizens, upon the authority of some work of the legislator himself. In either case it is admitted, that he entered into life scantily supplied with the favours of fortune.

His high poetical talent.

He, however, possessed wealth of another description, for he early discovered a genius for poetry; and it was the opinion of Plato, to whose time many of his pieces had no doubt been preserved, that if he had finished his compositions, and found leisure to correct them, they would have equalled the most celebrated productions of the ancients. In the cultivation of this talent his first object was amusement. He afterwards applied it to moral and political purposes; and, according to Plutarch, "he cultivated chiefly that part of moral philosophy which treats of civil obligations."

The same writer, who adopts the opinion of Solon's hereditary rank, says, that though he "might have been supported by his friends, yet, as he was of a family which had long and often assisted others, he was ashamed to accept of assistance himself; and, therefore, in his younger years, applied himself to merchandize." For, as he observes, after Hesiod, "in those times no business was looked upon as a disparagement, nor did any trade cause a disadvantageous distinction." Yet while Solon, in pursuit of commerce, visited other countries, he at the same time acquired that knowledge which enabled him to improve the condition of his own, and placed him, deservedly, among the sages of Greece.

His travels.

Of Solon's travels, before his name becomes connected with the public affairs of Athens, no particulars have been recorded; nor, indeed, has his biographer, Plutarch, been careful to observe any order which might guide us through his narration. Yet we learn, from anecdotes which he has related, that Solon visited Delphi, Corinth, and Milētus. These visits, however, must be referred to a late period of his life; for, as appears from a circumstance which occurred at the latter place, he had previously married and raised a family at Athens. His first public appearance there, of which any record has been preserved, was under the following circumstances:—

First appearance in public.

The Athenians, who had long contended with the people of Megara for the possession of the isle of Salamis, were now become weary of the contest. They forbade any one, under pain of death, to propose, by speech or writing, a renewal of the war; thus sub-

mitting to abandon their claim to the sovereignty of that island, rather than encounter the further peril of supporting it. Solon disapproved this decree, which he considered as dishonourable. He was, perhaps, also unwilling that Salamis, the place of his birth, should be wrested from the dominion of Athens; and having observed among the youthful Athenians, in particular, a desire to recommence the war (though they feared to incur the penalty of the decree), he counterfeited madness, and sallying out to the market-place, with a cap upon his head, such as was worn only by the sick, he stood upon the *herald's stone*, and read, with a loud voice, some verses he had prepared to expose the impolicy of the decree. In this design he was successfully supported by Peisistratus, his relation; and the people repealed the decree. They now immediately determined to renew the war, and invested Solon with the principal command. Of the manner in which he proceeded to gain possession of Salamis, Plutarch gives two different accounts, but describes the following as that generally received.

"He sailed with Peisistratus to Colias, and having seized the women, who, according to the custom of the country, were offering sacrifice to Dēmēter there, he sent a trusty person to Salamis, who was to pretend he was a deserter, and to advise the Megarensians, if they were inclined to seize the principal Athenian matrons, to set sail immediately for Colias. The Megarensians sending out a body of men, Solon discovered the ship as it put off from the island, and causing the women directly to withdraw, ordered the young men, whose faces were yet smooth, to put on the dresses of the women. Thus, with weapons concealed under their clothes, they danced and played by the sea-side, till the enemy landed, and their vessel was near enough to be seized. The Megarensians, deceived by this stratagem, ran confusedly on shore, striving which should first seize the supposed women; but they were all cut off, and the Athenians, proceeding immediately to Salamis, took possession of the island."

Megarean war.

Yet the people of Megara renewed the war, until, at length, the question of right to Salamis was referred to the decision of five Lacedæmonians, who determined in favour of the people of Attica. Diogenes Laertius, who is confirmed by Plutarch, relates that Solon caused several graves to be opened at Salamis, and exposed the bodies lying with their faces towards the east, a custom peculiar to the Athenians, which proved their early possession of the island. He is said also to have availed himself, upon this occasion, of an oracle, in which the island of Salamis had been styled *Ionian;* and not to have scrupled to commit the fraud of interpolating a line to his purpose in Homer's catalogue of the ships. The Athenians, however, rejected this story, and maintained that the island had been ceded to them in a former treaty, of which Solon convinced the Lacedæmonian judges.

Solon's wisdom.

To the reputation he thus acquired among the Athenians, was added the praise bestowed upon his wisdom by the whole people of

Greece on the following occasion:—The inhabitants of Cirrha, a town in the Corinthian gulf, after repeated incursions on the territory of Delphi, attacked the capital itself. The *Amphictyons* declared war against these sacrilegious invaders; and, according to the advice of Solon, all the Grecian states united to resent their impiety. Having besieged Cirrha for some time unsuccessfully, they consulted the oracle, which answered, that the place could not be taken till the waves of the Cirrhæan sea should wash the sacred shore. The Greeks were surprised, and despaired of obeying the oracle, till Solon recommended the consecration of the whole of the Cirrhæan territory, which was maritime, to the Delphic Apollo. The oracle thus satisfied, the confederate army was encouraged to rely on a victory, and Cirrha in consequence was taken, and made the arsenal of Delphi.

Solon may be fairly supposed to have now obtained his station among the wise men of Greece; and to this period of his life we may refer, with more propriety than to any other, his interview with the rest of the sages at Delphi, and afterwards at Corinth, on the invitation of Periander, king of that country, at whose court they were entertained. Here the question was started, Which is the most perfect popular government? That, said Bias, where the laws have no superior. That, said Thalēs, where the people are neither excessively rich, nor miserably poor. Anacharsis, decided for the government under which virtue is honoured and vice detested; Pittacus for the one where dignities are conferred only on virtue; Cleobūlus for that which should inspire more fear of blame than of punishment; and Chilo for that under which the laws are more regarded than the orators; but Solon's was esteemed the wisest decision. "It is," said he, "that government where an injury done to the meanest citizen is considered as an insult upon the whole community."

Solon at the court of Periander.

There is a story related of these sages which strikingly displays their modesty. A dispute arose between some Coan fishermen and several strangers from Milētus, respecting the right to a golden tripod which the former had drawn up in their nets. The Milesians claimed it, as having purchased the draught, whatever it might contain. Yet the fishermen refused to yield their prize; and the states to which the two parties belonged might have been involved in hostilities, but for the irresistible interference of Apollo. His priestess directed that the tripod should be bestowed on the wisest man who could be discovered. On this decision it was sent first to Thalēs; the Coans, says Plutarch, readily presenting to one of the Milesians that for which they would have made war with all his countrymen. Thalēs, acknowledging the superior claim of Bias, it was carried to him. He referred it to another, as wiser still. After thus travelling round to them all, it was returned to Thalēs; and, at length, was dedicated at Thebes to the Ismenian Apollo. It is added to the story, besides some variations usual in these anecdotes, that this tripod was thrown

The seven sages of Greece.

into the sea, in compliance with an ancient oracle, by Helen, on her return from Troy.

Solon at Milētus.

During Solon's entertainment at Milētus, his host practised upon him an artifice, neither creditable to his feelings nor his judgment. On his expressing surprise that Thalēs did not marry and raise a family, the latter made no reply; but shortly after a stranger was introduced, who, being previously instructed, pretended to have just arrived from Athens. Solon inquired what was passing there. The stranger recollected only the public funeral of a young man, the son of an honourable person abroad on his travels. What an unhappy man, exclaimed Solon, but what is his name? I have forgotten the name, replied the stranger, but his wisdom and justice are much celebrated. Solon, whose alarm was increased by every reply, tremblingly inquired if the deceased youth were the son of Solon? The stranger replying in the affirmative, he was transported into all the extravagance of sorrow. Upon which Thalēs, taking his hand, said, with a smile, "The dread of evils, sufficient to overwhelm the firm mind of Solon, have deterred me from marriage and the cares of a family. But be assured, my friend, that your present distress is groundless. Not a word which has been told you is true." It was either on this occasion, or on the real loss of a son, when one of his friends represented to him that his tears were unavailing, that Solon is said to have replied, "It is for that cause I weep."

Return to Athens.

On his return to Athens, Solon was soon called forward into the public service by the dissensions which prevailed among the citizens. There had always been a strong party averse to the democratic government; and especially to the annual election of the magistrates. Among these, Cylon, a man of rank, was conspicuous. He had taken advantage of the absence of the citizens at the games, and made himself master of the citadel, in the forty-fifth Olympiad. Being there besieged, and reduced to extremities, he fled, and his followers who survived took refuge in the temple of Athēnē. The sanctuary was violated, and the fury of the people excited against the sacrilege. "The dispute," says Plutarch, "was greater than ever, when Solon, whose authority was now highly respected, persuaded the persons called *execrable*, to submit to justice, and a fair trial, before three hundred judges, selected from the nobility. They were condemned and driven into exile, and the bodies of their deceased comrades were dug up and cast out beyond the borders of Attica. Amidst these disturbances, the people of Megara renewed the war, and once more recovered Salamis."

The friendship of Solon and Epimenidēs.

About this time Epimenidēs arrived at Athens, whither he was invited on account of his skill in the forms of expiation; which the soothsayers had taught that the gods required, on account of "certain abominable crimes pointed out by the entrails of the victims." Solon formed a friendship with this philosopher, and consulted him on the projects he was now entertaining. To prepare the way for the re-

ception of his friend's designed regulations, Epimenidēs, says Plutarch, "taught the Athenians to be more frugal in their religious worship, and more moderate in their mourning, by intermixing certain sacrifices with their funeral solemnities, and abolishing the barbarous customs which had generally prevailed among the women; and he made the people more observant of justice, and more inclined to union."

Plutarch observes of Solon, "that his reputation was very great before he appeared in the character of a legislator;" nor is it surprising that the Athenians should rely on his counsel when they "relapsed into their old disputes concerning the government." His biographer adds, that "there were as many parties among them, as there were different tracts of land. The inhabitants of the mountainous part were for a democracy; those of the plains for an oligarchy; while those of the sea-coast contended for a mixed government. At the same time, the inequality between the rich and poor occasioned perpetual discord: so greatly were the poor in debt, that they were obliged either to pay a sixth part of the produce of the land, or to engage their persons to their creditors, who might seize them on failure of payment. Accordingly, some made slaves of them, and others sold them to foreigners. Some parents were forced to sell their own children, and to quit the city to avoid the severe treatment of those usurers." Thus, "the state was in so dangerous a situation, that there seemed to be no way to quell the seditions, or to save it from ruin, but the changing it to a monarchy."

Political factions of Attica.

Solon was now indeed urged by the heads of the disagreeing parties to assume the honours of royalty, which he resolutely declined, even though the oracle was employed to recommend that measure, and his friends affected to ridicule his refusal. He was, however, chosen principal archon, with special authority to settle the differences between the rich and poor. Plutarch says he was preferred "as a man least obnoxious to either party, having neither been engaged in oppressions with the rich, nor entangled in necessities with the poor;" and that "though he rejected absolute authority, he discovered a sufficient spirit, neither making concessions to the powerful, nor indulging the humour of his constituents." The mode of his election was as singular as the occasion. The choice had been usually decided by the form of drawing lots, which the gods were supposed to overrule, but Solon was elected by acclamation, the people not choosing, in a case of so much importance, to rely even on their divinities. The archonship of Solon is dated at about 594 years before the Christian æra, when the legislator must have been at the age of forty-five. Considering the period assigned to his death, he probably employed several years in consolidating his code of jurisprudence.

Solon declines the royalty.

B. C. 594.

His immediate attention was now directed to a case of peculiar urgency, the condition of the poor under engagements which they had no means of discharging. To put an end to the severities inflicted by creditors, and which had been the frequent occasion of public

Laws relating to debtors and the ordinance of the Seisacthia.

disorder, he employed his authority, which was indeed that of a dictator, by publishing an ordinance, entitled *Seisachthia*, or the discharge. On the precise meaning of this term there are different opinions. It was probably designed to express a general remittance of debts of every description; so that no creditor in future should be permitted to take for security the body of his debtor. Yet some have supposed that the relief consisted not in cancelling the debt, but in reducing the interest, and raising the value of money; the *mina*, for instance, from the value of 73 to that of 100 drachms. Yet the former explanation best agrees with Solon's verses, in which he boasts of having removed the marks from mortgaged houses; alluding to a custom of placing billets on those which were held under such engagements.

This contrivance of Solon seems to have been particularly grateful to his recollection; for he boasts, in one of his poems, of having freed many of the people's minds from apprehension, and their bodies from the condition of slaves. The law was, indeed, as much to the credit of his self-denying generosity, as of his philanthropy, if we receive the account of Laertius. He says that Solon's father having "left him in money seven thousand talents, which were owing from several men, he presently remitted all those debts, and, by his example, excited others to discover the same lenity." This appears to be confirmed by Plutarch, where he mentions three of Solon's friends who, on a previous knowledge of his design to abolish the debts, and not to divide the lands, borrowed large sums of the rich, and purchased estates. This brought on him reflections, as if he were "an accomplice in the fraud. The charge, however, was soon refuted, on his being the first to comply with the law, by remitting a debt of five, or, as some say, fifteen talents."

Generosity of Solon.

The effect of this ordinance has been variously represented. The name *discharge* is attributed to the people's approbation of the measure. Yet Plutarch presently adds, that it, "satisfied neither the poor nor the rich," the first having desired a division of lands, as at Sparta, and the latter resenting the "cancelling of their bonds." Yet he afterwards describes the people as "sensible of the utility of the decree, and offering a public sacrifice, which they called *seisachthia*, or the sacrifice of the discharge." They also constituted Solon lawgiver, "committing to him the regulation of the whole magistracies, assemblies, courts of judicature, and senate, leaving him to determine the qualifications, number, and time of meeting for them all, as well as to abrogate or continue the former constitutions at his pleasure.

Solon constituted lawgiver.

Solon soon discovered that he was superior to the vanity of rejecting anything useful, because it was the work of another. On the contrary, he preserved whatever he found commendable in the existing institutions. "Where the former establishment was tolerable," says Plutarch, "he neither applied remedies, nor used the incision-knife, lest he should put the whole in disorder, and be unable to compose it again in the temperature he might wish." Such a conduct was well calculated to

secure the good opinion of the people; and, indeed, his reply to the sarcasms of Anacharsis sufficiently discovers his knowledge of mankind.

Anacharsis' friendship with Solon.

Anacharsis, the Scythian philosopher, according to Herodotus, arrived at Athens about the 47th Olympiad, or 590 years before the Christian æra. The story of his interview with Solon is told by Plutarch, whose account, however, of their being strangers to each other, does not exactly agree with their previous meeting at Corinth, where all the sages are said to have assembled. The philosopher sought admission to Solon, expressing a wish to cultivate his friendship. Solon answered, that friendships were made best at home. "Then," said Anacharsis, "do you, who are at home, make me your friend, and receive me into your house." Solon, pleased with the quickness of his repartee, bade him welcome. He was at this time occupied in his great work of legislation, as appears from the following story, which Plutarch has preserved, though Laertius has only mentioned the repartee.

Their opinions on the benefits of legislation.

Upon the discovery of his friend's employment, Anacharsis expressed his surprise that any one should hope to control the avarice and injustice of mankind by written laws, which resembled spiders' webs, as they only entangled the poor and defenceless, while the rich and powerful easily broke through them. Solon replied, that agreements are kept when both parties see their interest concerned in not breaking them; and his design was, to make his laws obviously beneficial to the Athenians. Plutarch immediately adds, as to the event of Solon's legislation, "that Anacharsis was nearer the truth in his conjecture, than Solon in his hope." Yet there is a testimony highly creditable to Solon's expectation, and which shows that his laws were still held in esteem, even after his biographer was in his grave. So late as A. D. 130, on a complaint by the Athenians, that too many changes had been made in the laws of Solon, the emperor Hadrian assumed to himself the office of archon, and restored the ancient law.[1]

The exact order in which Solon proceeded to execute his great work of legislation cannot now be ascertained, nor is it of much importance. Nothing can be more probable than the first act ascribed to him, of repealing the laws of Draco, which could have been but ill observed after the expulsion of that lawgiver; and, indeed, their severity had rendered them impracticable. Solon, however, now formally repealed them all, except that for the punishment of murder; he also, according to Laertius, retained the law against idleness, which, on the authority of Lysias, the orator, he describes, as "written by Draco, but enacted by Solon," though certainly without the penalty of death.

Laws designating the different ranks of the citizens.

Solon next estimated the estates, intending to leave the great offices to the rich. Such as had a yearly income of five hundred measures of corn he placed in the first rank. The second consisted of those who

[1] Butler's Horæ Juridicæ Subsecivæ, vol. ii.

could keep a horse, or whose lands produced three hundred measures. Those were in the third class who had but two hundred measures. The rest, who had no property, were not admitted to any office; they had only a right to vote in the general assembly. This right soon appeared to be highly important, for an appeal lay from the decisions of the magistrates to that assembly. Plutarch adds, that "he is said to have expressed his laws with some obscurity, on purpose to enlarge the influence of the popular tribunal. For, as disputants could not decide their differences by the letter of the law, they were obliged to resort to the whole body of citizens, who thus had all controversies brought before them."[1]

Desirous yet further to give security and importance to the commonalty, he empowered any man to prosecute the offender, in behalf of a citizen who suffered damage or violence; and in reference to this law, on being asked "What city was best regulated?" he answered, "That in which those who are not injured are no less ready to prosecute and punish offenders than those who are."

Plutarch, who has thus represented Solon as solicitous to give a preponderating influence to the people, presently after describes him as detracting from their importance, by subjecting them to the control of a senate. "Observing that the people, now discharged from their debts, grew insolent and imperious, he proceeded to constitute another council, or senate of four hundred, a hundred out of each tribe, by whom all affairs were to be previously considered; and he ordered that no matter, without their approbation, should be laid before the general assembly." This senate appears to have had a power like that of the Lords of Articles over the parliament of Scotland; for to them, according to Robertson,[2] "every motion for a new law was first made and approved, or rejected by them at pleasure." Yet as the members of the Athenian senate were chosen out of the people at large, and were subject to annual election, they could scarcely maintain an opposite interest. History, indeed, sufficiently discovers, that when Attica was not oppressed by some tyranny, the popular influence was little controlled, except by the "famous orators," whom Milton celebrates—

The senate of Four Hundred.

> Those ancients, whose resistless eloquence
> Wielded at will that fierce democratie,
> Shook th' arsenal, and fulmined over Greece
> To Macedon, and Artaxerxes' throne.

The court of the Areopagus.

The senate and court of Areopagus, of which Archbishop Potter[3] has given a full and interesting account, were rather restored and regulated, than established by Solon. He particularly reinstated this court in those rights which, as we have remarked, had been taken from it by

[1] Plutarch quotes, on this subject, the following verses of the legislator:—

> By me the people held their native rights,
> Uninjur'd, unoppress'd. The great restrain'd
> From lawless violence, and the poor from rapine,
> By me, their mutual shield.

[2] Hist. b. 1.

[3] Antiq. b. 1, c. xix.

Draco and bestowed on the Ephetæ. The number of the senators has been disputed, whether nine, thirty-one, or fifty-one, on grounds which are detailed by Potter. This court became proverbially venerable in the ancient world, while foreigners resorted to it for counsel, or referred their differences to its decision. Nor can the name ever lose its interest, while we recollect that the Apostle of the Gentiles there first taught Christianity, at Athens, with that commanding eloquence which the rhetorician and the artist have alike laboured to describe.

"To this court of Areopagus," says Mr. Tytler, "Solon committed the guardianship of the laws, and the power of enforcing them. To this tribunal belonged also the custody of the treasures of the state, the care of religion, and a tutorial power over the youth of the republic. The number of its judges was various at different periods, and the most immaculate purity of character was essential to that high office." Potter has collected from the ancients the following particulars. "All that had undergone the office of an archon were not taken into this senate, but only such of them as had been able to give a satisfactory account of their administration, after an inquiry which was extremely severe, rigorous, and particular. To have been sitting in a tavern was a sufficient reason to deny an archon's admission into it; and though their dignity was usually continued to them as long as they lived, yet if any of the senators was convicted of any immorality, he was, without mercy or favour, presently expelled. Nor was it enough that their lives were strictly innocent and unblamable, but something more was required of them; their countenances, words, actions, and all their behaviour must be composed, serious, and grave to a degree beyond what was expected from other (the most virtuous) men. To laugh in their assembly was an unpardonable act of levity; and for any of them to write a comedy, was forbidden by a particular precept of the law."[1]

Qualifications for the senate.

The powers of the principal archon, and the origin of his appointment, we have shown in the life of Draco. His duties in the civil administration of justice cannot be described more correctly than in the words of a learned writer on "the Grecian Law," Mr. Butler, whom we have already quoted:—

"All cases respecting the rights of things belonged to the jurisdiction of the archon: he had six inferior magistrates of the same name for his assessors. The person who sought redress in a court of justice denounced the name of his adversary and the cause of his complaint to the sitting magistrate; and if the sitting magistrate thought the cause of action maintainable, he permitted the complainant to summon the defendant: if the defendant disobeyed the summons he was declared infamous; if he obeyed it, the parties were confronted, and were at liberty to interrogate one another. If the magistrate thought there was a probable cause of action, he admitted the cause into court; here the pleadings began, and were continued till the parties came to some

Rights and duties of the archons.

[1] Antiq. c. xix.

fact, or some point of law, asserted on one side, and denied by the other; this brought them to issue: then all the pleadings and evidence in the causes were shut up in a vessel which was carried into court. The archon then assigned the judges to try the cause, and they decided not only upon the fact, but upon the law of the case."[1]

Law against neutrality during a sedition.

Among the laws which regulated the conduct of the people towards the government, Plutarch describes one as the most extraordinary, which declared the man infamous who remained neutral during a sedition. Aulus Gellius adds, that such an one was condemned to lose his estates and to be sent into exile. Plutarch applauds this law, lest a citizen might otherwise determine to consult his safety till he saw on what side victory inclined. But it is obvious that, in the case supposed, a conscientious citizen might be unable to discover the side of justice. Another regulation was ill calculated to advance public improvement, as it imposed a heavy responsibility on a projector; for he that propounded a law contrary to the common good was to be indicted, leaving the question of good or evil to the uncertain result of a popular decision. That was a more judicious regulation which appointed an annual examination of the laws, to correct any contradictions which might be found among them.

Fragments of Athenian laws.

The fragments of the Athenian laws, as they could be discovered in the writings of the ancients, were collected and first published by Samuel Petitus, in 1635, with a commentary, which has the credit of Mr. Butler's praise. Of this collection, Archbishop Potter professed to avail himself in his *Archæologia Græca*. From that work chiefly we shall select a few specimens of the manner in which the laws of Solon appear to have affected the personal and domestic condition of the Athenians.

As to their worship, the first fruits of the earth were annually offered; and in the sacrifice of animals, the offerer carried part of the oblation to his family, leaving the remainder as a fee to the priest. No strange god could be worshipped at Athens, till approved by the Areopagus; and, as appears from the Acts of the Apostles, it was on this law that St. Paul was brought before that tribunal. During the celebration of new moons or other festivals, all business unconnected with the feasts was suspended, and the too common employment of defamation was expressly forbidden. The initiated, who must be natives, dedicated the garments which they wore, during the ceremony, in the temples of Dēmēter and Persephonē; and it was a capital crime to divulge the mysteries.

Amusements.

As to amusements, Plutarch mentions a law of Solon respecting entertainments at the public charge. He forbade the same person to be often found at them, and laid a penalty on those who neglected to attend when invited. Yet, from an anecdote which he relates of a conversation between Solon, in his old age, and Thespis, it appears

[1] Hor. Jurid. ed. ii. p. 19.

that the legislator, though himself a poet, was no friend to theatrical exhibitions. In these the actors must be thirty years of age at least, and no archon was to be exposed in a comedy.

Public appearance of women.

The public appearance of women was strictly regulated, according to Plutarch, as to their journeys, mournings, and sacrifices. He adds the following account: "They were to travel with no more than three habits, and their provisions were not to exceed the value of an *obolus*. Their basket was to be only a cubit in height, and in the night they were not to travel without a torch. At funerals (where none under sixty years of age could attend) they were forbidden to tear themselves, and no hired mourner might utter lamentations. They were not permitted to sacrifice an ox on such occasions; or to bury more than three garments with the body; or to visit any tombs beside those of their own family, except at the time of interment."

Marriage was sanctioned by a law which punished a detected adulterer with death; while an adulteress was forbidden to adorn herself, or to assist at the public sacrifices; or, if she appeared, she might have her garments torn and be beaten, though not so as to be killed or disabled. The violation of virgins was, at the same time, punished only by a fine.

Education of children.

As to children, it does not appear so clearly that Solon sanctioned their exposure, as we have seen Lycurgus to have done. Yet the custom having been always described as general in Greece, with the exception of the Thebans, and as, in the time of Aristotle, it was reckoned and defended by him as a common practice, it may be fairly considered as at least not forbidden by the laws of Solon. Respecting the education of children, Solon determined that their first instruction was to be in the art of swimming and the rudiments of literature; those whose prospects or abilities were but mean were then to learn husbandry, manufactures, and trades; but those whose parents could afford a genteel education were to be taught the use of musical instruments, and to ride; to study philosophy, learn to hunt, and be instructed in the gymnastic exercises. He who struck his parents, or refused to provide for them, was declared infamous; though this provision was not obligatory on bastards, or those whom the parents had neglected to educate for some occupation.

The ingenious, but unfortunate, Dr. Brown, in his "Code of Education," finds fault with the Athenian government, because there was "the total want of an established education, suitable to the genius of the state;" and he extols, in contrast, the institutions of Sparta, where "no father had a right to educate his children according to the caprice of his own fancy." To this it was justly answered by Priestley,[1] that "while the arts of life were improving in all the neighbouring nations, Sparta derived this noble prerogative from her constitution, that she continued the nearest to her pristine barbarity; and in the space of nearly a thousand years produced no one poet, orator, historian, or artist of

[1] Remarks, 1765, p. 163.

any kind." He adds, "the convulsions of Athens, where life was in some measure enjoyed, and the faculties of body and mind had their proper exercise and gratification, are with me far preferable to the savage uniformity of Sparta."

Laws respecting the slaves.

As to the slaves, who formed the great majority in Greece, though not honoured with the name of *people*, the laws of Solon were humane, compared to those of Lycurgus. It appears, indeed, from a work on the revenue of Athens, attributed to Xenophon, that they were branded, and sold in droves like cattle, to be employed in the silver mines of Attica. But as to the domestic slaves especially, they appear to have enjoyed an unusual protection by the laws. Above all may be reckoned that law which suffered "any slave unable to drudge under the imperiousness of his master, to quit his service for one more gentle." By another law, a slave was allowed to buy his freedom. Slaves were permitted to appear at the temples, but were not allowed to plead or give evidence in any court. They were also forbidden, as well as women, the practice of medicine.

Our readers who would further investigate the laws which Solon enacted, or of which he gave the hints on which his successors improved, will do well to consult the authorities we have mentioned, and to which we have here been principally indebted. We now continue the history of the lawgiver.

Solon decreed that his laws should remain in force for a hundred years. They were written, according to Plutarch, "upon wooden tables, which might be turned round in the oblong cases which contained them." He adds, that some remains of them were "preserved in the Prytaneum" to his time; and we have seen that they were esteemed by the people of Athens for some years after the death of Plutarch. He adds that "the Thesmothetæ, or guardians of the laws, severally took an oath, in a particular form, by a stone in the market-place, that for every law they broke, each would dedicate a golden statue at Delphi of the same weight with himself."

Oath of the Thesmothetæ.

However much Solon had endeavoured to conciliate the interests of all parties in compiling his laws, he could scarcely have expected complete success. Plutarch says, he "had his visitors every day finding fault with some of them, and commending others, or advising certain additions or retrenchments. But the greater part desired a reason for the several articles, or a precise account of his design." Despairing of satisfying such various applications, he determined to leave his country for at least ten years, during which his laws might be familiarised to the people; and he employed for his purpose the pretence of traffic.

Solon again quits Athens.

Visits Egypt.

He first visited Egypt, where he conversed with the learned priests, and borrowed from them that fable of an Atlantic island, on which Plato improved. From Egypt he sailed to Cyprus, where he appears to have remained long enough to construct a city, and to regulate its institutions. His interview with Crœsus, king of Lydia, is next related; but, by Plutarch's admission, it was considered, in his time,

as a doubtful story. It is, however, one which will never cease to be told for its edifying moral. Undazzled by the splendour of the monarch, he referred him, among others, to "a plain but worthy citizen of Athens" for a happier man than himself; and counselled the prince not to determine on the felicity of life till he had seen its conclusion. This advice is said to have been remembered by Crœsus when he was about to be burned alive by his conqueror (if to Cyrus such cruelty may fairly be attributed), and became the occasion of saving his life.[1]

His return.

During Solon's absence, which probably extended beyond the period he had proposed, the Athenians were divided among themselves, and a prey to three factious men, of whom one was Peisistratus. Solon at length returned, and found all parties united to do him honour. He, however, on account of his great age, declined the public administration of the government, but laboured in private to reconcile the factions. For a time he succeeded; but Peisistratus, by his largesses to the common people, secured their attachment, and, notwithstanding the opposition of Solon, usurped the government. The legislator, on the failure of this last effort, placed his weapons at his door, saying, "I have exerted all my power to defend my country and to preserve her laws."

Solon's friends now feared for him, but Peisistratus was disposed rather to conciliate than to destroy his relation. The old man, however, would not disgrace his illustrious life by suffering it to close in the court of a tyrant. He presently withdrew from Athens, and, according to Laertius, retired to Cyprus, where he might justly claim the rites of hospitality. There, according to the same authority, he died at the age of eighty years, "with this command, that his bones should be removed to Salamis, and, being burnt to ashes, should be scattered over the island." This account is treated by Plutarch as fabulous, though he admits its reception, among others, by Aristotle.

Death of Solon.

Besides what has been incidentally mentioned of the honours paid to the legislation of Solon, it must not be forgotten that about a century after his death the Romans, according to Livy,[2] were attracted by the fame of his jurisprudence, and sent deputies to Athens to procure a copy of his code.[3] On the other hand, besides those moderns who professedly treat of laws, several writers have strongly, but not unfairly, displayed the imperfections of the Athenian as well as the Spartan code.[4]

Yet, whatever were the excellencies or defects of the Athenian sage, he was, as a lawgiver, the last of the Greeks; for, as Mr. Butler has

[1] Unfortunately chronology totally disagrees with this beautiful tale of Herodotus.

[2] Lib. iii. c. xxxi.

[3] Inclytas leges Solonis describere.

[4] We may refer to Hakewill, "On the Power and Providence of God," b. 4, c. ii.; Leland, in his "Necessity of the Christian Revelation," part 2, c. iii.; and especially to the comparison between Moses, Lycurgus, and Solon, in vol. ix. of the "Prize Dissertations," by the Society of Haarlem.

remarked, with the death of Solon the era of Grecian legislation finishes, and the era of her military glory begins."

Comparison between Solon and Moses.

In looking back upon the Grecian lawgivers, we find that kind of coincidence between the wisest of their statutes and the institutions of Moses, upon which it is but just and philosophical to bestow a brief notice. At the close of the life of Lycurgus, we ventured to point out the great inferiority of his various provisions to those of the Jewish legislator. In the life of Draco, we had occasion to advert to the sanguinary character of his laws. These may, indeed, have been in some remote respects represented inaccurately; for it is a singular circumstance, that while they are so frequently alluded to, scarcely any fragments of them have been preserved in any writer, and the general censure of them seems founded principally upon the authority of Aristotle; but the single circumstance of their punishing with death trivial offences is sufficient to warrant the conclusions of the Stagyrite, and cannot be justified on any plea of necessity, founded upon the temper of the times; although there can be little doubt that Greece was, at the period of his legislation, in a state of considerable anarchy. At the close of the life of Solon, upon a review of those laws which have been preserved to us, and to which the Grecian legislators and historians have taught us to look up with such admiration, we shall find many important cases unprovided for, and others capriciously guarded by unequal enactments. If proofs appear wanting, they may be found, although it is unnecessary to produce them here in detail, in the singular contradictions and waverings in his laws respecting marriage and adultery. Nor could he carry into completion his own design. Being compelled to yield to circumstances, he confessed that his laws were not the best possible institutions, but the best which Athens could then bear. In short, as in the lives of these illustrious men fable mixes with truth, so that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish them; darkness and light alternately appear to prevail over their legislation. In all these cases we miss that eternal stamp of consistency which impresses so much sublimity upon the code of the Jewish legislator. His character and life appear in open day, unmingled with fable; and his principles, although bearing in their application more immediately upon the people for whom he legislated, are so pure, so true, and so comprehensive, that they have become a basis for legislators in almost all ages and countries, and must stand for ever. For can it be doubted, upon an impartial inspection of the fragments that remain to us of the Grecian lawgivers, especially when these are associated with certain facts in their history, that some of their wisest institutions were borrowed from traditions of the Hebrew code? It would be too much to infer this, unless it were supported by other considerations; from the stress which they all lay upon obedience to parents, since this might be said to be a law of nature, founded upon her most powerful instincts; or the enactment that the first-fruits of the earth should be offered to the deity, since this might be referred to the dictates of reason, pre-

Important cases unprovided for by Solon.

Purity of the Mosaic legislation.

scribing to gratitude so significant an acknowledgment of the Divine bounty; and the mere circumstance of these appointments being found in the law of Moses would not necessarily prove the origination of them there. But when we come to the specific provision made for the priests from the altar, and the injunction that the sacrificer should carry home a part of his offering, there appears to be a more visible traduction of the Grecian from the Hebrew institutions. To this we may add the singular circumstance that Solon wrote his laws from right to left, obviously the Hebrew method of writing; an imitation that would suggest the conclusion that he was acquainted with the characters in which those laws, which he is supposed to have borrowed, were originally written. To strengthen the whole of this presumption (if it be admitted to be nothing more), it is well known that Solon travelled into Egypt with the design of gathering the wisdom of former ages, previous to the formation of his laws, Egypt being at that time the depository of oriental science and literature, and that Lycurgus is acknowledged to have borrowed many of his laws from Crete, with which, through the Phœnicians, the Jews had evident intercourse; and through the same channel the knowledge of their institutions reached these distinguished countries, and from them were derived to Greece. This conclusion accords again with the whole history of Grecian philosophy, the principles of which were, by the confession of Plato himself and other eminent sages, gathered from the Syrians, another name, as employed by these writers, for the Hebrews, and one less obnoxious to their prejudices against this singular and secluded people.[1]

Solon wrote his laws from right to left.



THE FIRST SACRED WAR.

B. C. 595.

B. C. 595.

Embosomed in the southern declivity of Parnassus, reposed the hallowed sanctuary of the Rocky Pytho; while nearly on a level with the awful shrine of the god, at no great distance, was situated the Phocian town of Crissa: above impended the precipitous ledge of the Phædriadēs, while through the dark ravine below flowed the Pleistus. Amidst the solemn grandeur of this spot, the Amphictyonic council

Position of the town of Crissa.

Amphictyonic council held here.

[1] Those who may be desirous of seeing this subject treated at large, and proved by the most ample and erudite researches, may be gratified by consulting Gale's "Court of the Gentiles," and the testimonies which relate more immediately to the Grecian lawgivers, collected in vol. i. book iii. chap. 9, of that work.

was wont to hold one of its half-yearly assemblies; the other at Thermopylæ. Crissa once possessed the wide plain ranging from the foot of Parnassus to the Gulf of Corinth, and owned the sacred oracle of Delphi itself, whence accrued to the Crissæans vast profit from the numerous pilgrims by sea and land. In the course of time, however, Cirrha, the sea-port of Crissa, grew into superior importance, and the sanctuary of Apollo gradually expanded into the town of Delphi. The Delphians now took upon themselves the superintendence of the temple, enriching themselves by the profits arising from the visitors, not only of Greece, but of Italy, Sicily, and Africa, whose constant influx contributed to swell the growing wealth of Cirrha. At length, elated by prosperity, the Cirrhæans, not content with levying exorbitant tolls on the pilgrims who passed through their port to Delphi, committed several outrages upon the Phocian and Argive women as they were returning from the temple. Upon this, prompted by the Phocians, the Amphictyonic council resolved to chastise the Cirrhæans, who to their previous insolence now added the impiety of plundering the temple of Delphi, in the wantonness of crime attacking the worshippers of the deity assembled in the sacred grove. A deputation of the Amphictyons narrowly escaped murder at the hands of these reckless plunderers, and this fresh sacrilege roused against them the detestation of Greece at large. A joint force of Athenians, Sicyonians, and Thessalians now marched against the people of Cirrha, who made a formidable resistance, in which they were aided by a pestilence, which, in the ninth year of the war, broke out in the camp of the confederates. The Amphictyons, now almost despairing of success, consulted the oracle of Delphi, whose response directed them to send to Cos for the "Fawn of Gold." The ambassadors repaired to that island, stating the object of their mission. One of the assembly rose, and thus spoke: "I am the *fawn* and my son is the *gold*, who has gained every prize in athletic exercises."[1] Chrysus was now placed at the head of the besieging force, and his successful regulations for improving the health of the army quickly vindicated the wisdom of the oracular choice. After poisoning the spring which supplied the garrison with water, a general assault was made upon Cirrha; the males were put to the sword, and the women and children sold into slavery. The town was allowed to subsist merely as a landing-place, and the whole plain was consecrated to the Delphian gods. The land was doomed to remain untilled and unplanted, subserving no use save the pasturage of cattle; while the spoils of Cirrha were appropriated by the victorious confederates to found the Pythian Games. Of these the Amphictyons now took the direct superintendence, expanding the original design of the solemnity by adding to the musical contests the rivalry of chariot races and gymnastic competition.

Gradual importance of Cirrha.

Outrages of the people of Cirrha.

They attack the Amphictyonic deputation.

Resistance of Cirrha.

The Amphictyons consult Delphi.

Chrysus heads the besiegers.

Cirrha taken and destroyed.

Its spoils help to found the Pythian Games.

[1] His name was, in Greek, "Nebros," a fawn; his son's name, "Chrusos," or gold.

THE PEISISTRATIDÆ.

FROM B. C. 560 TO B. C. 490.

Notwithstanding the wise laws and prudent administration of Solon, B. C. 560.
the Athenian government was too democratic in its tendency long to retain its strength. The republic was divided into three distinct factions, each of which, alike unawed by the voice of authority, became every moment more violent, clamorous, and dangerous. At the head of those Athenians who dwelt without the walls of the city, and composed the country people, was an Athenian, Lycurgus; a more powerful party, who inhabited the sea-coast, had chosen Megaclēs for their chief; and the renowned Peisistratus was the leader of the third party, consisting of the lowest order of the Athenian citizens. Each of these chiefs, indeed, stood in some dread of the superior wisdom, the unshaken honesty, and the general popularity of Solon; each was alike anxious to win this illustrious lawgiver and philosopher to his own interest; and with this view they all appeared earnestly to unite in calling him to the resumption of the supreme authority. Solon, however, declined the invitation; his advanced age was incompatible with the activity necessary to the proper execution of the office; and though he clearly foresaw, and even predicted, the fall of Athenian liberty, he yet contented himself with watching the conduct of each party, and applying, as occasion offered, such assuasives as he judged best adapted to attemper the ambition, or allay the animosity, of the contending chiefs. In the struggles for mastery which ensued, the superior strength of those under Peisistratus soon made itself felt and acknowledged; and whilst this party subdued the rival factions, their own liberty, and the liberties of the country, yielded to the artful demeanour, the splendid talents, and the restless ambition of their leader and favourite. This celebrated Athenian was admirably qualified for the leader of a democratic faction. He was the descendant of a good family, possessed of an ample estate, and his talents were not only more brilliant and powerful than those of Lycurgus and Megaclēs, but were said even to rival those of Solon himself. He had shown his valour abroad in the field of Salamis, and had acquired much reputation by the part he had taken with Solon in the recovery of that island. At home he began his career by assuming every appearance of patriotism. He scattered abroad his riches with an unsparing hand, and practised courtesies and affability to the lowest of the citizens in a degree unknown before. In public, Peisistratus was always attended by slaves carrying bags of silver coin; and on meeting in the streets any of the sickly or distressed citizens, although personally unacquainted with them, he would immediately bestow on them a sum sufficient for their comfort and relief. The gardens and orchards of this pretended patriot, and even those private walks which had descended to him from his ancestors, were thrown indiscriminately open to the public, and became as much the property of his countrymen as of himself. He

Divisions among the Athenians.

Solon refuses the supreme power.

Description of Peisistratus.

B. C. 560. everywhere advocated, with affected zeal, the cause of complete republicanism, and eagerly seized every occasion to express his attachment to the constitution, and his particular admiration of the laws of Solon.

Aims at popularity.

His relationship to that eminent man afforded a still closer cover to his real thoughts; and though Solon himself was not deceived, he yet found himself unable to suppress the ambition of the dissembler. "Peisistratus," repeated Solon, "would be the best citizen in Athens, were it not for his ambition." But in vain was this warning addressed to the citizens in public; and still less was it regarded when bestowed upon the pretended patriot himself in private. The looks and whole demeanour of Peisistratus were calm, placid, and sedate; and the character of his ever-ready oratory mild, smooth, and persuasive. These artifices soon produced the intended effect upon the people, and when Peisistratus perceived that he had acquired a sufficient degree of their confidence, he practised a stratagem which was the first step towards annihilating the liberty of the Athenians. On a sudden, the artful chieftain appeared in the market-place of Athens, himself, and the cattle which drew his chariot, covered with wounds and blood; and when the citizens assembled around him, Peisistratus appealed for protection. He declared that he had been assailed by a ferocious band of his enemies, in consequence of his love for his country. A general assembly of the people was instantly convened. Ariston, an Athenian citizen, especially devoted to his interest, now proposed that Peisistratus should be allowed a body-guard of fifty men armed with clubs; and the motion was clamorously seconded by the voice of the common people. Solon was the only orator who spoke in opposition to this dangerous proposal: "Son of Hippocratēs," said he to Peisistratus, "you act not well the part of Homer's Ulysses, for you deceive your fellow-citizens; but that hero, when he had wounded himself, practised only on the enemies of his country." He afterwards addressed the assembly, and told them that if misfortune should befal the commonwealth, they must not consider it as the consequence of accident, nor charge the gods as the authors of their calamities, but would have to blame their own credulity. But these arguments were of no avail against the popular voice; the motion passed into a law, and the higher order of citizens, only daring to withhold their assent by a disapproving silence, Solon, at the head of these few, retired, exclaiming, in allusion to the speech of Peisistratus, "You doat upon his words and soothing speech." Thus was the first wound to the liberties of the Athenians inflicted by themselves; and their constitution fell by their own decree.

Conduct of Peisistratus.

Artifice of Peisistratus.

He is opposed by Solon.

Receives a guard.

B. C. 560.

With the guard thus assigned to him, Peisistratus immediately seized the citadel of Athens, and assumed the honours of the sovereignty. Shortly after, a jealousy of the still-remaining strength of the citizens induced this unauthorised master of Athens to practise another artifice upon the people. He summoned a meeting of the citizens to be held near the temple of the Anacium, and directed that

all persons should repair to the spot with arms. When the assembly was collected, he began to entertain them, as usual, with an oration; but artfully uttered his harangue in so low an accent, that the people soon complained of not being able to hear him. The orator, in answer, asserted, that the clangor of their arms overcame and stifled his voice, and advised them to deposit their weapons in the portico of the adjoining temple. The multitude, it is said, immediately complied with his proposition, and Peisistratus continued to amuse them with a long and eloquent oration, whilst his guard, according to the previous orders of their master, secured the arms which had been deposited without. Thus were the Athenians bereft of their last means of defence, and found themselves entirely at the mercy of their seducer. We are told, indeed, that after this notorious event, a fruitless attempt was made to resent the insult and to regain their liberty: an assembly of the people was held, and the patriotic Solon stood foremost as the advocate of the constitution. He strongly inveighed against the duplicity of Peisistratus, and, by every possible argument, urged the Athenians to rise in their own defence; but all his efforts proved unsuccessful; he retired, testifying, as he withdrew, that, to the utmost of his power, he had striven for his country and her laws. Peisistratus is said to have sent to Solon, requiring to know what inspired him with the audacity which had prompted such disrespectful treatment of one who was the arbiter of his fate? "My old age," replied the venerable patriot.

B. C. 560.

Disarms the Athenians.

Patriotism of Solon.

But Peisistratus, although he had possessed himself of the supreme power by unlawful means, is said to have directed it to the ends of justice. The laws of Solon were not only respected by him, but enforced with all possible vigour; the legislator himself was treated with veneration; and some historians assert that this celebrated philosopher ended his days in Athens under the protection of that ruler whom he at first opposed with all his influence, and to the last laboured to displace.

Peisistratus assumes the government.

No sooner was the sovereignty vested in Peisistratus, than his rivals, Megaclēs and Lycurgus, fled with their respective families and friends; but, still retaining an influence in the city, the two chiefs, combined together and redoubled their efforts to effect their return. It was not long before the wishes of the confederates were accomplished; the populace, incited by the artifices of Megaclēs and Lycurgus, and provoked at their own credulity, revolted from their new master, and obliged him to seek shelter and protection in a foreign country. To mark their resentment more strongly, his effects were publicly offered for sale; but only one person, named Callias, could be found who would venture to become a purchaser. His triumphant enemies now entered Athens without opposition.

His rivals.

Peisistratus banished.

B. C. 554.

Scarcely, however, had the confederated factions attained the power they desired, before fresh jealousies arose between them. Megaclēs, disgusted with Lycurgus, made overtures to the banished Peisistratus,

Factions.

B. C. 554. who readily accepted the proposed alliance. On the part of Megaclēs it was stipulated, that he should restore Peisistratus to the sovereignty; and Peisistratus engaged to marry the daughter of Megaclēs; thus cementing the new connection, and elevating the family of his former rival into a participation of his honours and his power. These two chiefs were well acquainted with the disposition of the people whom they undertook to govern: they were aware how little force could avail, but they were also fully sensible how easily they might be softened by artifice into credulity. They selected, as the agent in their successful fraud, a woman from a mean and almost unknown family. This woman, named Phya, the daughter of one Socratēs, they seated by the side of Peisistratus, in a superb chariot, dressed in armour, and in all the appropriate accoutrements of the goddess Athēnē, whom she was designed to represent. Phya was tall and graceful in her person, and her features were warlike and commanding. The chariot now moved slowly towards the city, while heralds ran before it, exclaiming to the people, "Give a kind reception, Athenians, to your citizen Peisistratus, who is so highly honoured by the goddess Athēnē, that she herself deigns to restore him to your wishes." By this ridiculous project was the sovereignty of Athens restored to Peisistratus.

Restoration of Peisistratus.

B. C. 548.

Family connections.

Peisistratus, reinstated in his power, first showed his gratitude to Phya, by giving her in marriage to Hipparchus, his son; he then fulfilled his contract with Megaclēs, by nominally espousing the daughter of that chief. It was not long, however, before Peisistratus again incurred the warm opposition of Megaclēs. He set on foot a negotiation with some discontented citizens, and took his measures so effectually, that Peisistratus, perceiving the rising tumult, again betook himself to a voluntary exile, and found an asylum in Eretria.

Peisistratus again expelled.

B. C. 547.

In his banishment the expelled ruler busied himself solely in forming alliances with the surrounding states, and at length thought himself strong enough to determine on reducing Athens by force of arms; a resolution in which he was confirmed by his sons Hippias and Hipparchus. The strength of the Peisistratidæ was rendered formidable by the assistance of the neighbouring cities; bodies of troops were levied by the Argives, who joined their party; Lygdamis, a Naxian, advanced a large sum in the cause, and came forward with his personal services and a large number of soldiers who followed his fortunes. But the Theban troops composed by far the greatest part of the invading army. Thus supported, in the eleventh year of their banishment, the Peisistratidæ marched from Eretria into Attica, and possessed themselves, without a struggle, of the village of Marathon, which stood only ten miles from the city of Athens. Here they were encouraged by the junction of many Athenian citizens. Peisistratus in the mean time having advanced from Marathon, and halted his army before the temple of the Pallenian Mercury, one Amphilytus, a prophet of Acarnania, addressed to the chieftain an oracle in hexa-

The Peisistratidæ advance on Attica.

meter verse, which mysteriously alluded to the unguarded and open state of the Athenian camp. With characteristic quickness Peisistratus instantly comprehended the allusion of the oracle, and declaring aloud that he accepted the omen, pushed his army forward. He reached the camp in an auspicious hour—the army had dined, and they were all either asleep, or amusing themselves with dice. In this unguarded and defenceless state they were easily routed; and the genius of Peisistratus manifested itself still more in the flight which succeeded than in the conflict itself. He forbade all slaughter, and caused his sons Hippias and Hipparchus to ride swiftly before and amongst the fugitives, loudly calling to them that they had nothing to fear from their fellow-citizen Peisistratus, and that every man might repair in peace and in safety to his own home. B. C. 547.

His restoration.

After this Peisistratus became a third time master of the Athenian state; and, by the wisdom and lenity of his measures, so firmly established himself in the government, that he never more was materially disturbed. During the whole of his administration he continued to enforce the laws of Solon; to which he added some important regulations of his own for the encouragement of agricultural pursuits. The people in general soon began to feel the immense advantages of this domestic discipline; and the cultivation of the Athenian territories proceeded with great rapidity. Attica became fruitful in corn, an essential of life which the people had been accustomed to buy at a dear rate from other nations; and the beautiful and productive olive-tree sprang up around the city. Peisistratus even regulated the dress of the Athenians; and one-tenth part of every man's rents and produce of his grounds was levied upon his countrymen. That this tax, however, was by no means rigidly enforced, is evident by an anecdote which, at the same time, affords an instance of the generosity and clemency of the monarch himself. Peisistratus, whilst riding across the country, perceived an aged rustic busied in gathering some herbs amongst the rocks; with his accustomed affability, he accosted the labourer, and, to an inquiry concerning the nature of his employment, received the surly and uncouth answer, "that he was gathering wild herbs and sage-leaves, but that of those even Peisistratus was to be paid the tenth part." The ruler smiled, and pursued his journey in silence; but, when returned to the city, he remitted the imposed duty to the labourer. B. C. 537.

His taxes.

Thus firmly seated on the throne, Peisistratus aimed at exhibiting the princely virtues of his station; and, maintaining due order amongst others, exhibited frequently, even in his own person, the most rigid observance of the laws. Hearing that he was to be accused in the court of the Areopagus of murder, he appeared there without attendants, as a private person, ready to submit to the judgment of the people, and succeeded in convincing the court that the accusation was groundless. His love of the arts and of literature, induced him to adorn the city with some elegant public buildings; he built and well-

His condescension.

His love of science.

B. C. 537. furnished a library for public use; and it was Peisistratus who claims the honour of having digested the poems of Homer into the form under which they now appear. In other respects, he proved himself a great patron of learning and the arts: he was the intimate friend of Crotoniatēs, the epic poet, who wrote the adventures of the Argonauts; and there is good reason to suppose, that the celebrated fabulist, Æsop, was his friend and favourite. The famous temple of the Pythian Apollo was founded by this magnificent prince: he reduced to the Athenian control the city of Sigeum, and greatly improved the sacred island of Delos. In a word, he wanted only a lawful title to the sovereignty which he exercised to have left his name to posterity as one of the most splendid examples of princely virtue. Over his not unfrequently admiring subjects, Peisistratus reigned in Athens, from his first usurpation of authority, including his exile, to the time of his

His death.

B. C. 527. death, thirty-three years; at the expiration of which he died peaceably at Athens, leaving his sons Hipparchus and Hippias to succeed him in the government.

His successors. Hipparchus and Hippias.

Of Hipparchus and Hippias, the two sons of Peisistratus, it is uncertain which was entitled to the claim arising from priority of birth: we possess, however, records sufficiently full to enable us to judge of their character and conduct. As they reigned conjointly, they followed, in all respects, the principles and maxims of their father's government. Hipparchus was particularly distinguished by his evenness of temper and his suavity of manners. He was not only a great encourager of literature, but himself a considerable scholar. Simonidēs, the elegiac poet of Ceos, almost constantly near his person, was a peculiar favourite; and he despatched a galley on purpose to bring the celebrated Anacreon to Athens. At the great Panathenæa, Hipparchus caused the rhapsodists to sing all the poems of Homer, that the Athenians might be generally instructed and entertained by them. In order to impress upon the citizens certain principles of morality he caused to be erected in the city many statutes of Hermēs, and inscribed them with sentiments full of truth and virtue. "*Deceive not thy friend,*" was found upon one statue; and the words, "*Be thou strictly just,*" upon another.

Their joint sovereignty.

In the exercise of these virtues, the reign of Hipparchus and Hippias continued for some time in peace, and afforded every prospect of permanence. But an unforeseen event suddenly cut off the former

Conspiracy formed against them.

prince, and menaced the reign and life of the latter. A conspiracy was formed against both sovereigns; and although the causes which induced it are differently related, the event itself is incontrovertible. Harmodius and Aristogīton, names held sacred by the Athenians in after times, were young men of singular beauty, and sincerely attached to each other. These noble youths were the chief agitators of the plot, and relying upon the assistance of the Athenian people, admitted only a comparatively small number of confederates. The day arrived for accomplishing their design, when Harmodius and

Aristogīton perceived, at a distance, one of the conspirators talking familiarly with Hippias. Alarmed at this circumstance, and naturally suspecting that their scheme was betrayed, they prematurely attacked Hipparchus alone, who was near them; Hippias arrived with his guards too late indeed to rescue, but sufficiently prompt to revenge the assassination of his brother. Harmodius was killed on the spot, and Aristogīton taken prisoner. B. C. 527. Assassination of Hipparchus. B. C. 514.

Hippias, when he felt himself possesssd of the sole sovereignty, gave a loose to a disposition which had before been restrained and softened by his coadjutor in the empire. Treating the Athenians with a severity unknown to them in the times of his father or his brother, he first wreaked his vengeance upon the captive Aristogīton, who bore every species of torture with the fortitude of a hero. In the midst of his agonies he accused several persons of being joined with him in the late conspiracy, and their names had every appearance of being forced from him by the excess of pain: these persons were instantly executed, in consequence of his information, but were afterwards discovered to have been amongst the best and firmest supporters of the Peisistratidæ. Aristogīton being interrogated concerning other individuals, is said to have died replying, "that he knew no other person deserving death excepting Hippias himself." Another extraordinary instance of heroism was found in the person of one Leœna, a mistress of Aristogīton, who bore the tortures inflicted upon her by the tyrant for a considerable time, and at last bit off her tongue lest it should betray, in the excess of her agony, anything to the prejudice of him she loved. The conspiracy being fully defeated, Hippias, no longer confiding in the love of his subjects, sought foreign assistance, and endeavoured to establish his authority by the most coercive measures. He increased his revenue by every possible exaction; and, not satisfied with the twentieth part of every man's income, which he had hitherto required, he compelled the citizens to bring into his treasury all their silver money, which he sent into circulation, much diminished in weight and in value, in the shape of a new coinage. Tyranny of Hippias. Hippias seeks foreign aid. B. C. 511.

In the meantime Megaclēs and his family, called the Alcmæonidæ, on account of their descent from Alcmæon, being banished from Athens on the restoration of Peisistratus, had established themselves at Lipsydrum, in Pæonia. Here they gave refuge to all those who fled from Attica discontented with the government of Hippias, the number of whom increased daily. Every opportunity of increasing the disturbances of Attica was readily embraced by these exiles; nor were the Alcmæonidæ wanting in means to effect the purpose. It so happened that the Amphictyons had contracted with the Alcmæonidæ for the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo, at Delphi. This contract they performed in a manner exceedingly sumptuous; and besides accomplishing what they had promised, they constructed the façade with Parian marble, instead of common stone. By this display of Conspiracy of the Alcmæonidæ

B. C. 511. generosity they gained considerable reputation; but their treasures were employed still more advantageously for themselves, when, by presents of various kinds, they had corrupted the Pythian priestess of the temple, who delivered the sacred oracles. To all the Lacedæmonians the Pythia incessantly denounced the government of Hippias as tyrannical and cruel; and that people, then the most powerful of the Grecian states, stimulated into action, raised an army, under the command of Anchimolius, to invade Attica. Hippias, on the information of these proceedings, sent to the Thessalians, who immediately answered the application by supplying him with a thousand horse, commanded by Cineas a Thessalian prince. The army of Anchimolius, which had been transported by sea, had scarcely landed in Attica before Hippias, and his confederate Thessalians, suddenly attacked and routed them: their general himself was slain in the contest; and so complete was the victory, that the shattered remains of his army with difficulty escaped the slaughter by reaching their ships.

Invasion by the Lacedæmonians.

This defeat, however, only irritated the enemies of Hippias, and Cleomenēs, king of Sparta, commanding another Lacedæmonian army, soon appeared in Attica. Defeating with ease the Thessalian horse on the frontiers of the country, he pursued his march unopposed, and laid siege to the Pelasgian fortress, within which the Athenian tyrant had taken refuge. Here, however, the prospect of success on the part of Cleomenēs appeared at least doubtful. Hippias and his garrison were strongly fortified, and amply supplied with provision, whilst the besieging force were nearly destitute of everything. It is, therefore, probable that Cleomenēs would have been obliged to measure back his steps to Sparta with disgrace, had not the means which Hippias took for his greater safety proved his total ruin. The better to secure his children, he attempted to send them out of Attica; and they had no sooner left the fortress than they fell into the hands of the Lacedæmonians. This was a rich prize to the captors, who demanded, as the only terms of their ransom, that Hippias, his family, and adherents, should in five days quit the territories of Athens. These conditions were accepted by the besieged. The king of Macedonia offered them a refuge in his dominions; and their active allies, the Thessalians, pressed upon the exiles a like proposal. But Hippias and his family retired to the city of Sigeum, preferring that place, as more certainly devoted to their interest. Thus ended the sovereignty of the Peisistratidæ over Athens; the reign of Hippias, after the death of Hipparchus, continuing only three years. On the expulsion of its master, the spirit of liberty, which had been with difficulty repressed, diffused itself throughout Athens, exhibiting everywhere the most inextinguishable rancour against the fallen family, and the highest admiration of their opponents. To the slaughtered conspirators, Harmodius and Aristogīton, the Athenians decreed immortal honours. They employed the most exquisite of their sculptors, Praxiteles, to erect brazen statues of these heroes in the forum; they caused verses in their praise to be

Deposition of Hippias.

B. C. 510.

Statues of Harmodius and Aristogīton.

sung at the sacred festivals of the Panathenæa; and they granted several honourable privileges to their descendants. But their aversion to the late dynasty carried them still further; the figure of a lioness without a tongue was set up in a public place at Athens, with an inscription on it, in honour of Lecœna, the mistress of Aristogīton, and in allusion to her name as well as to her heroism in biting off her tongue when under the torture. From this time forward, not only were the Peisistratidæ universally known by the name of tyrants, but the term king was always used synonymously with that of tyrant; so that the virtues of a sovereign did not shield him from the stigmatising appellation. B. C. 510.

Uncontrolled public liberty was now established in Athens; but two different factions quickly divided Attica: the Alcmæonidæ, a popular party led by Clysthenēs, were opposed to the party of the nobles of Athens, at the head of which appeared Isagoras, a man of noble family and connections. The former leader possessing great talent, introduced the mode of popular condemnation by Ostracism, augmented the number of the tribes of the people, and increased the senate to five hundred. These measures nearly extinguished the rights of the aristocracy of Athens; Isagoras was obliged to quit the city, and to seek refuge in Sparta, where the Lacedæmonians readily listened to his proposals. The Spartan king, Cleomenēs, now despatched a herald to Athens, demanding the restoration of his friend, and the instant banishment of Clysthenēs and the Alcmæonidæ, or denouncing war in case of a refusal. The unexpected compliance of the Athenians now obliged Cleomenēs to avow his real object to be that of establishing another form of government in Athens, to effect which he at once marched his army to the city, and banished seven hundred Athenians from Attica. He afterwards proceeded to invest Isagoras, with three hundred chosen senators, in the authorities of the government, until these measures roused the Athenians once more to arms. Cleomenēs and Isagoras, with their invading force, were now obliged, in their turn, to give way, and they took refuge in the citadel of Athens, where for two days they were closely besieged. On the third day they agreed upon conditions of surrender, which were, that all the followers of Cleomenēs and Isagoras should give up the fort, renounce their pretensions to the Athenian government, and be permitted to retire unmolested from Attica. The Spartans now quitted the fort; but the Athenians, regardless of their public faith, fell on all such of the Spartan army as they could reach, and sacrificed many to their indiscriminate fury.

Divisions at Athens.

Cleomenēs sends a herald to Sparta.

The Athenian people, now unrestrained in their choice of a government, immediately decreed the recall of their exiles and of the Alcmæonidæ, and collected all their force, in order to meet the war which they anticipated from the resentment of Cleomenēs and Isagoras. On the other side, the exiled chief and the Spartan king were not idle; they prepared the whole disposable troops of their own city, and made alliances throughout all Peloponnesus, with the intention of again invading

The Alcmæonidæ.

B. C. 510. Athens. But their army was composed of too many nations, and influenced by too various interests, to retain its energy; and, after repeated defections, Cleomenēs and Isagoras found themselves so much weakened that they were obliged to abandon their allies, the Bœotians and Chalcidians, over whom an easy victory was achieved by the Athenians.

Defeat of Cleomenēs.

The various disappointments of Cleomenēs served but the more to kindle his resentment against the Athenians. During his stay in Attica, he had become possessed of certain oracles which predicted that Athens should in time become the rival of Sparta. He had discovered too, at the same time, the corruption of the Delphic oracles by Clysthenēs against Hippias. These he industriously circulated amongst his countrymen, to excite their jealousy against the common enemy; and the effect was answerable to his wishes. Hippias, who in the meantime was not destitute of friends in Sparta, was now sent for in all haste from Sigeum. On his arrival, he found the Lacedæmonian kings in consultation upon the proposal of restoring him to the sovereignty of Athens; but the Corinthian ambassador, Sosiclēs, fully persuaded the other confederates of the Spartans to reject it, and thus Cleomenēs and his party were obliged reluctantly to abandon the cause of Hippias.

Disappointment of Hippias.

The disappointed prince again returned to Sigeum, still occupying himself with schemes for the future, and encouraging himself with the hopes of one day regaining the dominions he had lost. Meanwhile, the war between the people of Ægina, the confederates of the Bœotians, and the Athenians, continued with varied success. Darius, the Persian king, having demanded earth and water, as tokens of submission from the different states of Greece, the Æginæans alone complied with the requisition, hoping for the protection of that monarch against Athens. This submission was represented by the Athenians to the other states of Greece as a gross instance of treachery, and the Lacedæmonians sent their king, Cleomenēs, to Ægina, with orders to bring back as prisoners those persons who were the principal advisers of this measure. But a disturbance which occurred in Sparta during his absence, at the head of which was Demarātus, the other king, induced Cleomenēs to return thither without having effected his object. These tumults were, however, soon quelled by the dethronement of Demarātus, and the elevation of Leotychidēs, to act as his royal colleague, shortly after which Cleomenēs died. Meanwhile, the war between Athens and the people of Ægina continued unabated. An Athenian galley, which was annually sent to Delos, lay at anchor at Sunium, where the Æginæans seized it, with many of the Athenian nobility on board: the Athenians, in their turn, requested their allies, the Corinthians, to furnish them with a squadron of ships. This was at a critical moment for the Æginæans; Nicodromus, an eminent man of that nation, offered to betray his country to its enemies, and to appear in arms in their favour as soon as the Athenian fleet should appear off the coast. The treason was accepted; but the treaty with

the Corinthians, whose laws forbade them to lend their ships, and who at last only evaded them by selling to their allies, the Athenians, five galleys, caused a delay in the expedition, which defeated its object; and Nicodromus, having risen in arms against his country at the appointed time, looked in vain for the promised succour, and found himself compelled to fly to Athens for refuge. B. C. 510.

Some time before these events, the Athenians had imprudently listened to Aristagoras, the Milesian, who, having fled from Ionia, where he had in vain endeavoured to excite an insurrection, came, as his last resource, to Attica, soliciting help. The Athenians granted him twenty ships, and placed them under the command of Melanthius, one of their nobles. This force, united with the followers of Aristagoras, made considerable ravages on the surrounding country, and, amongst other places, took and sacked the town of Sardis. These outrages on the Ionian territory, then under the dominion of Persia, much incensed Darius. But these were not the only excitements to the war with Persia. The exiled Hippias had now attained to an advanced age; but the recollection of his youthful days, passed in the pomp of power, had not forsaken him. After his return from Lacedæmon, he had applied to Artaphernēs, the Persian governor of the adjacent provinces, and endeavoured to provoke him to make war upon Attica. In order to influence this minister still further, he distinctly promised, that should he be reinstated on the throne of Athens by the means of Persia, he would hold his kingdom subservient to the power of Darius. To these overtures of Hippias, the Persian lent a favourable ear, although the Athenians, aware of the intrigues of their late usurper, immediately deputed ambassadors to Artaphernēs, entreating him to beware of the proposals of an exiled tyrant. The Persian officer answered, in haughty terms, "that if the Athenians would have peace with the great king, they must consent to receive Hippias as their sovereign." This reply irritated the Athenians to open expressions of hostility, and, with a view of engrossing the attention of Darius to enemies nearer home, they immediately resolved to render every assistance in their power to the revolted Ionians under Aristagoras; and thus, through various co-operating causes, the intrigues of Hippias produced the Ionian, and that again the great Persian war with Athens and the other states of Greece.

Outrage upon Persia. B. C. 500.

Policy of Hippias.

The first attempt of the Persian monarch against Greece was made by a force under the command of Mardonius; but the fleet in which it sailed was dispersed and disabled by a storm as it doubled the promontory of Athos; while the Athenians obtained a salutary respite from a conflict for which, at that time, they were ill prepared. Another and a more considerable army soon appeared under the command of Datis and Artaphernēs the younger, the son of the governor of that name. These commanders, learning caution from the misfortunes of Mardonius, led their troops by land through the plains of Cilicia, and, passing thence by the Cyclades to Eubœa, appeared in

Persian war. B. C. 492.

B. C. 492. undiminished force before the city of Eretria. As the commission of the Persian commanders was utterly to destroy the cities of Eretria and Athens, and bring away the inhabitants of both places as slaves to the Persian king, the Athenians ordered a body of 4000 men to march to the aid of their besieged allies; but at this crisis of affairs, the unsteady nature of its government proved at once fatal to the city of Eretria itself, and highly dangerous to the other states of Greece. The people of that city were disunited in their sentiments respecting the Persian king; and during the confusion produced by these disputes, Nothon, the son of Æschinēs, wisely informed the Athenian army of the internal disturbances at Eretria, and urged them to return for the protection of their own country, as the preservation of his was hopeless. The Athenian army at once retreated to Oropus, a town of Bœotia; and Eretria, betrayed by its own citizens, was sacked and burnt to the ground by the Persians.

The Persians victorious.

They encamp at Marathon.

The victorious forces of Darius now continued their march into Greece unopposed, and, by the advice of the exiled Hippias, the invading army encamped on the extensive plains of Marathon, with a view of offering battle to the Grecians on a spot where the Persian light troops and their numerous bodies of horse might act with advantage. This choice of their ground they carried into effect unmolested —the result forms one of the proudest tales of Grecian history.

The Athenians, of all others, had most cause to dread the resentment of Darius; and, as his troops penetrated into the interior, no effort was left untried to raise a force capable of repelling them. They sent deputies to the different states of Greece around, but with little success. To the Lacedæmonians they dispatched Phidippidēs, an especial messenger, who in two days performed the journey from Athens to Sparta, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. In an energetic speech he addressed the Spartans, who appeared to be roused, and prepared to march to the assistance of their rival state; but whether from any latent jealousy, or in alleged veneration of a law which forbade them to march but on the full of the moon, they delayed their expedition for five days, and thus bore no part in the ensuing conflict.

The Athenians unaided by Sparta.

The Athenians were thus left nearly alone in the contest; for the glory of the field of Marathon was wholly divided between themselves and the Platæans, who, in gratitude for former protection, added a body of 1,000 men to the army. Their united strength consisted of only 10,000 men. On the other side, the invading army, at the least computation, reckoned 100,000 men, decuple the number of the little opposing band of patriots.

The organization of the allied Grecian army appears to have been dictated by the same jealousy of absolute power which breathed in the constitution of their republics. The supreme command was distributed amongst ten officers, each of equal rank, and each of whom commanded the army for a single day; whilst, at the same time, one of their highest civil magistrates, an Archon, accompanied them, and

decided all differences which might occur, under the title and authority of a Polemarch. It was fortunate for Athens that, at this important juncture, she had intrusted her defence to men not only of superior talent, but of unimpeachable honesty. Callimachus of Aphidna was the Polemarch, and Miltiadēs, Aristidēs, and Themistoclēs, names renowned in history, were amongst the commanders. A difference of opinion arose amongst the generals. On one side a defensive warfare was recommended: it was urged, that if the fastnesses of their country were defended, their invaders would waste their strength by degrees as they advanced, and time would be given to collect the states of Greece to assist the general cause. On the contrary, Miltiadēs, in his speech to the Polemarch, eloquently enforced the arguments for immediate battle: "You alone, O Callimachus," exclaimed this zealous chieftain, "must now determine either to see the Athenians reduced to the condition of slaves, or, by preserving the liberty of your country, raise an eternal monument to your own fame, surpassing the glory even of Harmodius and Aristogīton. Never were the Athenians, your countrymen, in so imminent a danger of destruction. If we decline a battle, I foresee some great dissension will shake the fidelity of the army; but if we fight before the corrupting gold of the Persian tyrant steals into the hearts of our soldiers, from the favour of the gods we may confidently anticipate a victory. The event is in your choice, and entirely depends upon your decision. Support my opinion with your power and influence; you will see your country free, and Athens elevated to the most illustrious place in Greece."

B. C. 492.

Difference of opinion among the generals.

This eloquent appeal to his patriotism decided the Polemarch Callimachus, who instantly pronounced in favour of an immediate battle; when Aristidēs, fearing the weakness of a divided command, was the first who resigned his authority to Miltiadēs; the other generals instantly followed his example. Miltiadēs himself, although he nominally accepted their offers, wisely declined to engage until the return of his regular day of command, fearful that some latent sparks of jealousy or envy might yet retard the general operations on so important an occasion.

The opinion of Miltiadēs prevails.

The day at length arrived on which the fate of Athens was to be decided. Miltiadēs had well considered the kind of enemy with whom he had to contend. To the Persian cavalry, the javelin-men, and the light-armed archers, famed for the rapidity of their attack and the celerity of their retreat, he was careful to oppose every possible obstacle. He had drawn the armies to the most confined place of combat, on the vast Marathonian plain. A morass skirted the ground on the one side, and a mountain on the other. To add to these natural obstacles, large trees had been felled and thrown across the roads, and trenches cut in every direction; obstructions which, while they were well calculated to distress the movements of the enemy, were easily surmounted by the steadiness and strength of the Grecian array. Considerable difficulties, however, were yet to be overcome. The long

Battle of Marathon.

B. C. 490.

B. C. 490. line of the Persian army was to have some opposing force presented to it in its whole extent; for although the two wings of the Grecians were rendered formidable by the heavy phalanx, and thus fronted the Persian wings in no unequal strength, the centre of their adversaries was left unopposed, except by the Athenian light troops, joined by a number of slaves, who had been hastily armed for the purpose, and on whose valour and fidelity Miltiadēs could scarcely rely. The Grecian general was thus reduced to the dilemma either of leaving the Persian centre totally unresisted, or of opposing to it his most inefficient troops. As the least of the two evils, he chose the latter, and the event was answerable to his expectations. The two wings of the Athenian army advanced slowly, but firmly, to the attack. To the missile weapons of the Persians they returned not a single dart, but pressed onward in one heavy and compact body. Then availing themselves of their weapons for close attack, they soon obliged the Persians on the right and left to abandon the field, and seek for shelter in their ships, many of which even were destroyed by the Greeks. But though the greater part of the Persians was thus routed, much was yet to be achieved to make the victory complete. The centre of the Greeks had given way to their adversaries, and a large body of the Persians yet remained on the field, not only unconquered, but in their turn victorious. As he had foreseen, so Miltiadēs had prepared for this event. The Grecian wings now closed, by a skilful evolution, from both sides of the field, upon the remaining body of the Persians, whom, after a desperate conflict, they utterly annihilated.

Defeat of the Persians.

Thus was this great battle won, by a mere handful of men, animated with the consciousness of fighting for liberty, against an immense multitude of mercenary troops, scarcely any of whom possessed the least degree of self-interest in the combat beyond their common thirst for plunder. Indeed, the pillage with which the Persians had already been loaded from the conquest of Eretria appears to have been no light cause of their easy defeat; for when they were more seriously opposed by the Greek Hoplītais than they expected to have been, many of them immediately gave up all thoughts of further conquest, and retreated at once to their ships, to secure their ill-gotten treasure.

They hasten to Athens.

But although the Persians had thus lost the field of Marathon, those who escaped in the ships were in sufficient force to have taken and plundered the unprotected city of Athens. With this intention, and invited, as some represent, by the faction of the Alcmæonidæ, their fleet now doubled Cape Sunium, and sailed towards the city. Miltiadēs, however, apprehending their design, left his colleague Aristidēs with 1,000 men, to guard the prisoners at Marathon, and with the other part of their allied forces, hastening homewards, appeared before the gates of the temple of Hēraclēs, very near Athens, some time before the Persian fleet could by any possibility reach the Attic shore. Thus disappointed, the Persians, with the shattered remains of their army,

sailed direct for Asia, closing the first unfortunate attempt of the "great king" upon the liberty of the states of Greece. B. C. 490. The Persians abandon Greece.

Such was the commencement of that bright career of glory in which Athens afterwards shone so conspicuously amongst the Grecian states. Two of the Athenian commanders were slain; Callimachus, the Polemarch, fell, after having displayed all the skill and valour required from his exalted rank; and Stesileus, the son of Thrasylaus, one of the ten co-generals of the army. Some other Athenians, likewise, greatly distinguished themselves in the battle. Cynægeirus, the son of Euphorion, having pursued the Persians to their ships, seized on one of them, in which the enemy were about to sail, with both his hands, which were immediately struck off by the blow of an axe, and he gave up his hold only with his life. Others relate this story more marvellously: they say that this Cynægeirus, having performed extraordinary feats of valour in the battle, pursued the flying enemy to the shore, and seized on a ship which was ready to sail with his right hand; that this being instantly hewed off, he detained the vessel for some time with his left hand; and being at last deprived of both, he made use of his teeth to keep his hold, until he sunk, covered with wounds, by mere exhaustion.

The Athenians reaped another important advantage from their victory; for on the field of Marathon the life, the hopes, and the family of the Peisistratidæ were utterly extinguished. At Marathon the exiled Hippias, the last of his family, the instigator of the invasion, fell; and with him fell the fears of the Athenian people. Athens was now regarded amongst the states of Greece as equal, if not superior, in patriotism and valour even to Sparta herself; and although we have no particular instances recorded of the behaviour of the Platæans, yet the Athenians were so well satisfied with their brave allies, that a decree was immediately passed, making that people free of the city of Athens. The Platæans made freemen of Athens.

We now proceed to notice the IONIC REVOLT, one of the most powerful causes that led to the great Persian war.

THE IONIC REVOLT.

B. C. 500.

Artaphernēs, the brother of Darius, had been invested by that sovereign with the full command of the western part of Asia Minor; and the Greek cities upon the sea-board had generally a domestic despot settled in each: Aristagoras ruled in Milētus. This brilliant dependency was at this time vigorously flourishing, and the undoubted head of Ionia. B. C. 500. Artaphernēs, viceroy of Western Asia Minor.

In the year 500 B.C., Hippias, the exiled tyrant, made his appearance at Sardis, as a petitioner before Artaphernēs. His proposals were couched under a tempting form, since he urged his own restoration to power on the promise of holding Athens under the crown of Persia. Proposals of Hippias to Artaphernēs.

B. C. 490. The Spartans had previously rejected his offers, and the baffled prince had now recourse to Artaphernēs. His suit was here more successful, for the satrap returned a threatening menace, commanding the Athenians to receive Hippias back again, as they valued their safety. In furtherance of his ultimate design upon Athens, a design which he early cherished, he determined to conquer the isle of Naxos. Wealthy, prosperous, and populous, and possessed of a force of 8,000 Hoplitais, this island was well defended by its navy, as well as infantry. The Naxian exiles, who had been expelled by a popular rising, applied at this juncture to Aristagoras, who craftily resolved to embark Artaphernēs in the same project. Aristagoras, therefore, repaired to Sardis, making the most plausible representations of the facility with which Naxos, Andros, Paros, Tēnos, and the rest of the Cyclades could be reduced. He offered, at the same time, to effect these conquests, and to bear the entire charge of an armament of 100 ships, if a force of that amount were granted to him. The Persian satrap readily entered into his proposals, promising him in the following spring double the force required; and instantly despatching his envoy to Darius, a powerful armament was placed under the orders of Aristagoras, with the Persian Megabatēs in command. A serious dissension, however, soon arose between the chiefs of the expedition; and the Persian, with true oriental duplicity, determined to frustrate the enterprise, in order to avenge himself on Aristagoras. The fleet was at this time under full sail for Naxos; at nightfall Megabatēs forwarded to the island secret information of the forthcoming attack. The islanders, thus effectually forewarned, had made excellent preparations for a vigorous defence, so that, after a useless siege of four months, the unsuccessful armament sailed back to the Ionian coast. The complete failure of the expedition threatened the ruin of Aristagoras and the vengeance of the Persian court: a revolt from that power seemed indispensable to his safety. At this critical period his movements were quickened by the arrival of a messenger despatched by Histiæus, his father-in-law, then detained at the court of Susa. That chief was surrounded by Persian spies, and though eager to urge his son-in-law to a revolt, dared not trust to any written communication: danger and ingenuity furnished a resource. The head of a faithful slave was shaved, the necessary words branded upon it, and when the hair was again grown, he was despatched to Milētus, with an intimation that he should be again shaved and examined. Milētus was now the active focus of revolt, and the chief partisans of the rising were instantly convoked by Aristagoras. Hecatæus, the historian, was the only chief who opposed it; his arguments and advice were alike disregarded, and Aristagoras and his partisans, having resolved upon an immediate movement, determined to depose the various despots throughout the cities of Asiatic Greece, as a first step to conciliate popular favour. The measure was highly effective, and the feelings of the citizens were completely enlisted in favour of the revolt.

Aristagoras repairs to Sardis.

Aristagoras is supported by the Persian satrap.

The Naxians are forewarned.

Aristagoras revolts from Persia.

Device of Histiæus.

Hecatæus opposes the revolt.

The Ionic revolutionary movement now assumed an appearance not less extensive than formidable; the revolted towns named their generals, and placed themselves in a posture of defence; and, not satisfied with the resources of the combined Ionians, Aristagoras passed over to Sparta, to procure the co-operation of king Cleomenēs. To give power and spirit to his representations, he took with him a brazen tablet, upon which was engraved a representation of the route from Ephesus to Susa; and after pointing out the position, peculiar characteristics, and wealth of each nation, he laid before the Spartan king the dazzling temptation of Asiatic supremacy. Cleomenēs postponed his answer, and the third day was appointed for the decisive reply, which, being unfavourable, Aristagoras determined to make a last effort: carrying in his hand the supplicatory bough, he approached Cleomenēs, who was then sitting with his little daughter Gorgo; he now attempted to bribe the Spartan king to compliance, gradually raising his offers from ten talents to fifty. Suddenly the little girl exclaimed, "Father, the stranger will corrupt you, if you do not at once go away." This exclamation had such an effect upon Cleomenēs, that he immediately dismissed Aristagoras, who forthwith left Sparta. Thus disappointed in his application, he now turned to Athens; and this great city, which had sent out so many colonies to the coast of Ionia, actuated by so strong a claim upon her affections, resolved at once to send a fleet of twenty ships to aid the insurgent Ionians. The Athenian armament, after crossing the Ægean, formed a junction with five Eretrian ships, and the whole expedition was now placed under the command of Charopinus, the brother of Aristagoras. After leaving the ships at Coressus, a seaport five miles from Ephesus, the troops marched across the range of Tmolus to Sardis. Here Artaphernēs, who had at that time but an inconsiderable force, drew off to the fortress, and the assailants entered the town without opposition; they were not, however, destined to maintain any long possession of their prize, for the Persian, calling in several detachments from the Lydians, and summoning a force stationed near Milētus, became at length too powerful for Charopinus. Accident also contributed to the success of the Persian satrap. A conflagration broke out, and the houses being thatched with reed or straw, the whole city was speedily involved in one vast and indiscriminate blaze. The population now crowded into the market-place, and the position of Ionians and Athenians was becoming perilous in the extreme, for the forces of Artaphernēs continued to receive fresh accessions, till at length the Ionians were compelled to evacuate the city. Their march from Mount Tmolus, where they had taken up a position, proved most disastrous, for being overtaken by Artaphernēs, near Ephesus, they sus-

The revolt extended and systematised.

Aristagoras at the Spartan court.

Endeavours to bribe the Spartan king.

Applies to Athens.

Atheno-Eretrian expedition.

Athenians enter Sardis.

Sardis in flames.



Ionians defeated by Artaphernēs.

tained a complete defeat, and Eualcidēs, the Eretrian general, perished. His Athenian allies, now abandoning Aristagoras, took no farther part in the struggle, but immediately sailed homewards. The resolution of Aristagoras, however, was in no way shaken; he speedily formed a league of the Greek Hellespontic cities, the Carians and Caunians, who no sooner heard of the burning of Sardis than they resolved to embrace his cause: the Greeks of Cyprus, likewise, shook off the yoke of Darius.

General organization of the rebellion.

The rebellion had now become serious, well organized, and extensive, and it required the most energetic action on the part of the Persians, whose force was brought simultaneously to act on two different points. A Phœnician fleet transported into Cyprus an Egypto-Cilician army, commanded by the Persian Artibius, while at the same time the force of Artaphernēs, whose head-quarters were at Sardis, was recruited to such an extent as to command nearly the entire coast of Asia Minor. On the approach of Artibius, Onesilus, the commander of the Cypriots, urged the assistance of the Ionian fleet, which, arriving soon after the debarkation of the Persian force, gained a signal victory over the Phœnician fleet.

Extensive plans of the Persians.

Battle between the Persians and Cyprians.

In the mean while, a conflict by land was being carried on between the Cyprians and the Persian force under Artibius, who, ranging fiercely through the fight, fell beneath the hands of Onesilus and his Carian shield-bearer. Hitherto the battle had proved favourable to the Cypriots, but treachery was destined to tear the laurel from their brows. Deserted in the heat of the battle by Stēsēnor, despot of Curium, and treacherously abandoned by the scythed chariots, which formed an important arm of his force, the valiant Onesilus perished in the flight that ensued. Nor were the insurgents more successful on the Asiatic coast. Here, at Sardis, were concentrated the chief forces of Darius, whence, as from a common centre, they diverged to carry out a masterly series of simultaneous operations. After sweeping the Hellespontic towns, one division wheeled southward into Caria, whilst a second, after capturing Cios, on the Propontis, passed the Hellespont, and effected the subjugation of the Troad. Meanwhile, another body attacked the Æolic and Ionian sea-board towns, capturing the important settlements of Clazomenæ and Cymē. The Carians, however, presented a most resolute front to their invaders. Near the White Pillars, a post adjoining the Mæander and Marsyas, the rival forces encountered. Superior numbers secured the victory to the Persians, and ten thousand Carians perished on the field of battle. After this defeat, they had taken post at a grove of plane-trees near Labranda, and were already consulting on the chances of another battle, or of an emigration, when a reinforcement from Milētus made its appearance. Thus re-encouraged, they fought a second battle, but were again defeated, with the loss of many Milesians. The Carian cities must now have been entirely taken, had not the consummate skill of Hēracleides, of Mylasa, retrieved the ill-fortune of the Carians. This

Death of Onesilus.

Persian head-quarters at Sardis.

Simultaneous movements of the Persian force.

Carians defeated at the "White Pillars."

Hēracleides lays a successful ambush for the Persian troops.

general laid an ambush, into which the eager troops of Persia irretrievably fell; they were nearly all cut to pieces, and Daurisēs, Amorgēs, and Sisimacēs, their leaders, perished. The Carian towns now enjoyed a considerable respite, nor were they reduced till subsequent to the fall of Milētus. Notwithstanding this temporary gleam of good fortune, the general affairs of the Ionians were becoming desperate; and Aristagoras, in consequence, convoked the chiefs of the revolution. His object was to secure some place of refuge, and the island of Sardinia, or Myrcinus, in Thrace, were the two places proposed. The latter was the post chosen by the chiefs of the convention, though, in proposing it, Aristagoras must have been conscious that on the re-establishment of the Persian power in Asia Minor, every post near the Strymon, of which Myrcinus was one, must fall into their hands. Notwithstanding, the scheme was adopted, and Aristagoras set sail for Myrcinus. The expedition was disastrous in the extreme, for Aristagoras himself, and nearly the whole of the emigrants, perished in the assault of a Thracian town, not long after landing.

Aristagoras convokes the revolutionary chiefs.

Disastrous expedition to Myrcinus. B. C. 497.

Soon after the departure of Aristagoras, Histiæus, his father-in-law, made his appearance at Milētus: his arrival gained no welcome from the citizens. In an attempt to force his way into the town by night, he was repulsed, and wounded in the thigh. Actuated by his usual intrigue and restlessness, he now repaired to Chios on a piratical mission: in this he failed, but proved more successful with the Lesbians, from whom he obtained eight triremes. With this force he took up a position at Byzantium, seizing and mercilessly pillaging the Ionic merchantmen as they entered or returned from the Euxine. Here this dastardly traitor continued his piracies towards his countrymen till the fall of Milētus. He now sailed with his Lesbian flotilla to Chios, where, being refused admittance, he completely vanquished the Chians and plundered the island. His career of reckless devastation was, however, fast drawing to a close. He had lately been engaged in a marauding expedition to Thasos, but hearing that the Phœnician fleet had quitted Milētus to reduce other Ionic cities, he sailed with his piratical band to the defence of Lesbos. Here he could find no subsistence for his followers, and being compelled to pass over to the Asiatic continent, to reap the standing crops in the plains of Mysia, he was surprised by a Persian force under Harpagus, by whom he was routed, taken prisoner, and carried to Sardis. His punishment was speedy and ignominious. Artaphernēs, the satrap, at once condemned him to crucifixion, and the head of Histiæus was embalmed and despatched to Susa.

Histiæus arrives at Milētus.

Piracies of Histiæus at Byzantium.

Plunders the island of Chios.

Sails to the defence of Lesbos.

Is taken prisoner and crucified.

We must now return to Milētus, the chief focus of the Ionic insurrection, where an immense force was being concentrated under the command of Artaphernēs. This active satrap had combined his whole power for the capture of this important city. By sea, a Phœnician fleet of 600 ships was acting in co-operation with the army of Asia Minor, the Egypto-Cilician troops, and new levies from the vanquished

Military combinations of Artaphernēs.

Cypriots. This was a force with which the Ionians could not cope by land; accordingly, the combined Ionic council, leaving to the Milesians the maintenance of their own fortifications, resolved to rest their chief defence upon their navy, the aggregate of which amounted to 353 ships, a force which, if rightly directed, might bid fair to obtain the mastery of the Ionian seas. But, unfortunately, the want of energetic leaders and of sound discipline proved the ruin of the enterprise.

Naval resources and defence of the Ionians.

Amongst the various contingents which composed this formidable fleet, there was but one man of sterling vigour and resolution. Dionysius, of Phocæa, almost the sole representative of the ancient maritime renown of the early colonists of Gaul, was the commander of three ships only. Full of noble enterprise, tempered by calm reflection, he perceived the peril of a conflict with the Persian navy in their present undisciplined state. "Men of Ionia," exclaimed he, "our fate hangs on the razor's edge, either to be freemen or slaves, and slaves, too, caught after running away: if, therefore, you are now willing to endure hardship, toil will be yours for the present; but when you have vanquished the enemy, you will be enabled to enjoy freedom." In such a gallant strain did Dionysius continue to address the Ionians. The result was a temporary display of energetic alacrity; but the native unsteadiness of the Ionian character, and its impatience under persevering toil, soon became manifest. Scarcely had seven days been spent in the practice of nautical evolutions, and the exercise of the crews and the Hoplitai, when the whole force broke out into open mutiny against Dionysius. "Which of the gods," exclaimed they, "have we offended, to bring upon ourselves such retribution as this? madmen as we are, to give ourselves up to this bragging Phocæan, who has furnished but three ships;" and they unanimously declined his orders, and repaired to the enjoyment of their tents on shore.

Valour and discipline of the Phocæan Dionysius.

His excellent advice.

Impatience and unsteadiness of the Ionians.

Their camp now became a scene of irregularity and confusion: perfectly reckless of the important results at stake, they became entirely unmanageable. Meanwhile, treason was busy in their camp. Œaces, their expelled tyrant, was privately tampering with the Samians, who promised to desert on the first favourable opportunity. Accordingly, at the fatal battle of Ladē, which soon afterwards followed, sixty of their ships sailed off, eleven only excepted, whose commanders scorned such treachery. The ships of Chios, in a compact body occupying the centre, displayed a brilliant example of courage and discipline, but all their efforts could not repair the effects of cowardice and treachery in the remainder of the Ionian navy: its defeat was total and irretrievable. Dionysius, the hero who evinced enterprising valour commensurate with the soundness of his judgment, behaved nobly in the action, taking with his three ships a similar number of the Phœnicians; and, still formidable after the Ionian defeat, sailed to the coast of Phœnicia, and daringly seized on several Phœnician merchantmen; then, setting sail for Sicily, he commenced a cruise against the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians, uniformly sparing all Greek vessels.

They desert their discipline and ships.

Treachery of the Samians.

Total defeat of the Ionians.

The result of the victory of Ladē was the attack of Milētus by land and sea; the walls were undermined, the engines of attack brought up, and the siege prosecuted with the utmost vigour. The city was speedily taken by storm, the male population slain, and the few who were spared were despatched with the women and children to the court at Susa. To these Darius appointed a residence at Ampē, near the mouth of the Tigris.

Milētus stormed. B. C. 494.

Thus fell Milētus, in the sixth year of the revolt. In the ensuing summer, Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos—Artakē and Proconnēsus, in the Propontis—the towns of the Chersonēse—Selymbria and Perinthus, in Thrace—fell under the power of the Persian fleet. The whole seaboard of Ionia was now swept from north to south, and mercilessly ravaged; the most beautiful Greeks of either sex were distributed amongst the Persian grandees, and their buildings, sacred and profane, given up to the flames.

Islands and towns subdued by the Persians.

Destruction of the Ionian power.





CHAPTER IX.

THE PERSIAN WAR.

B. C. 490 TO B. C. 469.

UNDER this head we shall place the Biographies of the great men who conducted the Persian war with so brilliant a result,—the men who reaped imperishable renown at Marathon, at Thermopylæ, at Salamis, at Platæa: the great names of Miltiadēs, Aristīdēs, Themistoclēs, Leonidas, Pausanias. The story to be told in this chapter is one of the grandest in the history of the human race.

INVASION OF GREECE BY COMMAND OF DARIUS, KING OF PERSIA.

B. C. 492 TO B. C. 490.

We have already given, in the history of the Peisistratidæ, a sketch of the Persian invasion of Greece; but a thorough comprehension of the subject requires the citation of a few other particulars.

When Darius had been informed of certain events of the Ionic revolt, he desired to know who the Athenians were. On being told, he called for his bow, and shooting an arrow in the air, exclaimed, "Suffer me, O Jupiter! to be revenged on these Athenians." He afterwards directed one of his attendants to repeat to him, three times every day, when he sat down to table, "Sir, remember the Athenians." [1]

Mardonius marches into Greece.

In the twenty-eighth year of his reign, Darius engaged with peculiar ardour in his project for the conquest of Greece. The conduct of the

[1] Herod. b. v. c. 5.

Persian forces he committed solely to Mardonius, a very young man, who had recently married a daughter of the king. Mardonius, according to Herodotus, collected at the Hellespont "a numerous fleet and a powerful army," with which he "proceeded towards Eretria and Athens," to revenge the burning of Sardis. On his arrival in Macedonia, that country presently submitted. But the Thracians, availing themselves of his insecure encampment, surprised his army in the night, destroyed a great number of his soldiers, and wounded Mardonius himself. His fleet, in the mean time, while doubling the Cape of Mount Athos, now Capo Santo, encountered a storm, in which there perished three hundred of his ships and 20,000 men. Thus disabled, Mardonius returned into Asia with the wreck of this mighty armament, when Darius, too late, regretted the confidence he had rashly placed in his youth and inexperience.

His defeat.

The king, who still had the resources of immense treasure and a vast population at his command, could not be diverted from his ambitious project. He sent heralds into Greece to demand submission, in the customary form, by the presentation of earth and water. The dread of the Persian power prevailed over the people of Ægina and many of the Grecian cities; at Athens and Sparta they were otherwise received. "The Athenians," says Herodotus, "threw the heralds of Darius into their pit of punishment, and the Lacedæmonians, into wells, telling them to procure the earth and water there, and carry it to their king."[1]

Darius now hastened the departure of Datis the Mede, and Artaphernēs, his own nephew, son of the governor of Sardis, whom he had appointed generals in the place of Mardonius. They received special orders from the king to plunder and burn Eretria and Athens. On reaching the coasts of Ionia, they collected an army of 300,000 men, and a fleet of six hundred ships. In the ensuing spring they assembled their whole fleet at Samos. Having taken Naxos, and all the neighbouring islands, they besieged Eretria. The disunion among the citizens, the retirement of the Athenian succours, hopeless of serving such self-devoted allies, and the treachery by which the city was at length betrayed to the Persians, we have already narrated. To execute the royal vengeance, Eretria was pillaged, the temples were destroyed, in revenge for those burned at Sardis, and the inhabitants were sent captives to Susa. There, according to the caprice so often discovered in the exercise of despotic power, Darius treated them kindly, and allowed them a settlement, in which their descendants were found in after ages.

Succeeded by Datis and Artaphernēs.

Passing over to Attica, the Persians were led by Hippias to the plain of Marathon, ten miles from Athens. Their army, according to Cornelius Nepos,[2] consisted of 200,000 foot, and 10,000 horse. The forces which the Athenians could oppose to such a formidable hostility were only 10,000 foot, (including 1,000 Platæans,) for they had no cavalry. The particulars of this almost incredible battle; the choice of Miltiadēs for general, by the disinterested patriotism of Aris-

Battle of Marathon.

[1] B. vii. c. xxxiii. [2] Life of Miltiadēs.

tīdēs and the rest of his companions; the delay of the Lacedæmonian succour, from a superstition which robbed them of a glorious distinction; have been already related.

Degeneracy of the Persian soldiers.

The Persian soldiers had now lost much of that hardihood which distinguished the armies of Cyrus. According to Plutarch,[1] "those who fought in the battle of Marathon had garments embroidered with gold upon their delicate bodies, well suited to their effeminate minds." They are, however, admitted by Herodotus to have maintained a long and obstinate contest, the centre, composed of Persians and the Sacæ, obliging the Greeks to give way, and pursuing them. But the Athenians and Platæans, who formed the wings of the Grecian army, closed upon the Persians, and obtained a complete victory, killing a great number, and pursuing the rest, who were escaping to their ships. The loss of the Persians in this battle is stated by Herodotus to have been no more than 6,400 men slain on the field, but Trogus computed that, by sword, shipwreck, and disease, there were lost 200,000.

Rage of Darius.

Herodotus, in the commencement of his seventh book, says, that "when the news of the battle of Marathon reached Darius, he who was before incensed against the Athenians for their destruction of Sardis, became still more exasperated, and resolved more eagerly on the invasion of Greece. He therefore instantly sent orders to the cities under his allegiance to provide a far greater number of transports, horses, and provisions."

He prepares to renew the war.

His death. B. C. 486.

His preparations, indeed, to accomplish mighty projects were unceasing; but he was arrested by a power mightier than his own. He died after a reign of thirty-six years, B. C. 486, and according to Herodotus, "in the year which followed the revolt of the Babylonians, leaving ungratified the resentment he had cherished against the Egyptians and Athenians, who had ventured to oppose his power."

MILTIADĒS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 490.

B. C. 490.

The fickleness of the Athenian democracy, ever profuse in its favours, ungrateful in its neglect, or tremendous in its anger, is in no instance more strongly illustrated than in the lives of the patriots Miltiadēs, Aristīdēs, and Themistoclēs. Each of these exalted citizens possessed his own peculiar virtues; each of them was loaded with honours and rewards, and each of them, in his turn, felt the severity of those laws and the tyranny of that power which he himself had so largely contributed to support, if not to originate. In contrast with the evils, however, of a popular form of government, exemplified in the lives of these celebrated men, we must not omit to observe, on the other hand, a certain beneficial result. In times of public danger, and of threatened subversion under foreign dominion, men of great and extraordinary powers in a democracy rise up, as it were, from the very stones of their cities; real merit much more readily finds both its due impetus

[1] Life of Aristīdēs.

and its due reward; and the temptations of ambition are open to its votaries only, because they have first preserved them to their country. Among the Athenians, the extreme jealousy of undue power, lodged in the hands of any one person, for a long time effectually guarded them against the ambition of their chieftains. But as individuals possessed too little, so the aggregate of the community enjoyed too much authority; and the misuse of that power is strikingly displayed in the lives of those who were in turn the favourites and the victims of a fierce and ungovernable populace.

Miltiadēs, the senior chief of the heroes of Marathon, was descended from a noble and distinguished family. His father, named Cimon, the son of Cypselus, was one of those high-minded Athenians who, in the time of Peisistratus, could not brook obedience to the tyrant, and quitted his country in consequence of that feeling. The magnanimity of Peisistratus, however, soon induced him to return, and he was afterwards slain in a domestic tumult in the city. Cimon left two sons, one named Stesagoras and the other Miltiadēs, the Athenian general. Stesagoras was soon called to a higher station than that which either his father or himself had filled in Athens. The sons of Cimon had an uncle named Miltiadēs, the son of Cypselus, who, by his own merits, and in consequence of the dictates of the Delphic oracle, became prince of the Thracian Dolonci, the inhabitants of a part of Chersonēsus; and, dying without issue, his nephew Stesagoras succeeded him in that sovereignty. The reign of Stesagoras was short; he was slain by a blow from an axe, given by an enemy disguised in the dress and accoutrements of a deserter; and dying, like his uncle, without issue, Miltiadēs, the celebrated Athenian general, became entitled to the throne and property of his brother. He was a favourite at this time with Peisistratus, the sovereign of Athens; and that prince, ever the friend of monarchy, assisted him with a small army to support his title. With one ship only he sailed to take possession of his new government; and, perceiving the necessity of stratagem, on his arrival in the Chersonēsus he absented himself from the public shows, and affected a particular seclusion, pretending grief for the death of Stesagoras, and a desire to do honour to his memory. By this artifice he collected, to condole with him, all the principal persons from the neighbouring cities, an event for which Miltiadēs had duly prepared. The murder of his father Cimon is said to have been contrived, or perpetrated, at Athens, by the very persons whom he now found in his power; they were, therefore, seized and imprisoned by order of Miltiadēs, and his path to



Originally king of the Dolonci.

the throne was secured from danger; but whether any further punishment was inflicted on them is nowhere recorded. Miltiadēs now found himself the undisputed master of Chersonēsus. He immediately formed a body-guard of five hundred auxiliaries, and allied himself by marriage with Olorus, king of Thrace, by whose daughter, Hegesipyla, he was presented with a son, Cimon, afterwards celebrated in Grecian history.

Causes of his settlement at Athens.

The new monarch was not, however, destined long to enjoy his dominions in tranquillity: he was to descend from this petty throne to lead the way to an imperishable renown. In the third year of his government, Darius, in resentment of certain alleged injuries he had received from the Athenians, made retaliation on all Greece and the neighbouring countries; when the Scythian wandering tribes, taking advantage of the general state of confusion occasioned by the Persian expedition, assembled in great numbers on the borders of Chersonēsus, which they plundered, without attempting to maintain, but soon suffered it to revert to its former prince; and Miltiadēs was reinstated in his power by the Dolonci. A short interval of peace succeeded; but in the third year after his restoration, Darius, provoked, perhaps, by the known attachment of Miltiadēs to the Athenians, sent a powerful army of the Phœnicians against him; and the hero, surrounding himself with his friends, and collecting all his riches, finally abandoned his dominions, and set sail, with a fleet of five ships, for Athens. It is said that the Phœnicians intercepted him, and took one of the vessels, commanded by his son, Metrochus, on whom Darius refused to avenge his quarrel with the father. According to Herodotus, the king "showed him the greatest kindness, gave him possessions in Persia, and married him to a Persian lady."

Finally abandons his throne.

The Athenians had been prepared to receive the royal fugitive with honour. He had never, in the course of his sovereignty over Chersonēsus, forgotten his connections with his native soil, and on one occasion had rendered Athens a considerable service. The inhabitants of the island of Lemnos, having been admonished by the Delphic oracle to compose their differences with the Athenians by an absolute submission, the Lemnian ambassadors are said to have answered contemptuously, and, as it was then deemed, impiously, that "they would comply when a ship from the Athenian dominions should be blown into their harbour by a north wind; confident, in the then imperfect state of the art of navigation, that, as the haven of Lemnos was situated to the north of Attica, they were perfectly secure from such an event. Miltiadēs, however, being possessed of the Chersonēsus, easily sailed from a port in the Hellespont, and won the harbour of Lemnos, driven thither by a strong north wind; when, aware alike of the oracle and of the positive answer of the Lemnites, he instantly demanded a fulfilment of both, by their submission to him as representative of the Athenians. This requisition was immediately complied with; partly, perhaps, through their superstitious reverence of the oracle, and partly in deference to their own honour.

His former services to Athens.

But neither these services nor the known friendship of Miltiadēs to the Athenian state could screen him from censure on account of that which was, in the eyes of the Athenians, a serious crime. He had, from an Athenian citizen, become a monarch; and, in their inveterate hatred to kingly government, these arbitrary republicans actually formed an accusation against him on this account, and he was regularly tried for the offence, of which, however, he was as strangely acquitted. His talents, reputation, and riches had soon elevated him to the highest offices of public trust and honour, when the ambassadors of Darius came to Athens, demanding earth and water from the citizens, in token of their submission to the Persians. Those emissaries of the tyrant, his countrymen threw into a pit, as a signal of defiance to their master, proclaiming to them aloud that in that place they would find the objects of their requisition, earth and water, sufficient for their purpose, and as much as the Athenian honour could grant them. After this hostile menace, Miltiadēs was appointed one of the ten generals to command the Athenian army, and we have already seen in how vigorous a manner he conducted those troops to immortal honour in the field.

Commands at Marathon

On his return to Athens from the splendid victory of Marathon, Miltiadēs was treated with increased respect. He was represented in the picture painted by order of the Athenians, in the Pœcilian portico, foremost amongst the ten captains, animating his soldiers to the charge. But this appears to have been his only reward. In the height of his popularity, the Athenians rejected his demand of an olive crown, and severely rebuked the hero for presuming to claim it. Soon afterwards, in an assembly of the people, he proposed that they should make a descent upon the island of Paros, to retaliate upon the inhabitants of that place the offence which they had committed in rendering assistance to Darius in his late expedition to Marathon; but the real motive which influenced the Athenian general in this proposal was a private quarrel between him and Lysagoras, a Parian chieftain. Unfortunately, both for his own fate and the fortunes of the Athenians, Miltiadēs, now a leading man in their assemblies, succeeded without difficulty in persuading them to adopt his scheme; and they entrusted him with a fleet of seventy ships, well manned, and proportionally appointed. With this force Miltiadēs sailed from Athens in high hopes of conquest, promising to return with great riches, the fruits of his anticipated victory. Arrived at the island of Paros, he landed without opposition, and sent heralds to the city demanding the sum of one hundred talents to be immediately paid him as a ransom for their country, which, in case of refusal, he threatened to give up to the plunder of his irritated army. The Parians, unmoved by these menaces, and confident in their strength, affected to deliberate on his proposals, and then sent back to Miltiadēs an unqualified defiance. The Athenians for a time carried on the siege with some prospect of ultimate success; when, by either treason or accident, an event befel their

Expedition to Paros.

general which proved fatal to all their anticipations. One Timō, a Parian priestess, came secretly to Miltiadēs, promising that she would disclose to him a method by which he might take the city with the utmost ease; and the Athenian general listened to her scheme with too easy a credulity. In consequence of her advice, he repaired in secret and alone to the temple of Dēmēter, expecting to find its gates opened for his reception. In this he was disappointed, and by no violence was he able to force them. He, therefore, climbed to the top of the wall, and thence leaped down into the area of the temple, still encouraging the hope that he should meet his supposed confederates. Seized with a sudden horror at his own impiety, he now determined to attempt his return. With this view he hastily reascended the wall, when his foot slipped, and he broke his thigh in falling, or, according to other accounts, dislocated his knee-pan. In what manner he reached his camp we are not told, but his arrival there, in this deplorable condition, might well be supposed to spread consternation and panic throughout the army: in consequence of it the siege was raised, and the expedition re-embarked, baffled and defeated in its purpose.

Misled to his ruin.

His unfavourable reception at Athens.

The short season of the glory of Miltiadēs, the victor of Marathon, had now passed away. With an army diminished in numbers and broken in spirit, the helpless Miltiadēs returned mortally wounded to Athens, and found the general dissatisfaction was increasing. The circumstance of his personal quarrel with Lysagoras, the Parian chief, was alleged as an argument to prove his motive for the recent expedition to have been self-interest alone; and Xanthippus, the father of the famous Periclēs, boldly came forward to the general assembly, and accused their formerly victorious general of having designedly led the people into the war. This construction of his conduct was instantly adopted, and the popular voice now loudly demanded the sentence of death on the unfortunate Miltiadēs, as an expiation of his crime. The situation of the accused was the more distressing, as it was utterly impossible, from his wounds, that he could enter on his own defence. His known eloquence, might not have been without influence on the multitude; but he was obliged, however unwilling, to trust his defence to Tisagoras, his brother, who, indeed, used his most strenuous and affectionate exertions on his behalf. Thus disabled, with his wounded limb mortifying, he was brought into the assemby on a couch, while his cause was pleaded by his friends. Tisagoras represented to the Athenians, that although Miltiadēs had failed in this last expedition, it was yet to him that they were indebted for that victory at Marathon, which had effected the preservation of Athens from the cruelties threatened by the Persian monarch: he therefore entreated them to forgive his present error in consideration of his past services, and to regard with commiseration him to whom they were indebted for the power of those laws which he had protected from dissolution by the Persian king. This appeal to their pity was not without its effect.

On a solemn hearing, the assembled Athenian people acquitted Miltiadēs of any crime deserving death, but, at the same time, they sentenced him to pay a fine of fifty talents, the counter-penalty proposed by his friends, and probably the amount of the late unfortunate Parian expedition. This was a payment too large for the fortune of Miltiadēs to sustain; and maimed and disabled as he was, the Athenians dragged him to prison, condemning him to suffer in person for that which he was unable to pay in money.[1]

Condemned in a severe fine.

If the Marathonian hero had not already received his death-wounds at Paros, the ingratitude and cruelty of the Athenians would, in all probability, have exacerbated those wounds, however slight, so as to have produced an event equally fatal. It is, indeed, by no means clear that this was not actually the case; a broken thigh or a dislocated knee-pan, could scarcely be supposed, however immature the art of surgery, to have produced death without accelerating or assisting causes; and where can we seek for those causes so successfully as in the wounded mind of the hero? Whatever were the immediate causes, however, this celebrated general died in prison from the mortification of his wounded limb, soon after his trial and subsequent condemnation.

Dies in prison.

The cruelty of the Athenians did not end with the death of their victim; they denied him the rites of burial until the fine imposed upon him was discharged; and Cimon, the son of Miltiadēs, offered his own person, to redeem the body of his parent from further indignity, This noble son of no ignoble father, was now, in his turn, sent to prison to enforce the payment of the fine; nor was he released till, the sum being discharged by one Callias, the hard law, and the harder hearts of the Athenian democracy were satisfied. This was at the expense of a further sacrifice made by Cimon for the redemption of his father's honour. According to the barbarous laws and customs of those days, he had married a sister by his father's side, whose name was Elpinicē, and who was admired by Callias, a person of low birth, the same who paid the fine for the liberation of Cimon, which, however, he only consented to do on Cimon's giving up Elpinicē to him as his wife. Both Cimon and Elpinicē were unwilling to separate; but a cause common to both, the family honour, at length prevailed, and it is recorded, as a peculiar instance of magnanimity in Elpinicē, that she gave herself up to Callias, on his payment of the fine for Cimon, with the declaration that "whilst in her power to prevent it, she would not suffer any of the family of Miltiadēs to remain in prison or distress." Thus perished Miltiadēs the victor of Marathon, one of the first of those heroes who afterwards rendered Athens so famous on the pages of history. The love of power—a temptation scarcely resistible by human nature—was the principal failing of his character; but after he had attained that power, his native generosity of heart forbade him to use it with injustice or cruelty. During the time of his magistracy, he was moderate,

[1] Nepos, Diodorus, and Plutarch are authorities which Grote (vol. iv. pp. 497-8) doubts, relying on the omission of the imprisonment by Herodotus.

humble, and universally beloved; nor in the days of his adversity did the slightest spot of malignity cloud his reputation.

MUSTERING OF THE PERSIANS FOR THE FINAL INVASION OF GREECE, UNDER XERXES.

B. C. 483 TO B. C. 480.

Mardonius, desirous of recovering the military reputation which he had lost by his early misadventures, had urged Xerxes, the son of Darius, immediately on his accession to the throne, to retaliate the wrongs which Persia had received from the Athenians. He also represented the beauty and fertility of Europe, which rendered it worthy to become the sole possession of the Great King, especially as it abounded in all kinds of trees, of which some parts of Persia are remarkably destitute. Messengers also arrived from the Aleuadæ, princes of Thessaly, who entreated the king to march against Greece, and employed every argument in their power to persuade him. The survivors of the fallen family of the Peisistratidæ, who had found a refuge at Susa, joined their solicitations. To aid the same design, Onomacritus, a famous priest, who had been formerly banished from Athens, of which he was a citizen, recited some oracular verses. Omitting everything unfavourable to the Persians, he selected whatever was encouraging. He particularly assured the king, speaking of his marching an army into Greece, how the Destinies had determined that a Persian should throw a bridge over the Hellespont.

Aleuadæ.

Peisistratidæ.

Three years were employed in preparations for the invasion of Greece, which Xerxes regarded as an easy acquisition. "He refused," says Plutarch, "to eat Attic figs that were brought for sale, waiting till they became his own, by the conquest of the country that produced them.

Xerxes prepares to invade Greece.

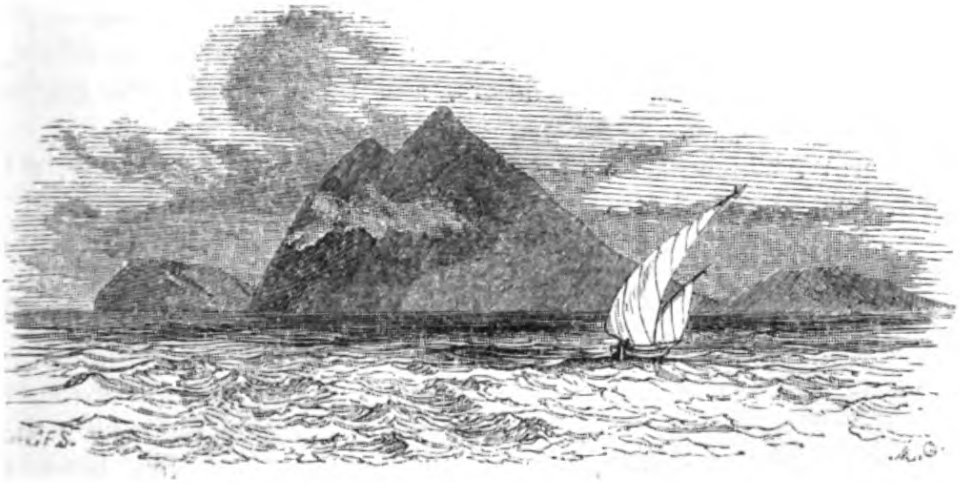
While Xerxes was thus preparing for the conquest of the Greeks, he engaged the Carthaginians to attack their colonies in Italy and Sicily. He likewise drew his levies, like his father Darius, from all the nations of that vast continent which owned the Persian sway. Thus, according to the prophet Daniel,[1] "By his strength and his great riches he stirred up all against the realm of Grecia." Our historian says, "What nation of Asia did not Xerxes lead against Greece? What waters, except great rivers, were not exhausted by his armies? Some of the people furnished ships, (and the whole have been computed at more than three thousand,) others raised infantry, and others cavalry. Some provided transports for the horses and the troops, or long vessels to form bridges, while others even brought stores of provisions and vessels to transport them." The place of rendezvous for this naval armament was Elæus, in the Chersonēsus of Thrace. Thence, if we credit our historian, detachments were sent to execute the prodigious labour of cutting a canal through Mount Athos, now Monte Santo, or rather through the isthmus behind it.

Extent of the king's preparations.

Mount Athos.

[1] xi. 2.

Herodotus has minutely described the expedients employed to dig this canal, a work which he attributes to the king's vain desire of displaying his power and of leaving a monument to posterity; as with far less trouble he might have transported the vessels across the isthmus. This vanity imputed to Xerxes appears, indeed, to have been a favourite theme of antiquity. Thus Plutarch imputes to the haughty Persian king the following frantic epistle to the mountain: "Athos, whose top now reaches to the skies, I charge thee not to interrupt my workmen with stones which cannot be cut asunder, lest I cut thee into pieces, and whelm thee in the sea."



The march from Susa.

Xerxes, having completed his preparations, began his march from Susa, with the troops which accompanied him from Persia. At Critalla, in Cappadocia, which is supposed to have been the Archelais of the Romans, and the modern Erekli, the rest of the troops which were to compose the land army were assembled to attend the king, who now proceeded on his march to Sardis.

Heralds sent into Greece.

On his arrival at Sardis, he immediately sent heralds into Greece, with the exception of Athens and Lacedæmon, to demand the homage of earth and water: thus Xerxes occupied the winter of the fifth year of his reign. He had previously ordered, according to our historian, vast preparations for passing the Hellespont; and upon a temporary disappointment of his scheme, discovered a childish petulance, which has made this king a theme for satire through all ages.

Bridge over the Hellespont.

He had ordered a bridge to be constructed across the Hellespont, for the passage of his army into Europe. The workmen commenced at the side next Abydos, the Phœnicians using (to connect the vessels) a cordage made of linen, and the Egyptians one made of the bark of the byblus. This bridge was no sooner completed at the narrowest part of the strait, which was nearly a mile over, when a violent tempest dispersed the whole. Enraged by the knowledge of the disaster, Xerxes sentenced the Hellespont to be whipped to the extent of three hundred lashes, and ordered that a pair of fetters should be

thrown into the sea, which made Juvenal (x. 183) extol the king's lenity—

——— quod non et stigmate dignum
Credidit :

(that he had not branded the sea with a hot iron.) Xerxes, however, who had written to Mount Athos, now sent the following vituperatory epistle to the Hellespont, to be delivered by the flagellators: "Thou salt and bitter water, thy master thus punishes thee, because thou hast offended him without provocation; Xerxes the king will insist on passing over thee: no one should offer thee a sacrifice, since thou art deceitful and of an unsavoury flavour." After thus punishing the sea, the despot concluded by beheading those who had constructed the bridge. Another was presently completed, or rather two bridges were contrived, one for the soldiers, and the other for the baggage and beasts of burden.

March from Sardis.

B. C. 480.

The army, which had wintered at Sardis, left that city early in the spring, being terrified at the moment of their departure by a sudden darkness, probably an eclipse. Immediately after the baggage-train marched troops of all nations, an undistinguished multitude, comprising more than half the army; at some distance followed a thousand cavalry, selected from the whole Persian army; then a thousand chosen foot, armed with pikes trailing on the ground; after these came ten Nisæan horses superbly caparisoned; following these appeared the sacred car of Jupiter, drawn by eight white horses; behind these, on foot, was the charioteer holding the reins, for no mortal was permitted to mount the car; then appeared Xerxes, in a chariot drawn by Nisæan horses; by his side sat the charioteer, a Persian named Patiramphes, the son of Otanes. Thus Xerxes departed from Sardis at the head of his Persian forces.



Having proceeded along the banks of the Caicus, they at length reached the Scamander, the first river, says our historian, which failed to supply a sufficiency of water for the troops and beasts of burden. Here Xerxes is said to have ascended the citadel of Priam to

survey the plain of Ilium, and to have sacrificed a thousand oxen to the Trojan Athēnē, whose temple was in the citadel, while the Magi offered libations to the Hero-gods of the country. How this citadel should have survived the glory of Ilium for so many centuries, or how Xerxes, under the guidance of the Persian Magi, should have honoured a *temple* by a costly sacrifice, we cannot understand.

Arrival at Abydos.

The army, however, arrived at Abydos, on the Asian shore of the Hellespont. Here Xerxes gratified his desire of surveying his land and naval armament, in its prodigious extent. There was placed on an eminence a throne of white marble, from which he is said to have beheld these myriads of troops, and this multitude of vessels, at one view, and to have been further gratified by the exhibition of a naval combat, in which the Phœnicians of Sidon were the victors. The first feeling of the Great King was that of self-gratulation, on viewing the vast assemblage of which he was the sovereign lord. But soon, to borrow the language of Glover,[1]—

> ——————— as down
> Th' immeasurable ranks his sight was lost,
> A momentary gloom o'ercast his mind,
> While this reflection filled his eyes with tears:
> That, soon as time a hundred years had told,
> Not one of all those thousands should survive.

Yet as Seneca well remarks[2] "the very man who shed these tears was about to destroy quickly that multitude whose death, within a hundred years, he now professed to deplore."

Passage of the Hellespont.

After calling an assembly of the principal Persians to receive the king's last commands on passing over into Europe, the next morning, before sunrise, they burned on the bridge a profusion of perfumes, and strewed the road with branches of myrtle. At the rising of the sun, Xerxes poured a libation into the sea from a golden cup, and prayed the sun to avert every calamity which might interfere with his subjugation of Europe to the farthest limits. He then threw the cup into the Hellespont, as also a golden goblet and a Persian scymitar. "I cannot decide," says Herodotus, "whether, in throwing these things into the sea, Xerxes designed an oblation to the sun, or if, repenting of the chastisement he had inflicted on the Hellespont, he intended to appease that sea by his offerings."

Xerxes and his army having all passed over, Xerxes determined to arrange and number his forces. This he effected by first collecting 10,000 men, and enclosing with walls the exact space they were found to occupy. Successive bodies of 10,000 men each were then admitted into the enclosure, till the whole army was numbered.

The amount of the land forces, Herodotus reports to have been 1,700,000, or rather, upon the whole, 1,800,000, a statement which may excite no small doubts of the correct information, in this instance, at least, of the reputed Father of History. Mr. Richardson regards his

[1] Leonidas, b. iii. [2] De Brev. Vit. c. xvii.

statement as absolutely fabulous, and is led to doubt whether "the paramount sovereign of Persia" ever undertook this expedition into Greece. He rather concludes it may have been the project of some feudatory prince, or viceroy of the western districts of that empire. M. Larcher, on the other hand, justly alleges the enslaved condition of the immense population of the Persian empire, all, without distinction of rank or occupation, forced to become soldiers at the command of the sovereign. To the computations of later writers, Ctesias, Diodorus, Ælian, Pliny, and Justin, who, though varying, have all greatly diminished the numbers of this army, Larcher opposes the statement of Herodotus as almost a contemporary, who, at Olympia, must have found, to listen to his recital, many Greeks who had fought against Xerxes. Yet it is obvious that the sanction of Persians to his veracity had been far more satisfactory. For what exaggeration would not the Greeks have excused, to gratify their hatred of the Persian power? Major Rennell offers what is probably the best solution of this difficulty, when he says, that "the Persians may be compared, in respect to the rest of the army of Xerxes, with the Europeans in a British army in India;" where, as at the siege of Seringapatam, 20,000 regular troops have been attended by a mixed multitude of more than 100,000.

Military commanders.

To the command of this armament twelve generals were appointed for the land forces; the first of whom was Mardonius, who now hoped to retrieve his lost military reputation; another of these leaders was Megabyzus, the son of Zopyrus; Hydarnēs commanded the 10,000 Persians who were called *the immortal band.* The cavalry had separate commanders, and four generals were appointed for the fleet, which at first consisted of 1200 vessels of war, and the number was increased by those states in Europe which the power of Xerxes had inclined to solicit his alliance. These commanders of the fleet are named by Herodotus, but none of them distinguished themselves except his countrywoman Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, who attended Xerxes with five ships, the best appointed of all the fleet. She is celebrated as well for her courage in battle as for her prudent counsel.

Xerxes reviews his forces.

Xerxes, having numbered his forces of every description, proceeded, according to the narration of Herodotus, to review the immense multitude which the historian assigns to this expedition. Mounted on a car, the king passed through every rank of the different nations, proposing suitable questions to each, attended by his secretaries, who wrote down the answers. He then seated himself on the deck of a Sidonian vessel, under a cloth of gold, and thus gratified his curiosity in passing through the fleet. The king then sent for Demarātus, the exiled Spartan prince, who attended him in this expedition, and had probably witnessed the review. Demanding of the Spartan whether he thought the Greeks would venture to resist such a force, Demarātus prudently inquired whether his royal patron were disposed to hear the truth, or to be flattered. Xerxes requiring his opinion without

apprehension or disguise, Demarātus assured the king that the Greeks, or at least the Lacedæmonians, would resist, even though they could muster only a thousand men. He then closed a conversation of some length, by a flattering wish that the expedition might succeed according to the king's desires. This success, however, he had endeavoured to prevent, by the intelligence which he had communicated to the Greeks, being, according to Justin, *amicior patriæ post fugam, quam regi, post beneficia* (more friendly to the country which had banished, than to the king who had entertained him).

Advance of the Persian army.

Xerxes now traversed the territory of Thrace, which his fleet coasted, to supply the necessary provisions for the army, except when they were furnished by the cities on his march, as at Abdera; where a citizen, according to Herodotus, proposed to thank the gods for their escape from total ruin, as Xerxes had exacted only one meal in a day. On the banks of the Strymon, as the historian relates, the Magi, for the purpose of divination, sacrificed white horses, the appearance of whose entrails contained the happiest prognostications of a successful expedition.



Order of march.

Arrival at Therma.

Xerxes proceeded on his march, receiving the submission of the countries through which he passed, and from these he continually augmented his forces. The army at length arrived at Therma, afterwards called Thessalonica, and now, by the Turks, Saloniki, situate on the gulf which bears that name. Here Xerxes appears to have remained

a considerable time, and the historian attributes to him the project of diverting the course of the river Peneus. He waited, however, the return of the heralds whom he had sent to all the states of Greece, except Athens and Lacedæmon, to demand the homage of earth and water. The principal of those who submitted were the people of Thessaly and the Locrians, both justly dreading the approach of the Persian forces. The Spartans and Athenians treated his heralds with contempt and derision.

We need not pursue the march of Xerxes any further. The events that occurred when this multitude of orientals met the hostile Greeks will be described in the following sections.



ARISTĪDĒS AND THEMISTOCLĒS.

FLOURISHED FROM B. C. 489 TO B. C. 449.

B. C. 489. The names of these illustrious Athenians are so closely interwoven throughout the most interesting events, and the character of each is so constantly illustrating that of the other by contrasted rivalry, that they cannot well be disunited. Scarcely a circumstance of importance to their country occurred during the period in which they lived, but we find both these patriots shared in its glory; hence, because their united fates will serve to illustrate the same points in the manners, laws, and government of Athens, we shall not now disjoin what has often been considered together.

Aristīdēs was the son of Lysimachus, of the tribe of Antiochis, residing in the village of Alopecē, in Attica. Themistoclēs was, on the maternal side, a foreigner, and of disputed extraction. Some writers speak of his mother under the name of Euterpē, others under that of Abrotonum; his father was named Neocles, of the tribe of Leontes.

Aristīdēs and Themistoclēs educated together.

Both these great men were comparatively of mean families; they appear, however, to have been brought up from the age of boyhood together, and to have developed in their juvenile sports much of that spirit of

personal rivalry which afterwards appeared in their history. In boyhood the different dispositions of the future patriots were equally remarkable. Themistoclēs was bold, impetuous, and ambitious, little careful of the means by which his ambition was gratified. Subtle and courteous when overawed by superior attainments; but haughty on other occasions. At a very early age he is said to have cultivated the art of oratory, in which he exhibited powers which attracted the admiration of his superiors. "Boy," said his tutor, on one of these occasions, with much more discrimination than discretion, "thou wilt become, at some future time, either a mighty curse or a mighty blessing to thy country; thou wilt never prove an ordinary man." Aristīdēs, on the other hand, was early distinguished by the firmness of his resolutions, and the equity of his general conduct. The objects he proposed to himself were honourable, and the means which he used to attain them were candid and honest.

Themistoclēs' early oratory.

His integrity naturally led him to the study of the Spartan philosophy of Lycurgus. He disdained to flatter an unsteady populace; and, although an advocate for the cause of republicanism, he became a supporter of the aristocracy. Truth, however, was his great object, and justice was his path. Themistoclēs, whose motives were those of ambition alone, chose the readiest way to accomplish his object, by becoming an excessive favourer of democracy, to which side he was inclined by his ripening jealousy of Aristīdēs—an unworthy jealousy, which shook to the centre at times the constitution of their country. Nevertheless, when that country was in danger, the talents of both were united with equal warmth in protecting it.

Aristīdēs' early virtue.

The most eminent occasion which presented itself in illustration of their devoted patriotism was at the battle of Marathon. Both Aristīdēs and Themistoclēs were, on that occasion, amongst the ten generals who commanded the Athenian army, under Callimachus the Polemarch; and both signalized their capacity before and after that celebrated conflict, the details of which will be found in our account of the Peisistratidæ.

In joint command at Marathon.

When Miltiadēs marched to Athens to repel the plundering fugitives of the Persian army, Aristīdēs was left in command of those Greeks at Marathon who guarded the prisoners and the spoil. The vast treasures of the enemy now lay at his complete disposal: he was young as a commander, and well acquainted with the tempting power of gold; but his personal disinterestedness was conspicuous on the occasion. He conducted the vast booty with scrupulous care to the capital, and, amidst the plaudits of his countrymen, resigned his important command.

The Athenians were no sooner released from the danger of that invasion, than their private dissensions rose to as high and dangerous excesses as before. The aristocracy of the city now began to consider Aristīdēs as their firm support; whilst the popular outcry was in favour of the more ostentatious merits of Themistoclēs. The Athenian constitution permitted every citizen in his turn to preside in the courts of justice; and we shall here see the difference of principle upon which

Dissensions respecting these chiefs at Athens.

these celebrated chieftains directed their public conduct. "The gods forbid," said Themistoclēs, "that I should ever preside at a tribunal where my friends shall not find more favour than strangers." Aristides, on the contrary, held that on a seat of justice, the inflexible rule of right should be alone his guide. On one occasion of this sort, a plaintiff urged in favour of his suit, and in illustration of the evil dispositions of the accused, the wrongs which the defendant had committed against Aristīdēs himself, who instantly interrupted his plea, and exclaimed, "State your own cause, and the injuries you yourself have received; for I sit here as judge, and not as accuser; the suit is yours, and not mine." This rigid and unbending honesty procured him the title, handed down to us in history—the high and expressive surname of "The Just." Historians record another circumstance singularly illustrative of the general esteem of the Athenians for Aristīdēs. On the representation of one of the tragedies of Æschylus, a passage descriptive of a high state of moral excellence was recited, and the eyes of all the audience were almost instinctively turned on Aristīdēs, considering him as a living instance of that character which the poet had only imagined.

Aristīdēs' distinguishing epithet of The Just.

Themistoclēs, in the mean time, repined not at the reputation of his rival, which he regarded as empty and unavailing, if not dangerous to its owner; for he was aware that, in proportion to the well-earned fame of Aristīdēs, he would but afford a surer mark for the power of that democracy of which he should soon become the sole director. With a secret satisfaction, therefore, he seems to have encouraged the general admiration of Aristīdēs, whilst he steadily meditated his destruction; and the tremendous democratical power afforded by the trial of ostracism was fixed upon as the means of ultimately accomplishing it. This summary mode of popular justice derived its name from ostracon, *a tile*, the votes of the citizens being at first collected by each one writing on a tile, or earthen vessel, the name of the person he wished to condemn to banishment. Every Athenian citizen possessed this power: and if the name of any person was found to be written on six thousand tiles or shells, the sentence was confirmed by the judges. The author of this law, which gave so much power to the people, is not known. Some have ascribed it to the Peisistratidæ, and others have pretended to trace it to so high an antiquity as the time of Theseus.

His trial by ostracism.

The chief accusation brought forward, at the instigation of Themistoclēs, was that very reputation for justice and honour which Aristīdēs had so nobly acquired. "Aristīdēs," said the agents of Themistoclēs, "has insensibly created himself a monarch, although without pomp or guards. From his great reputation for justice, he acts every day as umpire between contending parties; and what constitutes a tyrant but the giving of laws?" Persuaded by this sophistry to apprehend danger to the state from the very means of its preservation, Aristīdēs was condemned for the true greatness of his rigid virtue. When the sentence was announced to him by the magistrates, Aristīdēs, animated with a warm love for his country, exclaimed, with uplifted eyes and hands,

Accused at the instance of Themistoclēs.

"I beseech the gods that the Athenians may never see the day which shall force them to remember Aristīdēs!" Ten days (the usual time in this case) was allotted to him for his preparation to quit Athens, and the usual exile of ten years was pronounced as the period of banishment. Upon the occasion of this trial, a story is recorded of Aristīdēs most strongly exemplifying his philosophy. A clown from a village in Attica, who could neither read nor write, dazzled by the eloquence of Themistoclēs, advanced, during the trial, toward Aristīdēs himself (with whose person he was unacquainted), and requested that he would mark for him the name of the accused upon his shell. Aristīdēs, in surprise, asked the peasant of what crime that Athenian citizen had been guilty? or, "has he done you any personal injury?" said this illustrious patriot. "No," replied the peasant, "he has neither done me any injury, nor do I know any harm of him; but I am quite weary with hearing every body call him *The Just*." Aristīdēs smiled, took the shell from the man, and wrote upon it, as required, his own name for condemnation. His banishment took place B. C. 484.

Banished for ten years.

B. C. 484.

During these transactions at Athens the war with the inhabitants of Ægina, which had been begun prior to the Persian invasion, was revived with varied success. The Athenians, conducted by Themistoclēs, had proved victorious in several expeditions; but the Æginetans had avenged themselves on the Attic territories by means of their powerful armaments at sea. This advantage did not escape the observation of Themistoclēs, and he, at length, proposed to the Athenians, that the profits arising from the silver mines, which had been hitherto regularly divided amongst the citizens, should now be solely appropriated to the building of a navy. In support of this measure, he not only urged the advantages gained by the Æginetans, but he bade them remember that the ambition of the Persian monarch was yet unextinguished, and admonished them to prepare for another and a stronger contest with that power. Darius, their first enemy, was, he remarked, indeed, dead; but his son Xerxes inherited both his father's power, his aversion to the Greeks, and his thirst of general conquest; that monarch was then only tranquil, to prepare a steadier blow against their prosperity, and in order that he might refresh himself for new exertions in the former cause. These arguments prevailed, and the Athenians immediately built a hundred ships of considerable size, which gave them quickly the superiority at sea over the Æginetans, and furnished, eventually, the most efficient means of preserving their own liberties from the power of the Persian king.

Themistoclēs advises the building an Athenian navy.

It was about three years after the banishment of Aristīdēs, and very shortly after these spirited precautions of Themistoclēs, that Xerxes, the son of Darius, sent ambassadors, attended by a Greek interpreter, to all the principal states of Greece, demanding, as usual, earth and water, as tokens of their submission to Persia. Themistoclēs made it his first business to pledge his country to resistance beyond the hope of compromise. He exhorted the Athenians to put immediately to death the

Xerxes' message to the Athenians.

B. C. 481.

person who had dared to publish in the Grecian language proposals so insulting as those of Xerxes to Grecian independence. Another act of defiance followed this. One Arthmius, a citizen of Zelē, a town of Troas, who had settled in Athens, was detected in trying to corrupt the Athenians to the Persian cause. This man Themistoclēs immediately banished from the Athenian territories. His sentence was proclaimed throughout the country by sound of trumpet, and his family declared infamous. All hope of accommodation being thus at an end, this able general now engaged the several states of Greece to unite hand and heart in one grand effort to repel the threatened invasion. In his private character, also, Themistoclēs laboured nobly for the public good. Epicydēs, a powerful orator, but deficient in every other requisite of a military leader, had induced the Athenians to appoint him to the supreme command of their army. Themistoclēs, aware of his incapacity, applied temptations to his avarice, and, impoverishing his own fortune to raise the money, fairly bought off Epicydēs from the proposed command, and Themistoclēs was immediately elected to the entire command of all its military resources.

Xerxes' invasion of Greece.

The army of the Persians, in immense force, led by Xerxes himself, was now preparing to pour down upon Greece by the memorable straits of Thermopylæ. Themistoclēs, on learning this, strongly urged the propriety of all the disposable force of Athens quitting the city in a body, and embarking on board their fleet; but the unwillingness of many of the Athenians to leave their homes completely frustrated this design, and his proposal was rejected. The allied forces had nearly reached Tempē, in Thessaly, when the news arrived that the straits of Thermopylæ had been forced, and that not only Thessaly but Bœotia had been overrun by the invaders; tidings which determined the troops both of Sparta and Athens to retreat to their respective cities without delay.

Perplexity of the Athenian affairs.

The Athenians were now reduced to considerable perplexity and distress. To attempt to cope with the immense force of the Persians by land, and on an equal footing, was little less than madness. The only spot whereon they could have engaged so superior a power with any prospect of success, the tardy movements of their army had not suffered them to reach. Athens was undefended by walls or any kind of fortifications, and its confined citadel was protected only by a wooden palisade. Themistoclēs appears to have formed an early opinion respecting the conduct now best to be adopted; and only to have refrained from declaring it, until the most favourable opportunity should be afforded. In all cases of emergency the Athenians hastened to consult the Delphic oracle for advice, which now pronounced, in two separate answers, "that Athens was destined to destruction," but "the Athenians might yet be safe within *wooden walls*." It is impossible to repress the conjecture that Themistoclēs expected, and had, perhaps, occasioned this answer, so confirmative of his previous counsels. He did not fail to give it immediately the obvious interpretation—that the Athenians should

Bold advice of Themistoclēs.

repair to their fleet, within whose *walls of wood* they might yet seek safety and independence. There was not, however, wanting a party who now strongly opposed this advice. They insisted that the palisades by which the citadel was surrounded, were clearly the *wooden walls* to which the oracle referred; and unwilling to abandon their houses, their temples, and their gods to the ravages of an exasperated enemy, a large majority of the Athenians determined to defend their city to the utmost. Baffled, but not defeated in his project, Themistoclēs, finding arguments unavailing, did not hesitate to employ those questionable means which superstition has, in all ages, afforded to state policy. He gained over to his project the priests who officiated at the temple of Athēnē, and these venerated impostors publicly reported that the sacred dragon refused to eat his consecrated cakes; and, finally, as the most explicit augury of all, that this favourite of their tutelary goddess, had quitted the temple, making its way directly to the sea. Worthy interpreters of this unworthy tale, they announced this circumstance as denoting that the goddess herself was no longer to be considered as residing at Athens, but as having directed the Athenians to repair to the sea to seek her future protection.

His schemes to obtain the public consent to it

So well-timed were these artifices, that by degrees the opponents of Themistoclēs were entirely silenced, and the populace became as eager for the adoption of his measures as before they were urgent against them. However, Cyrsilus, an orator, vehemently opposed the decree in question, and, either corrupted by the gold of Xerxes, or through pusillanimity of spirit, proposed submission to the Persian monarch. This so enraged the citizens, that they stoned the speaker to death; and the women of Athens are said to have inflicted the like punishment upon his innocent wife. Once determined, the citizens were quickly in full preparation for the extraordinary mode of warfare recommended. Everything was conveyed on board the fleet, while their liberty and the name of Athenian citizens were now declared to be all that was worth their anxiety. Money, however, being wanted for their final outfit, the solemn council of the Areopagus was called, to raise the necessary supplies; and so large a sum was collected that eight drachms was given to every man as he went on board the fleet. But Themistoclēs did not deem this sufficient for the expedition; and, under cover of the authority of the priests, he asserted that the shield of Athēnē had been stolen, and a warrant was granted to him to search the recesses of the temple, that he might regain it. Under this pretence he took away all the money he discovered in his search, and made amends for his deceit by distributing it equally amongst his countrymen.

The Athenians embark on board their fleet.

An act of justice, too, with regard to Aristīdēs, was one of the best features of this state of the public mind. Themistoclēs now proposed a decree to recall all those citizens who had been banished from their country; and Aristīdēs, whose means of becoming a powerful foe to Greece were now justly feared by those who had treated him with so

Aristīdēs recalled.

much indignity, rejoined his countrymen in their exigency. Themistoclēs hailed his return with warm protestations of attachment, and every heart glowed with emulation in the common cause of liberty.

Thus nobly freighted, the Athenian fleet, under Themistoclēs, hastened to join that of the Spartans, commanded by Eurybiadēs; and made sail with them immediately for the Eubœan shore, with the hope of impeding the passage of the Persian fleet through the neighbouring straits. Here the conduct of the Athenian leader was characterised by the adroitness which had previously distinguished him. Eurybiadēs, the Spartan admiral, in contradiction to the proposed plan, had refused to remain longer on this station; and the Eubœans, fearful of being given up to the ravages of the Persian army, applied next to Themistoclēs, whom they presented with thirty talents, as a reward for his interference on their behalf. Themistoclēs hesitated not to accept the money. Five talents he gave Eurybiadēs, and thereby induced him to pursue his first plan; while with the three talents he bribed Adiamanthus, the Corinthian commander; and the remaining sum of twenty-two talents he devoted to the general interests of the expedition. On leaving this station, Themistoclēs adopted an artifice which proved of no little service to the common cause. Certain stones were set up on the coast of Ionia, with inscriptions, entreating the Ionians to desert from the Persian tyrant, or, if they could not accomplish this, they were implored to baffle the plans of Xerxes by their tardiness in his cause. The address concluded by reminding these people that the Athenians, by protecting the revolt of Ionia against Darius, first brought the resentment of the Persian monarchy upon themselves. This was a stratagem calculated to excite distrust in the minds of the Persians, an effect which, in the end, it fully produced.

Able conduct of Themistoclēs at Artemisium.

On leaving Artemisium, another and a stronger diversity of opinion prevailed amongst the commanders respecting their future course. Eurybiadēs had been made chief of the combined fleet; but he soon evinced himself unequal to this important trust. On the approach of the Persian armament, he recommended that the allies should retreat towards Corinth, and join the land-forces there, since he deemed it inadvisable to risk their combined strength in attacking the maritime forces of Persia. Themistoclēs recommended an immediate action at sea, when Eurybiadēs, in relation to the supposed imprudence and impetuosity of our hero, observed that "Such as rise up before the rest to start at the Olympic games are generally lashed for their temerity." To which Themistoclēs quickly answered, "True; but let us recollect, Eurybiadēs, that those who are left behind in the race are never crowned with victory." The Spartan, provoked at the freedom of this reply, lifted up his staff, and prepared to strike the speaker: Themistoclēs, with the utmost calmness, exclaimed, "Yes, strike if you think proper, but afterwards hear me." This mixture of calmness and earnestness produced the desired effect, and Eurybiadēs gave instant and serious attention to the arguments of his competitor. Yet

Debate of the allies respecting their course.

the Greeks in general were so alarmed at the destruction of the city of Athens, and at the ravages committed upon the Athenian territories, that a bold and final stratagem of Themistoclēs alone kept their naval force together. By means of a Persian prisoner in the Grecian fleet, named Sicinus, he ventured to open a communication with the camp of the enemy, and sent a private message to the Persian monarch, importing that the allied fleet were about to disperse and to seek their safety in flight. This he advised the king not to permit, but to take advantage of their present confusion, and attack them forthwith in the bay of Salamis. Xerxes, completely duped by this message, immediately sent two hundred of his ships to block up the straits of Salamis, and thus at once compelled the Grecian fleet to adopt that bold measure which insured the success of the allied cause; and Themistoclēs had the honour of receiving the approbation of Aristīdēs, to whom alone he had communicated his daring plan.

Themistoclēs' stratagem to bring on the battle of Salamis.

Both sides now prepared themselves for the memorable battle that ensued. The confederate Greeks were animated by the speeches of their leaders, amongst whom Themistoclēs appeared, with all the acquirements of his youth matured by long experience. He represented to them that they were about to fight for all that was dear to parents, to husbands, to men; that the present liberties of Greece were suspended on the issue, with the happiness of their remotest posterity. Xerxes, on the contrary, who had assured himself of the destruction of the Grecians, erected a high throne on the shore near Salamis, and commanded the attendance of secretaries to record the events of his triumph as they successively occurred. The battle was begun by the Grecians, who sailed from their anchorage early in the day, and attacked the Persian line of blockade. The advantage of the Persians consisted in the immense number of their ships, according to Herodotus, upwards of one thousand sail; and that of the Grecians, who mustered but about three hundred and eighty vessels, in their superior knowledge of maritime affairs and the skill of their commanders. The event was such as might have been expected, and proved decisive in favour of the allies. The Persians lost about two hundred galleys, which were sunk, and an immense number taken: the loss of the allied Grecians amounted only to about forty ships. On the side of the Persians the slaughter was immense, while the Greeks lost but few men, for the majority of the crews of those ships which were destroyed effected their escape by swimming to their companions in arms.

Battle of Salamis, B. C. 480.

In this contest the Athenians were allowed to bear the most distinguished part; and the Æginetans emulated them in their efforts to repel the common enemy, and won the second honours of the day. The Æginetans were also serviceable in the chase of the flying Persians, for their ships being lighter and of swifter sail than those of the other states, they ran out to sea, and sank or took the vessels which attempted to leave the coast. Never was a victory more complete

with such disproportionate means; because, perhaps, a reverse could never have been more desperate in its consequences to the weaker side.

Themistoclēs proposes to destroy the bridge at the Hellespont.

It was now proposed by Themistoclēs that the allied fleet should make for the Hellespont, and destroy the famous bridge which Xerxes had thrown across the sea at that place. The effect of this measure would have been to have cut off all communication of the Persians with Asia, and to have enclosed their army in Greece itself, so that it might afterwards have been destroyed as time and circumstances should dictate. Some historians say that this plan being communicated to Aristīdēs, that patriot opposed it, although his reasons are not mentioned. Others, with more probability, attribute this opposition to the Spartan Eurybiadēs, from a wish not to drive the enemy to desperation, and thus to reserve some honours for himself. But the motives of Themistoclēs himself appear, on this point, very dubious. He soon perceived that the proposal he had made was more acceptable to the Greeks than he wished it to be. He either became fearful of the consequences of thus enclosing the enemy in the heart of Greece; or, as others suppose, he now wished to secure to himself the friendship of the Persian monarch, as likely to afford him an asylum in times of adversity and disgrace, of which he could not but foresee the probability, from his knowledge of the temper of the Athenian people. At this distance of time, however, we may look in vain for any correct views of his object; but his conduct is recorded. He again ventured to communicate with Xerxes on the operations of the combined forces,

Again influences the Persian movements.

and sent a specific account of their intention to break down his bridge and cut off his retreat. He also is said once more to have offered his advice to the king respecting the Persian policy, and to prescribe his immediate return into Asia, whilst he promised to amuse his countrymen with various projects, and to delay their purposed destruction of the bridge as long as possible. In what manner Themistoclēs, after his recent conduct, could have obtained credit with the Persian monarch for anything but his bravery, does not appear; but he did not fail immediately to follow his advice, and hastily withdrew his army.

Thus ended the second Persian expedition into Greece. Some writers allege that all the exertions of Xerxes to reach the straits in time to prevent the breaking of his bridge proved vain; that he himself was obliged to recross the Hellespont in the boat of a common fisherman; and that his army, diminished and scattered by pestilence, famine, and the harassing pursuit of the Greeks, reached Asia in small and detached parties, and by such methods as chance and the kindness or good fortune of individuals presented. But at this time, it is certain, Themistoclēs not only threw every obstacle in the way of the proposed destruction of the bridge, but afterwards advised the Athenians to discontinue the pursuit of the Persians, and to return home and rebuild their city; a proposal too grateful to their feelings to be

rejected—too important to the interests of all Greece to be opposed by the other states of the confederacy.

Public honours decreed to him.

Relieved from the immediate presence of the invasion, Themistoclēs, aided by the Athenian fleet, levied contributions on all the islands around that had taken part with the Persians, and then returned to Salamis, the scene of victory, there finally to meet his confederates, and to share with them the spoils of the expedition. It was afterwards resolved that a general meeting of the Greeks should be held on the isthmus, at the temple of Poseidōn, where, in a solemn assembly of the different chieftains, this important question was proposed, "Who best was deserving of the meed of valour?" Each general, in turn, was requested to write down the name of him whom he deemed most worthy; and as every man first wrote down his own name, and afterwards inscribed that of Themistocles, the result was that the Athenian leader numbered the decided suffrages of almost all Greece. Of Aristīdēs we find nothing particular recorded during this war, but are told that his general behaviour was wise and brave, and that he was ever ready to assist Themistoclēs by his councils. Thus deservedly clothed with the chief honours of the war, Themistoclēs now visited Lacedæmon, where additional applause awaited him. The pride of the Spartan people, indeed, would not suffer them to assign in public the first place of honour to any one but their own chief, Eurybiadēs; but it was evident that they privately regarded Themistoclēs as his superior; and while the prize of valour was awarded with great pomp to Eurybiadēs, that of prudence was given, with distinguished ceremonies, to Themistoclēs. The Spartans crowned him with a wreath of olive; they presented him with the most magnificent chariot in Sparta; and, finally, escorted him home to Athens by a chosen troop of five hundred horsemen—an honour never before or afterwards bestowed upon any foreigner.

Athens rebuilt.

The Athenians, now repossessed of their country, applied themselves to erecting another city on the ruins of that which had been destroyed by the late invasion. No sooner, however, did they find themselves at rest from foreign annoyance, than the same spirit which prompted their gallant defence against the Persians began, as formerly, to show itself by internal discontents and tumults. They now discovered that their hero, Themistoclēs, had become too great a favourite, and had submitted to bear too much honour from their rivals the Lacedæmonians. In his defence, the Athenian chief took occasion to represent to his fellow-citizens the necessity of union between the different states of Greece, and the importance of the assistance of the Lacedæmonians to the general cause: "For the war," he observed, "was not at an end, whilst the mighty power of the Persian king remained with little perceptible diminution." Nor was it long before the foresight of Themistoclēs was again called into practical exercise. Mardonius, the Persian general, was still at the head of a powerful army, amounting to 300,000 men, chiefly composed of those who had escaped the

The Persians again appear in great force.

ravages of the last campaign, and were therefore inured to hardships and more serviceable for future war. With this immense force Mardonius rested on the frontiers of Thessaly, and still threatened the Grecian states. Perceiving, however, the great proportion which the state of Athens bore to the whole power of the Grecian confederacies, he determined to detach that state from the general cause. With this view the Persian general employed, as an ambassador to Athens, Alexander, king of Macedon, who was a great favourite with the Athenian people. On the arrival of the Macedonian prince, he was received with great state by the Athenians, and with all the hospitality due to a decided friend; but on their learning that he was entrusted with an embassy from the Persian monarch, they delayed to give him audience until deputies from the Lacedæmonians could attend. On the opening of his commission, Alexander strongly recommended the Athenians from himself, in personal friendship, to comply with the offers of Xerxes, as the only method by which they could save themselves from destruction. The Spartan ambassadors, after showing how unjust a thing it would be if the Athenians, who had been the cause of the war with Persia, should now forsake the common interest, concluded by expressing their confident hopes that the Athenians, a free nation themselves, would never degrade themselves by becoming the means by which their allies might be enslaved. To Alexander, Aristīdēs, in the name of his countrymen, replied, that "as long as the eternal sun should hold his course they would never enter into alliance with Xerxes, but resist his forces by every effort of their own." Turning then to the Spartan deputies, he assured them them they would never enter into the Persian nor abandon the Grecian confederacy.

The Persians advance into Greece.

Mardonius was no sooner made acquainted with the failure of this embassy than, pursuant to his orders, he marched from Thessaly direct upon Thebes, and by signal-fires, lighted as he advanced, he gave Xerxes, who was now lying at Sardis, to understand his movements. As he entered Attica, he wasted the country around with tenfold fury, levelling with the ground every stone which he found standing upon another. In this manner he approached rapidly to Athens itself; and the Spartans were so slow in sending their succours, that the Athenians were forced to retreat to Salamis, and again left their city a prey to the Persians. Here they formed an army of their citizens, already assembled in considerable force under Aristīdēs; and they received another messenger from Mardonius, who repeated the offers which had been before made to them by Alexander. It was hoped that the extremities which the Athenians had now suffered would have softened that spirit of independence which dictated their former answer, but the Persian embassy found them rather exasperated than subdued; and they did not hesitate to stone to death one Lycidas, a senator, for basely proposing that the message of Mardonius should be taken into consideration; whilst his wife and children (as in the case of Cyrsilus) suffered the same death from the women. The Spartans were, in the mean

The Athenians retreat to Salamis.

time, so dilatory in their movements, that it was judged necessary to send ambassadors to urge their appearance in the field. On their arrival at Sparta, the Athenian deputies found that the Spartans had been employing the previous time of this delay in throwing up walls and fortifications athwart the Peloponnesian isthmus, to protect their own district, whilst that of Athens was already destroyed. At length, however, the Spartan army, consisting of about 10,000 men, about half of them from the city, and the rest from the adjacent country, together with about 7,000 Helots, put themselves in march towards the Persians, and halted at the isthmus. Thither also came the Athenian army from Salamis, and all the confederated force of the Greeks, making together about 100,000 men.

The Greeks compel the Persians to retire.

Mardonius learning the approach of this force, and having now lost all hope of detaching the Athenians from the general cause, thought it most prudent to quit Attica; which, from the inequality of its ground, formed strong obstacles to the evolutions of the cavalry and light troops, in which the great strength of his army consisted. And although the Persians outnumbered the confederate Greeks in the proportion of three to one, Mardonius retired as they advanced, until both armies reached the Cithæron mountains in Bœotia, where they halted some time in presence of each other. Pausanias, the commander in chief of the allies, soon found that in Mardonius he had to contend, not only with an enterprising warrior, but with a man well skilled in the use of the peculiar resources at his command, and especially in the influence of superior riches, which were daily producing desertions from the Grecian camp. Mardonius now despatched a party of horse to surprise the Grecians in council, and some skirmishes ensued, wherein the Megaræans were deeply engaged, but were brought off by a select party of three hundred Athenians, and the Persian officer, Masistius, was slain. A sharp contest took place around the body of the chieftain, both parties being equally eager to obtain this trophy of success. New succours of the Persian horse came gradually forward into the engagement; but the Grecian forces were ultimately successful, and bore the body of the slain in triumph around their camp. Immediately after this affair, the confederates retreated, and pitched their camp upon the territories of Platæa, the Persian cavalry continually harassing their rear. A council of war was now held by Mardonius, who, tired of the desultory warfare which had been so long pursued, and anxious to strike a blow which might redeem his reputation, determined to risk an engagement. It was resolved, therefore, that the Persians should commence the attack immediately, a determination that was quickly known in the Grecian camp. The Athenians stood opposed to the Bœotian and Thessalian allies of the Persians, but they requested that the Spartans would exchange situations with them, by which the Athenian force would stand confronted with the Persians themselves, and the Spartans with the Thessalians and Bœotians—enemies with which, respectively, they were most accustomed. The bribes of the Persians, however, soon brought

Victory of Platæa.

Victory of Platæa.

this intended movement to the ears of Mardonius, and he instantly took measures to render it of no avail. These and other harassing movements, compelled the Greeks again to retreat on the river Molœ, still followed by the Persian horse. On the ensuing day the famous battle of Platæa took place. Mardonius, encouraging his men by representing the Greeks as flying before them, pressed forward with his cavalry upon the Spartans and Tegæans near the temple of Dēmēter, when the Spartans turned furiously upon their enemy. The Athenians and other Greeks brought the allies of the Persians to action, and the fight became general and severe. Mardonius was mounted on a white charger, surrounded by his choicest troops, and becoming thus an object of peculiar notæ, was slain in a charge made upon him by the Tegæans. On the death of their general, universal disorder and a total rout took place amongst the Persian horse, a small remnant of whom alone escaped, under the conduct of Artabazus, and found refuge in a strong position near the Hellespont. On the other side of the field, too, the Persians had been beaten, but had made good their retreat to their fortified camp. Here the Corinthians, the Megaræans, and the rest of the Greeks, animated by the success of their friends, furiously attacked them, and the Spartans shortly afterwards came up to their assistance; but the enemy defended themselves with resolution, until the appearance of the Athenians decided the fate of the day. Accustomed to the tactics of the enemy, they broke into the entrenched camp, and a tremendous slaughter of the invaders followed. The sumptuous pavilion of the fallen general was amongst the spoils of the enemy. The Mantinæans and the Eleans had the misfortune to arrive on the field after the close of the action; and as they returned home partakers neither of the spoil nor the glory, they are said to have banished their leaders from the soil, as the authors of their disgrace. This great victory was ob-

B. C. 479. tained on the 22d of September, B.C. 479.

It is remarkable that on the very day of the victory of Platæa, another defeat of the Persians took place, equally important in its consequences, and in the bravery with which it was accomplished: this

Battle of Mycalē.

was the naval battle of Mycalē, near Samos. This was chiefly won by the valour of the Spartans, instigated by the example of Themistoclēs at the straits of Salamis, and supported by the great personal services of Aristīdēs. The Persian fleet had been drawn together under the promontory of Mycalē, very near to the temple of the goddess Dēmēter, and was strongly secured on the side of the sea by a kind of mole. Leutychidēs, the Spartan king, the Grecian admiral, aware that it had rendered the enemy inaccessible by shipping, determined to attack them on the land. He, therefore, disembarked his forces, and proclaimed aloud, by his herald, an invitation to the Ionians to join the Greeks, or, at least, to withdraw themselves from supporting the Persians. It is remarkable, that the victory of Platæa had been achieved near the temple of Dēmēter, in Bœotia, and the Grecians, were now superstitiously taught to believe that the same goddess was expected to be alike pro-

pitious to a similar combat at Mycalē in Samos. Thus encouraged, the confederates advanced towards the Persians by the sea-shore, and charged them so desperately, that the enemy were soon obliged to retreat to their camp. Nor were they here protected from the impetuosity of the assailants, who rushed through the fortifications, and soon proved victorious on all sides. They penetrated to the fleet and destroyed it, whilst the army of the Persians, and Tigranes their general, with an immense body of their troops, were slaughtered, either in the camp or on board their ships.

Ionia declares for the allies.

By this conquest, the Ionians were enabled to declare themselves in favour of their ancient allies the Greeks, a circumstance which gave occasion to some disputes between the Athenians and the Spartans. The latter, according to the general severity of their disposition, insisted on punishing the Ionians for their revolt, either by refusing all offers of their alliance, and giving them up to the mercy of the Persians, or, at least, by transporting them from their own country and landing them on those shores, the inhabitants of which had taken part against the Greeks, and which were now considered as forfeited to the conquerors. The Athenians were inimical to both these proposals. They could not forget that Ionia had been formerly a colony belonging to their own state, and both the schemes of the Spartans respecting it were equally destructive of the advantages which had formerly been derived by Athens from the Ionians, and might again be reaped. They were, besides, jealous of the interference of the Spartans, who properly were an inland power, in the affairs of the colonies. So urgent, therefore, were their arguments against the Spartan propositions, and so necessary was their co-operation considered against the common enemy, that the cause of the Ionians prevailed: they were received into the confederacy, and were promised such assistance from time to time as should effectually secure their territories and their independence. On the settlement of these affairs, the Lacedæmonians retired to Laconia; but the Athenians, under the command of Xanthippus, determined to push their fortunes further. Partly instigated by the hope of plunder, and partly by the desire of revenge, they crossed over to the Chersonēsus, and invested the island of Samos, which had taken part with the Persian invaders. The siege proved long and laborious; but at length the resolution and skill of the Athenians prevailed; they sacked the island, and took its chiefs Oibazus and Artayctēs prisoners. Here they reaped immense spoil, and returned home laden with every variety of treasure.

The freedom of Greece appeared now to be established on a firm foundation. The splendid victories of Platæa and Mycalē had not only weakened the power of Persia and elevated the confidence of the Greeks, but had likewise impressed upon their enemies an idea of their strength, which confounded the future hopes of every invader. Although a desultory war was still continued, the Greeks now became in turn the aggressors, and after having brought home their wives and children, the

Athens rises from ruin to prosperity and great strength.

Athenians began to rebuild their city, which, by the advice of Themistoclēs, they accomplished with a degree of magnificence hitherto unknown. Themistoclēs still aided every project which would throw additional power into the hands of the people, and Aristīdēs himself, although attached to the aristocracy, yet, from the experience he had obtained of the genius of his countrymen, coincided with most of the practical schemes of his rival; he proposed that the high magistracy of the archons should be henceforth chosen without distinction of rank, from amongst the body of the people, and that every citizen should hold a full share of the government; and thus was another important concession made to the power of the democracy.

Happy union of her chiefs.

Themistoclēs proposes to fortify the city.

Themistoclēs chose this moment of concord to suggest a resolution that the city should be immediately fortified, and, concealing his motives, alleged that it might prevent the destruction of Athens in case of any future invasion. Unaware of the full importance of the measure, the people were sufficiently influenced by the motives assigned, and they eagerly began the fortifications. But their former rivals, the Lacedæmonians, were more quick-sighted. When the report of the intended scheme reached the Spartans, stimulated by envious forebodings, they immediately despatched ambassadors to divert the Athenians from their purpose. These deputies opened their business with professions of disinterested zeal for the general welfare of Greece; they represented this measure as pregnant with danger to the confederated states: as affording a base for strategic operations on any future invasion of the Persians. But the Athenians, with Aristīdēs and Themistoclēs within their walls, were not to be convinced by these arguments; and the Spartan deputies, observing that the work proceeded with increased rapidity, peremptorily forbade the works to be continued; an interference which occasioned considerable tumult amongst the people. Themistoclēs took the lead on this occasion with his usual address; he recommended the citizens to temporise with Sparta; and, as they were not yet in a condition to carry on a war and to erect a fortress at the same time, to compliment their rival with a temporary submission; observing, that when their walls were once erected they would be enabled to defy her encroachments. The Athenians readily followed this policy, and the ambassadors returned to Sparta with a solemn assurance that the proposed work should not proceed, until by a counter-embassy, which the Athenians would hereafter commission, full reasons should be given for the adoption of the proposed fortifications.

Opposition of the Spartans.

Themistoclēs undertakes an embassy to Sparta.

Themistoclēs, the adviser of the promised embassy, was the first to offer his services on the occasion. He immediately left Athens for Sparta, but recommended his countrymen to delay sending the rest of the ambassadors, whilst he should divert the attention of the Spartans from the fortifications, which, notwithstanding their former engagement, he urged the Athenians forthwith to finish. These dishonourable suggestions were not lost upon his countrymen. To complete their walls, neither houses, nor sepulchres, nor temples were spared; the labour was

continued night and day, in which even the women and children were compelled to assist. Under these extraordinary exertions, Athens presented ramparts of such strength, that the citizens now sent off the remaining ambassadors to Themistoclēs, who had, from time to time, delayed the proposed audience with the Lacedæmonians. But tidings of the Athenian breach of faith had reached Sparta before them, although the completion of the walls was not known; and the ambassadors were soon summoned before the Ephori, the highest and most powerful magistracy in the Spartan state. Themistoclēs and his colleagues were here warmly upbraided with the treachery of their countrymen, to which they replied by a bold denial of the alleged facts; Themistoclēs enforcing this additional violation of truth by appealing to his compeers so recently arrived from Athens. To the Ephori he loudly declaimed against the folly of listening to the unauthenticated rumours which were abroad, and he advised them to send back to Athens trusty Lacedæmonian deputies to inspect the city, together with the Athenian ambassadors, his colleagues. He, himself, offered to stay at Sparta as a hostage for the truth of his assertions. Themistoclēs then privately instructed his companions, that upon their return to Athens, they should boldly detain the Lacedæmonian deputies until that government should give him up. His advice was exactly pursued; and when the Athenian leader received the tidings of the arrival of his colleagues, he demanded an audience of the magistrates of Lacedæmon, and at once avowed and justified the conduct of his countrymen. "By my advice it was," said he, "that the Athenians acted, when, conformably to the general law of nations, they secured their public and private property with a wall; nor can this be a disadvantage, but rather a benefit to the other states of Greece, for Athens is their bulwark." As to the falsehood which he had practised, he replied by the declaration, "that for our country, all things were lawful;" and concluded by advising them to send him home in peace, if they wished the safe return of those deputies which had just been sent to Athens. Irritated at the duplicity of their rivals, the Spartans were reluctantly obliged to comply with this insulting advice.

His crooked and disgraceful policy.

Themistoclēs returned in triumph to Athens; he had placed his country in security from any foreign attack by land; and seems to have matured in his absence a variety of other plans for her aggrandisement, which he now represented as ripe for disclosure. Adimanthus was archon; and it was in the seventy-fifth Olympiad, when Themistoclēs made a long oration to the people, and proposed that series of measures, which rendered Athens the mistress of the Grecian states. He alleged to the assembled citizens, that it would be imprudent to make public the whole of the projects he had formed for their prosperity; he entreated them, therefore, to select two persons of eminence to whom he might impart his plans. The assembly immediately named Aristīdēs and Xanthippus as his coadjutors, to whom Themistoclēs proposed to widen the Pyræus into a capacious harbour for vessels of burden, and then to join it to the city by extensive walls; considering

Returns to Athens. B. C. 478.

Is associated with Aristīdēs and Xanthippus in his public plans.

it preferable for this purpose to the other port. He pressed upon his coadjutors the necessity of increasing the Athenian navy, if they wished to continue any protection to the Ionians, or to obtain any decided influence in the islands of Greece: and exhorted them to look to that element alone as affording the greatest facilities for Athens to become the most powerful of the Grecian states.

Aristīdēs[1] and Xanthippus, equally zealous for the Athenian glory, listened with eager admiration to the schemes of Themistoclēs, and in their turn assured the people that his projects would prove eventually of the greatest consequence to the state. The improvement of the port was first undertaken, and a conciliatory embassy despatched to the Lacedæmonians; and, before the extent of the work was thoroughly known at Sparta, the harbour of Pyræus, by the uncommon exertions of Themistoclēs, was enlarged, fortified, and finished.

Council of the Amphictyons.

About this time was held a council of the Amphictyons, wherein it was proposed that all the cities which had not resisted the Persian invasion should be deprived of their right of sending deputies to the council. This measure Themistoclēs decidedly opposed; for if Argos, Thebes, and other cities which had been inactive in the late contest, should now lose their voice in the council, it was clear that the Lacedæmonians would rule the whole.

But the Greeks, although so much occupied with these important transactions among themselves, found time and means to continue the war with Persia. The defeats at Platæa and Mycalē had disabled the enemy from again invading Greece, and now the confederates, in their turn, became the assailants. The Grecian fleet, consisting of thirty galleys of Attica, and twenty belonging to Sparta and the other Peloponnesian states, were commanded by Pausanias, the Lacedæmonian chieftain, who had distinguished himself at Platæa. Aristīdēs (in conjunction with Cimon, the son of Miltiadēs), commanded the Athenian fleet under him: with this force the confederates invaded Cyzicus, where they took and destroyed many towns; and then proceeded to ravage Byzantium, another colony belonging to the Persians. The haughty conduct of the Lacedæmonian leader, in this expedition, contributed in a great measure, to ripen the schemes of Themistoclēs; while the moderation of Aristīdēs irresistibly commanded the admiration of the fleet. Pausanias suffered no one to participate in his authority or to share in his plans. He scarcely deigned to converse with any other of the Greek commanders; and from this, as well as other causes, was strongly suspected of secret intentions in favour of the enemy. He insisted, at the same time, upon maintaining the rigid Spartan discipline

Aristīdēs in command of the Athenian fleet.

[1] Plutarch relates, that in this conference Themistoclēs communicated to Aristīdēs a plan for burning the fleet of the confederates as they lay at anchor in the bay of Pagasæ, in Macedonia, and thereby to render the Athenian the only naval power in Greece. Aristīdēs, says the historian, in reference to this proposal, answered the assembly, that, in his opinion, nothing could be more advantageous to the people than to pursue the advice of Themistoclēs, but nothing more wicked; and the scheme was therefore abandoned.

throughout the whole fleet; and allowed no man of the confederates to receive his ratio of provisions, until every Spartan had first been served.

He receives offers of submission from the minor states.

The leaders of the colonists solicited Aristīdēs to interpose his mediation, if not his authority, with Pausanius. An interview between the Spartan and the Athenian chiefs, however, ended only in a direct insult to Aristīdēs, from whose remonstrances Pausanias turned haughtily away. Irritated by this behaviour, the colonists no longer hesitated to seek a milder sway. Uliadēs, the Samian chief, and Antagoras of Chios, leading the way, all the captains of the minor states applied directly to Aristīdēs, offering, if he would uphold them, thenceforth to acknowledge Athens as the principal city of Greece. Aristīdēs, alleged, however, that his duty forbade him to hazard the safety of Athens by attempting that in which he had no positive assurance of support. "Perform," continued he, "some public and decided act, by which you may fix irretrievably your future conduct beyond the possibility of recalling it. Do this, and the protection of the Athenian arms is yours." Uliadēs and Antagoras seized an immediate occasion to run their ships against the galley of Pausanias, who, in return, threatened to punish them severely for this act of insolence and rebellion; but these leaders undauntedly replied, that he had better be silent with regard to them, and thank fortune for her favours at Platæa; for to her, rather than to his own talents, was even that victory owing. The remembrance of that great action only, they now declared, restrained the confederated Greeks from avenging his past tyranny; and thenceforth they renounced all obedience or submission to him. Pausanias, astonished at this unexpected boldness, had scarcely time to pursue his inquiries respecting it, when the declaration was confirmed by all. The colonists now ranged themselves under the command of Aristīdēs, and left the Spartan no other resource than to complain to his country of his supposed wrongs. So imprudent, however, had been his conduct, that the Lacedæmonians themselves could not resent the insult, nor regain what he had lost for them. Ashamed to vindicate his conduct, they were not sufficiently powerful to revenge the disgrace which his folly and pride had brought upon his country; and the magnificent designs of Themistoclēs were thus daily hastening to their accomplishment, while his compeer Aristīdēs aided them with the whole weight of his character, and essentially contributed to the raising of Athens to the supremacy of all Greece.

Ascendancy obtained for Athens. B. C. 476.

Aristīdēs, on his return to the capital, found himself at the very summit of popularity. The Athenians had almost forgotten the share of Themistoclēs in the late successful projects, and looked only to him who carried them into final effect; but Aristīdēs too well knew the precarious tenure of these favours to regard them in any other light than as the means of further service to his country. This great man foresaw that the war with Persia was likely to be of long duration, and that all the resources of Athens would be required to maintain it.

Aristīdēs' plans of finance.

The necessity of a regulated scheme of finance throughout the different states of Greece was therefore evident; and Aristīdēs was determined to devote himself to this purpose, while his popularity was high amongst his countrymen. His arguments for a regular system of finance carried conviction to all the confederates; and the different assessments of the several cities were left unreservedly to Aristīdēs himself. Nor did he show himself unworthy of the power with which he had been honoured. He so completely satisfied all Greece with the equity of his conduct in this affair, that his taxation was emphatically named "the happy lot of Greece," although it amounted in the gross to the heavy sum of four hundred and sixty talents. He likewise persuaded the states to a solemn oath of confederation and alliance, which they readily took.

At the summit of his fame.

The fame of Aristīdēs was now complete. To the applauses of the populace he added the esteem of the wise and prudent throughout Greece; his conduct had not only been the source of astonishing success and ascendency to his countrymen in war, but he had originated permanent provisions for their unity, security, and peace. Themistoclēs, however, could not long endure the settled fame of a rival. Although in the adversity of Aristīdēs or of his country, he could overlook all jealousies, and had nobly extended his hand to his competitor, he was one of those friends whom prosperity rather tries than multiplies. Envy was his weak side, as a crooked policy was his strong one. Now, too, he could not but feel that the origin of the popularity of Aristīdēs was the effect of his good fortune in executing designs not his own, and which had cost Themistoclēs all the pain of their conception and the hazard of their first development. In a general assembly of the people, we find him venturing this remark with all the point of an eloquent jealousy. "Aristīdēs," he exclaimed, "possesses the merits, not of a man, but of a money chest, which only preserves safely what must first be deposited." On another occasion, he remarked to Aristīdēs publicly, "that it was the first excellence in a general to be able to penetrate the designs of an enemy;" to which Aristīdēs replied, that "this was indeed a most necessary qualification, but there appeared to him to be another of equal importance—to have clean hands, and not be a slave to money;" a reflection which is said to have touched Themistoclēs to the quick, as he began now to be suspected of intrigues with the king of Persia.

Themistoclēs accused by the Spartans.

Some time after this, the Spartans, professing to be animated by the common cause of Greece against Persia, accused Themistoclēs of being concerned with their own king, Pausanias, in a treasonable correspondence with Xerxes. For this offence Themistoclēs, whose popularity had been some time declining, was tried, and, in the agitation of the question, some transactions were brought to light, which proved clearly that, at least, the guilt of Pausanias had been known to Themistoclēs, who never appears, however, to have encouraged the treason. On the contrary, he had strongly urged upon Pausanias the enormity

of his crime, and the necessity of his discontinuing the traitorous correspondence. From this period his enemies rapidly increased, and Cimon, who now began to be distinguished as a patriot, took an active part against the fallen favourite of the people. The Lacedæmonians, who found sufficient cause for their aversion to this great man in the part he had taken in depriving them of their supremacy amongst the nations of the confederacy, thought this a happy time to inflame the general animosity which existed against him. Nor were the jealousies against this great Athenian confined to Sparta or to the democracy of his own country. Timocreon, the comic poet of Rhodes, introduced him as an object of popular satire, which many instances of his own imprudent vanity continually nourished. Themistoclēs had built a temple in the immediate vicinity of his own house, which he dedicated to Arstemis, "the giver of the best counsel," a circumstance which was interpreted as indicating his utter contempt of the opinion of the people. The powerful engine of the ostracism, by which Aristīdēs, had suffered, was not forgotten at this juncture, and Themistoclēs was banished from Athens, never more to return.

Themistoclēs banished. B. C. 471.

The last public act of Aristīdēs is found in his generous conduct towards his great rival in his misfortunes. He not only expressed his decided aversion toward the conduct of his persecutors, Cimon and Alcmæon, but was now observed to speak of Themistoclēs with more respect than he had ever before avowed for him; and it was probably through his determined opposition to the efforts of his accusers, that Themistoclēs was permitted to leave Athens in safety. About four years after this event Aristīdēs died, and the last honourable testimony to his virtues is found in the recorded fact that, although he was at his decease at the summit of his prosperity, he died poor; the expenses of his funeral were defrayed by the state, and suitable portions were awarded to his son Lysimachus and his two daughters. Some years afterwards a grandson of Aristīdēs was reduced to obtaining a livelihood, by explaining divinations and dreams in the public streets.

Generosity of Aristīdēs toward him.

Death of Aristīdēs. B. C. 468.

The emnity of the Lacedæmonians towards Themistoclēs did not end with his banishment. After being driven from one Grecian colony to another, he found a temporary asylum at the court of Admetus, king of the Molossians. But here, too, the malignity of the Spartans pursued him. They sent ambassadors to Admetus, denouncing Themistoclēs as a traitor, and threatening the Molossians with the resentment of the whole Grecian confederacy should they continue to harbour their common enemy; threats too serious to be trifled with, although the monarch entertained much personal respect for Themistoclēs. Unwillingly he dismissed his friend from his court; and was only able by private means to assist him with money for his escape. Themistoclēs was now driven to seek shelter in the Persian court; and Artaxerxes, having learnt the intention of the rejected fugitive to hide himself in Persia, issued a proclamation, offering two hundred talents for his head. Themistoclēs now saw that a personal inter-

Enmity of the Lacedæmonians to Themistoclēs.

He seeks shelter at the Persian court. B. C. 465.

view with the monarch was his only chance of escape. It is said, that he owed his safety to the expedient of being conveyed enclosed in a litter to Persepolis as a lady of Ionia, belonging to a nobleman who attended the king's person. Arrived in safety at the Persian court, Themistoclēs presented himself to Artabanus, a nobleman of the court in attendance, and solicited an audience of the "great king." This officer requested to know by what name he should announce the unknown Greek, observing, "that he appeared to be no ordinary person." Themistoclēs answered with promptitude, "No man must know my name before the king himself;" a confidence of manner which procured him instant admission to Artaxerxes, when the following characteristic speech is attributed to the banished hero. "I am," said he, undauntedly, "Themistoclēs the Athenian, banished by my country, and persecuted by ungrateful Greece! To thee, mighty monarch, I fly for refuge in my misfortunes; let the evils I have committed on the Persians be forgiven, in consideration of the many benefits I have conferred upon them. It was I who hindered the Greeks, after the fatal battles of Platæa and Salamis, from pursuing the full advantages of their victories, and from following your scattered armies to their utter ruin. Sensible of my distressed situation, I come hither to accept mercy from a great and generous enemy: I implore you, therefore, to exhibit to the world the nobleness of your virtue, rather than the greatness of your revenge." The immediate reply of the king is not recorded, but it may be judged to have been favourable from the treatment which the fugitive experienced. In the night following this interview, Artaxerxes is said to have betrayed his joy, even in his sleep, by exclaiming thrice, in a voice of exultation, "I have, at length, Themistoclēs the Athenian in my power." On the next day, the king sent to invite him to his presence, and presented him with the exact sum which he had offered for his apprehension. "So much," said he, handing him the two hundred talents, "did I promise the man who should bring Themistoclēs to me; and so much am I in debt to Themistoclēs himself." The monarch now assured him, by his interpreter, of his future favour; and desired that he would freely impart to him his sentiments respecting the affairs of Greece. This intercourse, however, through a medium upon which neither party could fully rely, the wary Athenian prudently declined. "Discourse," said Themistoclēs, "is like a Persian carpet; it never appears to advantage, except when it is altogether unfolded to the eye." The orator, relying on his own application, requested that he might be allowed a year for the study of the Persian tongue, at the expiration of which time he engaged freely to disclose to the monarch his opinions by his own mouth. This request was readily granted; Themistoclēs appeared at court at the appointed time, and then communicated his ideas to Artaxerxes concerning the nature of the various nations of the Greeks, their respective characters, resources, and dispositions. So great at length was his

Difficulties overcome.

Reception of Themistoclēs by Artaxerxēs.

influence with the monarch, that his name became proverbial amongst the Persians to designate a peculiar favourite; and the kings of Persia, when, in future times, they attempted by promises to attach any Greek to their cause, were accustomed to declare "that he should live with them as Themistoclēs did with Artaxerxes."

The tempting honours of a court, however, did not excite Themistoclēs to any overt act of hostility against his country. He embraced the worship of the Persians, obtained the favour of the queen-mother as decidedly as that of the king; and all the resources of the realm appear to have been confided to him. Three rich cities of the empire, Magnesia, Myon, and Lampsacus, were emphatically assigned to him by the king "to furnish him meat, bread, and wine, in reference to the different productions of each. At Magnesia, which brought in yearly a revenue of fifty talents, Themistoclēs fixed his principal residence, and there, in the gratitude of his heart to his royal patron, living in all the luxury of a Persian satrap of the first rank, he was said to have frequently exclaimed to his children, "We had been indeed ruined, my little ones, had we not been undone."

His death.

Thus splendidly provided for, he died about the sixty-fifth year of his age. Much uncertainty, however, occurs concerning the manner of his death. Artaxerxes, it is said, having long planned an expedition against the Greeks, intimated his desire to his friend Themistoclēs to undertake the supreme command; but he felt all its awful difficulties. On the one side was a debt of gratitude; on the other, were the recollections of a still beloved country, against which he was determined never to lift his hand. He therefore made a grand festival, when suddenly amidst the solemnities of the sacrifice, he is said to have poisoned himself, and thus to have expired, guiltless as to his country, and (as it was in those barbarous times esteemed) magnanimously and gloriously for himself. Thucydides, who may almost be called a contemporary with Themistoclēs, speaks doubtfully, however, of the above fact, and says that he died of a distemper, "although," he adds, "some say of poison, taken voluntarily, aware of his being unable to accomplish what was required of him by the king." At Magnesia, the city wherein he lived, a splendid tomb was erected to his memory: but his remains were conveyed to Athens, by his own express desire; over which the Athenians, forgetting his faults, and mindful of his services alone, erected a magnificent sepulchre.

LEONIDAS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 480.

Leonidas. B. C. 480.

Among the heroes of ancient Greece, who were the most distinguished for inflexible courage and exalted patriotism, Leonidas must ever hold a pre-eminent rank. His extraordinary self-sacrifice, with that of his faithful little band of warriors at the pass of Thermopylæ, has not only rendered the place itself illustrious, but given additional brightness and

glory to the name of Greek, and to the age of splendid achievement. The service rendered to his country was no less remarkable than the crisis which seemed to demand it, and the honourable failure and consequent destruction of all who were engaged in the enterprise, merits a greater commendation, and has acquired, in fact, a more lasting celebrity than many of the most splendid successes.

Ancestors of Leonidas.

The ancestors of Leonidas, according to the testimony of Herodotus, were Anaxandrides, Leon, Eurycratides, Anaxandes, Eurycrates, Polydorus, Alcamenes, Tēleclus, Archelaus, Agesilaus, Doryssus, Leobotes, Echestratus, Agis, Eurysthenes, Aristodēmus, Cleodæus, Hyllus, and Hēraclēs; and, although eminent names may be recognised in this enumeration, the single deed which gave him a matchless fame and a glorious sepulchre, invests him with a better distinction than the most renowned ancestry. The same historian relates that his elevation to the throne of Sparta was accidental; for as he had two brothers, both of superior age to himself, Cleomenēs and Dorieus, he had no expectation of possessing the government. The former, however, died without leaving any male issue, and the latter also ending his days in Sicily, the crown devolved on Leonidas, who was older than Cleombrotus, the youngest son of Anaxandrides, who had married the daughter of Cleomenēs.

March of Xerxes.

At the period when Xerxes was marching against Greece with his countless myriad of warriors, against whom it seemed almost impossible to offer any effectual resistance, a fit opportunity presented itself for the display of that heroic patrotism which inflamed the bosom of Leonidas. The Persian king having halted at Thermē for the purpose of obtaining information, procuring guides, and refreshing his troops, the resolution was taken to proceed by Upper Macedonia into Thessaly, the fleet remaining in the adjoining bay eleven days subsequently to the recommencement of the march. No sooner had intelligence of the Persian movements reached the assembly at Corinth, than the forces under Leonidas proceeded to take their station at Thermopylæ, while the fleet was collected in the road of Artemisium, on the coast of Eubœa, several galleys being despatched to watch the enemy. At this momentous crisis, the Delphic oracle being consulted, directed them to pray to the winds, which might prove powerful coadjutors of the Greeks; an admonition which the confederates received with thankfulness and obedience. Another response ordered the Athenians to pray to their son-in-law; which referred to an invocation of the north wind, because Boreas (probably a chief of that name in Thracia) had married a daughter of Erechtheus, king of Attica.

Thermopylæ.

In the meantime, Xerxes pressed on through Macedonia to Perrhæbia, and across Thessaly to the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ. This spot furnished many facilities for a vigorous defence. The ridge of Æta, which forms the southern boundary of Thessaly, extends across the country from sea to sea, and is in almost every part of it impracticable for an army. It is pervaded at nearly right angles by another ridge of

a similar description, rising immediately from the Corinthian isthmus, and passing along under the different names of Helicon, Parnassus, and Pindus, through the middle of Greece. On the western side, consequently, Pindus, Æta, and Parnassus, present three formidable obstacles to the approach into Attica and Peloponnesus. Æta is the only difficulty on the eastern side; and here only a single pass was known, termed the gate, situated at the point where the eastern extremity of the ridge meets the sea. The Phocians had formerly erected a fortress, and stationed a garrison there, and had placed a wall across, where was a width of fifty, or nearly fifty feet. On the Thessalian side they had also contrived to pour an inundation from some hot springs in the vicinity of the mountain. From this circumstance, the name of Thermopylæ was derived. To the northward of this pass the mountains closed, so as scarcely to admit a single carriage, and to the southward they ran into the sea. Hence, it is evident that precisely at this spot a very small force might successfully resist a very large one, and that the project of stopping the progress, if not turning back the legions of Xerxes, though sufficiently hazardous, was not an entirely hopeless or desperate undertaking. This situation possessed also the further advantage of a ready communication with the fleet, which rode in a secure haven. Thermopylæ.

On the north of Thermopylæ is a plain, in one part wide, and in another very narrow, enclosed by impassable mountains, called the Trachinian rocks, and bordering on the Malian bay. The king had fixed his head-quarters at the town of Trachis, to the southward of which the river Asōpus, after entering a cleft of the mountain, discharges itself into the Malian bay. Thermopylæ is a little beyond the town of Anthela, at about the distance of two English miles from the junction of the Asōpus and the Phœnix. To the north of the mountains, Xerxes commanded the country, while the Greeks held the pass.

Leonidas took with him a body of 300 chosen men, who were all heads of families, to which were added Theban troops to the amount of 400, under the command of Leontiadēs, son of Eurymachus; but they were united in the enterprise rather from motives of policy than feelings of confidence, since they were strongly suspected of cherishing secret sentiments of hostility against the common cause. In addition to these, the troops of the confederate cities, with those of the Thespians, and the others already enumerated, amounted to only 8,000, or, at most, to about 11,000 men; of which 4,000 only were employed at Thermopylæ against the Persian host; but these were resolved to conquer or die. It appears that the Carnean festival, which was celebrated for seven days at Sparta, in honour of Apollo, protracted the advance of the main body of the troops, though they intended to follow with the utmost expedition. The Olympic games had a similar effect in detaining others of the allies who were not anticipating any immediate engagement at Thermopylæ. Preparations for the conflict.

The Persian monarch had made an erroneous calculation of the effect of his preparations, and the hitherto irresistible progress of his army. Expectations of Xerxes.

He vainly imagined that the Greeks would flee at the first news of his approach, without even an attempt at self-defence; but what was his astonishment when he found the passes guarded and himself defied. He had indeed been forewarned of the probability of such a measure, but, believing in his invincibility, he despised the thought as ridiculously romantic. The Greeks were indeed at first seized with terror, and not only consulted about a retreat, but would most likely have accomplished it, but for the skill of their general. The Peloponnesians were anxious to return and guard the isthmus, which was, however, resolutely opposed by the Phocians and Locrians, whom Leonidas prevailed upon to continue at the post of honour; at the same time, adopting the very proper precaution of despatching messengers to the different states to procure necessary supplies.

At this juncture, the Persian king sent a horseman to ascertain the numbers of the enemy, and to give advice of their movements. Those who were stationed within the entrenchments he was unable to discover, but he brought a report of those who were on the outside. These were the Lacedæmonians, some of whom were performing gymnastic exercises, while others were engaged in combing their hair, which was explained to him by Demarātus as their ordinary practice, previous to their undertaking any dangerous enterprise. Plutarch mentions it as a saying of Lycurgus, that long hair added grace to handsome men, and made those who were ugly, more terrific. This is well alluded to in the poem of Leonidas by Glover :—

Occupation of the Lacedæmonians.

> ——————— By chance
> The Spartans then composed th' external guard;
> They in a martial exercise employed,
> Heed not the monarch and his gaudy train,
> But poise the spear protended as in fight,
> Or lift their adverse shields in single strife,
> Or, trooping forward, rush, retreat, and wheel
> In ranks unbroken, and with equal feet:
> While others calm beneath their polish'd helms
> Draw down their hair, whose length of sable curl
> O'erspread their necks with terror.

After having thus reconnoitred the position of the Greeks, Xerxes waited four days, in expectation of their availing themselves of this opportunity to make good their retreat. He could not entertain a moment's doubt, but that the knowledge of Xerxes' armament would induce them to disperse, and leave him an undisputed entrance. In this interval, he adopted every expedient to gain over Leonidas, giving him the most magnificent promises, especially urging his desertion, by the assurance that he should obtain the sovereignty of all Greece. It is easy to imagine with what scorn such proposals would be received by Leonidas. He was afterwards commanded by a herald, in the name of Xerxes, to come and deliver up his arms, to which the laconic general replied, "Come and take them." On the fifth day of the Persian's inactivity, observing that the Greeks continued on their

Xerxes' expedients to gain over Leonidas.

post, merely, as he imagined, from imprudent rashness, he became much exasperated, and ordered a detachment of Medes to go and bring them alive into his presence. This command, however, was more easily given than executed. The attack was made, but ended in the disgrace of the assailants, who lost a considerable number of men. A reinforcement was sent, but without producing the effect; and it became evident, observes the historian, that "Xerxes had indeed many *men*, but few *soldiers*." The Persian troops, which had obtained the distinctive appellation of the "immortal band," under the command of Hydarnēs, were next ordered to the assault, and a certain and easy victory was confidently expected: but their success was no better than that of their predecessors; their superior numbers, as the Greek historian candidly admits, being of little or no advantage, on account of the confined extent of the field of action, and the shortness of their spears, in comparison with those of their enemies. Their conduct was highly spirited, though their efforts were unsuccessful; for, after making every kind of attack they could devise, they were compelled, at length, however reluctantly, to relinquish the attempt. A few only of the Spartans fell, whilst the loss of the Persians was prodigious. The conflict was renewed the next day, with fresh troops on the part of the invading enemy, who indulged the hope that weariness and wounds would have disabled the defenders of Thermopylæ from any vigorous resistance, but they were obliged again to withdraw from the terrible conflict.

Hydarnēs.

Amidst the perplexities that now encompassed the Persian monarch, treachery came to his relief. Ephialtēs, the son of Eurydēmus, a Melian, influenced by the hope of a great recompense, pointed out a path over the mountain leading directly to Thermopylæ. It was a circuitous and difficult route, but had been used by the Thessalians on some occasions when they invaded Phocis for plunder; and though afterwards neglected, was well known by the Phocians, whom Leonidas had appointed to defend it. It commenced at the cleft in the rock where the river Asōpus entered; whence it wound up the hill called Anopea, and proceeded along the ridge between Æta, on one side of the Trachinian rock, while on the other, it descended to Alpeni, the first town of Locris. By adopting this course, the Persians were likely to obtain an access to the opposing and hitherto resistless force, which they might with probability calculate upon as insuring the victory to their innumerable hosts. These were most welcome tidings, and were no sooner heard, than acted upon by the generals of Xerxes. The enterprise being committed to Hydarnes, he marched, under the cover of evening, with a strong detachment, and by day-break attained nearly to the summit of the mountain Anopæa, where the Phocian guard was placed, to the amount of 1,000 men, but from whom the Persian troops were screened by the oaks which everywhere covered it. The first intimation of the approach of their enemies was the sound of their feet on the fallen leaves. The Phocians instantly flew

Treachery of Ephialtes.

to arms, which at first checked the eager haste of the Persians who had not expected that any measures had been taken to defend this narrow passage; but finding from the treacherous Ephialtēs, that they were not Lacedæmonians, Hydarnēs soon recovered from his panic, and drew up his troops in order of battle. The Phocians retreated up the mountain to a more elevated spot, thinking, by this means, to gain an advantage over their assailants; but availing himself of this indiscreet movement, Hydarnes marched onwards, and descended the opposite side of the mountain without opposition.

Early in the morning the scouts conveyed the unwelcome news that the enemy had passed the Phocian guard, and were descending towards the plain. A council of the Grecian generals was immediately summoned, who were greatly divided in opinion: some urging resistance, others retreat. Leonidas conceiving that himself and his Spartan troops could not retreat with honour, whatever might be the event, resolved to remain. He is said also to have been influenced by an oracular decision which was fresh in his memory, by which the Spartans were informed that either their king must die, or Sparta be vanquished by the barbarians.

Glover has accordingly put into the mouth of the hero the following exclamation, on hearing that the enemy had succeeded in his purpose, through the treachery of his professed adherents: —

> I now behold the oracle fulfill'd—
> Then art thou near, thou glorious sacred hour,
> Which shall my country's liberty secure!
> Thrice hail, thou solemn period; thee the tongues
> Of virtue, fame, and freedom shall proclaim,
> Shall celebrate in ages yet unborn.

The Thespians were the only body of the Grecian confederates that willingly remained with Leonidas and his Spartans in this extremity: the Thebans, indeed, were with him, but Herodotus affirms, though Plutarch is indignant at his representation, that they were detained very reluctantly, and as hostages. The Thespians, under Demophilus, emulated the zeal of their brethren, and perished in the same glorious conflict.

Attack of Xerxes.

At sunrise, according to the Persian habit, Xerxes offered up a solemn libation, and then dismissed the troops to await orders. About the middle of the forenoon, he set forth from his camp, and calculating that Hydarnēs, with his detachment, might now have arrived in the rear of the Greeks, he commanded an attack to be made in front. Leonidas now advanced much further from the intrenchments than he had done in any preceding contest, judging that in a wider space he should have a superior opportunity of attacking the enemy. Multitudes of the Persians fell as they were whipped on to the encounter, by officers stationed for the purpose in their rear, many perished in the sea, and many others were trodden under foot by their own troops. Aware that destruction was at hand, from those who had made the circuit of the mountain,

the Greeks exerted themselves to the utmost, and performed prodigies of valour; and when their spears were broken, they had instant recourse to their swords.

Leonidas himself fell early in the engagement, but not before he had had the opportunity of signalizing himself by extraordinary efforts; and with him many Spartans of distinction met their fate. The battle, nevertheless, continued, and with equal zeal on the part of the defenders, till Hydarnēs presented himself in the rear with his detachment, when they retreated to the wall. At this juncture, the Thebans who had been detained as hostages by the Spartans, solicited mercy of their conquerors; but many were killed in the very act of surrendering, while the remainder were made prisoners. The surviving Lacedæmonians and Thespians gained a rising ground, which afforded them the means of some further temporary resistance, till they were slain to a man. Fall of Leonidas.

Two of the brothers of Xerxes perished while they were contending for the body of Leonidas. In this severe contest, the superior valour of the Greeks enabled them to repel the Persians no fewer than four times, till the party in their rear approached under the guidance of the traitorous Ephialtēs.

Diodorus Siculus gives a somewhat different representation of the celebrated battle of Thermopylæ. As soon, he says, as Leonidas found that he was circumvented, he availed himself of the approach of night to make a bold attempt upon the tent of Xerxes, which, however, the king had abandoned on the first alarm. The Greeks advanced in search of him from tent to tent, marking their track with the blood of multitudes whom they slew. In the morning, the Persians looked with contempt upon the insignificant number of their enemies, and closing upon them on three sides, still not daring to attack them in front, they slew them with their spears. In the poem before cited, Glover follows the narrative of Diodorus Siculus, but differs from the ancient historians, in representing the chief hero as perishing last—adhering less to historic accuracy, than to poetic effect:—

——— ——— The Spartan king
Now stands alone. In heaps his slaughter'd friends
All stretch'd around him lie. The distant foes
Shower on his head innumerable darts;
From various sluices gush the vital floods;
They stain his fainting limbs, nor yet with pain
His brow is clouded; but those beauteous wounds,
The sacred pledges of his own renown
And Sparta's safety, in serenest joy
His closing eye contemplates. Fame can twine
No brighter laurels round his glorious head;
His virtue more to labour fate forbids,
And lays him now in honourable rest,
To seal his country's liberty by death.

Desirous of saving two of his relations who accompanied him to Thermopylæ, Leonidas pretended to give them messages to the senate of Sparta. "I followed you," said one of them, "to fight, not as a

messenger." "What you enjoin," said the other, "is the business of a messenger;" and immediately, taking up his shield, placed himself in his rank.

The names of all the 300 Spartans, whose self-sacrifice is so celebrated, were upon record in the time of Herodotus, and, as he expressly asserts, well known to him. Dieneces is distinguished above the rest, as the bravest of the brave. Previous to the engagement, a Trachinian having remarked that the barbarians would send forth such a shower of arrows, that their multitude would obscure the sun itself; he replied with the utmost heroism, "Our Trachinian friend promises us great advantages; if the Medes obscure the sun's light, we shall fight them in the shade, and be protected from the heat."

Dieneces.

Alpheus, &c.

Alpheus and Maron, two brothers, the sons of Orsiphantus, are next commemorated; and, as most conspicuous among the Thespians, Dithyrambus, the son of Harmatidas.

Aristodēmus and Pantitēs.

Two of the illustrious band of Spartans survived the destructive battle—Aristodēmus and Pantitēs. The former had the general's permission to remain at Alpenus, on account of a violent inflammation of the eyes; or, according to some writers, he was despatched from the army on some business, and might, it is said, have joined the battle, had he not lingered on his embassy. In consequence, he was branded with infamy on his return; no one would speak to him, or supply him with fuel, and he acquired the odious epithet of "the trembler;" but from this disgrace he redeemed his character subsequently, at the battle of Platæa. Pantitēs having been sent into Thessaly on some business, felt so strongly what he deemed the disgrace of being absent, that on his return to Sparta, he committed suicide. Another soldier, named Eurytus, is celebrated for having hastened to share in the glories, notwithstanding the permission he had to remain at Alpenus for the recovery of his health.

Monuments to the slain.

The year after the extraordinary action of Thermopylæ, the Amphictyonic assembly undertook the care of erecting monuments to the slain. Two structures of marble were, in consequence reared, to denote the place of the conflict, with inscriptions which long remained. One was in honour of the Peloponnesians in general, without particularly mentioning the Lacedæmonians, who defended the pass; the other related solely to the latter, and their heroic leader and king. They were in verse, according to the usual practice on such occasions. The former imports that "here four thousand men from Peloponnesus fought with three millions;" the latter is as follows:—

Ὦ ξεῖν' ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
Κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.—

Go, stranger, and to listening Spartans tell,
That here, obedient to their laws, we fell.

Herodotus speaks of a lion of stone, which was erected in honour of Leonidas. His bones were, about forty years afterwards, at the time

of the victory of Platæa,[1] conveyed back to Sparta by Pausanias, who reared a magnificent monument to his memory, near the theatre. Every year, a funeral oration was pronounced in that place, to the honour of the fallen heroes, and games were celebrated, in which Spartans alone participated.



PAUSANIAS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 479.

PAUSANIAS was by birth a Lacedæmonian, and attained to the highest honours which his country could bestow upon him, being appointed generalissimo of the confederate Greeks, at the critical period of the second Persian invasion. He was lineally descended from the kings of Sparta, the son of Cleombrotus, and regent of Lacedæmon for his cousin Pleistarchus, son of Leonidas, who was yet a minor, at the time his countrymen ordered him to oppose Mardonius the Persian commander. Previous to the departure of Pausanias from Sparta to oppose the Persian invasion, the Lacedæmonians appeared little inclined to afford an active co-operation with the Grecian states, in support of their common interests; but the remonstrances of the Athenian ambassadors on the one hand, and the reproaches of their own allies on the other, at length brought them to resolve upon more decisive measures. Immediately after this fortunate change, the Lacedæmonian senate despatched Pausanias with five thousand Spartans, each attended by seven Helots, who were regarded as their light troops, to join the confederacy. This increased the number of the forces to forty thousand men. Pausanias marched secretly out of Sparta under the cover of night, and early on the ensuing morning arrived upon the confines of Arcadia. This procedure both surprised and disconcerted the people of Argos, who, according to Herodotus, had undertaken to intercept any Lacedæmonian forces that might attempt to leave Laconia. The Argives were, however, so blindly devoted to the Persian interest, that

B. C. 479. PAUSANIAS.

Marches from Sparta.

[1] If this was the same who commanded at the battle of Platæa. *forty* must be an erroneous reading for *four*.—Smith's Dict. of Antiq., "Leonidas."

B. C. 479. they immediately despatched messengers to Mardonius, to communicate the intelligence of Pausanias having advanced into Arcadia. No sooner had the Persian general received this information, than he retreated with the utmost precipitation from Attica, and retired into Bœotia, which, being an open country, was much better adapted to the evolutions of cavalry, and moreover had the advantage of being nearer to his numerous magazines at Thebes. He now fixed his camp upon the banks of the river Asōpus. Pausanias, in the mean time, continued his march toward the isthmus of Corinth; where, upon his arrival, he was joined by the rest of the confederate forces of Peloponnesus. Upon this expedition, he was attended by Tisamenus, a native of Elis, in the quality of prophet, or soothsayer, an office in high estimation. On consulting this soothsayer, after the performance of sacrifices, it was found that the omens were peculiarly favourable to the present enterprise.

Advances to Eleusis.

Pausanias next advanced upon Eleusis, at which place he was joined by the whole of the Athenian forces, under the command of Aristīdēs, who had been appointed to that high and honourable office by a special decree of the people, and sacrifices being resorted to, the augurs again returned favourable responses. The combined army of the Greeks now marched into Bœotia, and took up a position at the foot of Mount Cithæron, directly opposite to the Persian camp; the river Asōpus dividing the two hostile armies. The Persian general Mardonius, deeply sensible of the strength of the position which his opponent had assumed, attempted, but in vain, to seduce him from his ground, into the open country, where his cavalry would be enabled to act with advantage. Finding that the skilful Spartan could not be induced to relinquish his post, which, at the same time, it was impossible to force in front, he immediately ordered Masistius, the master of the horse, to employ his cavalry in harassing the Greeks. The Persian cavalry like that of Parthia, made use of a variety of missile weapons, such as darts and arrows; and after having discharged them at the enemy, they were accustomed to retreat with the utmost precipitation. Their general plan was to charge in small bodies in succession; and although they were extremely impetuous at the onset of the contest, as soon as they met with a firm resistance, they suddenly wheeled about and made good their retreat. With light cavalry of this description, Masistius repeatedly charged the Megaræans, who were posted in that part of the Grecian line which was most exposed to such assaults. The Megaræans were so harassed by the repeated attacks of troops, continually supported by reinforcements, that although they maintained their station with unyielding heroism, they sent messengers to inform Pausanias of their being under the absolute necessity of abandoning their post, unless he marched quickly to their relief. This induced an immediate call of a council of his generals, for the purpose of consulting upon the best means of opposing an effectual resistance to the harassing and desultory charges of the Persian horse. In this consultation he frankly confessed

Position in Bœotia.

Contest with Masistius.

his own inability to devise any plan, and expressed his reluctance to give orders respecting a military service which was to him so perfectly novel. In this distressing and critical moment, Aristīdēs and the Athenians offered their services; nor could there be an instant hesitation in accepting the co-operation of an officer who had served at the battle of Marathon, under the illustrious Miltiadēs. Aristīdēs selected Olympiodorus, and placed under his command a chosen body of heavy-armed infantry, judiciously intermingled with a number of javelin-men and archers. Olympiodorus immediately marched to the relief of the Megaræans, and effectually checked the advance of the enemy. Masistius enraged at this unexpected interference on the part of the Athenians, impetuously charged their heavy-armed infantry: but at the very onset, an arrow wounded his horse, and he fell to the ground, when he was slain by the javelin of an Athenian soldier. The Persian horse made the most desperate efforts to recover the body of their general, who, was second in command to Mardonius, and was held in high estimation by the soldiery. The Greeks baffled their enemies in every attempt, which obliged the Persian cavalry to retire slowly and reluctantly to their camp. B. C. 479.

Greeks change their position.

After the death of Masistius, the Greeks removed their camp from the present advantageous position, in consequence of experiencing a scarcity of water, which was occasioned by the numerous Persian horse scouring the banks of the river Asōpus; and they took up a post near the fountain of Gargaphia, which lies within the confines of the Plataean territory.

No sooner was intelligence conveyed to Mardonius that the Greeks had changed their position, than he struck his own tents, put his troops into motion, and pitched his camp directly opposite to theirs, still keeping the Asōpus in front of his army. The force under Mardonius consisted of three hundred and fifty thousand men, of whom fifty thousand were Greeks, principally Macedonians, and a few Phocians. The Grecian army was, at this juncture, no less conspicuous for its valour and discipline, than respectable for its numbers. Their forces, according to Herodotus, amounted in the whole to no less than one hundred and ten thousand men. It would, however, appear from the silence of Herodotus on the subject, that they had no cavalry—a deficiency which was most probably remedied by their light-armed infantry, among whom was judiciously mingled a considerable number of archers and dart-men.

Inactivity of Mardonius.

After the Persian army had taken up its position, Mardonius kept his troops in a state of almost perfect inaction for eight days, availing himself of this interval to get acquainted with the narrow passes of Mount Cithæron, through which the Grecian army was constantly furnished with provisions and other necessaries. On one occasion having received intelligence of the march of a convoy with supplies for the Grecian camp, he despatched a strong body of cavalry to intercept them. The Persian horse falling in with the convoy at the point

B.C. 479. where the defile terminates in the plain, killed both men and cattle, and immediately retreated upon their own army.

Wearied at length with a state of inactivity, and perceiving that the Greeks were pertinaciously resolved not to relinquish their present advantageous position by crossing the river Asōpus, Mardonius determined to give battle; and first taking the precaution of summoning the principal Grecian officers of his army, he stated his design of attacking the confederates on the succeeding day, commanding them at the same time to make the necessary preparations. Alexander, king of Macedonia, one of the Grecian officers unwillingly pressed into the Persian service, was determined to communicate this intention of Mardonius to his countrymen: and as Plutarch relates in his Life of Aristīdēs, rode at midnight to the Athenian line, and demanding to speak with Aristīdēs and his principal officers, communicated the plan of the Persian general. This being done, he hastily returned to his own camp; while the Athenian general conveyed this gratifying piece of information to Pausanias, the commander in chief. A council of war was immediately called in his tent, to deliberate upon the proper measures which ought to be adopted in this emergency to resist the menaced attack. Pausanias proposed an important alteration in the order of the Grecian line. He had previously observed that the native Persians were placed on the left of the enemy's army, opposite the Lacedæmonians, and the Grecian heavy-armed infantry in the Persian service on the right, opposite to the Athenian forces, and he alleged that the Athenians alone had any considerable experience in real action with the Persian troops, and that they were full of enthusiasm from cherishing a lively recollection of the glorious victory of Marathon. On these grounds, he proposed that the Spartans should move to the left wing, and the Athenians to the right: and with the concurrence of Aristīdēs issued orders for the execution of this new arrangement. The Persians, however, the next day, deferred their intended attack, confining themselves to certain military evolutions; excepting only that a few desultory charges of cavalry were made along the whole Grecian line, and one attack of a more serious nature upon the Lacedæmonian troops, stationed at the fountain of Gargaphia.

Alexander goes to Aristīdēs.

Dispositions of Pausanias.

Change of position.

At the close of the ensuing day, the Greeks found themselves destitute of water, and in some measure without provisions, owing to the activity of the enemy's cavalry in intercepting supplies. Upon this, Pausanias, for the third time, resolved to remove from his present situation, and gave orders to the troops to proceed during the second watch of the night, about the distance of a mile and a half lower down, from the Gargaphian fountain towards the town of Platæa. On this march, most of the Grecian troops were seized with a sudden and unaccountable panic.

In this dilemma, it is probable that the fortunate obstinacy of a Lacedæmonian officer saved the whole confederate army from ruin, and unquestionably led to the celebrated victory which was afterwards

achieved. Amompharetus, who united the characters of priest and soldier, absolutely refused to obey the orders which were given by the general to retreat, urging in vindication of his extraordinary conduct, the standing laws of his country. This circumstance produced a violent altercation between Pausanias and the subaltern officer in question, which occasioned the detention of the Lacedæmonians in their position. However, at break of day, he desired the Athenians to observe the motions of his troops, as a guide by which to regulate their own movements, and commanded the Spartans and Tegæans to press forward to the ground which he had chosen for their encampment. Amompharetus at length ordered his squadron to follow the rest of the army, whose march was in the direction of the hills, whilst the Athenians only advanced along the plain. In the morning the Persians perceived the Greeks in rapid motion. The cavalry immediately charged the rear of the Lacedæmonian army, and Mardonius, construing the retreat of the Greeks into a flight, quickly brought up the Persian infantry to pursue the fugitives, as well as to support his own cavalry. The whole of the enemy's force followed in expectation of an easy and bloodless victory. At this juncture, the Grecian general found his rear so seriously annoyed by the reiterated and desultory attacks of the Persian light horse, that he was under the necessity of making a stand; and, accordingly, despatched a messenger to Aristīdēs, acquainting him with his intention, and requesting him to afford him some assistance in repelling the assaults of the enemy. But before the Athenian general could march to the relief of his colleague, he was himself vigorously attacked by the Grecian troops in the Persian service, and thus was effectually prevented from co-operating with the Spartans. The Lacedæmonians and Tegæans amounted, however, to eleven thousand heavy-armed foot, and more than forty thousand light-armed troops; and they were posted upon the declivity of Mount Cithæron, with the river Asōpus in front, running at the foot of the hill. In this position, so advantageous for defence, Pausanias, with his Spartans, awaited the approach of the enemy. The Persian infantry, under Mardonius, made a most spirited attack upon the Grecian line. The conflict was long and dubious; but in this, as in the former engagements, the Greeks had the advantage in close fight, from the short weapons and undefended bodies of their antagonists. These, nevertheless, made several vigorous charges upon the Grecian infantry, many of whom were seized and their weapons broken, but every effort they could make to penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, proved totally unavailing, and the Persians began at length to give way. At this critical moment, according to Herodotus, the Spartans and Tegæans advanced upon them, and having made an impression on their line, pushed forward, and soon threw the whole mass of the Persian infantry into confusion. Nothing could exceed the astonishment into which the Persian general was thrown, on witnessing the unexpected repulse of his infantry by an enemy whom he had regarded as

B. C. 479.

Amompharetus.

Lacedæmonians attacked.

Attack of the Persian Infantry.

B. C. 479. fugitive, and finding the victory suddenly snatched from his eager and too confident grasp.

Dilemma of Mardonius.

He was now in great suspense whether or not to sound a retreat; but convinced that it was necessary to strike a decisive blow, he determined to trust to one of those accidents which have so often interposed at an alarming crisis to turn the fate of battle. He therefore placed himself at the head of a select body of horse, and advanced full speed to the support of his retreating infantry, and made a charge in person no less judicious than spirited. Although he did not succeed in breaking the Lacedæmonian phalanx, he was enabled by this vigorous attack to check its progress. Many gallant Persian officers and soldiers perished in this charge of cavalry; among the rest Mardonius himself, after having behaved in a manner worthy of the magnitude and importance

His fall.

of the interests which were at stake. He fell covered with wounds: and instantly upon his death the whole Persian army betook themselves to flight. Artabazus, who was second in command to Mardonius,

Retreat effected by Artabazus.

but who was not personally engaged in the battle, no sooner heard of the complete overthrow of the infantry, than, with a chosen body of forty thousand men, he retreated toward Phocis, and by this well-conducted measure saved the remains of the Persian army.

While the Lacedæmonians were victorious over the Persians upon the hills, the Athenians were severely engaged with the Thebans in the plain. The Bœotians, who were in the Persian service, were forced, after an obstinate conflict, to yield to the valour of the Athenian troops, and fled in confusion towards Thebes. The rest of the Asiatic nations, upon the advance of the Spartans and Tegæans, disappeared in the utmost consternation, without waiting for the charge. The Persian and Theban horse, however, still maintained the field after the infantry were routed, and rendered material aid in covering the retreat of the fugitives. The greater part of the Persian infantry took shelter in their fortified camp, the depository of all their magazines and treasures. The Lacedæmonians and Tegæans, acquainted with this circumstance, pursued them with ardour to the very entrenchments; but not being accustomed to storm fortified walls, were perplexed in what manner to conduct their operations. On the arrival, however, of the Athenian troops, the Spartans, under the direction of the Athenian officers, again attacked the entrenched position, and after repeated assaults, completely succeeded in carrying it, with a horrible slaughter of the enemy.

Of the Persian army, which originally consisted of about three hundred thousand men, only three thousand survived, with the exception of those who effected a timely retreat under the skilful conduct of Artabazus. He arrived in safety with his forces at Byzantium, and thence proceeded to Asia. In the course of a few days, not a single Persian was to be found in Greece; and never since that memorable period, did a Persian armament venture to make its appearance on that side of the Hellespont.

The spoil found by the Greeks was immense. In the magnificent tent of Mardonius, there were discovered prodigious sums of money, gold and silver cups, vessels, couches, tables, necklaces, collars, and bracelets. This Asiatic display of pomp and wealth dazzled the eyes of the wondering Greeks; but these spoils became fatal to Greece, inasmuch as they first introduced a love of riches and luxury amongst her inhabitants. B. C. 479. Persian camp plundered.

The Tegæans, who first broke into the camp, seized upon its treasures, and began to appropriate them to themselves, as their right. Upon this, Pausanias immediately issued orders, that the whole of the plunder should be fairly distributed, and that the principal officers of the army, who had distinguished themselves in the field of battle, should be proportionally remunerated. The Helots were then ordered to gather together all the spoils, with the exception of a brazen manger, which was conceded to the Tegæans as a testimony of their bravery and good fortune. Previously, however, to the division of the spoil among the gallant soldiery who had fought for it, a tenth part of the whole was appropriated to the use of the gods. The treasure thus set apart furnished a golden tripod, which was dedicated to Apollo, at Delphi, and placed there by the express orders of Pausanias. It bore an inscription, purporting, "that he (Pausanias) had defeated the barbarians at Platæa; and that, in acknowledgment of that victory, he had made this present to Apollo." The Spartans, in order to punish the arrogance of their general, and to perform an act of justice to their confederates, caused his name to be erased, and the names of the respective cities to be inserted in its place. Pausanias, however, upon another occasion, gave a more favourable specimen of the true Spartan disposition, in a conduct worthy of the best days of Spartan integrity and simplicity. The trappings of the royal household were found in the pavilion of Mardonius, which had been left by Xerxes, on his sudden and hasty departure for Persia. These had been presented by him to his general and brother-in-law. Pausanias, a few days after the engagement, determined to give a sumptuous entertainment to the principal officers, whom he invited for the occasion. The domestic Persian slaves, who had survived the slaughter, were in waiting; the royal furniture of Xerxes was put in request; the sideboards were covered with a costly exhibition of gold and silver utensils; and one of the tables exhibited a profusion of the delicacies and luxuries which used to be served up at the table of Mardonius. Pausanias ordered another table to be spread, on which was placed his plain and frugal supper, prepared according to the Spartan manner; and turning round to his officers, requested them to mark the difference between a sumptuous Persian entertainment, and a Spartan repast. "What madness," says he, "was it in Mardonius, who was accustomed to such a luxurious diet, to come and attack a people like us, that know how to live without any such superfluities!" Distribution of the spoils. Entertainment given by Pausanias.

After the distribution of the spoil, Pausanias ordered that the

B. C. 479. Burial of the dead.

burial of the dead should be performed. The slain were interred, according to the general practice of the ancients, in tumuli, or barrows. A single burying-place was appointed to the use of the Athenians, Tegæans, Megaræans, and Phliasians; but the slain of the Lacedæmonians formed three separate mounds; one consisting of those who had borne the priestly office, another of the Lacedæmonians in general, and the third of their Helots.

Decree of the general assembly.

In the next general assembly of the Greeks, which was held soon after the battle, Aristīdēs proposed the following decree: that all the cities of Greece should annually send their respective deputies to Platæa to offer up sacrifices to "*Zeus the Deliverer*," and to the tutelary deities of the city; that games should be celebrated there every five years, which should be called the *games of liberty*; and that the inhabitants of Platæa, who had distinguished themselves in so extraordinary a manner, and received, for their services, the first honours of military merit, should be solely devoted to the service of the gods, considered as sacred and inviolable, and be employed in no other office than that of offering up prayer and sacrifice for the safety and prosperity of Greece. After this decree had passed into a law, the inhabitants of Platæa voluntarily engaged to solemnise an anniversary festival, in honour of those heroes who were slain in the plains of Platæa.

Pausanias marches against Thebes.

A few days after the battle, Pausanias called a council of war, in which it was determined to chastise those Greeks who had been in the Persian service; and with a view of carrying this resolution into effect, the army of the confederates, under Pausanias, ten days after the engagement at Platæa, marched into the Theban territories. The Lacedæmonian general, on his appearance before the gates of Thebes, insisted upon the surrender of Timegenidas, Attaginus, and some other principal Thebans. Attaginus effected his escape, but Timegenidas, and other Theban traitors, being surrendered to Pausanias, were conveyed to Corinth, where they were publicly executed. This was the last act of the Grecian commander, in his office of generalissimo.

B. C. 470. Pausanias commands a fleet.

About nine years after the battle of Platæa (B. C. 470), the Greeks, perceiving the necessity of still further checking the Persian power, and of delivering their allies from the Asiatic yoke, determined to send a considerable fleet to sea, of which Pausanias was unanimously appointed commander in chief, receiving as coadjutors, Aristīdēs, and Cimon, the son of the illustrious Miltiadēs. Pausanias first directed his course towards the island of Cyprus: here he compelled the Persian garrisons to surrender, and restored all the cities to their former liberty. The fleet then steered to the Propontis and the Hellespont, attacking the city of Byzantium, which was the principal military depôt of the Persians, and the key of communication with their possessions in Europe. After a siege of some continuance, the garrison and town capitulated, and an immense number of prisoners

Takes Byzantium.

was taken, many of whom were of the richest and most considerable families of Persia; some of them were related to the family of Xerxes. B. C. 470.

From the period of the capture of Byzantium, the mind of the commander in chief seems to have undergone a remarkable change. The austere mode of living, practised by the Spartans, disgusted him, when viewed in comparison with the pomp and luxury of Asia; and the splendour of his renown, acquired at Platæa, so dazzled him, that he began to consider the rigid subjection required by the Spartan laws, as altogether intolerable to a man who had so eminently distinguished himself in the field of battle. Changes his habits and character.

He entirely laid aside the Spartan customs, imitating the Asiatics in all their luxury and magnificence, and invidiously assuming both the dress and haughtiness of the Persians. He never spoke to the officers of the allies, but with insufferable haughtiness; and by his whole conduct, rendered the Spartan dominion over the rest of the confederate Greeks odious and insupportable. On the other hand, unhappily for the Lacedæmonian interest in the affairs of Greece, the character of Pausanias, when contrasted with the opposite dispositions of Aristīdēs and Cimon, increased the general discontent of the allies. Their courteous and affable deportment, their remoteness from all imperious and haughty airs, and their gentle, kind, and beneficent dispositions, in conjunction with the humanity which they displayed on all public occasions, were admirably calculated to conciliate the affections of the Grecian states. Contrasted with Cimon and Aristīdēs.

About this time, Pausanias became acquainted with Gongylus, a renegade Greek, whom he appointed governor of Byzantium, entrusting to his charge the Persian prisoners of distinction. Soon afterwards, Pausanias spread a report throughout the Grecian army, that the Persian nobles committed to the governor's care had effected their escape by night; whereas, in fact, they were all liberated by the connivance of the commander in chief himself. Gongylus, the governor, was then despatched to the court of Persia: and Pausanias sent a letter by him to Xerxes, containing proposals to betray his country on certain stipulated conditions. He promised the Persian monarch to deliver into his power the city of Sparta, and the whole of Greece, on condition of his giving him his daughter in marriage, accompanied with a magnificent fortune. Through the medium of Gongylus, Xerxes returned a favourable answer to these proposals, and, at the same time, sent him large sums of money, for the purpose of winning over to his interest as many of the leading men of Greece as he should find disposed to enter into his designs. The Persian king also appointed Artabazus to continue this negotiation; and to enable him to do so with the greater success, he recalled Megabates, and appointed Artabazus governor of all the cities situated on the sea-coasts of Asia-Minor. From this moment, the manners, dress, and table of Pausanias became entirely Persian; a style of living which naturally Gongylus. Treachery of Pausanias.

B. C. 470. caused the greatest dissatisfaction among the confederates. At last, the general discontent publicly broke forth; all the allied forces unanimously agreed to desert him, and to place themselves under the command of the Athenians: and thus the Lacedæmonians not only lost that distinguished superiority which they had hitherto maintained over the confederate states of Greece, but conferred, though unintentially, upon their rivals, the Athenians, the conduct of Grecian affairs.

Tried and acquitted.

The republic of Lacedæmon, recalling their troops, summoned their general before a military tribunal, to give an account of his extraordinary conduct. Pausanias was brought to trial, but from want of sufficient evidence was acquitted. After this public investigation, he went in the character of a private individual, without the approbation of the commonwealth, to the city of Byzantium, from which place he was able to carry on his intrigues with Artabazus with the greater facility. During his residence in that city, his behaviour became so offensive to the Athenians, that they compelled him to retire to Colonnæ, a small town of the Troad. Here he received an order from the Ephori, to repair again to Sparta and defend his conduct. He obeyed the summons, presuming that he should escape punishment by corrupting the principal men of Sparta with bribes. The event fully justified his expectations; for he was brought to trial a second time, and again acquitted, and set at liberty. But the guilt of Pausanias soon became evident, and too dangerous to the state to be passed over with impunity. One of his own slaves went to the Ephori, and produced before them a letter written by his master to the king of Persia, which he was to have carried and delivered into the hands of Artabazus himself. The slave withdrew to the temple of Poseidōn, at Tænarus, in order to secure himself from the vengeance of Pausanias. Two small closets had been purposely made there, in one of which the Ephori secreted themselves. Pausanias, upon hearing that his slave had fled to this temple, hastened to the place to inquire the reason, and the Spartan magistrates had the fullest opportunity of satisfying themselves with regard to his traitorous intentions. The slave confessed that he had opened the letter, and finding by its contents that he was to be put to death, he had fled to that temple as an asylum. Pausanias, aware of the truth of this statement, did not deny the fact, but promised him a great reward, and besought him never to reveal the present conversation.

Retires to Byzantium.

Ordered to Sparta.

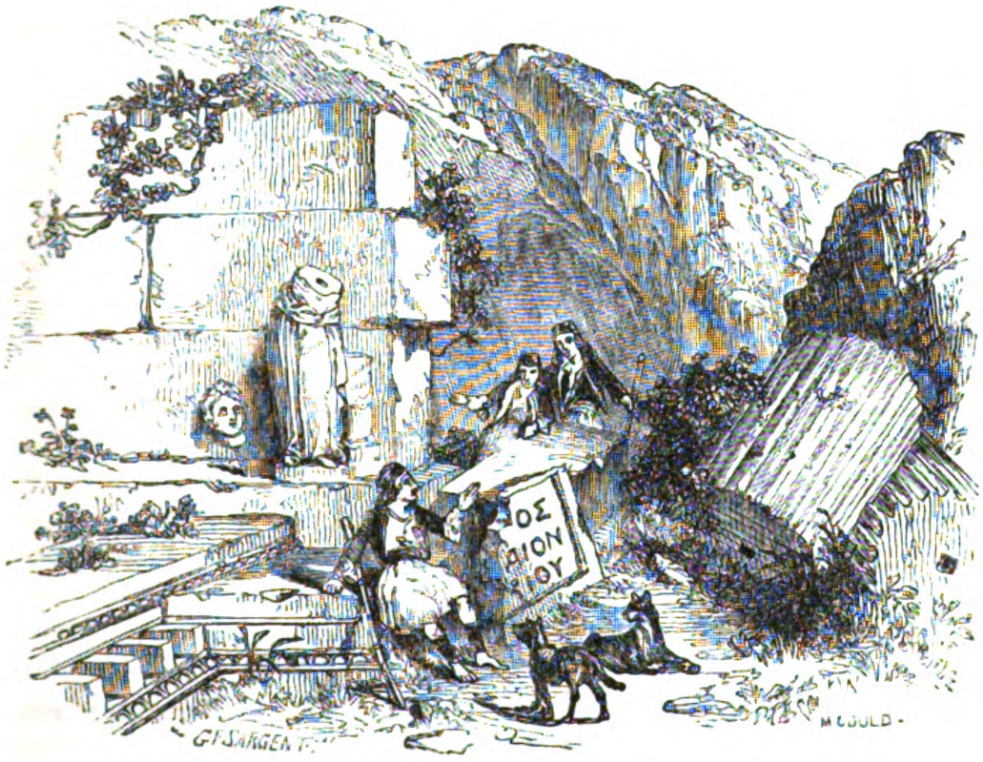
His guilt established by a slave.

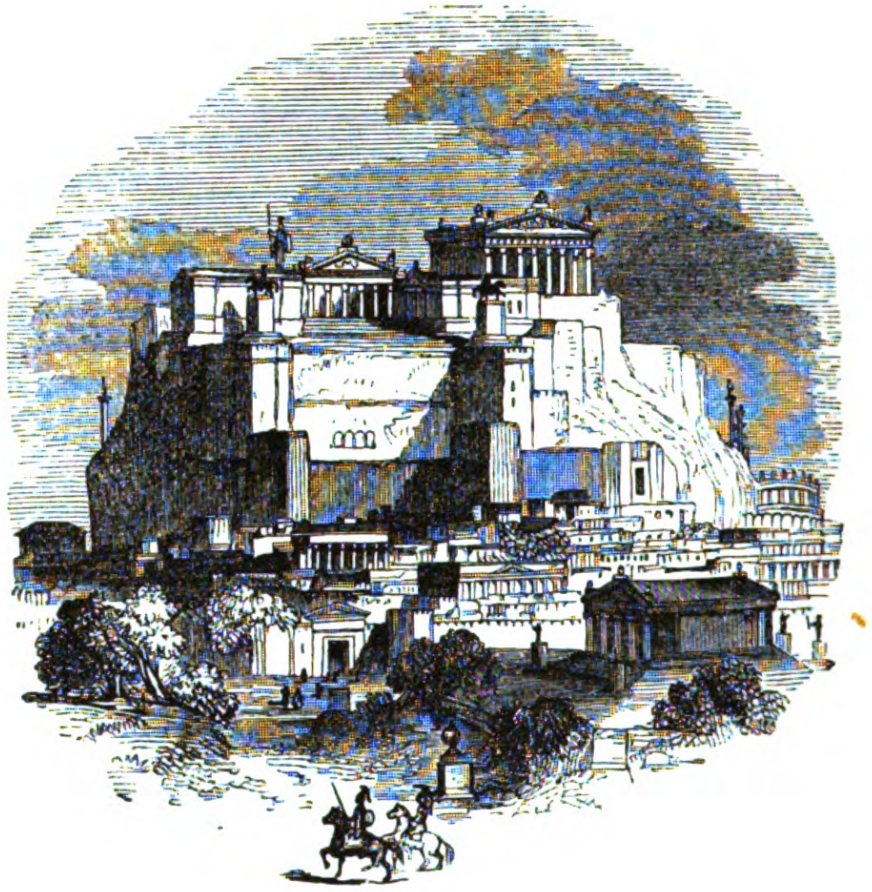
His death.

B. C. 469.

The Ephori determined to seize upon him as soon as he returned to the city; but having received an intimation of their design from one of his friends, he hastily fled to the temple of Pallas, called Chalciæcus. The entrance was immediately blocked up with stones by his pursuers, and according to Cornelius Nepos, his mother was the person who brought the first stone. The Ephori caused the roof of the temple to be taken off, and not wishing by a forcible abduction to violate the sanctity of the asylum, left him exposed to the inclemency of the weather and the pangs of hunger: he was accordingly starved to death. But

a little before he expired they drew him out of the asylum, when he died in the arms of his attendants, B. C. 469. His body was buried in front of the temple, and two brazen statues, according to the response of the Delphic oracle, were erected in honour of his memory. Some years after his decease, festivals and solemn games were instituted in his honour, and a funeral oration was spoken in his praise, in which were celebrated his exploits at the battle of Platæa, and the defeat of Mardonius. B. C. 469.





CHAPTER X.

THE SUPREMACY OF ATHENS.

B. C. 469 TO B. C. 429.

CIMON.

BORN B. C. 500, DIED B. C. 449.

CIMON. B. C. 500.

THE virtues of CIMON, the son of Miltiadēs, the Marathonian conqueror, brought him into notice at an earlier period of life than any other of the Athenian chiefs of this period. In his youth he was addicted to intemperate and riotous pleasure: but the distresses of his father struck home upon the heart of the son, and awakened that energy of spirit for which he was afterwards so eminent amongst his countrymen. On the second Persian invasion, while yet the principal citizens of Athens remained unmoved by the arguments of Themistoclēs, who urged them to repair to their fleet for the preservation of their liberty, Cimon, then a very young man, convinced of the wisdom of the measure, repaired to the temple, and offered a bridle on the altar of Athēnē, to profess his belief that horses and horsemen were no longer of service in her

His first public act. B. C. 480.

cause. He then proceeded to remove the portable goods of his family on board the fleet, and induced many of the Athenians to follow his example. The spirited patriotism of so young a man pleased Aristīdēs, who henceforth took the son of Miltiadēs under his tuition and protection. B. C. 480.

As this noble youth had been bred up in the army, under the experienced eye of his father, he was possessed of considerable military skill, and in the Athenian fleet, which achieved the victory of Salamis, he sustained a considerable command. We next find his name associated with that of his distinguished friend Aristīdēs in the direction of that important expedition of the confederated Greeks against the Persians, in which the Lacedæmonians lost their ascendancy among the allied forces, which the Athenians obtained. Although Aristīdēs, as the commander in chief of the Athenian force, was the person to whom the irritated Greeks first officially addressed themselves, it is clear that they considered Cimon as of no little consequence in the furtherance of their object, and Aristīdēs himself was content to share the honour with so noble an assistant in arms. Returning home in triumph to Athens, the intrigues of Themistoclēs against his rival Aristīdēs disturbed the peace of the city, and ended in his own banishment. In this affair the whole influence of Cimon was exerted in the cause of his friend, believing it to be that of his country; and he most steadily required that the whole force of the law should be exerted against the selfish policy of Themistoclēs, whose treachery to Athens he considered to be clearly proved. Takes part in the victory of Salamis. An antagonist of Themistoclēs.

On the decision of this case, Athens was left comparatively in peace. She had attained a rank amongst the confederate states, to which she was doubtless entitled by the superior talents of the chieftains she had sent to the common war, by the magnitude of the force she had risked, and by the greater severity of her sufferings. It now became the chief duty of her chiefs to support her liberties and her supremacy from encroachment at home, no less than to defend her territories from outrage or insult abroad. Themistoclēs was an outlaw, and Aristīdēs chose rather to promote the increasing power of Cimon, than, by again wielding it himself, to risk the well-earned honours he had acquired. Thus everything seemed to prepare the path of Cimon to the highest distinction; and, soon after the banishment of Themistoclēs, we find him in a most important command. At this time the Athenians judged it prudent to fit out an expedition for the relief of those Grecian colonies in Asia which were still under the dominion of their great enemy the Persian king. Such was the ostensible object of their hostile preparations; but it has been justly thought that the real motive was, that they might, under cover of this expedition, still keep on foot a powerful navy, and obtain the immense riches which they were well aware the skill of their officers and the bravery of their troops would win from those countries upon which they had their eye. Without, therefore, being suspected of any other views than those publicly avowed, the Athenians were, by these means, sustaining their internal power and Gradually rises to supreme power.

B. C. 480. annoying the common enemy to the partial advantage of all Greece, although they reaped in their own state the immediate and most important benefits. As none of the Athenian commanders were now more eminent than Cimon, to him was given the supreme direction of the fleet; the first uncontrolled military power he ever possessed. He now sailed to Eion, a town of much commercial importance, in the mouth of the river Strymon, where he defeated a considerable body of Thracians. He then reduced the island of Scyros in the Ægean sea, whence he is said to have brought the bones of Theseus, the founder of the Athenian monarchy. On his return to Athens, he caused them to be interred with considerable magnificence, attended by all the public authorities. With a fleet of three hundred ships, he next sailed direct for Caria, conquering wherever he came, and obtaining immense riches. Off the Pamphylian coast, lay a considerable Persian fleet, and an army on the adjacent shore, designed to act on the defensive, at this time waiting the reinforcement of eighty Phœnician galleys. Cimon immediately determined to attack the enemy. Upon his appearance, the Persians at first boldly advanced to meet him; but the renown of the Athenian general, and the remembrance of their own repeated defeats, struck a sudden panic into the Persian crews. They hastily retreated towards the shore, abandoned their ships, and sought protection amongst the army. Cimon, after taking possession of the vessels, now landed and attacked the Persians on shore. An obstinate contest ensued; but victory at length declared in favour of the Greeks; while, to crown the good fortune of the Athenians, Cimon captured the eighty Phœnician vessels in a port of Cyprus, and conducted back to his country two hundred ships laden with the spoil of his numerous victories.

Commands the fleet.

Takes Scyros.

B. C. 476.

Victory over the Persians off Pamphylia.

B. C. 470.

Immensely enriched by this booty, the Athenians now undertook several works of public importance, which stood for ages the monuments of Cimon's valour; while his own share of the spoil enabled this noble chieftain to give the reins to his unrivalled generosity and magnificence. With the general unappropriated spoil of the enemy, the south wall of the city was built, and ample foundations laid for the walls which afterwards united the port to the city. The ground being marshy, immense stones and fragments of rocks required to be sunk to a considerable depth; and had not the public treasury been so unusually supplied, every idea of completing them must have been relinquished. Cimon, from his own individual share of the spoil, beautified that part of the citadel which looked towards the south; he adorned the forum with plantations of palm-trees; and surrounded the schools with various pleasant and sumptuous parades and plantations. To him also was Athens indebted for the first of those buildings known by the name of "porticoes," which afterwards contributed so greatly to the ornament of the city. Several of them were constructed, under his direction, in the highest style of architecture, in which he demonstrated the elegance of his taste, no less than the generosity of his disposition.

Its flattering results.

Long walls commenced.

First portico built.

In private life this illustrious Athenian is said also to have been distinguished for his liberality. He dismissed the keepers, threw down the walls, and levelled the inclosures of his park and gardens, permitting every citizen of Athens indiscriminately to partake of their productions. His noble table was open even to the poorest classes; for it was a constant custom with Cimon to invite all those citizens to his supper whom he saw at the forum unbidden to any other. In his walks through the city he is said to have been attended by young men bearing purses of money for the relief of the indigent; while he was sometimes even known to give way, on the spot, his own mantle to particular objects of charity. B. C. 470. Riches and munificence of Cimon.

By these means Cimon attained the summit of power in Athens. His last expedition had brought such a mass of wealth into the city, that all the corruptions of luxury followed, and he himself, of all the Athenians, appeared the only exception to their influence. With luxury, however, came power, which the people now felt so conscious of possessing, that they suffered no indignity from other states to pass unatoned for or unavenged. No sooner, therefore, was it known at Athens that the Persians had again invaded the Chersonēsus, than Cimon was immediately sent thither to expel them. This expedition he undertook with only four ships, over which the Persians anticipated an easy triumph. But the Athenian leader attacked the enemy suddenly, took thirteen of their ships in a few hours, with a trifling loss, and proceeded to the reduction of the Chersonēsus. Another contest and another triumph now presented themselves to his arms. The people of Thasos, a small but fertile island in the Ægean sea, had revolted from the dominion of the Athenians, and, in the heat of the Persian war, had seized on the gold mines which lay between the rivers Strymon and Nyssus, on the boundaries of Macedonia and Thrace. In preparing for a war against these people, Cimon availed himself of an expedient, which had already, with little expense, increased considerably the power and influence of Athens. According to the system of alliance perfected by Aristīdēs, the different naval contingents of each separate state of the confederacy were distinctly mentioned. Now, however, that the Greeks felt themselves free from immediate danger, many states were found to offer a sum of money to the Athenians, whom they solicited to furnish the necessary quota in their stead. Cimon, dispensing with the personal services of those confederates who were willing to pay for substitutes to the war, enlisted them from amongst his own citizens, inuring them to warfare, while the fleet of Athens was made superior to that of any other power in the world. The Athenians now appeared before Thasos, and Cimon not only possessed himself of the gold mines which the Thasians had seized, but planted a large colony of Athenians in the conquered country, and built a city there which he called Amphipolis, diffusing the fame of the Athenians even to the borders of Macedon itself. He finally

Cimon at the summit of his power.

Plans for the aggrandizement of his country.

Expedition to Thasos. B. C. 465.

B. C. 465. retired from this war laden with considerable spoils, and was hailed by Athens as the most fortunate of her chiefs.

Shortly after his return to Athens, an opportunity occurred to Cimon which enabled him to show at once his generosity to a rival power, and to demonstrate publicly his own principles of government. The Helots, or slaves of the Spartans, had rebelled against their lordly masters, and raised a tumult in the state dangerous to its very existence. In this distress the Lacedæmonians applied to Athens for assistance in reducing the revolters to obedience—a request which occasioned great disputes in the city. The popular party, through their favourite orator Ephialtēs, utterly opposed the grant of assistance. They urged that Sparta had always been, from the aristocratic nature of her principles and constitution, the rival and enemy of Athens; and that the pride and cruelty of her people had driven their slaves into a rebellion which it was not
B. C. 464. the interest of a free nation to assist in quelling. On the other side, Cimon, excited by gratitude to the Spartans, who had given him so decided a support in his contention with Themistoclēs, earnestly pressed upon his countrymen to succour their confederates, designating Sparta as "the other eye of the noble Grecian head." He extolled the magnanimity of the action, and so fully convinced the Athenians of the propriety of the course he recommended, that they sent the orator himself, at the head of a powerful army, to yield the Spartans the required succour. This service Cimon performed with his accustomed success, and returned from the expedition with the applauses of all Greece. A circumstance happened, not long afterwards, which aggravated the dormant spirit of rivalry between Sparta and Athens, and in which Cimon himself did not escape without a considerable share of blame. The Lacedæmonians had engaged in the siege of Ithōmē, which holding out with unexpected obstinacy, they again solicited assistance from the Athenians, and were successful in their request. Cimon and a numerous body of troops were once more marched off to their assistance. In the mean time, however, and before the Athenian army arrived at the scene of action, the other confederates of Sparta had joined the troops before the town, and the siege was soon brought to a successful termination. The Lacedæmonians, ever proud, and particularly jealous of Athens since her late attainment of ascendancy, dismissed the general and his army without any tokens of respect or gratitude; an affront which struck deep into the minds of the Athenians, and contributed in no small degree to that inveterate hatred which afterwards arose between the two countries.

Sent to assist the Spartans.

Intrigues against him.

The Athenians now carried on war with two different nations. The contest with Ægina was renewed; and the war with Persia continued with unabated rancour in Egypt, which had revolted from the Persian yoke: their domestic disputes, however, ran as high as ever. Cimon, succeeding to the honours of Aristīdēs, was the leader of the aristocracy of Athens, whilst Periclēs and Ephialtēs, both men of powerful talents,

were at the head of the democratic party. A specious charge was B. C. 464.
now devised against Cimon, and he was accused of having received presents from the Macedonians, in consequence of which he had declined to push his success as far as he might otherwise have done, after his obtaining possession of the gold mines of Thasos. The defence of Cimon was noble and simple. He alleged that he had at all times prosecuted the war in Thrace to the utmost of his power; but frankly acknowledged that he had not made inroads into Macedonia, which he could not consider as the enemy of Athens, merely because she was the neutral ally of Persia, unless he had acted as the public enemy of mankind. He avowed, too, that he regarded the Macedonians, as a people, with considerable respect; they were civilized and modest in their manners, rigidly just in their dealings, and strictly honourable in all their past transactions with the Athenians. "If," concluded our noble-minded orator, "the Athenian people regard this conduct as criminal, I am ready to submit to the punishment they choose to inflict; but their judgment can never alter my conviction of right and wrong." On the occasion of this trial, Elpinicē, the generous sister of the accused, warmly engaged; and condescended to solicit, amongst other of the leading citizens, even Periclēs himself on his behalf. But every effort was unavailing with an Athenian populace. The open and candid mind of Cimon had prompted him to avow, on various occasions, his partiality for the aristocratic principles of Sparta and her Peloponnesian dependencies; he had even named his eldest son Lacedæmonius, and his two others, Thessalus and Eleius. These circumstances arguing some indiscretion, perhaps, and certainly no illiberal patriotism, continued to increase the clamour against him, and he was sentenced to be banished for the usual term of ten years. Cimon retired to a lordship which he possessed in the Chersonēsus, where he lived perfectly free of access, but keeping up an armed and vigilant household.

His banishment.

The exile of Cimon was the signal long expected by Ephialtēs and B. C. 460.
the democracy to begin their meditated attack upon the high court of Areopagus, which they considerably limited in its jurisdiction and privileges; and many of the causes of which it had hitherto taken cognizance were transferred to the general assembly of the citizens. The smothered jealousy between Athens and Sparta once more broke out into an open flame, which was rapidly communicated to all the surrounding states. When the troops of the rival nations had assembled before Tanagra, a town of Bœotia, and had disposed themselves in order of battle, Cimon, the banished patriot, unexpectedly appeared amongst his friends, completely armed, and ready again to risk his life in the service of his country. Murmurs of discontent immediately arose; his enemies declared that his term of banishment not being fulfilled, it was unlawful for him to mingle with the defenders of his country; they accused him of a design to join the Lacedæmonians, and asserted that he came to the field with no other purpose. Aware of

Sudden reappearance at Tanagra. B. C. 457.

B. C. 457. the tumult likely to arise from factious opposition, Cimon removed the cause of the quarrel by voluntarily retiring, after having exhorted his immediate dependents to behave with their utmost valour in the approaching battle. Euthippus, one of his warmest friends, only requested him to confide to them his armour, to be borne before them in the field; and this little band of Cimon's friends, commanded by the valiant Euthippus, performed prodigies of valour throughout the day. They bore the armour of their leader safe, as long as they themselves possessed life, and when they fell, the sacred trust of friendship was surrounded with their lifeless bodies.

After this disastrous action, the war between Athens and Sparta became general, and of very fluctuating success. The democratic leaders, by whose artifices Cimon had been banished, began to be distrustful of their own talents for subduing the storm which they had raised; the common people, too, were not without remembrance of his munificence, and of his gift of honour at Tanagra. Periclēs himself moved for the recall of Cimon from banishment, when only five years of his prescribed term of exile had elapsed: he was invited to his country by an honourable deputation, and to the immediate direction of its councils.

Cimon returns to Athens.
B. C. 455.

One of the first duties to which this great man addressed himself was the establishment of peace. Negotiations were directly opened between the Spartan and Athenian chiefs; and, at length, a truce of five years was formally concluded between the contending nations. From this time to the death of Cimon, the Athenian affairs may be said to be under his direction and that of his rival Periclēs conjointly, and the wisdom of the measures pursued proved the union to be most auspicious for Athens. A third wall was added to the fortifications which joined Athens to its ports, and an important addition to the military strength of his country was accomplished also at this time, in the reorganization of the Athenian cavalry.

Five years' truce.
B. C. 450.

Long walls at Athens completed.

In the midst of these exertions for his country's good, Cimon was destined to feel daily the obstruction which arose to his plans from the restless spirits of Athens being, for the greater part, unemployed. He had succeeded in his project for planting a large colony of the Athenians on his own Chersonēsian territories, and that measure had at once relieved the city from its excessive population in some degree; but the increase of the idle and dissolute was yet alarming, and the dominion which Persia still exercised over many of the Grecian cities, pointed out to Cimon the only legitimate object on which to employ them. With these motives he raised and manned a fleet of two hundred galleys, assumed the supreme command himself, and despatched sixty of them, under Amyrtæus, chief of the Ægyptians of the marshes, to enable that officer to maintain his independence against the Persian power. With the remaining part of this force he sailed to Cyprus, and laid siege to the city of Citium in that island, defeating on his way, near Salamis, a Persian squadron of Phœnician and Cilician ships that had the temerity

Cimon's last expedition to Cyprus.
B. C 449.

to attack him. The life of Cimon was destined to close before the walls of Citium, but in death he forgot not the welfare of his country. Conscious of his approaching end, and aware that a scarcity of provisions in his camp was likely to produce disorder, he issued a number of preparatory orders to mitigate the calamity, as well as to facilitate the safe re-embarkation of the troops. That these directions might be better obeyed, he gave positive injunctions that his death should be concealed awhile from the soldiers, and that everything should proceed, as usual, in his name as their general. In pursuance of these instructions, the Athenian army moved towards the sea. On their march, when attacked by the Persians, they totally routed them, and here missing him personally, they still ascribed the victory to the excellency of the plans of Cimon and the greatness of his renown.

B. C. 449. Death of Cimon.

His triumphant, but mournful army carried his remains to Athens, where a sumptuous monument was decreed to their honour, and long known and venerated by the almost sacred name of "Cimoneia."



PERICLĒS.

BORN B. C. 499, DIED B. C. 429.

The life of this celebrated chieftain is connected with no small portion of the history of the Athenian state. By the splendour of his talents he raised himself to an eminence in Athens never surpassed, and at length became almost its absolute master.

B. C. 499. Pericles.

Pericles was the son of Xanthippus (the famous Athenian, who had been named with Aristīdēs to consult with Themistoclēs on his secret projects,) by his wife Agaristē, the niece of Clysthenes, who had been instrumental in terminating the tyranny of the Peisistratidæ. He had the misfortune to resemble Peisistratus in person, and from this cause alone, was constrained, for a long time, to conceal his shining talents; for so violent was the general prejudice against the recollection of that

Singular resemblance of Periclēs to Peisistratus.

B. C. 499. tyrant, that the abilities of Periclēs would only have increased the popular jealousy which the likeness of his person to Peisistratus could not have failed to arouse. Though his extraction, therefore, was noble, his qualifications great, and his interest in the city extensive, Periclēs was constrained to cultivate, in a long retirement, his evident talents for public life; and thus ensured a more certain and more durable distinction. Meanwhile, he studied politics under Damon, who appears to have been well acquainted with the principles of the Athenian government. Nor did his noble pupil omit to acquire, amidst these practical studies, those of a more elegant kind; for, under the famous philosopher Anaxagoras, he made considerable proficiency in astronomy and natural history, and fully accomplished himself in the art of oratory. Thus prepared, an occasion was at last offered to Periclēs to emerge from his obscurity. Aristīdēs was no more, Themistoclēs in banishment, and Cimon, the invigorating soul of the republic, was abroad, when the democratic party, which had been overawed by the authority and the unusual success of Cimon, began, in his absence, to raise disturbances against his character and government. They only wanted a leader to complete their schemes, and Periclēs was but too well fitted to become their champion. His first measure, the procurement of a decree for Cimon's banishment, was decisive of his success as an orator, and indicative of his character as a politician. The whole machinery of a well-managed intrigue was at once brought into action, and completely overmatched the honest and candid course of Cimon. Periclēs, indeed, affected before the general assembly, to speak lightly of the accusation against his rival, while he secretly fermented and rejoiced at his condemnation; and when Elpinicē, the sister of Cimon, solicited him on behalf of her accused brother, he is said to have replied, with a contemptuous lightness, "You are become, madam, a little too old to be employed on occasions such as these."

Occasion of his entering into public life.

B. C. 460.

Some time before the banishment of Cimon, Ephialtēs, encouraged, it is supposed, by Periclēs, had disseminated amongst the people various calumnies against the high court of the Areopagus, which exercising an unrestricted jurisdiction in the punishment of many popular crimes, rendered it a strong check upon the people. None could be admitted a member of this august tribunal who had not discharged the high office of archon with honour, or, at least, some other eminent magistracy of the state. Periclēs, as we have seen, was of a noble family, but was not qualified to become a judge of the Areopagus, on account of his not having been elected to any office of importance. He quickly procured, in conjunction with Ephialtēs, a decree to limit the power of this court, shortly after which the latter was assassinated.

A war now commenced between the Athenians and the Epidaurians, in which the Corinthians declared themselves in favour of the latter. In this conflict the Athenians gained two victories, and then sent a

fleet against their old rivals, the Æginetans, on the suspicion of their having secretly assisted the Corinthians. Here, also, the Athenian arms were successful, and their enemies purchased a peace by an acknowledgment of Athenian supremacy. During these transactions, Periclēs was the most popular man at home, commanding all the resources of his country; and this contest, short as it was, became highly important in its consequences, as it aggravated the rising spirit of internal discord throughout Greece, and was one of the co-operating causes of the Peloponnesian war. B. C. 460.

Origin of the Peloponnesian war.

Athens had reached the summit of her glory, when the turbulent spirit of the people, now become possessed of unlimited power, was no longer to be controlled by any prudence. The supposed insults which the Lacedæmonians had offered to them from the time of Themistoclēs until now, were brought before them in inflammatory harangues, and they now awaited an opportunity of revenge. The Spartans had sent a large army against the Phocians, and being thus, in some measure, unguarded at home, the Athenians chose this as an appropriate time to commence their attack. Collecting the forces of the Argives and Thessalians, they raised a fleet of fifty ships, sailed direct for the Peloponnesian isthmus, and there landed and encamped an army of 14,000 men, which, seizing the customary passes of the country, made the return of the Lacedæmonian army from Phocis impossible without a combat. The Spartans, consisting of 11,000 men, commanded by Nicomēdes, advanced to the encounter; but still in their efforts to avoid an actual battle with the Athenians, they endeavoured to effect a counter-march to Tanagra, in Bœotia. It was in the preparation for this battle that Periclēs and the popular party prevented the noble offers of Cimon from being accepted. The Athenian camp, however, was much divided; the Thessalian horse deserted at the commencement of the action, and adding weight to the Spartan side, contributed, in no small degree, to give the obstinately-disputed victory at length to the Spartans. The Athenians were ultimately obliged to retreat from the Peloponnesus with considerable loss, and the Spartans were glad to return to their city, to recruit themselves after so rude an encounter.

Battle of Tanagra. B. C. 457.

Athenian armament under Myronides. B. C. 454.

The Thebans, who, on account of their having allied themselves with the Persian king, had lost their own independence and the government of Bœotia, now applied to the Lacedæmonians to be restored to their ancient privileges, promising faithful alliance with the Peloponnesian cause. This, which the Spartans readily granted, the Athenians, who had been the cause of the degradation of Thebes, took upon themselves to resent. An army was sent into Bœotia, under Myronides, the son of Callias; but, notwithstanding the exertions of the popular party, many who had been cited to serve in his army refused to attend; and the general, when urged to halt, in hopes of their ultimately joining him, replied, "That it became not a leader of such a people as the Athenians to wait for those who would at last

B. C. 454. come unwillingly, if they came at all; while, with a few who were ardent in the cause, victory might surely be anticipated." Nor were his predictions falsified by the event; for although a powerful force of the Thebans sustained an obstinate combat, the victory was at last complete on the side of the Athenians. The army, though exhausted by this conflict, was still in a condition to march to Tanagra. This place was now taken by storm, and its walls levelled with the ground; nor did the troops of the expedition return to Athens until they had ravaged all Bœotia, as a punishment for its connection with Sparta.

Myronides ravages Bœotia.

The naval commanders of Athens, emulating the land force, requested, through Tolmides, the admiral, a fleet of fifty galleys, to be manned with 1,000 men; he quickly collected, however, volunteers to the amount of 4,000. With this force he sailed for the coast of Laconia, a part of the Peloponnesian territories, and nearer to Sparta itself than any other yet attempted by the Athenian arms. Here the admiral landed his troops, and took possession of a town called Methonē, which, however, he was soon obliged to relinquish on the approach of a Spartan army. He now sailed for Gythium, another sea-port belonging to the Lacedæmonians, which he took by surprise, burnt the town, the shipping, and all the naval stores; and having ravaged the adjacent country, re-embarked, and attacked Zacynthus, and several smaller towns in its neighbourhood, with similar success. In Naupactus, which capitulated to his arms, he settled a colony of Messenians, and then led back his troops, laden with treasure, to Athens, intoxicated with the triumphs of their country. In these expeditions we do not, indeed, find the name of Periclēs mentioned individually, but he was certainly the most popular leader of the party which at this time ruled Athens and directed these measures, whatever were their merits.

Periclēs invades the Peloponnesus.

The second invasion of the Peloponnesus was undertaken by Periclēs himself. One thousand men were embarked on board a squadron of ships which lay in the bay of Pegæ, and the command of

B. C. 454. this force was given to Periclēs, with the general intention of protecting the friends of Athens by the way, and annoying her enemies in the Peloponnesus. Directing his course across the Corinthian Gulf, he immediately landed the troops on the territory of Sicyon, when the inhabitants of that place, scorning the protection which their walls might have afforded, marched out at once to give him battle on behalf of their country and themselves. The Athenian general, however, quickly routed their force, and plundered the country around. Having then recruited his army with a considerable body of Achaians, he re-embarked, and made an attempt upon Œniadæ, on the Acarnanian coast, in which, although he was unsuccessful, he was rewarded with a large booty.

B. C. 450. On the return of Periclēs to Athens, he found the aristocracy of the country regaining their influence, and warmly advocating the necessity of peace amongst the Grecian states; while the banished Cimon was

proposed by them as the only man from whose mediation with the Spartans they could hope for the accomplishment of this object. From the period of Cimon's return from exile to the time of his death, he shared with Periclēs the general administration of affairs. At this time Periclēs was employed in restoring the federal government which had subsisted among the towns of Phocis over the treasury and oracle of Delphi. This the Lacedæmonians had imprudently destroyed, and awarded the whole possession of the temple and the administration of the sacred rights to the city of Delphi alone. The force, however, which marched under Periclēs into Phocis soon restored the ancient domination, and happily without bloodshed; for the Spartans, conscious of the wrong they had committed, suffered the Athenians to pass unmolested to their object, to which they strictly confined themselves.

B. C. 450.

He is associated with Cimon in the government.

But the death of Cimon was the signal for fresh internal disturbances in Greece, and even amongst the Athenians themselves. To that great Athenian, latterly, Periclēs had been contented to assign the palm of superiority; and the good understanding which subsisted, in appearance at least, between these leaders of two opposite factions, satisfied the nobles and overawed the democracy. Now, however, some of the principal citizens of Cimon's party ill brooked the authority to which Periclēs succeeded. Amongst others, we find Thucydides the historian standing forward as a leader of the aristocratical party, which assumed its old distinctiveness, until the two contending factions shook the safety of Athens to its base. Encouraged by these internal disturbances of their masters, or by the intrigues of the Lacedæmonians, now unawed by the virtues of Cimon, and uninfluenced by any regard of Periclēs for their interests, the Megareans were the first to raise the standard of war. Megara being in the immediate neighbourhood of Attica, this movement argued a considerable degree of courage, and no little impatience of Athenian sovereignty. She implored, by her ambassadors, the protection of Sparta, but too late to avert the punishment of her revolt. The Athenians immediately ravaged their whole country, and closely invested their capital, the only large town they possessed. The Lacedæmonians were now roused, and they made an irruption into Attica, which dealt a corresponding mischief upon the Athenians; when Periclēs marched, in person, against the invaders, with whom he determined to try the influence of the Attic gold, rather than depend upon the force of the Athenian arms. Pleistonax, the youthful king of the Spartans, who commanded their forces on this occasion, was accompanied into the field by one Chandridēs, his tutor, whom the Athenian chieftain bribed with a considerable sum; and the Lacedæmonian army returned home without attempting further mischief. Periclēs is said to have charged ten talents of gold to the public account on this occasion, and to have designated it as expended on a proper, but nameless service. This account was passed without

Disturbances on the death of Cimon.

B. C. 449.

Revolt of the Megareans.

B. C. 447. question; and he was immediately entrusted with a command against Eubœa.

Rashness of the admiral, Tolmides.

Whilst Periclēs was preparing for this expedition, Tolmides, the admiral, persuaded the Athenians to entrust him with a small army, with which he proposed to make an inroad into Bœotia. The experience of Periclēs made him clearly foresee the unfortunate issue of this plan, but he opposed it in vain. Amongst other expressions of disapprobation, he calmly answered to Tolmides, "If you will not listen to my advice, sir, wait at least till Time shall have given you opportunity to consult him; for such as you, he is the best of councillors." The expedition sailed, and the event proved exceedingly disastrous; for at Chæronēa, Tolmides was attacked by a numerous host from the confederate cities around, himself slain, and his army completely routed. The Athenians were obliged to ransom their prisoners at an extravagant sum, and formally to renounce all claim of dominion over Bœotia. Nor were the misfortunes of this affair closed even here, for whilst this disgraceful treaty was pending, time was given, and temptations afforded, for several of the minor states of Greece to revolt from the dominion of Athens.

B. C. 445. Periclēs had scarcely sailed on his intended expedition to Eubœa, when a new revolt of the Megareans occasioned his recall. This he quickly disposed of, re-embarked for Eubœa, and reduced their principal city Hestica; where he planted a colony of Athenians, and ejected all the ancient inhabitants. Soon after this the rest of the island of Eubœa submitted to the Athenian arms, and the Lacedæmonians themselves, weary of the war, agreed to a peace for thirty years. By the articles of this treaty Athens disclaimed any dominion over Nisæa, Achæa, Pagæ, and Trœzēne; and it was jointly agreed between the rival states, that any Grecian city which had not hitherto joined either party in the war, should be at liberty to offer her submission to that which, during the peace, she herself might choose.

Truce for thirty years with Sparta.

An instance of the severity of Periclēs' personal administration occurred soon after this event. Corn was always such an object of importance, and frequently so scarce among the Athenian people, that many whole families, in the time of dearth, were obliged to sell themselves as slaves, for the sake of their subsistence. Forty thousaud bushels of this valuable commodity had been sent as a present to the Athenian citizens from Psammeticus, king of Egypt. This was, by law, to be divided amongst the free citizens. In the height of the rivalry which had formerly subsisted between Periclēs and Cimon, the former had obtained an unjust decree levelled at the case of some children of the latter, by which persons of half Athenian blood only were disfranchised from their privilege as citizens. This law now bore severely on those who had the inhumanity to enact it, and no less than five thousand persons, who had usually been considered as freemen of Athens, were sold as slaves through the rigid punctuality of its execution by Periclēs. We may diverge from the strict order of events to

Severity of Periclēs' administration.

observe that, in after times, Periclēs himself, the arbitrary author of this decree, was constrained to move for its repeal, all his children of the whole Athenian blood having died before him, and only one child of half-blood, a son, taking his own name, surviving to comfort his old age. For the admission of this child to the privilege of an Athenian citizen the law in question was abrogated. B. C. 445.

Towards the end of the eighty-fourth Olympiad, the Athenians took part in a war which had begun between the Samians and the Milesians, Many historians attribute the interference of his countrymen on this occasion to Periclēs, who is said himself to have been influenced in this business by an obscure quarrel of his mistress, Aspasia, a celebrated courtesan, to espouse whom he had dismissed his former wife. The immediate pretence of the interposition of Athens is variously related. Thucydides says that the Athenians were appealed to by both parties. Plutarch affirms (what is by no means contradictory to the Grecian historian) that the Athenians having directed both parties to lay aside their animosities, the Samians refused, and thence came the war with that people. Diodorus Siculus differs from both these authors, and tells us that the Samians themselves revolted from the Athenians, conceiving that their enemies had been assisted by them. From what cause soever the war originated, Periclēs was evidently highly interested in the prosecution of it, and commanded in person the force employed on the occasion. He sailed with a fleet of forty sail, and subdued the Samians, who were utterly unable to withstand so great a force; established a democracy in that city, and took fifty hostages of the nobles of Samos as a security for their continuing the present system of government. B. C. 440. Athens interferes in the war against Samos.

The force of arms to establish a government against the will of a people was soon, however, found to be inefficient. No sooner did Periclēs quit the island of Samos, than the inhabitants threw off the Athenian yoke, expelled the garrison which the Athenians had left there, and contrived means to carry off the hostages at Lemnos. But the determined mind of Periclēs was not thus to be thwarted; on his return to Athens he fitted out sixty galleys, and a large land armament to renew the war. In the mean time the Samian fleet had increased to seventy sail; and although Periclēs, out of his sixty vessels, had detached sixteen, in order to gain intelligence of the Phœnician fleet, he attacked the enemy with the remaining forty-four, and utterly defeated them near the island of Tragiæ. A reinforcement which he received after this action, amounting to forty more ships from Athens, and the auxiliary force of twenty-five vessels, which now joined him from Chios and Lesbos, enabled him to invest Samos both by land and sea. Whilst affairs were in this situation, misled by false intelligence, and leaving the remaining part of his fleet unsupported, Periclēs was induced to sail off the coast with sixty ships, expecting to meet the Phœnician fleet. Advantage of his absence was immediately taken by the Samians to attack and destroy the besieging squadron, commanded by Tesagoras; Periclēs' two attempts to subdue it.

B. C. 440. a victory which made them so completely masters of the sea for fourteen days, that they supplied themselves with provisions and all other necessaries for the long-protracted siege which Samos afterwards sustained. Periclēs, however, soon returned to his post off the island, and was shortly afterwards supported by another squadron of eighty ships from Athens. He prosecuted the siege with great vigour, and after nine months of active resistance the Samians surrendered at last at discretion. He demolished the fortifications of the island, carried off all the Samian fleet, obliged the inhabitants to deliver hostages for their future allegiance, and to pay to Athens the whole expenses of the war. On the return of the conqueror to that city, his deficiencies in the conduct of the war were forgotten in its final success; he pronounced one of the finest orations now extant in the Greek language in honour of those who had fallen in the contest; and so great was the effect of his eloquence, that the ladies of Athens surrounded him with acclamations of joy, and crowned him with garlands of olive, the highest trophy of Grecian honour.

His final success. B. C. 439.

War with Corinth. B. C. 439.

Not long after this, and about the second year of the eighty-fifth Olympiad, arose a second contest between the Corinthians and Athenians, which revived the Peloponnesian war; begun, as heretofore, in the spirit of wanton and restless jealousy on both sides, and terminating in the utter extinction of the political importance of Athens. A contest of little importance between the Corcyrians and the Corinthians was the origin of this disastrous quarrel. The Corcyrians, originally a colony of the Corinthians, had founded a settlement on the shores of the Adriatic, without the licence of the mother-country, which they called Epidamnum. Disputes arising at this latter place, one party applied to Corcyra for arbitration, and having their petition rejected, by direction of the Delphic oracle, referred the settlement of the affairs to the Corinthians, to whom they offered the sovereignty of the place; an offer which was immediately accepted, and the required assistance afforded them. The faction of the Epidamnians thus aided by the Corinthians, now expelled the adverse party from the settlement, and these in their turn sought refuge at Corcyra, the citizens of which resolved to resent the interference of the Corinthians. A fleet was despatched to Epidamnum to assert their rights, and an action ensued with the small fleet of the united Epidamnians and Corinthians, in which the Corcyrians claimed the victory, and in this stage of the contest applied to Athens for assistance. At about the same period the Corinthians also sent ambassadors to Athens on the like business. This double appeal was highly gratifying to Athenian pride; and was regarded as an acknowledgment of that supremacy over the minor states of Greece for which she had so often contended. She is presented to us at this time as at the height of her glory and her power; and if those who guided her councils had only exercised that moderation in her prosperity which had elevated her to her present situation, doubtless she had long retained it. But the constitution of the Attic

government was totally changed; the power of the nobles and the wealthy was extinguished; whilst the people and their demagogues wielded, with their violent but unsteady spirit, the whole of her invaluable resources. B. C. 439.

Treaty with the Corcyrians.

The Athenians made a hasty defensive treaty with the Corcyrians, which ultimately involved them in the whole issue of the war, which soon became vigorous on both sides. The Corcyrians, with ten Athenian ships, commanded a naval force of one hundred and twenty vessels, while the Corinthian fleet, with that of their allies, amounted to one hundred and fifty sail. When the two fleets came in sight of each other, the Corcyrians complimented the Athenians with the honourable place of the right wing of the battle, and dividing their own force into distinct squadrons, immediately sailed into action. The Athenians at first appeared to engage but coldly in the conflict, but their allies, the Corcyrians, being nearly beaten, they fell boldly on, and compelled the Corinthians, before almost masters of the day, to turn their attention entirely to their own defence. Both parties ultimately retired from the combat claiming the victory, and prepared for a fresh encounter on the following day. In the morning they again drew out in order of battle, when the Corinthians suddenly retired, making full sail homeward from the scene of action. Soon after, the appearance of a reinforcement of twenty sail sent by Periclēs from Athens, which had been first discovered by the Corinthians, joined the allies, and well accounted for the flight of the enemy. In the extremely doubtful issue of this battle it appeared that 1,000 prisoners were made, and seventy ships of the enemy sunk by the Corinthians, who lost thirty vessels and very considerable spoils. This action was remarkable as the largest sea-fight that ever took place between the rival states of Greece, for no less than two hundred and seventy vessels were engaged in it.

This war rekindles general hostilities in Greece.

But the evils of this imprudent interference of the Athenians began now to be seen. In consequence of the Corcyrian alliance, the Athenians issued an order to Potidæa, a Macedonian town acknowledging their supremacy, to demolish its walls; to send back certain officers whom they had received from Corinth, and to give hostages for their good conduct. Potidæa, although an ally of Athens, had originally been a colony of Corinth, and thus arose the jealousy which occasioned these harsh and peremptory orders. Symptoms of universal hostility to Athens now appeared in the states around. The Corinthians and their allies were much irritated; the oppressed Potidæans were strongly instigated to revolt; and Perdiccas, king of Macedon, who had some time since been at open war with the Athenians, now gladly seized the opportunity to distress them, by exciting and assisting the malcontents. The Potidæans, however, deputed ambassadors to Athens to deprecate the harsh orders which had been sent them; but in the mean time to prepare for the worst, they also sent messengers to Sparta entreating support, where they met the deputies from Corinth and Megara. By these loud and general complaints Sparta was at

B. C. 439. length roused to head the conspiracy against Athens, and the universal flames of war shortly afterwards broke forth throughout Greece.

Internal state of Athens.

In the mean time, the domestic affairs of Athens present the character of Periclēs in no amiable point of view. Avowedly at the head of a violent democracy, there was yet one man, the celebrated Thucydides, who presumed to contend against his tyrannical exercise of power, and disputed both the legality and the policy of his actions. This patriotic conduct rendered the longer presence of Thucydides intolerable in Athens, and Periclēs resolved to punish him by means of the ostracism. The question proposed was, whether Thucydides or Periclēs were to be banished, and it was soon decided by the democracy in favour of their darling leader. A second circumstance happened about the same time to develop and disgrace the character of Periclēs. Hermiphus, the tragedian, accused Aspasia, the courtesan, and especial favourite of Periclēs, of impiety to the gods, and of acting as a pander to the libidinous pleasures of her protector, in the seduction of many wives and daughters of the citizens. The day of trial arrived, and Periclēs, mounting the tribunal himself, spoke at large, and with many tears, in her defence; a circumstance never remarked of him on any other occasion. Aspasia was acquitted by his exertions; but, about this time various indications of the decline of his public influence appeared. The storm was gathering over his country from without, and, irritated and alarmed at the threatening prospect, no little discontent and dissatisfaction with their leaders appeared amongst the people at home. Anaxagoras the philosopher, the friend and tutor of Periclēs, was the first to feel the popular displeasure. Diopithes (hitherto an obscure individual) moved for a decree to declare it criminal to conceal from the people information of any persons teaching doctrines subversive of the national religion, under the colour of professing natural philosophy. The force of this decree was not designed to expend itself on the master, Anaxagoras, but was evidently levelled also at Periclēs, the disciple. To quiet the public mind under these circumstances,

Friends of Periclēs disgraced.

Periclēs dismissed Anaxagoras from Athens, but attended him to the gates with every mark of personal respect, professing undiminished friendship for him. Suidas, however, states positively, that the punishment of imprisonment fell upon this philosopher, and that Periclēs pleaded his cause in vain. To this indirect disgrace of Periclēs followed the motion of Dracontides, in a public assembly, that the chief should immediately bring his accounts before the people, which he was fortunately able to do, with the utmost clearness and confidence: shortly after which he was again attacked in the person of a friend. Menon, a superior workman employed by Phidias, whose intimacy with Periclēs was well known, accused that celebrated statuary of having purloined the gold which had been consigned to him for enriching the statue of Athēnē. This latter affair, involved the integrity of both the friends; for the statuary had worked under the especial direction of Periclēs, and had carved on the shield of the goddess the

figure of the chieftain in combat with an Amazon. The issue, however, was most creditable to both; Phidias was able to take off the gold from the statue without injury to the main figure, and it proved to be of the full weight and value first delivered to him; thus justifying the selection of his patron, and exhibiting an unexpected triumph of his art. B. C. 439.

Message from Sparta.

It is generally supposed that Periclēs had been successfully endeavouring to regain some portion of his usual influence over the people, while ambassadors from the different states of Greece were exciting the Lacedæmonians to retaliation and revenge for the late haughty conduct of Athens. Certain Athenian deputies happening to be at Sparta on other affairs, the magistracy of that state professed to give a fair hearing to both parties. The result of their deliberation was a message to the Athenians, containing the following requisitions:—First, that all those Athenians who had sprung from the family of Megaclēs, a race declared execrable by their own law, on account of the attempted usurpation of Cylon, should now be exiled from their city. This injunction was directly pointed at Periclēs, who had been universally denounced as the author of the late Corinthian war, and was, on his mother's side, related to the family of Megaclēs; that the siege of Potidæa should be immediately raised; that the Æginetans should be forthwith freed from the Athenian domination; that the ports of Attica should be open to the Megareans; and that the several states of Greece should be left, in future, free from any pretended subordination to Athens. On the arrival of these demands at Athens, Periclēs exerted all his eloquence and influence to obtain their rejection. He truly reminded the people that, whatever the Lacedæmonians might pretend respecting their sympathy for the discontented Greeks, it was evident that the ascendancy of Athens was coveted for Sparta. They had, he asserted, always hated, and now sought for an opportunity to humble her power. That it must, however, be the fault of the Athenians themselves, if these envious wishes were to succeed in their object, for that Athens was, after all, much more fertile in warlike resources than the Peloponnesians and the whole of their allies. He urged upon them, also, to consider that, if their rivals discovered the least symptoms of fear in the reception of the present application, their demands would be hereafter more unreasonable than at present. To avoid extremities, however, and to assume some appearance of moderation, he proposed to reverse the decree against the Megareans, on condition that the Spartans would permit free ingress and egress to their city on the part of the Athenians and their allies; to release all the Grecian cities from their obedience to Athens, if the Spartans would, in a similar manner, release their dependencies; and to leave all future matters of dispute to a fair arbitration. "This," added Periclēs, "is a course both just and honourable; and if, in consequence of a rejection of such terms by Sparta, a war be inevitable, let the Athenians undertake it with a vigorous cheerfulness, and they will

The reply dictated by Periclēs.

B. C. 439. quickly find the seeming importance of their enemies vanish before them; for from the greatest extremity arises to the state and its leaders, as well as to each citizen, the greatest honour."

Some reasons are stated by Plutarch which will sufficiently account for the peculiar earnestness with which Periclēs endeavoured to excite his countrymen to this war, besides his being almost directly proscribed by the demands of the Spartans. He had been entrusted with public money to a large amount, and had, at this time, according to that biographer, real occasion to seek the cover of warlike preparations, to conceal his profuse administration of it. A family anecdote of Periclēs is here related by him, as illustrative of the fact. Alcibiadēs, then a boy, and the son of the sister of Periclēs, inquired one day of his uncle, why he was so melancholy and thoughtful; to which Periclēs replied, "Because he knew not how to give an open account of his trusts." The boy, whose uncommon shrewdness of intellect, as well as want of rectitude, were, even at this tender age, remarkable, rejoined, "Study rather, then, how thou mayest avoid to give any account of it." This story rests upon the authority of Plutarch alone; but it is certain that the second fatal contest between Athens and Sparta was mainly attributable to the exertions of this still popular chieftain.

Confusion of his accounts.

The Thebans besiege Platæa.

B. C. 431. The first actual rupture was caused by the Thebans, who, six months after the battle of Potidæa, sent Eurymachus at the head of three hundred men to invest the town of Platæa, the inhabitants of which had been zealous in the cause of Athens. Their force being small for the attack of this place, they first endeavoured to corrupt some of the Platæan guard, who, at an appointed time, opened their gates to the assailants, and in the first confusion of the people enabled them to seize the walls and the fortifications; but when the smallness of their number was discovered, the inhabitants rose upon them in the night, slew half of them, and took their chief and the rest of his force prisoners of war. Not long afterwards a second party, ignorant of the fate of the first, arrived from Thebes before the gates of Platæa, to whom the inhabitants offered to release the Theban prisoners, on condition of this new force forbearing to plunder the adjacent country. In case of their refusal of these terms, they threatened to put the prisoners to instant death. Alarmed at this menace, the invading army withdrew from the country, when the faithless Platæans butchered the whole of their captives, alleging that they had never made any promise of liberating them, unless their countrymen should have concluded a formal treaty. The news of this attempt on Platæa soon reached Athens, where an arrest of all the Bœotians then in Attica was immediately ordered; and a large supply of provisions was forwarded to the town under a convoy, which was instructed, in case of necessity, to bring the wives and children of the Platæans to Athens.

The general conflict approaches.

A general conflict throughout Greece now approached, of the importance of which every party seemed aware. Messengers were despatched on all sides to summon the several allies of the rivals; and

even their common enemy, the Persian king, was solicited by each to oppose the ambition of the other. The great majority of the Grecian cities declared in favour of the Spartans, who assumed the title of "the deliverers of Greece;" and amongst their allies they included all the Peloponnesians, except the Argives and part of the Achæans, who professed themselves friendly to both parties. The inhabitants of Pellene, in Achaia, also ranged themselves, at the beginning of the war, on the side of Sparta, and all the other Achæans joined them shortly after. Beyond the Peloponnesus they obtained the alliance of the Megareans, the Phocians, the Locrians, the Bœotians, the Ambraciots, the Leucadians, and the Anactorians. Corinth, Megara, Sicyonia, Pellene, Elea, Leucadia, and Ambracia, supplied them with ships for the war; whilst Phocia, Bœotia, and Locria furnished horsemen; and the foot soldiers were raised from the other allied states. On the Athenian side we find the Chians, the Lesbians, and the Platæans, and those of the Messenians who inhabited Naupactus; most of the Acarnanians; the Corcyrians, and the Zacynthians. To these must be added those Carians who inhabited the sea-coast; the Dorians, the Ionians, and several other minor towns, particularly those of Thrace; the islands lying on the east, betwixt Peloponnesus and Crete, and all the Cyclades, excepting Melus and Thera. The Chians, the Lesbians, and the Corcyrians furnishing shipping; and the other states, indiscriminately, horse and foot soldiers and money. It must, however, be noticed, that although this statement is taken from the accurate pages of Thucydides, who was himself contemporary with these events, it omits the states of Eubœa and Samos, whom we shortly afterwards find in the Athenian alliance.

B. C. 431.

Spartan allies.

Allies of Athens.

The Lacedæmonians were the first to assemble their allies on the Peloponnesian isthmus, in great force, with the avowed intention of invading Attica. Here Archidāmus, the Spartan king and commander in chief, advised the allies to proceed with great circumspection, notwithstanding their immense strength, and to send a herald to Athens, requesting to know if that city still abode by its former haughty propositions. The messenger returned without having been granted an audience, and the invading army advanced for its original purpose;—Archidāmus, with the main body, into the heart of Attica, whilst the Bœotians, at the same time, invaded the territories of the Platæans.

Invasion of Attica.

On the other side the Athenians collected their strength to stand on the defensive. Periclēs, as he had been the principal promoter of the war, now became its chief director. He caused the inhabitants to convey all their valuables into the city, and to busy themselves, night and day, in fitting out their ships. He cheered the people with assurances of their resources, stating the yearly revenue alone of Athens to amount to six hundred talents of tribute, besides other annual dues and imposts; six thousand talents of silver, he said, lay ready coined in the castle, and five hundred talents more in bullion and plate. Their army he reckoned at 19,000 foot and 1,200 horse; 6,000 foot archers, and

Resources of Athens.

B. C. 431. a great number of bowmen on horseback; while their navy comprised three hundred ships ready for sea. With all this array of power, Periclēs, however, thought it prudent for them to keep within their walls. To disarm all suspicion of himself, fearing as Archidāmus advanced into the country, that general would be induced, by a former friendship between them, to spare his estates, Periclēs assigned all his lands to the public. Complaints against his administration, however, silently spread: his very friends were obliged to acknowledge him the principal instigator of the war, and he was now called upon to attempt a bold effort to regain his reputation, by repelling the enemy from under their walls. But Periclēs, aware of the inferiority of his strength, continued firm in his plans, alike amidst threats and entreaties: he still refused to venture a battle by land, and when pressed for his reasons, he exclaimed, "Trees when cut down may sprout out again, but men once lost cannot be recovered." This prudent chief well knew wherein the best force of the republic consisted; he equipped a fleet of a hundred galleys, which he despatched with others to ravage the Peloponnesian coasts as occasion offered; and carrying on a war of retaliation, eventually distressed the enemy by his expeditions more than they could reduce the Athenians by their present mode of warfare. This fleet was shortly afterwards joined by a squadron from Corcyra; whilst another was commissioned against the Locrians. The land force from the latter armament took Thronium, and pillaged Ægina, one of the principal causes of the war; and thinking it a convenient station for the future increase of the Athenian power, they left there a colony of Athenians. Thus the Lacedæmonians, although the first to attack, and to distress their rivals, had, at the end of the year, little reason to boast of their success. The immoveable prudence of Periclēs compelled them to retire from Attica through Bœotia, and here the invaders separated to their several cities. No sooner had this transpired, than Periclēs assumed the attitude of a conqueror. Placing himself at the head of his best troops, he made a rapid incursion into Megara, and plundered it unsparingly throughout. During the winter, the bodies of those who had been slain in the war were interred with the usual solemnities, and Periclēs himself pronounced the funeral oration.

Cautious conduct of Periclēs.

The plague of Athens. B. C. 430

The next year brought with it a renewal of hostilities between Sparta and Athens, conducted upon the same principles as the last campaign. But a curse more direful than war now afflicted Athens. The plague raged among the citizens with the most tremendous fury, sweeping off great numbers of the people daily, and at last reaching the family of Periclēs. Yet was this chief himself reserved awhile, amidst the distresses of his fellow-citizens, to guide the councils of his country with his usual prudence and fortitude. When Archidāmus again invaded and ravaged Attica, the Athenians were once more restrained by the influence of Periclēs from venturing upon the unequal combat offered them; whilst with a hundred Athenian ships and fifty auxiliary sail, supplied from Chios and Lesbos, he embarked for the Peloponnesian

shores, and well sustained the honour of the Athenian arms. Archidāmus and his invading army were obliged to retreat from Attica, without fighting, to repel these incursions on their own territories, while Periclēs and his armament withdrew as the enemy advanced. He then sent a large force under the command of Agnon and Cleopompus against Chalcis and Potidæa, the latter place having still held out against the Athenian forces. Here the plague wasted the troops of the republic to such an extent, that out of 4,000 men but 1,500 returned to Athens. The citizens now sent an embassy to Sparta, praying for peace, and being absolutely refused, oppressed with the double attack of war and pestilence, they rose in violent tumult against Periclēs, as certainly the cause of the one evil which afflicted them, if not, according to their superstitious opinions, the author of both. The eloquence and the usual artifices of this experienced statesman could not now, for the moment, avert their rage; they fined him eighty talents, and dismissed him from his offices of trust and honour. The domestic concerns of Periclēs became also at this moment most afflicting. His son, Xanthippus, a profligate youth, quitted his house, and renounced his authority because he could no longer be supplied with money for his extravagancies. The plague which still raged in Athens with unremitted fury, ended this unnatural dispute and the life of the thankless Xanthippus by the same stroke. Shortly after, and by the same disease, perished the sister and the greater part of the family of Periclēs, and, lastly, his only remaining legitimate son, Paralus. The afflicted parent is said to have burst into convulsive grief on placing the accustomed chaplet of flowers on the head of the corpse, and his noble spirit seemed now utterly overwhelmed. He was soon after restored to the honours of which he had lately been deprived, and succeeded to more absolute power than ever. By the persuasions of Alcibiadēs and others of his friends, he came forth from retirement again to receive the ready acclamations of the people; and a proof of his undiminished influence is afforded by the law which was immediately passed, permitting him to register his son of half Athenian blood amongst the free citizens of Athens, by the same name as his father, in contradiction to the decree formerly proposed by Periclēs himself.

B. C. 430.

Its ravages in the camp.

And in the family of Periclēs.

During these transactions in Athens, the Peloponnesians sent a fleet of one hundred galleys against the enemy, and overran the island of Zacynthus. The Lacedæmonians also deputed ambassadors to entreat assistance from the king of Persia, and to Sytalces, king of Thrace. Padocus, the son of this latter monarch, being a citizen of Athens, seized the Spartan ambassadors, and delivered them over to the Athenians, who immediately slew them, in alleged revenge for the slaughter of some of their citizens, who had been put to death by the Lacedæmonians while peaceably employed in the Peloponnesus. During the winter of this year the Athenians sent a fleet of twenty ships, under Melesander, to Caria, Lycia, and some other places, to collect resources,

The Peloponnesian war proceeds.

B. C. 430. in which expedition this officer was accidentally slain. It was about this period too, that Potidæa, wearied out with famine, at length capitulated to the Athenian arms; the men of the town being allowed to leave the place with one garment each, and the women with two. The city being emptied, was replenished with a colony from Athens, and thus closed the second year of the Peloponnesian war.

Third year of the war.

The third year of this fatal conflict, was consumed in the tedious siege of Platæa by the Peloponnesians. Archidāmus, with a large army, invested the town and laid waste the country round it. The Platæans, at one time, offered to capitulate, but, as they were required to abandon the city and the cause they had undertaken, and not to return to their country until the termination of the war, they consulted their allies, the Athenians, on the subject, by whom they were strengthened in their determination to continue an obstinate defence. Archidāmus, on the refusal of these terms, redoubled his efforts of attack, and succeeded in setting fire to the town, the greater part of which was burnt to the ground; but the Platæans, making several sallies, and having cut off many of the besieging army, Archidāmus turned the siege into a blockade, and leaving a sufficient number of troops to man the entrenchments, returned with the remainder of his force to Sparta.

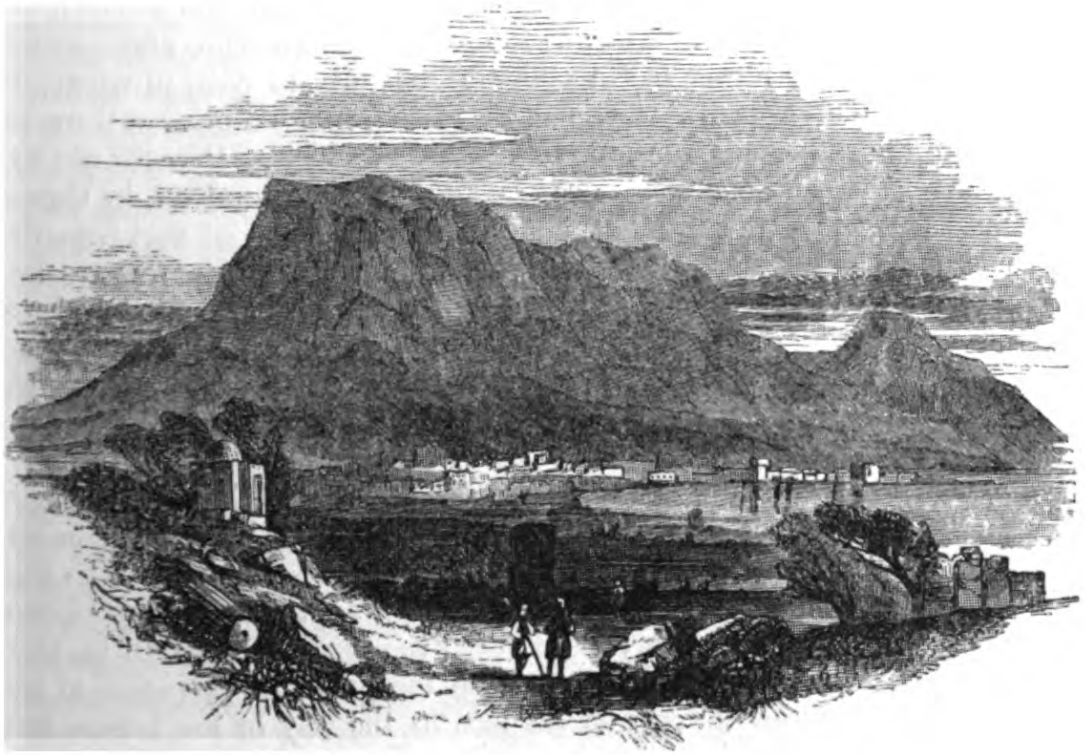
In the latter end of this summer, the plague which had so severely afflicted Athens, proved fatal to its ruler. Periclēs sank under it, in the unusual manner of a slow consumption. The affecting circumstances of his death have been carefully preserved by Thucydides. Some of his elder friends, the first people of Athens, attended him at its approach, and conceiving him, in the last extremity, to be insensible of their conversation, talked freely with each other of his character, and mentioned several circumstances in his praise. The dying Periclēs suddenly appeared to recover, and interrupted them, by expressing his surprise that they should insist upon those actions of his life which were rather vainglorious than useful, and in which fortune had so large a share, whilst they had forgotten to mention the greatest feature of his administration, *that no citizen of Athens had ever cause to put on a mourning garment through him.* These were the last words of this great Athenian.

Death of Periclēs. B. C. 429.

Character of Periclēs.

As a statesman and a warrior, the talents of Periclēs have never been questioned; as a man of learning, and a patron of the fine arts, he was equally eminent. Swayed principally, perhaps, by private interest, he appears to have induced his country to begin a war fatal in its issue; but for the events which transpired after his death he cannot be thought responsible, and they only proved that the man who advised the measure was he alone who was capable of directing it. With the literature of the day he was eminently acquainted; and an anecdote has been preserved respecting his scientific knowledge, which is not without its interest. On the embarkation of a certain naval force, commanded by Periclēs, the pilot, terrified by what he deemed the

unlucky omen of an eclipse of the sun, prognosticated defeat and misfortune. The chief, perceiving this dismay spreading, suddenly pulled off his cloak, and muffling the pilot's face with it, asked him if that were terrible and disastrous? "No," said the seaman. "What difference then," said Periclēs "do you make betwixt one darkness and the other? they both proceed from a like cause; only that which shades the sun, is a larger body than the cloak which covers your eyes." This plain remark aroused the spirits of the pilot and of the crew, and the expedition proceeded without interruption. As the friend and patron of Phīdias, he won the title of Olympius from his magnificence and splendour in the fine arts. But these great and shining qualities were sullied by prominent vices. Periclēs was sensual and dissolute in his pleasures, vainglorious, envious, and devoid of integrity in his politics, and frequently mean and selfish in his domestic life. In his prosperity he is said to have abandoned Anaxagoras, his tutor, until that philosopher, in despair, took the resolution of starving himself to death. It must, however, be confessed, that although he wanted the firmer virtues of Aristīdēs, and the nobler soul of Cimon, Periclēs yet threw a splendour and meretricious greatness about his very vices, and exercised the power with which he was invested with moderation and with great dignity. B.C 429.





CHAPTER XI.

ALCIBIADĒS.

FLOURISHED ABOUT B. C. 400.

Family and infancy of Alcibiadēs.

THIS celebrated Athenian, among the numerous advantages showered upon him by nature and fortune, enjoyed the estimation arising from an illustrious ancestry. He was the son of Clinias, who, after gaining high honour by fitting out a galley at his private cost, in which he fought at the battle of Artemisium, was slain in the contest at Coronea, where the Athenians were opposed to the Bœotians. Periclēs was his near relative, and one of his guardians. He is said, indeed, by Cornelius Nepos, to have passed his childhood in the house of that powerful and magnificent statesman. Amyclas, a woman of Sparta, was his nurse, and Zopynes his early instructor. For the information we have of these minute circumstances of his childhood we are indebted, according to Plutarch, to the friendship of Socrates, which rendered Alcibiadēs an object of interest to the admirers of that philosopher, who, therefore, recorded them in their writings.

Early character of Alcibiadēs.

The haughty spirit of impetuosity and disdain, which so strongly marked his character when fully developed, was manifested in his youth. As a cart was driven along the public road in which he was playing at quoits with his companions, and approached the spot just as he was about to throw, he required the driver to stop till his turn was past; and when he found that the man paid no attention to his demand, he threw himself on his face in the way of the horses, and defied the party to drive over him. The driver was so terrified at this daring conduct, that he stopped the horses and quietly waited until Alcibiadēs had thrown. When he feared that he should have been overcome in wrestling, he vehemently bit the hand of his antagonist,

to whose reproach that he bit like a woman, he replied, "No—like a lion." He pertinaciously resisted all efforts to instruct him in the art of playing on the flute, and ridiculed those who submitted to learn it. For he alleged that the exercise distorted the features and prevented the use of speech; and, therefore, was fit only for the Thebans who had no power of conversation, and ought to be rejected by Athenians, who revered Minerva and Apollo as tutelary deities; the first of whom threw away the flute, and the latter stripped off the skin of one of its professors. By this raillery, the young Alcibiadēs brought the knowledge of that instrument, before fashionable, into contempt, and caused it to be excluded from the arts which gentlemen could honourably cultivate. It is reported by Antiphon, that he slew one of his own servants in the place of public exercises, by a blow inflicted with a staff; but Plutarch thinks that the authority of one, writing professedly to defame him, ought not to be received as satisfactory evidence of an instance of passion so fatal.

Friendship of Socrates for Alcibiadēs.

Amidst the irregularities of Alcibiadēs in his early years, there were indications of no common genius. These drew the attention of Socrates, and caused him to take a great interest in the welfare of one, whose future life must, he foresaw, prove a course of splendid good, or of daring evil. It shows him, indeed, not to have been destitute of a love for virtue, that while surrounded by flatterers, he felt the value of the philosopher's regard, and repaid it with becoming reverence. The discourse of his great adviser would even affect him to tears, and appear for a time to soften him into goodness, and charm him into wisdom. But he was not born, long to endure even the gentlest control. His spirits were too elastic, and his sense of luxurious pleasure too intense, to suffer him to persevere in listening to the still voice of truth and of virtue. He perpetually broke from the instructions of Socrates into excesses of insolence which no monitor was able to control. Thus, having haughtily refused the invitation of Amytus to a banquet, and indulged at his own house in copious draughts of wine with his young companions, he sallied forth to the place where his presence had been requested, and commanded his servants to seize half the vessels of gold and silver which covered the tables, and to bear them away in triumph. The guests naturally expressed great indignation at this proceeding: but their host excused the intruder, and even said that he ought rather to thank him for what he had left, than blame him for that which he had taken. His generosity had sometimes as little of reason or of justice as his outrages. He invited to supper an Athenian who had sold his little estate, and presented him with the money derived from the sale; and after the repast, returning to him the gold, desired him to appear on the following day, when the public revenue should be offered to farm, and offer a higher sum than any other bidder. In the morning the man appeared, and according to directions given him, offered a talent more than the usual price, which

greatly disconcerted those who were accustomed to farm the taxes, because their custom was to pay out of the profits of one year the rent of the preceding. They demanded whom he would bring forward as his sureties, hoping that, by this means, they should prevent his design. But Alcibiadēs, who, from a distance, observed the success of his plan, deprived them of this resource by exclaiming that the bidder was his friend, and that he would answer for the fulfilment of the engagement with his fortune. They then entreated their opponent to retract, and offered him a talent, which, at length, at the advice of his prompter, he accepted, and thus obtained an ample sum for the relief of his distresses. Even the feelings of admiration which Alcibiadēs cherished for the works of genius were not expressed without manifesting the arrogant disposition of his mind. Thus, when he had entered the school of a teacher, and asked him for one of Homer's poems, and received for answer that no work of that poet was taught there, he struck the master on the face, and abruptly departed. He made a fitter retort on another occasion, when a reply scarcely less provoking was given to the same question. The tutor had asserted that he had Homer corrected by himself, and Alcibiadēs retorted, that one able to improve Homer, might well aspire to teach men, instead of condescending to instruct children in the first rudiments of learning. His love of singularity was evident in his minutest actions. Having bought a dog of great beauty, for seventy minæ, he ordered his tail, which was his chief ornament, to be cut off; and on being told that all Athens laughed at the absurdity of his conduct, replied, that he had then gained his desired object, for he was desirous that the citizens should find matter of discourse and censure in this affair, lest they should talk of worse things respecting him.

Marriage of Alcibiadēs.

It is singular that one of the most wanton of his excesses ended in his marriage; an event, however, which had no power to make him adhere to virtue. From mere insolence, and to fulfil a boast made to his companions in riot, he struck Hipponicus, the father of Callias, a person of great wealth and importance, who had never offered him the slightest injury. The next morning he became sensible of the greatness of his offence; and, in anxiety to make atonement, went to the house of the party to whom the insult had been offered, and told him that he was ready to receive any chastisement by way of retribution which he might think fit to inflict. Moved by this conduct, Hipponicus not only forgave him, but shortly after permitted him to receive the hand of his daughter Hipparetē, who was affectionately devoted to him, and deserved his love. His irregularities, however, soon provoked her to leave him, and retire to the house of her brother. Of this measure he appeared regardless, and lived in the same course of dissipated pleasure; but when his wife appeared, according to the laws, before the archon, to deliver in person the instrument by which she sought for a divorce, he seized her with his characteristic impetuosity, and carried

her by force home, no one daring to attempt her rescue. After this, she did not offer to leave him, but remained in his house till her death, which occurred shortly after, during his journey to Ephesus.

Early service of Alcibiadēs in the field.

Alcibiadēs, like all the nobles of Athens, became early in life a soldier. In the field, Socrates was no less ready to defend him from personal danger, than he had been in the city to secure him from the perils of vice and corruption. They lived in the same tent, and fought side by side in the expedition against Potidæa, where they both exerted themselves with great bravery. In one skirmish, when Alcibiadēs was wounded, Socrates saved him from being made prisoner, and instead of claiming the prize of valour for himself to which he was entitled, gave testimony in favour of him whom he had rescued, and persuaded the judges to bestow on him an honour which he trusted would animate his youth to the pursuit of honourable fame. At a subsequent period, Alcibiadēs had an opportunity of repaying a part of this obligation; for, in the retreat after the battle of Delium, as he was mounted on horseback, while Socrates was on foot, he refused to retire, until he had, with the hazard of his life, brought into a place of safety his philosopher, friend, and preserver.

Success of Alcibiadēs at the Olympic games.

The magnificent disposition of Alcibiadēs was not to be restrained within moderate boundaries by the councils of his great adviser. He kept a most splendid retinue, and in the number and beauty of his horses and chariots, far surpassed all rivals. At one time he sent seven chariots to contend at the Olympic games, which no one had ever done before him, and obtained the first, second, and also either the third or fourth of the prizes. On occasion of this brilliant success, not only individuals, but cities in their collective character, made him congratulatory offerings. The Ephesians erected him a splendid tent; the Chians furnished him with provender and cattle for sacrifice; and the Lesbians provided him with wine, for the service of rich banquets, which he gave with his characteristic profusion. In the midst of these triumphant revellings, however, he was charged with an act of meanness, in having claimed a chariot as his own, which he had purchased for another; and legal proceedings were consequently instituted against him. We are informed that Socrates was his advocate; but we do not know either the result of the cause, or the justice of the accusation on which it was founded.

Commencement of his career as a statesman.

Addicted as Alcibiadēs was to pleasure, he soon found a restless desire to share in the administration of public affairs. Of the daring cast of his politics, his youthful advice to Periclēs, his guardian, afforded a clear indication. When he understood that statesman to be perplexed how he should make up his accounts to present to the Athenians, he observed that it would be better for him to consider how he could altogether avoid accounting. He was endowed with an eloquence, the most insinuating and persuasive, one of the first endowments a politician could possess in a state like Athens. He was cautious in the selection of his words and phrases, that he might gratify the nice ears of his

critical audience; and so great a prepossession existed on his behalf in the public mind, that his splendid sins were regarded as virtues, and the very lisp which rendered his speech defective, was praised as graceful. His first appearance in a public assembly, though accidental, was fortunate. On inquiring into the occasion of a crowd which he saw collected, and finding that some one was scattering money amongst them, he went into the mob, and began to exercise a liberality of the same description. His bounty was received with loud applauses, which so delighted him, that he forgot to secure a quail which he was carrying beneath his robe, and saw the bird escape; but it was instantly pursued by the grateful assembly, caught by a pilot named Antiochus, and restored to its owner.

Defeat and banishment, by ostracism, of Hyperbolus.

When Alcibiadēs, with all the advantages of valour, eloquence, riches, popularity, and the friendship of Socrates, made his first efforts to acquire political influence, he found only Phæax, and Nicias, who afterwards was so honourably distinguished amidst the Sicilian disasters, as his rivals. There was, indeed, another, named Hyperbolus, who, although a mean and despicable person, hoped to gain some importance by the divisions among his superiors. This man endeavoured to procure one of the three most conspicuous statesmen to be banished by ostracism, by inciting the party who favoured one of them against his opponents. Alcibiadēs, however, perceiving his design, united either with Nicias or Phæax to render the scheme abortive, and succeeded in making the sentence of ostracism fall on its proposer himself, who had not the least fear of such a result. The Athenians soon after repented that they had dignified Hyperbolus, by fixing on his baseness the penalty which they had consecrated to distinguished worth; and feeling that this instrument of their power was now debased, they never resorted to the ambiguous compliment in future.

Intrigues of Alcibiadēs against Nicias, for the breaking of the peace.

This danger being thus averted, Alcibiadēs pursued the more ambitious design of overthrowing the power of Nicias. That accomplished general had, a short time before, procured a nominal peace between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians, which his youthful rival was anxious to see broken. His desire to plunge his country again into a ruinous war, arose not only from his jealousy of the reputation which Nicias derived from having brought a destructive contest to a close, but from his personal resentment against the Lacedæmonians, who had not requested his services in procuring the treaty, and had slighted his attempts to win their favour. Fortunately for his design, the Spartans had just given offence, by delivering up Panactum dismantled and injured, and making a separate alliance with the Bœotians, without consulting the government of Athens. These circumstances he made the themes of frequent and bitter invective, and did not fail to include Nicias in his reproaches, as too much disposed to favour the Peloponnesian cause. As he saw the people of Argos were irritated against the Lacedæmonians, he sent emissaries to persuade them to sue for a separate peace with the Athenians, assuring them

that it would be granted. By his persuasions they were induced to send ambassadors to Athens, who arrived there at the same time with those of Sparta, who came armed with full powers to settle all causes of dispute. This was a critical time; and Alcibiadēs perceiving its importance, exerted all his cunning to secure his purposes, with little regard to justice or honour. Although the Lacedæmonian ambassadors had declared, in their audience with the senate, that they were invested with full powers, he prevailed on them, by promises to espouse their cause, to contradict the assertion in the assembly of the people, and affirm that they were only authorized to treat on definitive conditions. When they had thus been guilty, through his machinations, of manifest prevarication, and expected his support, he vehemently inveighed against their want of faith, and represented the conduct which he had thus prompted, as a specimen of the Spartan character. Thus he succeeded in turning the voice of the people against them; but the assembly was adjourned, in consequence of the shock of an earthquake, without coming to any decision. His object, however, was only delayed. An embassy to Lacedæmon announced that, unless the Spartans would relinquish the alliance of the Bœotians, the Athenians would take the Argives into their league: being rejected, a treaty was concluded with the state of Argos, and the people of Mantinæa and Elis. Alcibiadēs, whose policy had effected these alliances, was appointed to command the armies of Athens.

Alcibiadēs carries war into Peloponnesus.

In the succeeding summer, the new commander entered Peloponnesus with a small party of Athenians, and a number of confederates who had joined him on his march, for the purpose of erecting a fort upon the Pelium of Achaia, which would totally have destroyed the empire of Corinth over the seas. But the Corinthians and Sicyonians, justly alarmed at his design, rushed to prevent him in such overpowering numbers, as compelled him to retire.

The Argives defeated, and their government changed.

The hopes which the Athenians had derived from the new coalition were, in the ensuing year, blasted by the signal defeat of the confederates by the Lacedæmonians, at Mantinæa, in the greatest battle that had ever yet been fought among the Greeks. At the commencement of the ensuing winter, the Spartan army once more took the field, and, advancing to Tegea, sent proposals for accommodation to Argos. Alcibiadēs, then in that city, attempted to procure the people to reject all the terms, but in vain. An armistice was at first agreed on, which was, after some time, followed by an offensive and defensive alliance, and the total separation of both Argives and Mantinæans from the Athenian cause. Before the end of the year, and in the presence of Lacedæmonian troops, and by Spartan influence, the constitution of Argos, hitherto popular, was subverted, and an oligarchy established in its room, after the Laconian model. But the people were little disposed to acquiesce in this abolition of their rights; and an opportunity soon occurred for the expression of their feeling. During the celebration of a festival at Sparta, they rose against their oppressors, and, after

Second revolution at Argos secured by Alcibiadēs.

a conflict, in which they were victorious, established their former constitution. The nobles, driven from the city, besought the succour of the Spartans, who came to a resolution to march against Argos, but suffered considerable time to elapse before they attempted to execute their design. In the mean time, Alcibiadēs determined to secure the future co-operation of the Argives with the Athenians, hastened to their city, sent three hundred, who were suspected to favour the Spartan cause, to the neighbouring islands, and persuaded the citizens to build long walls reaching to the sea, which might obtain facilities for receiving succours from Athens. He also induced the Patræans to lengthen their walls in like manner, and for similar purposes. When these citizens were told that the Athenians would devour them at last, he replied that such a result was possible, but that at least they would do it gently, and by degrees, beginning with the feet, while the Lacedæmonians would begin at the head, and instantly destroy them. Such was, indeed, a just representation of that choice of evils which the two contending powers of Greece left to the states, who were forced to seek one or the other to become their ally and master.

Insolence and excesses of Alcibiadēs.

Alcibiadēs was vehement in his exertions in the Athenian cause. But in the midst of his schemes of policy, and his exploits in the field, he was unable to repress his love of pleasure, which betrayed him into constant violations of public decorum. He was perfectly careless of the opinion which might be formed of his excesses, and even ostentatiously proclaimed them. His insolent expression of disdain knew no bounds towards any who dared to oppose him. When a citizen named Taureas presumed to exhibit a spectacle in opposition to him, he descended to strike his rival. He forcibly detained Agatharcus, a painter, till he had executed the work he thought fit to prescribe, and then suffered him to depart, with a liberal remuneration for his labour. On one occasion, when he had obtained great applause by a public oration, Timon, the misanthrope, took him by the hand, and exhorting him to proceed, wished him increasing fame from the people, as he would soon repay them with abundant sorrow.

Scheme of the Sicilian expedition.

A new field for the ambition of Alcibiadēs was now opened, with the design of conquering Sicily. The Egesteans had entreated succours from Athens against the Selinuntians and Syracusans, and ambassadors, sent to ascertain their resources, had brought the most splendid reports of the treasures deposited in their temples. Fresh and glittering hopes dawned upon the people, as they contemplated in imagination the conquest of the whole of the rich and fertile island, which already they fancied an Athenian colony. This prospect was, indeed, contracted, when com-



pared with that which Alcibiadēs saw; for he looked on the subjugation of Sicily only as a means of accomplishing vaster designs, and considered it as leading to the possession of Italy, Carthage, and Libya, the opening of an almost unlimited succession of victories. The Athenian youth caught his enthusiasm; and thought of nothing but the triumphs in which they panted to share. Groups might be seen in the public places of exercise listening to the aged men discoursing on the old glories of the heroic times, or describing in the sand, the figures of those regions whose spoils they hoped soon to enjoy. The more wise and prudent, indeed, saw in these wild expectations the ruin of the Athenian grandeur. Socrates protested against the enterprise, by the advice, it was alleged, of his mysterious dæmon. Meton, the astrologer, foresaw the ill fortune of the war, and set fire to his house, either by way of counterfeiting madness, or that he might persuade the people to allow his son to remain with him at Athens after a calamity which appeared so distressing. Nicias, with the calm wisdom which marked his character, laboriously endeavoured to dissuade the senate from their purpose. But all warnings were given in vain. A decree was passed, that a fleet of sixty ships should sail for Sicily, under the command of Alcibiadēs, Nicias, and Lamachus, who were directed to succour the Egisteans, if possible to restore the Leontines to their places of abode, and further to act in all things as, according to their discretion, should tend to the benefit of Athens. When the time came for discussing the supplies for the expedition, Nicias solemnly entreated his countrymen to pause, and, finding the persuasive and brilliant eloquence of Alcibiadēs prevented his arguments from having any influence on his hearers, strove to deter them from their purpose by setting forth the vastness of the supplies, both of forces and of money, which it would be necessary for them to provide. But this speech produced an effect the most contrary to his wishes; for the assembly were instantly convinced —not that their expedition must be abandoned—but that every nerve must be strained to support it; and they accordingly came to a decision, investing the generals with full powers to regulate the numbers of the army and the fleet, and all that they might regard as requisite for their success. The zeal of the assembly was answered by the enthusiasm of the people. All were eager to share in an expedition so promising; and a feeling of the most elevated hope pervaded all classes, as they witnessed the mighty preparations advancing.

Accusations against Alcibiadēs.

Alcibiadēs now seemed to have obtained the means of realizing the most gorgeous creations of his fancy. But, at this very moment, a sudden disaster blasted all his hopes. When the fleet was almost prepared, the statues of Hermēs, which were numerous both in the temples and porticoes of houses, were defaced in a single night, by some unknown hand.

This circumstance, although attributed by some to the Corinthians, who might be supposed thus to attempt to deter the Athenians from invading Syracuse, their colony, was regarded with alarm either as a

result of some conspiracy against the republic, or as a supernatural indication of the wrath of heaven. The enemies of Alcibiadēs, through the means of Androcles, sought to direct the general feelings of horror against him, by accusing him of having been the author of the atrocious sacrilege. They also affirmed that he had, with some wanton associates, derided the holy mysteries by a profane representation of their forms, in which the guilty parties acted the various consecrated officers. The accusers also referred to the whole tenor of his life, which they not only stigmatised as licentious, but as indicating a spirit which would not be satisfied till it had usurped the supreme power to the destruction of public freedom.



Alcibiadēs forced to depart without a trial.

When Alcibiadēs heard these charges he insisted on being allowed an immediate trial. He implored the Athenians not to suffer him to depart, as commander of so vast an expedition, with a charge of so great magnitude impending over him, or, while he was at a distance, to attend to calumnies which he could not answer. But his enemies, knowing the love which the soldiers bore him, and the partiality with which he was still regarded by many of the citizens, procured orators who urged that the voyage should not be delayed, but that, on the return of the commander, a day should be appointed for his trial. This advice was taken; the investigation suspended; and Alcibiadēs compelled to depart, leaving his accusers to collect or suborn, without opposition, a mass of evidence against him.

Course of the armament.

The Athenian fleet sailed first to Corcyra, where it was joined by the ships of those allies who had consented to share in the glories and

perils of the enterprise. Hence the commanders steered along the coast of Italy, and, being refused admittance or supplies by the maritime towns, anchored beneath the promontory of Rhegium. Hence they despatched vessels to Egesta, to ascertain the amount of the promised treasures in that city, and found, by the intelligence thus obtained, that no such resources existed. On this, the generals were divided in opinion; but the advice of Alcibiadēs prevailed, to persuade the states, excepting Selinus and Syracuse, to join them, and afterwards to attack those against which they were sent, if they refused compliance to the demands of Athens. The Messenians having refused the offer of an alliance, the fleet sailed for Catana, where Alcibiadēs persuaded the citizens to join them. Here a message was received from Camarina, promising to unite in the Athenian cause, which induced the commanders to sail for that port; but, finding on their arrival, that the Camarineans evaded the performance of their engagement, they returned to Catana, after a descent on the shores of the Syracusan territory, by which they acquired spoils. On their arrival, they found a messenger, with a vessel called the Salaminian galley, to order Alcibiadēs to return and take his trial, on the charges made before his departure.

Recall of Alcibiadēs.

It does not appear that any clear proof had been discovered against the party accused during his absence. But his enemies were able to pursue their machinations without fear of the army, who were devoted to him, or of the Argives and Mantinæans, who had joined the expedition solely from their desire to share his fortunes. Various rumours were studiously circulated against him, till the Athenians became too impatient for the decision of his fate to wait the issue of his mission. As, however, they wished the allies who were fixed in his interest to remain in the service, they directed their messengers not to arrest him, but merely to require him to follow them in his own galley. He accordingly yielded an apparent obedience to the requisition, and left the fleet in his vessel, with such of his comrades as were accused of having participated in his crimes. But when the Salaminian ship had passed the height of Thuria, he contrived to escape, so that all the endeavours of the officers to retake him were in vain. Being met, when on shore, by one who knew him, and asked whether he did not dare trust his country, he replied, "Yes, with all but my life; and when that is at stake, I would not trust my mother, lest she should mistake a black bean for a white one." When his flight was known at Athens, judgment of death was passed on him, his estate confiscated, and priests and priestesses ordered solemnly to pronounce him accursed. One of them, however, Theano, of Agraulos, declined to execute the order, observing that her office made it her duty to put up prayers, not execrations. When Alcibiadēs was informed that he was condemned to die by the Athenians, he replied, "I will make them feel that I am yet alive."

Cause of it.

Escape of Alcibiadēs.

Alcibiadēs now sought, not only security, but vengeance. He fled

from Thuria to Cybelene, and requested permission of the Lacedæmonians to enter their city, engaging to repair the injuries he had done them by his services. This request being granted, he hastened to Sparta, where he found the Syracusans and Corinthians imploring the people to send military succours to Sicily. This demand the Ephori were on the point of rejecting, and of determining to send only ambassadors to Syracuse, who might prevent the Athenians from succeeding, by negotiation, to obtain a footing in the island. But Alcibiadēs urged the necessity of sending real aid, in a speech so lucid, animated, and convincing, that they determined to send Gylippus, with the Corinthians, to oppose Nicias and Lamachus, then commanding the forces of Athens. By his advice, also, the Lacedæmonians fortified Decelea, and resolved to attack their foes in domestic war. Their affairs seemed instantly to revive, as by magic, at the first influence of his councils.

Alcibiadēs repairs to Sparta.

Alcibiadēs, now apparently identified with the Spartan cause, assumed with marvellous facility the character of his new associates. Accustomed to every luxury, he fed on the coarsest food; changed his dress from robes of purple and gold, to the simplest apparel; and laying aside the gorgeous insolence of his appearance and manner, seemed at once to have become humble, patient, and laborious. The transformation, so wonderfully wrought, was, however, only external. He found means to seduce the wife of Agis, the king, not, as he alleged, from the heat of passion, but from ambition that his race should sit on the throne of Sparta. The discovery, however, by the monarch of the infidelity of his queen frustrated the hopes he had thus indulged, and raised up most powerful foes against him in his new asylum. The hatred of these men increased in proportion as those successes advanced of which his advice had been the origin. The calamities of the Athenians in Sicily, to which his counsel had greatly contributed, only increased their envy. He still, however, had sufficient influence to procure assistance for the inhabitants of Chios, in preference to those of Cyzicum and Lesbos, who all signified their desire of leaving the alliance of Athens. He soon set sail for Ionia, nearly the whole of which he induced to adopt the Spartan cause. But, while he was thus employed, Agis and his enemies sent private orders into that region to despatch him, which he discovered and was able to evade. He considered it, however, necessary to withdraw, and, renouncing the Spartan cause in disgust, sought and obtained the protection of Tissaphernēs, the lieutenant of the Persian sovereignty.

Assumes the Spartan manners.

Makes enemies at Sparta.

Takes refuge with Tissaphernēs.

The manners of Alcibiadēs were adapted, with peculiar felicity, to win the favour of his new patron. The natural love of luxury and magnificence of disposition, which he had been forced to conceal at Sparta, he now indulged with perfect freedom, with the assurance that they must be grateful to the barbaric satrap. His talent for political intrigue had ample room for its exertions. As both the parties, weakened by their long struggle, anxiously looked to Tissaphernēs for

Conduct of Alcibiadēs while protected by Tissaphernēs.

aid, he saw the means of rendering himself once more important to all the parties of Greece. As the Peloponnesians had now the decided advantage, from the miscarriage of the Athenian affairs in Sicily, he advised his Persian friend to lessen his assistance, reduce the pay of the soldiers, and not suffer them to obtain any decisive triumph. He urged that it was the interest of the Asiatic monarch to assist the Grecian states, only that they might weaken each other, so that both might at last be deprived of all means of resistance to his power. This counsel was peculiarly agreeable to the crafty barbarian, who suffered Alcibiadēs to direct all his movements, and gave the most public indications of the control which he allowed him to enjoy. But Alcibiadēs was, in the midst of his oriental splendours, working out, from his interest with Tissaphernēs, the means of his recall to Athens. At this moment, indeed, it was in the power of this officer to give a finishing blow to that ill-fated republic, by bringing up the Phœnician fleet, which consisted of 150 ships, to the aid of the Spartans. This, then, was a most fortunate time for the intrigues of Alcibiadēs, who, by his open influence, seemed to have this illustrious state at his mercy. He caused it, therefore, to be insinuated among the commanders of the Athenian troops which were then at Samos, that their only hope lay in his return, for which the way must be prepared by rendering the government of the state oligarchical instead of popular. The chiefs at Samos being generally inclined to favour such a revolution not only freely discussed the proposal among themselves, but caused it to be intimated at Athens. Phrynicus alone opposed it; and when he found that he could not prevail by argument, attempted to succeed by stratagem. He endeavoured, therefore, by private messengers, to incite Astyochus, commander of the Lacedæmonian fleet, against Alcibiadēs, who, instead of assisting in his downfal, revealed to him the communication which was intended to destroy him. On this Alcibiadēs sent to Samos, and accused Phrynicus of treachery; when that officer, becoming desperate on the discovery of his scheme, offered to Astyochus to deliver into his hand the army and fleet of the Athenians, if he would, even now, favour his designs. This proposal, like the former, was disclosed to its intended victim, and was communicated by him to his confederates at Samos, by whom a deputation, with Pisander at its head, was sent to Athens, charged with the propositions of establishing an oligarchy and recalling the celebrated exile. At first the people were exceedingly irritated by the attempt to deprive them of their rights; but, on being persuaded that there was no other means of obtaining the friendship of Persia, and consequently averting destruction from the state, they gave their consent, and empowered Pisander to return to Alcibiadēs, with powers to agree to his proposals. He was now, however, unable to persuade Tissaphernēs to throw all his power into the scale of the Athenians, and abandon the line of policy which he had adopted with his advice, of holding the balance till each party was exhausted.

Alcibiadēs intrigues for his return to Athens.

Alcibiadēs, therefore, unable to fulfil his engagements, considered only how he should best conceal the decline of that influence on which he had presumed to make them. He accordingly made requisitions, with which it was impossible for the deputation to comply, and suffered all negotiations to be suspended.

Revolution at Athens.

But Pisander and his associates, although their hope of obtaining the assistance of Persia was lost, resolved not to abandon the intention of changing the constitution of Athens. They determined no longer to depend on Alcibiadēs, but to send part of the former deputation home, there to effect their purposes. While Diotrephes established an oligarchy at Thasus, Pisander sailed for Athens, overturning the popular establishments in all the dependent states at which he could touch by the way, and procuring aid to support him in his main design. On his arrival in the city he found that his confederates there had been successfully engaged in preparing the minds of the citizens for the intended change. They had proposed that the affairs of the state should be committed to the wisdom of no less a number than five thousand; and thus engaged on their side such men as, from their influence and wealth, might expect to be enrolled among the privileged number. The power thus acquired by the aristocratical faction was directed by great talents in its leaders. Of these, Antipho, Phrynicus, and Theramenes, were the most distinguished, and all were endowed with great ability, either for intrigue or persuasion. Nothing was further from the view of these men than the accomplishment of their professions, in dividing the power to which they aspired among five thousand citizens. Having masked their real plans till they had ascertained their strength, they determined to proceed with a rapidity and boldness which might strike terror into the hearts of the people. They therefore moved that a committee of ten should be entrusted with preparing a decree—summoned the people—and proposed the removal of all existing authorities, and the choice of five presidents, who should select a hundred associates, and each of these thus chosen should further elect three more to share in the legislative power. The audience heard these propositions with silent amazement, and suffered them to be adopted without discussion. No sooner was the decree passed than the four hundred took possession of the senate-house, expelled all the former magistrates, and entered peaceably on the administration of all the public affairs of the astonished and despairing citizens.

Alcibiadēs' conducted by Thrasybulus to Samos.

While the oligarchical party were thus triumphant at Athens, they were defeated at Samos by Thrasybulus and his soldiers. That noble-minded patriot resolved never to rest until he had restored his country to her freedom. This, however, he believed could not be effected without recalling Alcibiadēs from exile. He went, therefore, to Tissaphernēs, conferred with Alcibiadēs, and conducted him to the forces at Samos. There this ever-varying politician, who so recently had intrigued with the aristocracy, united with their bitterest foes,

and promised to them, as he had done to their antagonists, the friendship of Tissaphernēs if they should succeed and recal him to share in their triumph. The soldiers, burning to destroy the tyranny of the four hundred, proposed to leave the Peloponnesians, to whom they were opposed, and sail at once for the Piræus. From this rash design they were wisely dissuaded by Alcibiadēs, who urged the necessity of more temperate measures, and was even ready to assent to a compromise with the oligarchy, on the terms that the *five thousand* should be actually as they were nominally invested with the government of the state. In the mean time Athens was reduced to the most wretched condition by domestic factions. Dissension now raged even in the ranks of the *four hundred;* many of whom, terrified by the approach of danger, were anxious for the adoption of the plan with which Alcibiadēs was willing to agree. A naval defeat by the Lacedæmonians completed the misery which had for a long time appeared every hour to deepen. This dreadful blow was, however, the means of suspending for a time the intestine contests by which the city was distracted. An assembly was held, in which the *four hundred* were deposed, and the government vested in five thousand, comprehending all the citizens who were enrolled for the heavy armour. All parties having agreed in giving their utmost efforts to raise their country from her melancholy humiliation, despatched a deputation to Alcibiadēs and the army at Samos, exhorting them to use their most strenuous exertions for the public benefit.

Second revolution and recal of Alcibiadēs to Athens.

Alcibiadēs, although thus recalled, resolved to delay his return until he had performed such exploits as might throw fresh lustre over his name, and endear him to all classes of his fellow-citizens. With this ambition he sailed with a small squadron from Samos, and having gained information that Mindarus, with the Peloponnesian fleet, had gone in pursuit of the Athenian navy, he hastened to afford his countrymen succour. Happily he arrived at the scene of action, near Abydos, at a most critical moment; when, after a severe engagement, the Spartans had on one side obtained an advantage, and were pursuing the broken lines of the Athenians. While both parties regarded his ships as come to aid the Lacedæmonians, he displayed the Athenian flag, and attacked the Peloponnesians with the fiercest energy. He speedily decided the fortune of the day, completely routed the Spartans, till then victorious, broke many of their ships in pieces, and took thirty from them; recovering all they had previously taken, and destroying their armament on the coasts, notwithstanding the opposition of Pharnabazus, who, from the shore, attempted to shield the fugitives. His vanity after this signal success had, however, nearly destroyed him; for, being desirous of appearing to Tissaphernēs as a conqueror instead of a fugitive, he hastened with a splendid retinue to visit him, when the crafty barbarian, thinking he should thus appease the suspicions of the Spartans, caused him to be arrested and confined in prison at Sardis. Hence, however, he found

Exploits of Alcibiadēs previous to his return.

Naval victory.

Imprisonment and escape of Alcibiadēs.

means to escape, and having procured a horse, fled to Clazomenē, where he rewarded the treachery of his Persian friend by affirming that he had connived at his flight, and thus destroying the credit with the Lacedæmonians which the arrest was designed to secure. Hence he sailed immediately for the Athenian camp to diffuse fresh animation among the soldiers, and induce them hastily to embark on an expedition against Mindarus and Pharnabazus, who were then with the residue of the Peloponnesian fleet at Cyzicum. As soon as he discovered the enemies' vessels, he ordered a number of his commanders to slacken sails, while he advanced with only forty ships, that the Spartans, who might otherwise have fled, should be incited to give him battle. The artifice succeeded: Mindarus hastened to attack the Athenians, believing their force so inferior that he should find them an easy prey, and soon found himself encountered by fresh succours, which he was unable to resist. Terrified at so unexpected a check, his forces took flight in confusion, were pursued to the shore by the victorious commander, and there put to the sword in great numbers. Pharnabazus and Mindarus, who there attempted to rally them, were defeated; the latter fell in the contest, and the former only found safety by precipitately retreating. Alcibiadēs pursued his victory, took Cyzicum without difficulty, and, staining his conquest with a cruelty with which he was not generally chargeable, put to death all the Peloponnesians whom he found within the city.

Second naval victory.

Victory over Pharnabazus.

A very short space of time elapsed after this brilliant success before Alcibiadēs found another occasion to deserve the gratitude of Athens.

Discovering that Pharnabazus had fallen with great force, both of infantry and horsemen, on the troops under the command of Thrasyllus, as they were laying waste the territory of the Abydenians, he hastened to assist them with his army, and, in conjunction with them, defeated their enemies, and continued a triumphant pursuit till night protected the fugitives. He then gathered spoil from the province of Pharnabazus; but while he scattered devastation through the region, he displayed a feeling of respect for the sanctities of religion, by releasing, without ransom, all who assisted in the ceremonials of worship. He next prepared to reduce the inferior cities, which, in the hour of distress, had revolted from the Athenian cause. For this purpose he marched against the Chalcedonians, and finding they had removed their cattle and grain, and placed them under the protection of their allies, the people of Bithynia, he sent to accuse the latter of thus assisting his foes. Upon this, terrified with the idea of his military prowess, they delivered up the deposited spoil, and sued for and obtained his alliance. He then returned to his original design, and invested Chalcedon, by drawing his army round and enclosing it with a wall, to prevent it from receiving provisions. Pharnabazus soon advanced to its relief, and, at the same time, the besieged citizens made a sally; but Alcibiadēs despatched troops with great promptitude against both parties, completely succeeded on all points, slew Hippocrates, the

Victory at Chalcedon.

governor of the city, and compelled Pharnabazus once more to fly. While he sailed up the Hellespont to levy contributions, the commander, whom he left to prosecute the siege, made a treaty with Pharnabazus, by which, on their engaging to refrain from invading the province, he not only agreed to pay them a sum of money as the price of accommodation, but suffered the Chalcedonians to return to the alliance of Athens, and promised to give the Athenian envoys safe conduct to the Persian sovereign. Next, Alcibiadēs proceeded to reduce the city of Selymbria, which a number of his friends engaged to deliver into his hands. The signal agreed on for his entry was, a flaming torch, which the conspirators were, in the middle of the night, to exhibit on the walls. One of them, however, wavering, the rest were compelled, through fear of a discovery, to light the torch before the preparations were completed. Alcibiadēs observing the flame, hurried on with only fifty men, as his army were not ready to join him, and entered the city, having commanded the rest to follow with all possible speed. Here, however, he was placed in the most imminent danger. He perceived the citizens advancing from the fortresses in numbers which he could not hope successfully to encounter; and while he felt that in a combat he must be destroyed, his proud spirit, which had never yet known a check in battle, forbade him to retire. From this situation his ever-prompt invention saved him without any blemish to his military fame. He paused—ordered a herald to proclaim that the Selymbrians should not treat the Athenians as foes, and thus at once cooled the ardour of the citizens for the fight, and gave time for his whole army to enter. When he found himself thus supported, he granted peace on liberal terms, requiring only from them a sum of money, and leaving an Athenian garrison to secure the place from the Spartans.

Danger and success of Alcibiadēs at Selymbria.

Byzantium having revolted from the Athenians, was the city against which his efforts were next directed. He drew his forces round it, and held communications with parties within its walls, among whom were Anaxilaus and Lycurgus, to deliver up the place to him on his engaging to spare the lives and fortunes of the citizens. As soon as the arrangements for this purpose were completed, he spread a rumour that he was called suddenly into Ionia to appease commotions there, and departed with the fleet: it was only to remain in ambush within a short distance from the harbour. As soon as night concealed his operations, he returned, disembarked great part of his troops in silence, and ordered the vessels with those who were left on board to be rowed swiftly into the port, with terrible outcries, as if a mighty naval force were destroying the shipping, and hastening to attack the town from the shores. In the mean time his confederates quietly admitted him with his troops into the city, which, however, he did not win without a struggle; for his ships were repulsed from the shore by the hostile forces, who, after compelling the soldiers to return to their vessels, drew up in good order to oppose the pro-

Alcibiadēs takes Byzantium.

gress of their more formidable enemy. A regular and well-contested battle then ensued, in which the Athenians obtained the victory, and took three hundred prisoners. Notwithstanding this unexpected opposition, Alcibiadēs strictly fulfilled the conditions on which he had been admitted, and would not allow the least outrage either on the persons or fortunes of the citizens. When Anaxilaus was accused at Sparta, with the rest of his confederates, of his treachery, he boldly avowed that he had felt and acted as a Byzantine, not as a Lacedæmonian; that he saw no possibility of relief for the city while the Peloponnesian army consumed the provisions and his countrymen were left to starve; that he had acted on the simple principle of the duty of serving his country in preference to all other obligations, and had thus only been actuated by a feeling which the Spartans themselves gloried in cultivating. This defence so pleased the Lacedæmonians, not from its reference to general humanity, but its application of that exclusive patriotism which they openly preferred to fidelity or justice, that they absolved all who had been charged with consenting to the proposal of surrender.

Alcibiadēs returns to Athens.

Alcibiadēs having raised the fortunes of his country from the lowest state of depression, not only by his brilliant victories, but his conciliating policy, prepared to return and enjoy the praise of his successes. He entered the Piræus in a galley adorned with the spoils of numerous victories, followed by a long line of ships which he had taken from the foe, and attended by vessels bearing the ensigns of a greater number which he had destroyed, exhibiting the proofs of having deprived the enemy of two hundred ships, and restored the dear and long-lost maritime glories of Athens. But when he approached with his glorious retinue, his heart sunk within him, from the remembrance of the wrongs he had endured, and, perhaps, with some sad presage of the disasters he was yet to suffer. He did not venture to land till he saw his nephew and old companions stretching out their arms to him, and inviting him earnestly to meet them. His first reception, however, was as genial and flattering as his fondest hope or loftiest ambition could require. The whole city came down to the harbour to see and welcome him, and took no notice of Thrasybulus or Theramenes, his fellow-commanders. Throngs pressed around him with acclamations and blessings; those who could not touch, threw garlands upon him; and the aged, who remembered the former glories and recent humiliations of their country, pointed him out to the young from afar, with tears of mingled sorrow and joy. While the people, with fond regret, attributed to his exile their disasters in Sicily, and all their subsequent miseries, they hailed him now as one who had again made them taste of victory, and who would become their second founder. An assembly of the people being convened, he addressed them in a gentle and modest speech, imputing his calamities not to their envy, but to some evil genius which pursued him. He exhorted them to take

courage, bade them oppose their enemies with all the fresh inspiration of their zeal, and taught them to hope for happier days. Delighted with these assurances, they presented him with a crown of brass and gold, which never was before given to any but the Olympic victors, invested him with absolute control over their naval and military affairs, restored to him his confiscated wealth, and ordered the ministers of religion to absolve him from the curses which they had denounced against him. Theodorus, however, the high-priest, evaded the last part of the decree, by alleging that he had never cast any imprecation on him, if he had committed no offence against the republic. The tablets on which the curses against him had been inscribed were taken to the shore, and thrown with eagerness into the sea.

Alcibiadēs conducts the procession to Eleusis.

His next measure heightened, if possible, the brief lustre of his triumph. In consequence of the fortification of Decelea by the Lacedæmonians, and their having possession of the passes of the country, the procession to Eleusis, in honour of Athēnē, had been long unable to take its usual course, and being conducted by sea, had lost many of its solemn and august ceremonials. He now, therefore, offered to conduct the solemnity by land, after the ancient custom, under the protection of his troops, thinking that if the Spartans should suffer him to pass unimpeded, he should add to his renown; and if they should attack him, he should fight in the cause of religion, and in the immediate view of his country. His proposal being gladly accepted, he placed sentinels on the hills; and, surrounding the consecrated band with his soldiers, conducted the whole to Eleusis and back to Athens, without the slightest opposition, or breach of that order and profound stillness which he had exhorted the troops to maintain. After this graceful act of homage to the religion he was once accused of destroying, he was regarded by the common people as something more than human; they looked on him as destined never to know defeat, and believed their triumph was certain so long as he was their commander.

Cause of the second exile of Alcibiadēs.

But, in the very height of his popularity, causes of a second exile were maturing. The great envied him in proportion to the people's confidence, and that confidence itself became the means of his ruin: for, as the people really thought the spell of invincibility was upon him, they were prepared to attribute the least pause in his career of glory to a treacherous design. He departed with a hundred vessels, manned under his inspection, with colleagues of his own choice, to reduce the isle of Chios to obedience. At Andros he once more gained a victory over both the natives and the Spartans, who attempted to assist them. But, on his arrival at the chief scene of action, he found that he would be unable to keep the soldiers from deserting, unless he could raise money to pay them sums more nearly equal to those which the Lacedæmonians offered, than the pay he was able to bestow. He was compelled, therefore, to leave the fleet and

Alcibiadēs compelled to leave the fleet, which is defeated.

go into Caria in order to obtain supplies. While absent on this occasion, he left Antiochus in the command, who, though well fitted from his experience in maritime affairs to preserve order, was too rash to be a fit judge of the proper time for battle. To this officer Alcibiadēs gave express directions that he should refrain from coming to an engagement, whatever provocations he might receive. Anxious, however, to display his bravery, Antiochus took the first occasion to sail out in front of the Lacedæmonian fleet, which lay near Ephesus, under the command of Lysander, and attempt, by insults, to incite them to attack him. Lysander accordingly pursued him; the fleets came to the support of their respective admirals, and a general engagement ensued, in which Antiochus was slain, and the Athenians completely defeated.

Offers battle to Lysander in vain.

On receiving intelligence of this unhappy reverse, Alcibiadēs hastened to the fleet, and eager to repair the misfortune, offered battle to the Spartans; Lysander, however, did not choose to risk the loss of his advantage by accepting the challenge, and the Athenians were compelled to retire. This event, for which no blame really attached to Alcibiades, completed the ruin of his influence at Athens. It was believed that this, the first instance of his failure, must have arisen from corruption, or, at least, from a want of inclination to serve his country. He was also accused of leaving the navy under the direction of those who had no other recommendation to the charge but having been sharers in his luxurious banquets, and of having wandered about to indulge in profligate excesses, while the fleet of the enemy lay in sight of that of which he should have been the commander. It was likewise asserted that he had fortified a castle in Thrace, to serve as a retreat when his treacheries should have rendered it impossible for him to continue in safety at Athens. On these grounds, the people in his absence took from him his command, and confided it to other generals. As soon as he heard of this new act of ingratitude, he resolved not to return home, but withdrew into Thrace, and fortified three castles, Bornos, Byzia, and Machrontichos, near to Perinthus. Here, having collected a formidable band, as an independent captain he made incursions on the territories of those of the Thracians who acknowledged no settled form of government, and acquired considerable spoils. But he did not resign his love for his ill-fated country, nor refrain from exertions to succour the Athenians. The fleet which he had lately commanded lay in the river Ægos, and that of the Spartans under Lysander, was anchored at a short distance. He perceived that the captains of the former were accustomed to sail out in the morning, and insolently offer battle to the foe, and then return and spend the day in a state of tumultuous disorder. He feared lest Lysander should either protract the war till the small remains of the money by which the forces of Athens were supported were spent, or that he would improve one of the opportunities they so constantly afforded, of falling on them in a state of security and confusion. At the same time he hoped, as the Lacedæmonian strength lay more on

Charges against him at Athens.

Is superseded and goes into Thrace.

Attempts still to serve the Athenians, but in vain.

land than in their vessels, that he should be able, by the aid of the king of Thrace, to drive them from the shore, and compel them either to fight under great disadvantages, or to sue for peace. With these views he went to the Athenian camp, communicated his wishes, and warned the generals of their danger. They, however treated his person and his councils with a fatal disdain, which compelled him to retire without performing his proffered services. Too soon they felt the justice of his warnings. Lysander fell on them, when they were wholly unprepared to receive him, with such violence and success, that he destroyed the whole fleet, with the exception of six galleys, which escaped with Conon. This blow put an end to the long and ruinous contest. Athens had neither means nor spirit left to resist her foes. Lysander proceeded from this victory to the capture of Athens; burnt the shipping which lay in the harbour; razed the long walls to their foundations; and imposed thirty tyrants on the state which had been the cradle, and was now the sepulchre of Grecian freedom.

Athenian fleet defeated and Athens taken.

Alcibiadēs was now the sole object of hope to which the minds of his misguided countrymen were directed. They still had some confidence in his love for the country which had twice rewarded him with disgraceful exile, and could scarcely believe, that while he lived the cause of freedom was desperate. In the estimate of his undying patriotism their Lacedæmonian oppressors unhappily coincided, and felt that his death alone could secure their mastery over Athens. The feelings of both parties respecting him were well founded. Although he had been received with great cordiality by Pharnabazus, whose protection he had sought, and had been assigned a territory, from which he derived a considerable revenue, he was unable to enjoy a luxurious repose while his country groaned beneath intolerable oppressions. He saw the only hope of effecting its deliverance rested in procuring the aid of the king of Persia. This he did not despair of obtaining, especially as he perceived, with his usual political sagacity, that Cyrus, brother of the reigning sovereign, was about to make war against him, with the assistance of the Spartans. If he could disclose this to the monarch, he believed that he should not only lay him under obligation, which must conciliate his favour, but induce him, for his own security, to assist the Athenian cause against those who would soon appear as his own enemies. He, therefore, entreated Pharnabazus to suffer him to proceed to the king, with the design, like Themistoclēs, of offering his services; yet for the purpose of raising not of destroying the state which had driven him from his efforts to avert its downfal.

Alcibiadēs suspected by the Spartans.

Alcibiadēs prepares to seek the king of Persia.

But before he could execute his patriotic design, Lysander, incited by the representations of Critias and the other tyrants, whom he had placed over Athens, entreated Pharnabazus to destroy him. He threatened that unless Alcibiadēs were delivered up, alive or dead, the Lacedæmonians would break off their alliance with his master. This threat induced the satrap to take immediate measures for destroying the fugitive whom he had protected. The victim of his treachery was,

Death of Alcibiadēs.

at this time, in Phrygia, with Timandra, his mistress, preparing for his journey to the capital. Thither Pharnabazus despatched Sysamithres and Bagoas to murder him. But when they arrived at the place of his residence they durst not approach him, but surrounded the house with their band, and set it on fire. On perceiving the danger, Alcibiadēs threw clothes on the flames, and, seizing a sword, rushed through the fire without injury. He was now perceived by the barbarian troop, who, from a distance, threw their darts at him till he fell lifeless. Timandra then wrapped her vestments about his body and burned it in the flames of the house, as on a funeral pile. The assassins retired, without interrupting her in this last sad office of affection to the mighty dead.

Character of Alcibiadēs.

Thus fell Alcibiadēs, having scarcely passed the fortieth year of a most eventful life. Nature seemed to have lavished her bounties upon him. A noble origin—singular personal beauty—grace of manner—immense patrimonial riches—eloquence the most persuasive—acuteness the most penetrating—bravery the most undaunted—Pericles for his guardian, and Socrates for his friend and adviser—all seemed to mark him out as destined for a happy and glorious career. Never, perhaps, was so fair a prospect dashed so early with clouds, and so soon overspread with total gloom. Yet he can scarcely be said to have owed his ruin to the absolute preponderance of his vices. He possessed, throughout life, many virtues, to which even the plots of his adversaries bore witness. His love for his country, amidst all the injuries he received from her, was his ruling passion to the last. A second time an exile from her shores, after conferring numberless benefits on her, he died a martyr to his unshaken desire to effect her ransom. His public life—if we except the devious methods by which he sometimes proceeded to effect good designs, and his offer of advice to the Spartans after his first exile—was full of patriotism, forbearance, and wisdom. His great want was that of *principle*, and by that want he was undone. He acted from impulses which he had never learned to restrain. His love towards his country, though his strongest impulse, was essentially a personal feeling, and very different from a calm sense of duty or earnest desire for the general welfare. He had nothing within which could enable him to become master over himself, and direct his faculties by honourable courses to noble ends. He often, indeed, adapted his manners with astonishing facility to those of his associates; he was the most patient in Lacedæmon, the most robust at Thebes, the most jovial among the Thracians, and the most splendid and luxurious among the Persians; but, in none of his changes, was he actuated by any principle either false or true, but simply by a desire to surpass his colleagues in all which they esteemed most noble or dazzling. There was no common centre round which his mighty powers and vehement impulses could revolve. He gratified all his feelings of insolence, luxury, or pride, without regard to times or seasons, except when some strong passion gave him a short-lived consistency of character. Never did any one, to whom in-

terests so mighty were committed, suffer himself to be so often influenced by momentary fancies that destroyed the measures on which his dearest hopes were dependent. He was a partisan without revenge, and a victor without cruelty; but these excellences availed him little, because he had not singleness of heart, nor directness of purpose, to render them effectual for his country's salvation. The constitution of his mind was oriental rather than Grecian. His personal character, and not that of his cause, predominated in all his actions. His sense of pleasure was too keen, and his pride too great, to allow of that absorption of himself into a state which alone could fit him for the subject, much less for the preserver of a republic. He could assume a thousand shapes, but in all he was an actor. The abstraction of spirit, which made an ancient patriot lose the sense of personal identity, as a public character, in the idea of forming a part in a great whole—which caused him to live only in the triumphs, and die with the fall of the body politic—was totally averse from his nature. He would have risked his life a thousand times for his native city, but he would never have rejoiced with the Spartan that it contained three hundred worthier than himself to govern. Hence he was unfitted to rouse the slumbering energies of a state in the cause of freedom. The bands which joined him were always actuated by regard to him as an individual, not by any general spirit inspired by his cause. His fortunes were strangely linked with those of a state, which, by casting him the first time from the summit of greatness, brought herself to the verge of ruin; and, after madly repeating the injustice, when his arm had raised her from the dust, sunk almost without a struggle. In his death, which she had once formally decreed, and at last remotely occasioned, she saw and felt her last hope expire. If he was not altogether worthy to be the preserver of the Athenian greatness, he merited the honour of casting the last rays of glory over it, and of having his fall for ever identified with its destruction.

Character of Alcibiadēs.





CHAPTER XII.

RECAPITULATION OF THE HISTORY OF GREECE, FROM THE BATTLE OF MARATHON TO THE CLOSE OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WARS.

B. C. 490 TO B. C. 404.

IN the lives of Themistoclēs, Aristīdēs, Periclēs, and Alcibiadēs, we have taken occasion to describe, with considerable minuteness, those events which their genius directed, and which form a very large part of the brightest portion of Grecian history. We have now to supply THE OUTLINE BY WHICH THOSE INDIVIDUAL PICTURES WILL BE CONNECTED; passing lightly over those circumstances which have been described in connection with them, and dilating on those parts of national history which our plan has induced us hitherto to omit, or to which it has enabled us only briefly to allude.

Preparations of Xerxes for an invasion of Greece.

B. C. 483–480.

Xerxes, having succeeded Darius on the throne of Persia, resolved to avenge the stain which had been thrown on the arms of his country, at Marathon. It is even probable that his views extended beyond the conquest of Greece, and that he regarded this extension of his dominions but as opening the way to the subjugation of regions still further to the westward, in which his young ambition anticipated a series of victories. Incited by the exiled party of the family of Peisistratus, he sent heralds to all the cities of Greece, demanding earth and water, in token of their submission, with the exception of Athens and Lacedæmon, where the Persian envoys had, in the reign of Darius, been put to death. With this demand, many of the smaller states thought it prudent to comply. The mighty preparations of the great king proceeded on a scale the most appalling. To a superficial observer the fate of Greece must have appeared to be absolutely decided. Even the small force which its united republics could have opposed to the invasion, was divided against itself; many of the states had yielded; Ægina had been at war with Athens; the resolutions of Argos, Corcyra,

and Syracuse, were doubtful. Minds, however, were happily found with energies equal to the danger. Themistoclēs had already provided Athens with a naval force, which effected, ultimately, the deliverance of Greece, and raised that state to the highest glory and power. (See ARISTĪDĒS and THEMISTOCLĒS.) Peace was immediately concluded between Ægina and Athens; but Crete and Argos declined uniting in the general cause. A meeting of deputies from the confederated states, to deliberate upon the best means of resistance, was summoned to assemble at Corinth. B. C. 483.

Army sent into Thessaly, but retires.

The stupendous forces of Xerxes (which we have described in a preceding chapter) now passed the Hellespont, and advanced to attack Thessaly. A body of infantry, under the command of Themistoclēs and Evanætus, was instantly sent to dispute the passes, which accordingly took its position in the vale of Tempē, between the mountains of Ossa and Olympus. Here they were joined by the Thessalian cavalry, and constituted a force adequate to the defence of the road between the natural fortresses by which the boundary was protected. But they were induced to retreat, by intelligence derived from Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedon, that there was another passage by which the Persians might enter Thessaly from Upper Macedonia; and that unless they retired, they must be surrounded and cut to pieces. They left Thessaly, therefore, to the mercy of the invaders; and the people of that region, thinking themselves forsaken by their allies, received the army of Xerxes with open arms, and exerted themselves to the utmost in his favour.

Defence of Thermopylæ resolved on. B. C. 480.

The force of the Greeks was now concentrated within their narrow boundaries, which were defended almost in every part by the sea or the mountains. The ridge of Œta, extending from sea to sea across the southern limit of Thessaly, now become their frontier, was accessible only by one narrow road, scarcely wide enough to admit a chariot, and defended by a wall, and an inundation from the neighbouring hot baths, which gave it the name of *Thermopylæ*, by which it has since been remembered with associations so deep and inspiring. Near this most advantageous position was a bay where the fleet could anchor in safety. Here, then, it was resolved by the confederates, that the first strenuous resistance should be made to the progress of the invader.

Forces of the Greeks.

But small, indeed, were the numbers which Greece could arouse to assist in the cause of freedom. Most of the states which professed to unite in the league, were either paralyzed by terror, or deterred by jealousies, from putting forth their utmost energies. Thebes contributed only four hundred, Corinth four hundred, and Sparta three hundred soldiers. The force of Athens was necessarily employed on board her fleet, so that the great body of the troops was composed of Locrians, Phocians, Arcadians, and the citizens of the smaller republics. These, with Leonidas, king of Lacedæmon, at their head, took their station near the pass of Thermopylæ, while the fleet was drawn up at Artemisium, in order to assist them. But on the approach of ten

Land forces take the station of Thermopylæ.

B. C. 480. Persian galleys, sent to explore the seas, the fleet, after losing two vessels, retired, and anchored at Chalcis. On this retreat, the vast armament of Persia was greatly shattered by a violent tempest, and lost not less than four hundred galleys. Hearing of this disaster of their foes, the commander of the Grecian navy once more took post at Artemisium, from which he had ignobly departed. Soon after, fifteen hostile vessels, which had been separated from the rest by the storm, fell into their hands, having mistaken their fleet for a division of the Persians. This success served to awaken the energy of the Greeks from the state of despair in which it appeared to be expiring. Religion aided the love of liberty, and taught the Greeks to believe that heaven was with them.

Movements of the fleets.

The transactions at Thermopylæ have been fully detailed in our biography of Leonidas. We proceed to notice the events that immediately followed.

Advance of the Persian armies into Greece.

Attack on Delphi.

The Persian armies having passed Thermopylæ, over the bodies of their heroic foes, advanced without opposition into the country of the Dorians. They respected the property of the people of Doris, but ravaged Phocis with fire and sword, and advanced, scattering ruin everywhere along the banks of the Cephisus. While the main body proceeded to Attica, through the territories of the Bœotians, a detachment was sent to Delphi, to secure the rich treasures in the temple of Apollo. Herodotus informs us that, on the approach of this band towards the steeps on which the fane was erected, thunder from heaven struck them, masses of the rock fell on them with tremendous sounds, and the Delphians rushing from the caves, attacked them in their dismay, and put to flight all who survived the prodigies. It is probable that this apparent miracle was the result of contrivance, which the situation of the temple was peculiarly calculated to favour. While its summits appeared to be deserted, troops might well be concealed among its deep woods, who could roll down fragments of the rock through the steeps, at once to break the lines of their foes, and strike them with supernatural horror. Storms of thunder must have been of frequent occurrence during the summer season. And with all the advantages of position, knowledge of the ground, and a religious panic in the Persians, the Delphians, though with numbers very inconsiderable, might have gained an easy victory. It was affirmed that two figures, more than human, appeared on this occasion to encourage the Greeks, who were supposed to be Phylacus and Autonous, old heroes of whom traditions existed in Delphi; but this is an invention which naturally arose from circumstances which the friends of the oracle would desire to heighten.

Attica abandoned.

Meanwhile, fresh disunion arose among the Greeks. The Peloponnesians resolved to decline assisting in defence of Attica, and to draw their lines of defence across the isthmus, so as to confine their operations to their own regions. Although this resolution was as short-sighted and foolish as it was base, it threw the Athenians into a state of

great distress and confusion. Themistoclēs happily, in the manner which we have stated in his life, made this apparent evil the means of triumph. By his address, his countrymen were induced to send their families and effects to Ægina, Trœzēne, and Salamis, and, with all their resources, to hasten, in arms, on board their ships. Shortly after the Persians entered Athens, plundered the town, and invested the citadel, where the priests and poorer citizens had taken refuge. These superstitiously believing that Athēnē would not permit her temple to be profaned, defended the place to the last, and on its capture were all put to the sword. B. C. 480.

Naval victory of the Greeks at Salamis.

Although of the two hundred and seventy-one trireme galleys, which, with a few smaller vessels, formed the Grecian fleet, a hundred and twenty-seven were furnished by Athens alone, the allies refused to be commanded by an Athenian. Eurybiadēs, therefore, the Spartan admiral, though apparently little competent to the office, directed the fleet. Themistoclēs, however, by the influence of his policy, was happily able to overrule the councils of the nominal commander, who was desirous of retreating into the inland seas of Greece; and after an indecisive combat off Artemisium, to force the enemy to a battle at Salamis. The result was most glorious for the cause of freedom. The Persian armament was broken, dispersed, or fell into the hands of the Greeks, in the manner which the reader will find more particularly related in the Life of Themistoclēs, who obtained the first honour of the immortal action.

Xerxes returns to Asia.

After the battle of Salamis, the remains of the Persian fleet retreated towards the Hellespont, and the army, destitute of supplies, fell back upon Thessaly. Xerxes returned towards Asia, with the residue of his forces, exhausted, afflicted with pestilence, and in the greatest distress for want of provisions, though friends and enemies were alike plundered by his troops, to contribute to the supply of their hunger. When he reached the Hellespont, his stupendous force seemed reduced to an empty shadow. He left, however, Mardonius with three hundred thousand men, the flower of his army, to prosecute those designs which he had been so unexpectedly prevented from accomplishing in person. But this great force served but little to excite the apprehension of the victorious Greeks. They resigned themselves to rejoicings, paid devout offerings to the gods, and rewarded with cheap, but highly-prized memorials, the valour of their commanders. Chalcidicē, a state, hitherto submissive, revolted from the Persians, and asserted its right to freedom. But this measure seems to have been unfortunate; for a detachment of Persians, hastening to join Mardonius, took the city of Olynthus; and, with a deliberate cruelty, which recent misfortunes alone could have inspired, forced the inhabitants to repair to a marsh, and put them indiscriminately to the sword. Potidæa was besieged by the same party, but a rising of the sea forced them to retire with great loss; and they joined Mardonius in Thessaly.

B. C. 480. Meanwhile the fleet of the Persians made no fresh efforts against the Grecian coasts, but continued, through the winter, at Samos.

Offers to the Athenians, through Alexander of Macedon.

It could be little doubted that this wonderful deliverance of Greece was chiefly due to the Athenians. Mardonius, therefore, justly conceived, that if he could detach them from the confederacy, he should find the other states an easy prey. Offers were, therefore, made to them, through Alexander, king of Macedon, that their temples should be rebuilt, their dominions extended, and their own laws secured to them, if they would enter into an alliance with the Persian sovereign. Incited by Aristīdēs, the first of the Greeks in real virtue, they instantly rejected the proposals. We refer our readers to the lives of Aristīdēs and Themistoclēs for the particulars of this noble act of heroism and justice.

The Athenians again embark.

The Lacedæmonians, however, were so little sensible of the disinterested resolution of the Athenians in the common cause, that, when Mardonius advanced towards Attica, they sent no troops to its defence; and the men to whom Greece owed its liberties, were compelled once more to retire with their families and goods to Salamis. Still, though the offers of the king were renewed, they disdained to give them attention; and Lycidas, who wished to refer them to the people, was stoned to death by the populace, and his wife and children slain by the infuriated women. Upon this, the Phocians marched into Attica, ravaged the country, and took possession of its capital. In the meantime the Spartans were thinking only of their own security, and fortifying the isthmus with walls which would separate them from their nobler allies. At length, however, aroused by the remonstrances of the Athenian ambassadors, they sent a band of forty thousand men, composed of citizens and Helots, to co-operate with the allies. On hearing that this force was in motion, Mardonius left Attica, which, from its hills and steep declivities, was peculiarly unfavourable to the movements of his cavalry, and fell back into Bœotia, where he fixed his camp along the borders of the Asōpus. The Grecian forces now united, and composing a body of 100,000 men, took their position at the foot of Mount Cithæron, in the face of the Persians, on the opposite side of the river. After a warm skirmish, in which the confederates were victorious, they marched to Platæa and were followed by their foes. Here a great battle was fought, Mardonius slain, and the Persians completely defeated with tremendous slaughter. On the same memorable day, the naval forces of Persia received an equally signal overthrow at Mycalē, and were compelled, with severe loss, to retreat. Thus, almost at a blow, the second mighty attempt against the liberty of Greece was frustrated, and terribly avenged on its authors.

Battle of Platæa. B. C. 479.

Sea-fight at Mycalē.

After these victories, the germ of future animosities between Athens and Sparta began to appear, in the contest for the Aristeia, or first honours of the war; but the immediate dispute was appeased by awarding them to the Platæans. Vengeance was next exacted

against Thebes for her treachery to the common cause. On her refusal to deliver up Timagenides and Attaginus, who were accused of having occasioned the defection, the confederates laid waste the territories, and besieged the city of the Thebans. At length, Attaginus having escaped, his children, with Timagenides, and other obnoxious persons, were delivered up to Pausanias, the Spartan general, who dismissed the innocent descendants unhurt, but put the rest to death, without trial, at Corinth. B. C. 479. Vengeance on the Thebans.

The Greeks were now at leasure to indulge their joy, and express their gratitude for their victories. The Platæans, to whom eighty talents of silver were awarded in testimony of their heroism, employed the sum in building and adorning a beautiful temple to Athēnē. They were appointed to perform a grand ceremonial annually to the memory of the departed patriots, and in honour of the protecting deities. It was also resolved to mark every fifth year with a solemn festival. Two monuments of marble were erected at Thermopylæ; one in honour of the Peloponnesians at large, and the other of those yet braver three hundred who fought and died with the Spartan prince. Awards to the Grecian heroes.

The Athenians did not in their haste to rebuild their city forget the tribute due to their preservers. They instituted annual ceremonies, in which the praises of the heroic dead were celebrated by their most gifted orators. They raised columns on the general tomb of those who fell at Marathon, among which they paid a tardy tribute of respect to Miltiadēs, who died not there, but in prison, from their injuries.

Athens had suffered, in the great contest, the destruction of her buildings and temples; but she had acquired a rich compensation in power and renown. Sparta, whose superiority over all the other states, had hitherto been disputed only by Argos, began to entertain jealous fears of the advances of a more potent rival. These apprehensions, although scarcely generous, were not unfounded. By the persuasions of Themistoclēs, the Athenians had already began to surround their city, now rising from its ruins, with strong and extensive fortifications, and carried on the work with the most enthusiastic zeal. Against this proceeding, the Lacedæmonians thought fit to remonstrate, alleging that experience had shown that Athens fortified would only be a stronghold for the invader. Unwilling to relinquish their designs, and unprepared by open force to defend their right to fulfil it, the Athenians resolved to temporise and dissemble. Themistoclēs undertook this difficult task, for which he was most peculiarly fitted. He departed on an embassy to Sparta, where he amused the chief magistrates by various pretexts until the fortifications were completed. Having, by positively asserting the falsehood of those who affirmed the work to be in progress, procured Spartan envoys to be sent to ascertain the fact at Athens, he boldly avowed the treachery, and confounded the Ephori, by informing them that their deputies would be detained as hostages, until he should return in safety. He was Advance of Athens, and jealousies of Sparta. Athens fortified. B. C. 478.

B. C. 478. then permitted to depart, and return home exulting in the success of his policy.[1]

Policy and success of Themistoclēs.

Themistoclēs appears immediately on the expulsion of the Persians to have conceived the design of raising Athens to the situation of mistress and arbiter of Greece. He therefore procured the rejection of the proposition of Sparta, excluding from the right of sending deputies to vote in the general council those states who had refused to join in the confederacy against Xerxes. For he perceived that by this means cities, who were friendly to Athens, would be deprived of all the influence by which they could serve her. That his projects might not be defeated by their premature discovery at Lacedæmon, he required that they should be communicated to two chosen men, with whose concurrence they should be effected. In concert with these, he caused the harbour of the Piræus to be enlarged, and connected, by long walls, with the city. He improved and increased the Athenian navy, and turned the energy of his mind towards the advancement of that naval power on which his hopes for his country's predominance chiefly rested. Being entrusted with the office of levying contributions towards the expenses of the war from the allies, situated near the Ægean sea, he took every occasion to strengthen the interest of Athens, and preserve the way for that avowed ascendancy which he never ceased to meditate.

Prosecution of the war with Persia, and conduct of Pausanias.

Notwithstanding the jealousies which were secretly increasing between Athens and Sparta, they continued to unite their efforts against the common foe. In the prosecution of these, however, fortune greatly favoured the aspiring views of the Athenians. Pausanius, the Spartan general, who at first commanded the fleet, soon became obnoxious by his pride to the minor confederates. After taking Byzantium, indeed, he became more than suspected of traitorous correspondence with Persia. He appointed one named Gongylus to be the governor, who connived at the escape of the most illustrious of the prisoners, and, after this despatched him to the court of Xerxes. There his offers are said to have been received with a favour which quite intoxicated him with ideas of his approaching grandeur. The Peloponnesians retired in disgust; the chief people of Chios and Samos publicly insulted him, and the Spartans themselves sent home accusations against him. Alarmed at his proceedings, the Ephori recalled him, and sent Dorieus to take his command. The injury, however, which Sparta had sustained in the affections of her allies, was too deep to be repaired by this alteration. Already had the people of Thrace, Asia Minor, and the islands of the Ægean sea, solicited Aristīdēs and Cimon, the Athenian generals, to lead them. Their respect had been so conciliated by these virtuous men, that they refused to yield obedience to others. Dorieus returning, Sparta tacitly yielded to circumstances, and the Athenians, for the first time, appeared ostensibly at the head of the Grecian forces.

The Lacedæmonians lose their ascendancy. B. C. 476.

[1] See a particular account of this transaction, and of the whole policy of Athens during the administration and intrigues of Themistoclēs, in the chapter on "Aristīdēs and Themistoclēs."

B. C. 476. Downfal of Pausanias and Themistoclēs.

While the plans of Themistoclēs for the aggrandisement of his country were thus successful, his own personal influence was declining. The stern virtue of Aristīdēs, and the conciliating goodness of Cimon, effectually, though silently, reproved the conduct of a man, who, though possessed of courage and consummate ability, showed on many occasions a want of noble principle. The people of Athens felt the immediate results of the administration of his rivals, and forgot to whom they were indebted for the origin of the consequences which they now saw unfolding. Instances of his pride and arrogance were studiously brought forward by his adversaries; and, having been accused, though perhaps without reason, of a guilty knowledge of the intrigues of Pausanias, he was sentenced, by ostracism, to exile. Pausanias, in the mean time, continued his haughty and luxurious career until it ended in his total ruin. After his death, the Spartans accused Themistoclēs of a participation in his treason, and demanded that he should be tried in a general council. He found means, however, to escape into Asia, and B. C. 471. seek protection from the king of Persia, which he obtained, and under which he died in the manner which, in our account of his life, we have particularly related.

Policy and success of Athens under Aristīdēs.

It was the singular fortune of Themistoclēs to render great service to his country both by his policy and his exile. His successful plans had rendered him so obnoxious to the Lacedæmonians, that they never would have acquiesced in the ascendancy which they had procured for Athens, had he continued in the possession of influence and favour. Aristīdēs, his successor, on the other hand, was calculated to soothe their resentments by his known inclination to the aristocracy, which they desired to uphold, and his nobleness of character, which all agreed in revering. They offered, therefore, no obstruction to the plans by which he secured to Athens the management of affairs for all the states who had recently sought her alliance. He procured the place of meeting for the deputies, sent by the cities to the Grecian council, to be changed from Sparta to Delos, and thus deprived Lacedæmon of the external symbol of that superiority she had hitherto been permitted to assume. He fixed the sum which all the states should contribute to the support of that common freedom which their beaten, yet potent foe, still anxiously hoped to destroy. The tax, although amounting to four hundred and sixty talents, or 92,000*l*., was paid with a cheerfulness which could alone have been inspired by the virtues of its proposer. Of this treasure, Delos was made the depository, and the Athenians the guardians. Thus, on the death of Aristīdēs, he left Athens in the course of acquiring, if she had not already attained, the first place among the Grecian republics.

Death of Aristīdēs. B. C. 468.

Command of Cimon, and his successes.

Aristīdēs was succeeded by Cimon, son of Miltiadēs, in the chief control over the affairs of Athens. Appointed to command the confederate forces by sea and land, he resolved on delivering all the Grecian cities, both in Europe and Asia, over which the Persians still held dominion, from the yoke of the barbarians. He began by attack-

B. C. 468. ing Eion, a city of Thrace, on the river Strymon, with his fleet, where much spoil was expected. Its commander, however, finding there remained no hope of retaining the fortress, instead of accepting the offer of Cimon, of liberty to pass unmolested into Asia, collected his treasures, built a funeral pile, and, ascending it with barbaric heroism, burned them, together with himself and his family. Mascames, the governor of Doriscus, however, was more successful, for he retained the place for his sovereign during his life, though it was the only hold in Europe occupied by a Persian garrison. All other fortresses in Thrace, and on the borders of the Hellespont, submitted to the Athenian commander.

Scyros taken by Cimon. B. C. 466. The Grecian states having been greatly molested by the piracies of the inhabitants of Scyros, commissioned Cimon to chastise them. He soon took possession of the isle, devoted its people to slavery, and supplied their place by a colony from Athens. The Naxians, also, who resisted the terms of the confederacy, were reduced to submission, and, by a measure without example, compelled to own subjection to the Athenian republic. The war in Naxos being concluded, Cimon advanced into Caria, where the Grecian city of Phaselis remained under the control of the Persians. This city he reduced, after some danger from the treachery of the Chians, who were connected with its citizens, and who had acquired great spoils. Hearing, however, that a Persian fleet was assembled in the river Eurymedon, near the coast of Pamphylia, and that an army was at hand to co-operate with the naval commanders, he hastened to embark his troops, and offer battle to the enemy. He obtained an easy victory, a great part of the fleet falling into his hands; then landing his victorious forces, he defeated, though after a severe struggle, the troops on the shore. The camp of the Persians, with all its riches, became his spoil, and the whole squadron of Phœnician galleys, which had been intended to assist the defeated fleet, was, shortly after, added to his trophies. Soon after, he repelled an incursion of the Persians into the Chersonēsus, took thirteen of the hostile vessels, and completely expelled the invaders.

End of the Persian war. These successes ended the memorable wars between the millions of the Persian slaves, and the small but heroic band of Grecian freemen. All offensive operations on the part of the oriental sovereigns terminated here, and the Greeks had nothing to effect but the consolidation of their institutions, and the maintenance of internal unity—a task to which they were unhappily unequal.

Prosperity of Athens, and distress of Lacedæmon. The chastisement of Thasos, and the possession of its mines of gold, added greatly to the riches and power of Athens. Possessed of great spoils, Cimon, with a taste as exalted as the hardihood of his valour, adorned the city with porticoes, plantations, and temples. While the Athenians were thus advancing in elegance as well as power, the Lacedæmonians were visited with the severest distresses. A terrible shock of an earthquake laid the city of Sparta in ruins, and buried the flower of its noble youths beneath them. Invited by the opportunity, the

Helots, the oppressed and degraded slaves of the citizens, rose in arms to assert the rights of nature over their oppressive masters. They were disappointed, indeed, in the hope of seizing the country by surprise, amidst its distresses, by the sudden appearance of a regular band, who, accustomed to an unrivalled discipline, appeared in an instant, in military array, at the sound of the martial instruments. But, traversing the fields, they incited their fellows to join them, and soon greatly exceeded, in numbers, their late oppressors. They seized the strong fortress of Ithōmē, and thence took every occasion to harass their foe in keen revenge for former injuries. In the meanwhile the Spartans were reduced to great misery from the want of the assistance of the slaves in tillage, which, unaccustomed themselves to the arts of peace, they were little able to supply. In this state of difficulty and peril they condescended to apply for assistance to Athens. Notwithstanding the jealousies which still existed, the aid required was granted, on the persuasion of Cimon. That noble-minded general marched at the head of an army to their deliverance, and rendered them most important services. Unhappily, however, the junction of the troops of Athens and Sparta gave occasion to perpetual irritations, which served to increase the hostile feeling existing between the republics. At length the Athenians were dismissed by the Lacedæmonians, as those for whose assistance there was no further occasion. This measure so exasperated the citizens of Athens, that they renounced the alliance with Sparta, and made a league with its inveterate foes, the people of Argos. The Argives had, during the insurrection of the Helots, made war on the state of Mycenæ, the old antagonist of their pretensions, completely destroyed its forces, reduced its people to slavery, and razed its walls to their foundations.

B. C. 464. Revolt of the Helots.

Cimon assists the Spartans against the Helots.

Hatred of Sparta now became a very deep and pervading emotion in the breasts of the Athenian populace. It was heightened by Ephialtēs, the leader of the democratic party, whose love of a popular government quickened the other causes of dislike which he cherished towards the Lacedæmonian institutions and policy. So strong, indeed, was the feeling thus excited, that Cimon, who was anxious for peace with the Peloponnesians, and attached to an oligarchy, was, notwithstanding all his victories, munificence, and equity, sentenced by ostracism to exile. Among those who joined in this popular act of injustice, was Periclēs, the son of Xantippus, who had acquired great popularity by his eloquence, during the absence of Cimon, when that general was engaged in extending the influence of Athens. After the banishment of Cimon, Ephialtēs and Periclēs continued to pursue, with great earnestness, their attempts to render the government purely democratic, and to aggrandize Attica, at the expense of the Spartan power. Fortunately for their views, a dispute between the states of Megara and Corinth, which had both been part of the Lacedæmonian alliance, induced the former to leave its old protectors, now unable or unwilling to assist it, and to implore the alliance of the Athenians. The request

Prevalence of the democratic party, and banishment of Cimon.

B. C. 460. of the Megareans was joyfully granted, and their city of Megara, and their port of Pegæ, filled with Athenian garrisons. Meanwhile Periclēs and Ephialtēs gained a great accession of power, to the permanent injury of Greece, by persuading their countrymen to reduce the dignity and the powers of the court of Areopagus, and to take from it the direction of the public treasury. A decree, proposed by the latter, which gave the control over the state revenue, and the decision of important causes hitherto vested in that august tribunal, to the assembly of the people, was adopted by the flattered and deluded citizens. Thus were these chiefs enabled to bribe the people with their own treasures, and thus to secure the ratifications of any measures they thought fit to propose. They soon perceived the necessity of employing the confederates on some common enterprise, and accordingly sent Charitimis with two hundred galleys to reduce the island of Cyprus. Scarcely, however, had the expedition departed, when Inarus invited the Athenians to assist in rescuing Egypt from the dominion of the Persians. His offer was eagerly accepted by the chiefs of Athens, who hoped, in the riches of Egypt, to find spoils which might attach even the fickle Athenians firmly to their cause. They, therefore, despatched orders to Charitimis to abandon immediate designs against Cyprus, and assist the revolted battalions in Egypt. This distant contest was for a long time doubtful. Requests from the Persian monarch to Sparta, to make a diversion into Attica, which might draw the troops from Egypt, met with an honourable refusal. At length, a numerous fleet and army were sent to reduce Egypt, by whom the Egyptians were defeated, and their Grecian allies closely besieged in Prosopitis, an island in the Nile. This, their last hold, was taken, after they had long and vigorously resisted, and, though some escaped through Lybia to Cyrene, the greater number were put to the sword. Inarus, betrayed by his own soldiers, was crucified, and the whole of Egypt, with little exception, was compelled once more to submit to the yoke of the Persians.

Expeditions to Cyprus and Egypt.

Egypt reduced by the Persians.

During these disastrous operations in Egypt, the internal dissensions of the Grecian states continued to increase. The alliance with Megara naturally drew on the Athenians the resentment of the Corinthians and their Peloponnesian confederates. At Heliæ, the Athenians were defeated by the united forces of Epidaurus and Corinth; but, shortly after, more than recovered the loss, by completely overthrowing the fleet of their foes, though assisted by the naval power of Ægina. After taking seventy vessels, they landed and laid siege to the capital of the Æginetans, but were prevented from obtaining possession of its fortresses by large succours thrown into them by its allies. While the Athenians were engaged in blockading the town, the Corinthians, hoping to draw them from their main design, invaded the territories of Megara. Instead, however, of raising the siege, the people of Athens sent out a body of new recruits, composed of their old men and inexperienced youths, under Myronides, to repel the invaders. An action

War between Athens and Corinth.

speedily ensued, in which the Athenian troops gained the advantage over their foes, and remained masters of the field. The Corinthians, on their return, being reproached as defeated by adversaries whom they had despised, returned to the place where the battle was fought, and erected a trophy. While they were thus engaged, Myronides sallied from Megara, fell upon them suddenly, threw them into confusion, cut off their retreat, and pursued them with a slaughter so dreadful, that every Corinthian was slain. Ægina held out for some time longer, but was, at length, forced to capitulate, and to submit to the loss of its ships, the demolition of its fortifications, and the imposition of an annual tribute. After these successes, the Athenians began to build the long walls from the city to its ports, to secure to them the full benefit of that great arm of their power, the empire over the seas. B. C. 457.

The war between Doris and Phocis produces hostilities between the Athenians and Spartans.

During the Corinthian war, Sparta had remained inactive, through weakness. She was, however, soon after incited to assist the Dorians, who were regarded with veneration as the first settlers of Peloponnesus, in an attack made upon them from Phocis. In the original object, the Lacedæmonian forces, under Nicomedes, were successful, as they repelled the Phocian invaders, on whom they enjoined terms. But the democratic party, who now directed the affairs of Athens, resolved to oppose the return of Nicomedes to the Laconian borders, which their naval power and their possession of the Megarean territories afforded them the means of effecting. After suffering him to winter in Bœotia, they attacked him in the spring, near Tanagra, and met his troops in a fierce but indecisive action. On the next day, by the aid of the Thessalian horsemen, who deserted from the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians obtained the victory. They, however, pursued the advantage no further than to secure their road homeward, through the regions of Megara, which they devastated in their passage.

Battle of Tanagra.

Successes of Athens.

Notwithstanding this check, the cause of Athens continued to prosper. The Thebans having entered into an alliance with Sparta, were opposed, with great vigour, by Myronides, who defeated them at Œnophyta, took from them Tanagra, and compelled all the towns in Bœotia, except Thebes itself, to submit to the Athenian power. This brave commander next secured Phocis, and terrified the Opuntian Locrians into submission. Nor was the Athenian fleet less successful than its army. Tolmides conducted it in a cruise round Peloponnesus, during which he burnt the naval arsenal of the Lacedæmonians, at Gythium, defeated the people of Sicyon, and took Chalcis. He also collected the Helots, who, after holding Ithōmē for nearly ten years, had surrendered, on condition of leaving the peninsula, and settled them at Naupactus, under the name of Messenians. Thus another state was founded, naturally most hostile to the cause of Sparta, and devoted to that of Athens.

Operations in Thessaly and Peloponnesus.

The Athenians were less successful in Thessaly, into which region they carried their arms, at the request of its exiled prince, Orestes.

B. C. 457. Unaccustomed to contend against cavalry, they were forced, although commanded by Myronides, to retire. This repulse was soon counterbalanced by the success of Periclēs, who, sailing with a squadron for Peloponnesus, defeated the Sicyonians, ravaged the Arcarnanian coast, and returned home with considerable spoils. (See PERICLĒS.)

Recall of Cimon. B. C. 456.

The progress of the internal hostilities of Greece was now, for a short time, happily suspended by the recall of Cimon from banishment, on the proposal of his old antagonist, Periclēs (See CIMON and PERICLĒS). The influence of Cimon with the aristocracy and the Lacedæmonians, ensured, during the residue of his life, concord between the two great powers of Greece and their dependents and allies. To give employment to the citizens, whom continual wars had rendered unfit for the arts and duties of peace, he proposed the reduction of Cyprus. For this island he sailed with a fleet of two hundred galleys, and laid siege to its chief city, Citium. While his army was engaged in the blockade of this place he died of a disease, and with him the hope of Grecian stability and repose expired. After his death his forces retreated, and fought victoriously for a passage to their ships. Having gained them, and joined the relics of the armament which had been so unsuccessful in Egypt, they sailed for Athens. Meanwhile Periclēs restored to the Phocians the custody of the common treasures of Greece, at Delphi, which the government of Sparta had unjustly wrested from them and given to the Delphians.

His expedition to Cyprus.

His death. B. C. 449.

Revolt of the confederates from Athens. B. C. 445.

The death of Cimon was the cause of dissolving the amity which had recently been preserved by the veneration inspired by his character. Megara revolted from the Athenians, but was soon reduced to own their dominion. The Bœotians, who had been subdued by Myronides, threw off the alliance, and made inroads on the neighbouring regions. Against these Tolmides was sent, contrary to the opinion of Periclēs, who expected no benefit from his plans. After taking Chæronea, he was attacked by a numerous force of the insurgents, slain in the action, and all those of his soldiers who survived were taken prisoners. As many of the captives were related to the noblest families of Athens, the government of that city procured their deliverance by ransom, and obtained a treaty, in which they resigned all claim to interference with the Bœotian domains. Eubœa next threw off the yoke of Athens; and, before Periclēs could arrive to quell the insurrection, Megara once more rose against its Athenian masters. Nearly at the same time, the Lacedæmonians, resolving to take advantage of the difficulties which now beset their adversaries, burst, in great force, into Attica, under Pleistonax, their youthful sovereign. Periclēs, however, induced their army to retire, by bribing the tutor and confidential adviser of the inexperienced prince, who having received ten talents for the exertion of his influence, persuaded the king to give up the enterprise. The insurgents of Megara and Eubœa were soon after reduced by Periclēs. That accomplished general, however, perceived the necessity of con-

solidating the Athenian power, which so many dependencies had shown a disposition to oppose. To obtain peace, he consented to resign Nisæa, Pegæ, Achaia, and Trœzēne; to desist from all claim on Bœotia, and to permit every state, hitherto neutral, to enter into an alliance either with Athens or Sparta, according to its free preference. B. C. 457.

Athens now enjoyed repose for six years, under the splendid administration of Periclēs. Although deprived of somewhat of her external influence during the wars, after the death of Cimon, her internal greatness had been progressive, and had now reached its summit, after most rapid advances. The finest of the arts and embellishments of life had there been first developed, and shortly appeared in their fairest perfection. Tragedy, but lately a rude ceremonial, had been elevated by Æschylus to the most heroic dignity, and softened by Sophocles into the most harmonious sweetness. Unhappily, corruption was insensibly making way amidst this throng of noble spirits, too soon to destroy the energies which they lived to inspire. But we cannot dwell on the short-lived greatness of Athens without a feeling of triumph that earth has known a grandeur so stately and a beauty so exquisite, even when those principles of truth and virtue were but imperfectly understood, by which alone they could be rendered lasting.

Truce for thirty years concluded. B. C. 444.

Internal greatness of Athens under Periclēs.

The dissensions continually arising among the smaller republics of Greece offered perpetual temptations to the greater to interfere, for the purposes of extending their own dominion. Thus, after six years of the truce had expired, the Athenians were induced to interfere in behalf of the Milesians, who were engaged in a war with Samos. Notwithstanding the power of Athens, the opposition made by the Samians was long, and the final triumph was not achieved before the Athenians had sustained considerable losses. At first, Periclēs, who on this occasion commanded in person, made an easy conquest of the island, and transferred the government from the nobles to the people; but a new and determined revolt soon after compelled him to return to the attack with increased forces. During a short absence from the investment of Samos, occasioned by false intelligence respecting the approach of the Phœnician navy, that part of his fleet which he had left before the island was destroyed by the Samians. He returned, however, with great vigour to the war, and succeeded in reducing the foe to submission, after a siege of nine months; in which, for the first time, tortoises and battering-rams were employed for the reduction of hostile fortresses.

The Samian war. B. C. 440.

This fiercely-contested struggle served to inflame those animosities which were shortly to incite all the Grecian states to engage in a domestic warfare, in which all their glories were destined to perish. Another cause of provocation arose in a war between Corcyra and Corinth, which took place in consequence of the interference of the latter to settle disputes at Epidamnum, a colony of the former. The Corcyrians, though victorious, fearing the naval power of their foes,

War between Corinth and Corcyra.

B. C. 440. entreated the assistance of Athens; and the Corinthians, at the same time, sent deputies thither to oppose the request of their foes. Both parties were admitted formally to plead their cause before the people, which they did, in the elaborate orations which Thucydides has left us. In this negotiation, the Corcyrians were in some measure successful, since they obtained a defensive alliance with Athens, and some naval succours to assist them. With these they engaged with the Corinthian fleet in a naval action, in which neither party obtained a decisive victory. A fresh squadron having arrived from Athens, intimidated the Corinthians from renewing the battle though urged on by their foes; and the Athenians, not wishing further to irritate them, suffered them to retire without injury. Each party erected a trophy, and the war ended with no other result than that of increasing the feuds among the Greeks, and strengthening the feeling of hostility which numbers of them cherished against the Athenians.

Naval action.
B. C. 436.

War respecting Potidæa.

Another cause of irritation afterwards arose in consequence of the intrigues of Perdiccas, king of Macedon. This artful prince was desirous of inciting Corinth to war with Athens, in order that the latter state might be unable to continue its opposition to his ambitious designs against two neighbouring princes, his relatives, to whom it had extended its protection.

Fortunately for his purpose, Potidæa, a city within the borders of Macedon, now a dependency of Athens, had originally been built by Corinthian emigrants. This town he now offered to restore to Corinth, its mother-country, in expectation of the resentment such a step would occasion. Before he could execute his design, the Athenians received information respecting it, and sent to the Potidæans, requiring that they would demolish their walls, give hostages for their fidelity, and dismiss their Corinthian magistrates. Having in vain attempted to obtain a remission of these orders, the Potidæans openly revolted, and were shortly after joined by the Chalcidians and Bottiæans, with whom they concluded a treaty. The Corinthians sent a considerable force, under Aristæus, to assist them; and Perdiccas gave them aid, by his troops and his councils. To oppose this combination, the Athenians despatched first Archestratus, and afterwards Callias, with naval and military forces, who succeeded in compelling the enemy to take refuge within Potidæa, before which he himself encamped. Aristæus, however, found means to escape to Olynthus, and thence sent despatches to Corinth to entreat fresh succours, without which the city must be taken.

Sparta roused to oppose Athens.
B. C. 432.

The Corinthians were now indefatigable in stirring up a confederacy against Athens. The people of Ægina, who panted to be freed from subjection to them, were active in inflaming the resentments which the Corinthians had excited. All the foes of Athens applied eagerly to Sparta to take the lead in the general cause. These, at a public assembly convened at Lacedæmon brought forward their charges, which the Corinthians most vehemently supported. Ambassadors from Athens,

accidentally in the city, were admitted to hear and answer them. They B. C. 432.
disdained, however, to acknowledge that the tribunal was competent to judge the conduct of their republic, and offered to yield to the mode of decision, pointed out in cases of dispute, by the existing league. After all parties had withdrawn, warm discussions ensued among the Spartans on the great question of peace or war; but on a division a large majority voted for the contest. Another general assembly was, however, deemed requisite before further steps were hazarded, where the larger part, urged by the Corinthians, again declared for war. But the confederates were compelled to seek delay. An embassy was sent to Athens, under pretence of requiring the exile of all the descendants of those who were concerned in a pollution, which had been incurred by some with whom the family of Periclēs was connected. This was met by a demand for a similar purgation of the sacrilegious guilt incurred by the Spartans, in the death of Pausanias and the execution of the Helots, who had been forced from the altar of Poseidōn. After this solemn trifling, requisitions were made by the Lacedæmonians that the Athenians should raise the siege of Potidæa, open their ports to the Megareans and renounce all dominion over the states of Greece. The Athenians, animated by the eloquent harangues of Periclēs, returned for answer, that they would repeal their restrictions on the Megarean commerce, if the Peloponnesians would open their ports to them and their allies: that they would resign all authority over their dependencies, if the Spartans would do the same; and that they would submit all other points in dispute to a judicial determination, according to the treaty by which the truce had been protected. These terms were, as was anticipated, refused; and all parties prepared with great earnestness for the approaching struggle.

Summary of the first two years of the war.

As, in the life of Periclēs, we have related the chief events of the Peloponnesian wars which occurred until the death of that illustrious Athenian, we shall here only give such an outline of them as may be necessary to preserve the connection of the history. Before the principal states were ready for the contest, hostilities were commenced by an attempt of the Thebans to seize the small but heroic town of Platæa, B. C. 431.
which had always been distinguished for its fidelity to the Athenian cause. This attempt was attended with failure, and its circumstances, especially the conduct of the Platæans in putting their prisoners to death, tended to heighten every hostile feeling, and render the contest more obstinate and more savage. The Peloponnesians, shortly after, advanced into Attica, and laid waste its fields and villages, while the Athenians, following the councils of Periclēs, persisted in declining a battle. They sent, however, a fleet to revenge the injuries committed on their soil, by devastating the coasts of Peloponnesus, which took Thorisson and Ægina, and secured the latter by placing in it an Athenian colony. At length Archidāmus, the Spartan king, retreated, and Periclēs sallied forth and plundered Megara. In the following year, Plague at Athens.
the pestilence bringing confusion with it, enfeebled and distracted

B. C. 430. Athens, while the enemy again advanced to insult and defy its citizens. An expedition against Chalcis and Potidæa proved disastrous, in consequence of the ravages of the plague, which destroyed the flower of the soldiery. Maddened by these calamities, the people rebelled against their great leader, inflicted on him a fine of eighty talents, and dismissed him from his offices of power.

Domestic afflictions, added to his public disgrace, seemed to fill up the cup of human wretchedness. He was, however, soon recalled to the helm of government for the short remainder of his days. Meanwhile, the Lacedæmonians ravaged the isle of Zacynthus, and the siege of Potidæa terminated by its surrender to the Athenians. Periclēs, soon after this success, expired through the influence of the disease which had rendered his house and the city desolate. The best hopes of Athens perished with him.

Death of Periclēs.

B. C. 429.

Third year of the war.

Unable to make any impression on Athens, or to incite its citizens to a battle, the Peloponnesians, under Archidāmus, turned their arms against the Platæans. They hoped by this course to bring some of the Athenian forces to the relief of their faithful allies, and thus to compel them to risk an engagement which hitherto they had carefully avoided. They first, however, offered to withdraw, on receiving the promise of the Platæans to remain neutral. The citizens were desirous of accepting this offer; but, as they had pledged themselves to the cause of the Athenians, who were now protecting their wives and children, they thought it necessary to consult them on the measures which they should pursue. In answer to the application, they were desired to refuse the terms, and promised assistance. On this, they immediately, from their walls, informed the Lacedæmonians that it was out of their power to accept their proposals. Archidāmus, when he heard this reply, solemnly invoked the gods to witness that the league was broken voluntarily by the citizens of Platæa, and prepared vigorously to besiege the city. Although the whole garrison consisted only of four hundred Platæans, eighty Athenians, and a hundred and ten women to prepare food, the siege which followed the rejection of the conditions, is one of the most renowned in the annals of war. The Spartans began by surrounding the town with a palisade, and building a pile from whence they could make an assault on the fortresses. These works, for which they procured the materials from Mount Cithæron, occupied seventy days. Meanwhile the besieged threw up a framework from their walls, opposite to the mound, behind which they constructed a rampart of equal altitude. Finding, however, that they could not continue this work to a greater height without endangering its stability, they broke through the wall against which the mound was erected, and removed the earth which constituted its foundation. For some time this scheme was undiscovered by the Lacedæmonians; but, at length, perceiving that their work, though continually supplied, made no progress, they enclosed the earth in basket-work, which the enemy could not destroy. On this precaution, the Platæans undermined the work, and built an additional

Siege of Platæa.

wall in the form of a crescent, to shield them if the outer fortification should be taken. At length the besiegers commenced the assault with battering rams, one of which placed on their mount shook the structure on the rampart, while the others were employed against various parts of the fortresses. These engines were disordered and broken by ropes let down from above, and fragments of rocks hurled on them by the Platæans. Every means of attack was tried by the besiegers, and rendered futile by the courage and skill of their foes. At length the Spartans tried by stupendous masses of wood, dipped in sulphur, to set fire to the town; but a tempest of rain and thunder delivered it from this imminent peril. Finding all their efforts to take the city by force in vain, the besiegers had recourse to a blockade. For more than eighteen months this heroic town continued to defy them. After the expiration of this period, as the garrison seemed likely soon to be destitute of provisions, Eupompidas, its governor, formed the bold design of escaping with his whole company. Only two hundred and twenty, however, persevered in the execution of the heroic plan. With these, in a dark and stormy night, he left the town, crossed the ditch, and advanced with ladders to the wall of circumvallation. In the middle of the space between the two turrets, six light-armed soldiers mounted silently, gained the parapet unperceived, and waited for their companions. Others hastened to support them, and numbers had ascended, or were climbing, when the fall of a tile from a battlement roused the troops from their slumbers. Darkness, however, still favoured the Platæans, and their friends within the town, by a feigned attack on the fortifications, diverted the attention of the enemy. Meanwhile the party who had at first gained the summit, had forced the towers on each side, and by the discharge of missile weapons, prevented any from approaching to obstruct the ascent of their companions. All, as they mounted, formed in regular line, and united with those on the turrets in protecting the passage until the whole had ascended, when they drew up the ladders, and descended in good order from the opposite battlements. In passing the ditch much confusion arose, during which the enemy's guard approached them. Missile weapons, however, still availed them: they arrived in safety on the banks, and struck off instantly into the road towards Thebes, being the direction which the Spartans would least expect them to pursue. They judged rightly: the besiegers sought them along the Athenian road, as they perceived by the light of their line of torches. The heroic band soon changed their course, reached the passes of the mountains, and, with the loss of only one taken prisoner in the ascent, arrived in triumph at Athens. A different fate was reserved for the residue of the garrison who had declined the perilous enterprise. In the third year of the siege, reduced to the extremity of suffering by hunger, they accepted a proposal of the Lacedæmonians for their surrender, on condition, "that only the guilty should be punished, and even those not without trial." When, however, they came to this trial, the only question asked of

B. C. 429.

The Spartans blockade Platæa.

Part of the Platæans escape.

Massacre of the residue.

B. C. 429. Massacre of the Platæans.

them was, "Whether, during the war, they had done any service to the Lacedæmonians or their allies?" Perceiving that this demand was only made in order to afford a pretext for their destruction, they urged their strong and unanswerable claims on the mercy and the justice of their foes. They alluded to their great services in the common cause against the Persian invaders; after which these temples, now devoted to ruin, had been dedicated to that grateful worship which the Platæans were selected to perform. They urged that in seeking the alliance of Athens, they had only followed the councils of Sparta, who had declined receiving them under her protection, and that having once joined the Athenian cause, they could not without infamy forsake it. They reminded the Lacedæmonians of the assistance they had rendered to them when reduced to the deepest misery by the earthquake and the rebellion of their slaves. They, at least, asserted a right, if the terms of the capitulation were thus to be distorted, to be restored to the city which they had been induced to leave, that there they might choose their own means of perishing. The appeal was made in vain. The Thebans, the inexorable foes of the Platæans, incited the Spartans to the murder of their captives. The absurd question originally asked was repeated to each in succession; and as all answered it in the negative, they were, one after the other, led out to the slaughter. A deed at once so mean and so atrocious was worthy only of the masters of the Helots, and can be accounted for alone by an education in which fierce and harsh emotions seem to have been inspired even by their mothers!

Defeat of Xenophon.

During the protracted siege of Platæa, the war was vigorously prosecuted in other regions, both by sea and by land. The Athenians, under Xenophon the son of Euripides, were defeated in Chalcidicē, the general and four hundred citizens slain, and the rest of the army forced to return to Athens.

Victories of the Acarnanians.

In Acarnania, on the other hand, the Athenian cause was crowned with success. The people of Ambracia having united in the cause of the Spartans, laid plans for the conquest of Acarnania, and the reduction of Zacynthus, Cephalenia, and Naupactus; by which they would prevent the Athenian fleets from cruising in the western seas, and making incursions on the Peloponnesian shores. In the commencement of the operations for this purpose, they were joined by bands of the allies, and a number of Spartans led by Cnemus. Part of the army marching in confusion were attacked near Stratus with so great an effect, that Cnemus found it necessary to retire.

Victories of Phormion.

Phormion, meantime, with only twenty Athenian galleys, gained a most brilliant victory over the Corinthian fleet of forty-seven ships, by a union of the most consummate skill, with the most determined valour. But finding that his adversaries, by using the utmost exertion to repair their loss, had collected a fleet of seventy-seven vessels, he sent to Athens for an addition to his squadron. Instead of directing a reinforcement immediately to join him, the rulers at Athens, now influenced by Nicias, suffered the forces intended for his aid to make a descent on Crete in their way, where they only acquired plunder, and were detained by

contrary winds. Phormion, however, while they thus delayed to join him, gained some wonderful advantages over the hostile fleet, which was almost four times as numerous as his own. The Spartan commanders thus unsuccessful, resolved to attempt the redemption of their fame by an effort to surprise the port of Piræus itself, now left unguarded. They accordingly sailed from Nisæa with forty galleys, and would have succeeded, had not a contrary wind delayed their course, and induced them to land at Salamis. Hence, after taking spoils and a few prisoners, they returned to Nisæa, having given the Athenians a salutary lesson to keep an adequate guard for the defence of their harbour, on the safety of which their whole power rested. B. C. 429.

Thracian expedition.

During the winter, Sitalces, king of Thrace, with whom the Athenians were in alliance, excited great alarm by his irruption with an immense army into Macedon, to wrest the throne from Perdiccas, and bestow it on Philip his nephew. These movements, however, soon terminated in an accommodation, and the Thracians returned home without disturbing Greece. In the following autumn, the confederates invaded Attica; and, although they speedily retired, greatly damaged the ripening corn, and thus added to the internal distresses of Athens. That ill-fated city had now no Periclēs nor Cimon to direct its councils. Over these, Nicias and Cleon attained the chief influence: the first, generous, mild, of excellent disposition, and of elegant taste, but diffident and wavering; the latter, coarse, bold, and sarcastic, where eloquence chiefly swayed the lowest of the people. The decisive folly and imposing rashness of the latter, too often, as might be expected, prevailed over the calm wisdom of the former, which had firmness to support it. Great difficulties were experienced in raising supplies for the support of the war, which were obviated for a time by the expedient of raising a sum of four hundred talents by the contributions of the citizens.

State of Athens.

Characters of Nicias and Cleon.

Revolt of Mitylene. B. C. 428.

While Athens was distracted by famine, disease, and misrule, news arrived that Mitylene had revolted, and that Attica was threatened with another invasion. This intelligence aroused the Athenians to put forth their utmost exertions. The rebellious city was invested; Ascepius, son of Phormion, was employed in a diversion on the Peloponnesian shores; and a fleet of a hundred galleys was manned, and sent out to intimidate the confederates. Salæthus, a Lacedæmonian emissary, having found means to enter Mitylene, distributed arms to the lower class of citizens, with a view to a more vigorous defence against the besiegers; newly-armed citizens, however, turned their power against their generals, whom they soon forced to capitulate, on terms which placed the people at the mercy of Athens. Paches, the Athenian admiral, having taken Notium, and treacherously caused Hippias, the general of the Arcadian forces, to be slain, returned to Lesbos, and sent Salæthus, and other chiefs, to Athens as prisoners. On their arrival, the people ordered the immediate execution of the Spartans; and, incited by the harangues of Cleon, despatched orders to Mitylene, commanding that B. C. 427.

B. C. 427. all its males should be put to death, and its women and children reduced to slavery. The next day, however, Diodorus, the son of Eucratēs, succeeded in procuring a countermand to be issued, and his messengers happily arrived just in time to prevent the massacre.

Dreadful contentions in Corcyra.

Corcyra, which had been the immediate cause of the war, now became the scene of most tragical events, occasioned by a contest between the aristocratic party, who yet favoured Corinth, and the democratic body, who were devoted to the Athenians. The nobles, at first, succeeded in procuring a declaration of neutrality; but venturing to accuse Pithias, the leader of the opposite cause, and failing to convict him, five of them became in their turn objects of prosecution, on the charge of having cut stakes in the sacred groves, which subjected them to severe pecuniary fines. Unable to pay the penalty, they fled, and Pithias, now master of the council, proposed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Athens. Rendered desperate by this change in affairs, the five nobles left the altars where they had taken refuge, rushed with arms into the place of public deliberation, and, taking advantage of the surprise of the assembly, murdered Pithias and sixty of his associates. Sallying from these murders into the city, they re-established their power over citizens petrified with fear and wonder. But a civil war shortly ensued, in which the nobles were the popular party, joined by the slaves, and by auxiliaries from Epirus. The hostile bands came to a terrible engagement in the ports and the city, in which the women, inspired with the general fury, hurled down tiles and stones from the tops of houses on their enemies. In this combat, the aristocratical party was defeated, and only escaped to the port and arsenal, which they held, by setting fire to the buildings, the flames of which spread with tremendous fury. The next morning they were deserted by their allies, and saw no hope of being delivered from the hands of their infuriated countrymen. While affairs were in this condition, Nicostratus, commander of the Athenian fleet at Naupactus, arrived; and, while he restored the democratic goverment with great moderation and address, procured for the despairing nobles an indemnity, and the liberty of enjoying their rights as citizens. Fresh disturbances, however, arose from the distrust of the aristocratical party, and the resentment of the suspicion by the popular leaders. Four hundred of the oligarchical faction took refuge in the temple of Hērē, which they quitted on the oaths of the citizens to spare them, and retired to a neigbouring island; but soon after a Peloponnesian fleet, under Alcidas, appeared, and the suppliants, to prevent their co-operation with that commander, were removed to the sanctuary which they had quitted. An engagement ensued between the hostile armaments, in which the Peloponnesians gained an advantage, though, by the skill of the Athenian commander, it was prevented from becoming decisive. Alcidas, destitute of energy to improve his success, merely ravaged the fields of Leucimnē; and on the approach of a fresh Athenian fleet, under Eurymedon, retreated. This commander having arrived, and Nicostratus having left the station for

Naupactus, the democratic party at Corcyra gave vent to their fierce desires of vengeance. They caused their fleet to pass from one of their ports to the other, and threw into the sea all the crew who favoured the oligarchical faction. They then commenced a dreadful massacre in the city. For seven days they were employed in searching for and destroying their foes. The suppliants only, who had taken residence in the temples, protracted a miserable existence a little longer. Some were induced to leave the sanctuaries by hunger, and promises of a trial; but they were immediately condemned and slain. Others saw a wall built round their place of refuge, to immure them while living, in the grave. Those who remained killed each other, or hung themselves in the sacred groves, to escape the lingering horrors which threatened them. Meanwhile, Eurymedon lay with his fleet in the harbour, the quiet and guilty spectator of the accursed scene. Even yet the miseries of Corcyra were not ended. Five hundred of the aristocratical party who escaped, harassed it from the opposite coasts; and, at length, invaded its fields, fortified a castle among the mountains, and thence making incursions on the country, made it experience all the miseries of a ferocious domestic warfare.

B. C. 427. Slaughter at Corcyra.

In the sixth year of the war, the affairs of the Athenians seemed at first to decline. The pestilence, after two years' intermission, again ravaged their city. Demosthenes, with a fleet of thirty ships, was sent to Naupactus, and after gaining some advantages in the Leucadian territory, he was induced to employ his force on an expedition against the Ætolians, by whom he was completely defeated near Ægitium. This misfortune was followed by the declaration of the Orgilian Locrians for the Spartan cause. But Demosthenes soon retrieved his ill success, by procuring a force from Acarnania and Amphilochia, and putting to rout the army of the Ambracians, commanded by Spartan leaders. Two of the hostile generals, Eurylochus and Macarius, fell in the battle. The conquering Athenian pursued his advantage, surprised detachments of the Ambracians near Olpæ, who were ignorant of the previous defeat, and cut them off with tremendous slaughter. After thus restoring the Athenian power in the west, the victorious general returned in triumph to Athens.

Sixth year of the war.

Battles of Demosthenes in the west.

The Athenians now began to project the conquest of Sicily, and sent forty ships thither with Eurymedon and Sophocles, desiring them, in their course, to relieve the democratic party in Corcyra, who were now hard pressed by their domestic foes. With these commanders they permitted Demosthenes to sail, without any nominal office, but with authority to exercise a control over the proceedings. He was anxious to execute a plan for fortifying Pylus, a deserted port of Messenia, and fixing there a garrison of Messenians, from Naupactus. The troops refused, however, to delay their progress, but were soon compelled, by a storm, to take refuge in the harbour. While they remained here, the soldiers, for their amusement, threw up fortifications, which they had refused to erect at the request of Demosthenes. As

Transactions at, and defence of, Pylus.

B. C. 425.

B. C. 429. soon as the work was completed, he determined to remain there, with five galleys, which were allowed him for his defence. Here he was soon besieged by the Lacedæmonians, whom he gallantly repulsed, though they were commanded by the celebrated Brasidas. Thus baffled, the Spartans turned the siege of Pylus into a blockade, and regularly invested it. Meanwhile, Eurymedon arrived to relieve it, and entering the harbour, defeated the fleet of the besiegers. At this time, 420 Spartans, with Helots, who had been chosen by lot from the troops, were in possession of Sphacteria, an island at the mouth of the harbour. These, in their turn, were now surrounded by naval forces, from which there appeared no hope of escaping. Alarmed at the danger of some of the most illustrious of the citizens, the magistrates of Sparta came to the camp, and perceiving that no other hope of their deliverance was left, opened negotiations with the Athenians. A truce was granted by the generals, but not ratified by the Athenian people, who were instigated to reject the accommodation by the persuasions of Cleon. Nicias was sent to join the forces of Pylus, and aided by Demosthenes, he was successful. After a brave resistance, the isle of Sphacteria was taken, and all the Spartans who survived made prisoners. The commanders, except Eurymedon, who proceeded to Corcyra, returned to Athens with the captives, who ordered them to be kept in chains, with a threat that they should be put to death in case of an invasion of Attica by their countrymen.

Successes of Athens.

The Athenian ascendancy continued for some time rapidly to increase. Nicias made a descent on the shores of Corinth, and returned with his spoils. Anactorium was taken by the Athenian force at Naupactus, and the inhabitants expelled from their possessions. In the following spring, the isle of Cythēra, governed by Spartan magistrates, and defended by Spartan soldiers, yielded to Autocles and Nicias. Thyrea, to which the remaining Æginetans had retired, was burnt, great part of its inhabitants slain, and the survivors, by a ferocious decree, led out to slaughter. Meanwhile, the war in Corcyra was terminated with a catastrophe worthy of its origin. Eurymedon and Sophocles surrounded the remaining aristocrats, and compelled them to surrender. The prisoners were placed, for a time, in the island of Ptychia, on condition that if any escaped, the whole should forfeit their claim to mercy. Thirsting for their blood, the democratic party persuaded them to attempt an escape, by which they broke the terms of capitulation, and subjected themselves to the vengeance of the Athenian commanders. They were then delivered to their infamous deceivers, who, having first shut them up in one edifice, called on them to pass from it, one by one, through their ranks, and stabbed them as they passed, each selecting the object of his peculiar hatred for his victim. After sixty had been thus butchered, the rest closed the entrance of the house, and refused to leave it. Their foes then unroofed the building, and poured missile weapons on them from above, while they remained totally defenceless. Those who

Termination of the contest in Corcyra.

endured the misery of surviving this work of horror, killed themselves during the night; so that, in the morning, when the murderers entered the scene of their expected revenge, they found only the lifeless bodies of the captives, whom death had released from their fury. B. C. 425.

The Spartan affairs improved by Brasidas.

The Spartan affairs now seemed reduced to a state of hopelessness, and the cause of Athens to be, in all parts, triumphant. The hopes of Sparta, however, were soon revived by the courage, spirit, and virtue of Brasidas, who appears to have been endowed with the virtues without the vices peculiar to the Lacedæmonian character. He had already distinguished himself rather by merit than fortune, at the siege of Pylus. By his valour and policy he now procured the return of Megara to the alliance of Sparta, after it had revolted to the Athenians. He next, with a band of scarcely 5,000 men, marched into Thrace and Macedonia, procuring by his skill and power of conciliation, a safe passage through the hostile regions of Thessaly. By his policy he procured the accession of Arribæus, king of Lyncestis, to the Spartan alliance. Next, in conjunction with Perdiccas, he marched to Acanthus, and being singly admitted into the city, won the people by his eloquence, to revolt from Athens, and form a treaty with him. Shortly after, he procured the citizens of Stageirus to declare for the Spartans. The important city of Amphipolis, commanding a rich territory and a noble river, was surrendered to him on his promise to respect the properties of the people, and allow to such as chose to retire, five days for their departure. Thucydidēs, the historian, came too late to relieve this port, but succeeded in preventing the seizure of Eion, a port at the mouth of the river. Notwithstanding the great success of Brasidas, he was regarded with so much envy at Sparta, that the government there refused his application for an increase of his forces. He still, however, continued his exertions with unabated vigour. All the cities of Acte, except Sane and Dium, yielded to his arms. He took Torone, one of the chief Chalcidian sea-ports, and became master of the neighbouring fortress of Lecythus, while the Athenians, attempting to revolutionize Bœotia, were completely defeated by the people of that territory, at Delium. These fluctuations of fortune inclined the Athenians to pacific measures, and they agreed to a truce for a year, on the terms that each party should keep what it had acquired, and that the dominion over the seas should be conceded to Athens.

Battle of Delium. B. C. 424.

Truce for a year.

Operations in Thrace.

This arrangement did not completely suspend the hostilities of the two rival republics. Before it was known in Thrace, Brasidas had succeeded in disconnecting Scione from the Athenian cause; on which, the citizens of Athens, by the instigation of Cleon, passed a decree, that the town should be invested, and all its inhabitants destroyed. Shortly after this event, the Spartan chief being deserted by his Macedonian allies, was compelled to retire; but conducted his retreat in so masterly a manner, that it became almost a victory.

Meanwhile Cleon had obtained the chief direction of affairs at

B. C. 424. Athens. He imputed the reverse of fortune which their arms had recently experienced to the vengeance of the gods, on account of a deficiency in purifying the consecrated isle of Delos, and urged them to expel thence all its unoffending inhabitants, and to appease heaven by solemn lustrations. The design was executed; and the Delians, forced from their homes, found an asylum on the Æolian coast, through the charity of the Persian satrap Pharnacēs. Cleon was now, however, attacked by a masterly hand. Aristophanes dared to hold him up to ridicule, in the play of *The Knights;* in which, from the fears of the actors, the poet himself was obliged to perform the character intended for Cleon. The hazardous attempt was completely successful. Popular odium immediately fell on the object of this most caustic satire. His foes took advantage of the common feeling, to prefer a charge against him of secreting the public treasures, upon which he was convicted, and fined five talents. But the feebleness of his public opponent Nicias, and his own singular boldness, soon restored him to his wonted power. He caused all proposals tending to peace to be rejected, and a formidable expedition to be sent into Thrace, of which he himself took the command, sailing, with the flower of the Athenian youth, for the scene of action. On his first arrival, he succeeded, during the absence of Brasidas, in taking Torone by surprise. But he was far indeed from possessing ability to oppose the Spartan commander. The skill of Brasidas compelled him reluctantly to engage in a general battle near Amphipolis, in which he was defeated and slain. The conqueror also fell mortally wounded in the action, and only lived to hear that his army was victorious. His death was not only a great disaster to Sparta, but also to all the Grecian republics. His personal bravery was only equalled by his skill and wisdom, while his humanity towards prisoners affords a refreshing contrast to the usual conduct of his own countrymen, and of their foes. He was buried in Amphipolis, where the place of his sepulchre was ever regarded as sacred. A monument was erected over his ashes, and solemn honours were decreed to be every year paid to his memory.

Cleon advises the expulsion of the Delians.

Cleon satirized by Aristophanes.

Fined.

Appointed to command in Thrace.

Cleon defeated and slain.

Death and character of Brasidas B. C. 422.

Peace between Athens and Sparta. B. C. 421.

The chief obstacle to peace was removed by the death of Cleon. Sparta was inclined to repose, by the loss of the ablest of her generals, and Nicias had the satisfaction of concluding a general treaty. By this arrangement, Sparta resigned Amphipolis without conditions, agreed that Acanthus, Stageirus, Scolus, Argilus, Spactolus, and Olynthus, should be suffered to join in the Athenian league, and agreed to procure the restoration of Panactum, which had been taken by the Bœotians. Athens consented to restore Pylus and the surrounding country, Cythera, Methone, Pteleum, and Atalanta to her rival. All prisoners were to be set at liberty without ransom. The garrison of Scione was to leave its fortress, and the people to be left to the mercy of the Athenians. Against these terms, the Bœotians, Corinthians, Eleians, and Megareans protested, but they met with the concurrence

of a majority of the allies of Sparta. The treaty was confirmed by solemn sacrifices. Columns were erected at Olympia, at Delphi, at the Isthmus, in the citadel of Athens, and in the Amyclæum of Sparta, as monuments and pledges of the apparently felicitous union of the hostile powers. B. C. 421.

But the treaty thus concluded was not likely to be lasting. While it gave satisfaction to the two great contending powers, it left the smaller states occasion for murmuring. The Corinthians, who had originally fomented the war, were indignant that it should be brought to such a conclusion, and finding they had no hopes of altering the disposition of the Lacedæmonians, determined on soliciting the aid of Argos. A league was speedily formed, in which Argos, Corinth, Mantinæa, and Elis were the leading members. Meanwhile, jealousies were excited between Athens and Sparta, in consequence of the inability of the latter to fulfil the stipulations of the treaty. The garrison, after some hesitation, was withdrawn from Amphipolis; but the people of that city protested against the transfer. The Bœotians declined to restore Panactum, and when they, at length, agreed to evacuate its fortresses, destroyed them, and left them in ruins. Athens, on the other hand, insisted on holding Pylus, as a pledge for the performance of the still unexecuted conditions. At the earnest request of the Spartans, however, they consented to withdraw the Helots and Messenians from it, who were necessarily and peculiarly offensive to their neighbours, and suffered the Athenians alone to possess it. In taking possession of Scione, the citizens of Athens once more stained their reputation with a deed of horror, by sentencing to the sword all the men surrendered to their mercy, and reducing women and children to the condition of slaves. On the other hand, conceiving that they had incurred the displeasure of heaven by the expulsion of the Delians, they restored them all to their possessions. Argive league.

The new confederacy, of which Argos was the head, opened no small field for intrigues throughout Greece. A change of administration at Sparta had nearly given the whole weight to the Lacedæmonians, and placed them at the head of their old confederates, with the important addition of the Argives. But the accomplishment of this scheme, which would have necessarily been destructive to the Athenian preponderance, was prevented by a great stroke of policy, the author of which was Alcibiadēs. He perceived that the Argives had altogether mistaken the real state of parties in making their hasty alliance with Lacedæmon, and that they might easily be awakened to a perception of their error. He had personal friends at Argos, whom he so effectually employed, that deputies from that city, as well as from Mantinæa and Elis, shortly arrived in Attica to negotiate a general league. Alarmed at this circumstance, the Lacedæmonians sent an embassy to Athens, to remonstrate against the measure, which would place their rival precisely in the situation they had aspired to occupy. The ambassadors were entrusted with full powers, and declared their Athenian confederacy. B. C. 420.

B. C. 420. commission to be thus extensive in their interview with the council. Alcibiadēs persuaded them to contradict themselves in the general assembly of the people, and to affirm that their instructions only allowed them to agree to certain specific conditions. He then turned against them the treachery he had prompted, and thus threw discredit on their mission, and the national character of their masters. Although an embassy was sent to Lacedæmon, on the advice of Nicias, in which that pacific negociator was included, it returned without success, as the terms demanded by Athens could not be complied with by her rival. Alcibiadēs then succeeded in his utmost wish; an alliance was concluded with Argos and Elis for a hundred years; and Athens became the head of a confederacy, in which the leading states of the Peloponnesus itself were included.

War between Argos and Sparta.

This event did not, however, occasion the renewal of direct hostilities between Athens and Sparta. The treaty between these states continued nominally in force, although, by both parties, it had been virtually broken. But war between the Lacedæmonians and the Argives soon arose in consequence of the recent league, and a dispute between the people of Elis and Sparta, contributed to heighten the animosities which already existed. The people of Lepreum having refused to pay the accustomed tribute to the Eleans, appealed to Sparta, and were declared by the latter free, and protected by a Lacedæmonian force. This conduct the Eleans had never forgiven. They now, as presiding over the Olympic festival, accused the Spartans of adopting hostile proceedings after the conclusion of the armistice, and procured them to be amerced in a fine of two thousand minæ. The Lacedæmonians refused either to pay the sum, or to restore Lepreum; on which the Eleans excluded them from partaking in the solemn games, of which they were the directors. A Spartan, however, named Leichas, being desirous of contending in the chariot race, caused a chariot to be entered on the lists, as belonging to the Bœotians, and, under this disguise, obtained one of the prizes. On this success, his vanity would not allow him to keep the secret, and he stepped forward to crown the victorious driver with a chaplet. His boldness was checked by a blow from one of the officers, who, in the execution of their duty, knew no distinction of persons. This insult passed unrevenged at the time, but it was not of a nature to be forgotten. Sparta, thus incited, was, at length, aroused to open war by the oppression of her faithful allies, the Epidaureans, whom the Argives, on the most frivolous pretences, had invaded. Agis, with a considerable force of citizens and Helots, took the field about the middle of the summer, when he was joined by the Tegæans, by a large force of Bœotians, by considerable bands from Corinth, and by a number of recruits from Sicyon, Epidaurus, Megara, and Pallēnē. The Argives were supported by the troops of their allies, the people of Mantinæa and Elis.

The movements of Agis brought his adversaries into a situation, in

which it appeared impossible that they should escape destruction. B. C. 420.
But from this peril they were extricated by the bold determination of Thrasyllus, and Alciphon, Argives of high rank, who went unattended to the tent of the Spartan king, and pledged themselves to induce their countrymen to join in the Spartan alliance. They succeeded in their mission; a truce for four months was proclaimed, and Agis retreated. So little, however, were the Argives aware of the danger they had escaped, that they accused Thrasyllus of treason, in having deprived them of a certain conquest over their foes. They confiscated his estate, and only spared his life from reverence for an altar, to which he had fled for protection. Soon after the retreat of the Spartans, a thousand Athenian infantry, and three hundred cavalry, under the command of Nicostratus and Laches, arrived at Argos.

Truce between Argos and Sparta.

The conduct of Agis in permitting the foe to escape him, naturally drew on him the censures of the Spartans. They were on the point of condemning him to the payment of a heavy fine, and the destruction of his house, when he entreated the opportunity of effacing the stain cast on him, by again leading the army. His request was granted, and he took the command; but, with the aid of ten councillors, without whose concurrence he was not to lead his troops beyond the Spartan boundaries.

The Eleans now urged the allies to recover Lepreum, but they preferred attempting to gain possession of Tegæa, which so offended the soldiers sent from Elis that they peaceably retired to their own city. Tegæa was soon protected with a force which rendered the design of the allies abortive, and the Spartan army advanced into the territory of the Mantinæans.

The armies now encamped within sight of each other, the Argives occupying the most advantageous position, from which Agis desired to draw them. For this purpose he diverted a stream which descended from the mountains, so as to cause it to overflow the country. Believing, however, that they were resolved to maintain the situation they occupied, he was returning towards the hills, when he met them in order of battle. So admirable was the Lacedæmonian discipline, that his troops, although taken entirely by surprise, formed instantly, and marched slowly on, in perfect phalanx, to the sound of their solemn but inspiring music. Their firm and deliberate valour was successful, the Argive and allied forces were completely defeated, and this brilliant success restored the Lacedæmonian character in Greece, and with it that power which character alone can bestow among an energetic and thinking people.

Battle of Mantinæa. B. C. 418.

The immediate consequence of the battle of Mantinæa, was to transfer the government of Argos from the people to an oligarchy, and to cause its defection from the alliance with Athens. A treaty was concluded between the Argives and Spartans, and the Mantinæans soon after yielded to the victors. Thus, all the hopes of Athens resulting from the new confederacy were destroyed, and her rival ad-

Consequence of the battle. B. C. 417.

B. C. 417. vanced in glory and in strength. But the chiefs of Lacedæmon were unequal to the improvement of their successes. A second revolution soon took place in Argos, which caused the restoration of the people to their rights, and the expulsion of the nobles. Alcibiadēs personally assisted in completing this change. Yet the Spartans remained inactive: they suffered the Athenians to invade and subdue their allies, the Melians, without offering them the least assistance; and after the surrender of Melos, the Athenians, with savage cruelty, put to death all the men capable of bearing arms, and reduced the women and children to slavery.

The Sicilian expedition projected.

While the Lacedæmonians remained thus torpid, the Athenians were elated with brilliant hopes of extended conquest, which proved eventually more injurious than any inactivity which might have paralyzed their energies. Dreams of the conquest of Sicily, and even of yet more extended fields of glory and spoil, were now enticing them to their ruin. They had, in the course of the war, sent naval forces to aid the Leontines against the Syracusans; but these expeditions had been planned with little interest, and attended with little success. The restless ambition and high spirit of enterprise of Alcibiadēs, incited by the magnificent idea of conquering Sicily, imparted a new feeling to his fellow-citizens. An application from the people of Egesta, against the Saluntines and Syracusans, was the immediate occasion of the splendid and fatal visions with which the Athenians were deluded. The Egestans sent an embassy to Athens, representing themselves possessed of the most ample treasures to defray the expenses of warfare. To ascertain the truth of this declaration, ambassadors were sent to Egesta, who returned with sixty talents in silver, and the most brilliant tales concerning the wealth which they had inspected. In vain did Nicias remonstrate; the expedition was resolved on; sixty galleys were ordered to be made ready; and the command was entrusted to Nicias, Alcibiadēs, and Lamachus.

Departure of the fleet for Sicily.

About midsummer, the immense preparations were completed. When all was prepared for sailing, solemn prayers were offered to the

B. C. 415. gods for success, the navigators in every ship poured libations into the sea, and drank to the felicitous issue of the enterprise out of golden cups, while the navy majestically moved from the shore to the sound of the pæan.

Movement of the fleet.

The fleet first sailed for Corcyra, and was joined by vessels from the allies. The whole navy consisted of one hundred and thirty-four trireme galleys, of which a hundred were Athenian, and the remainder contributed by the people of the minor states, chiefly by the Chians. After the commanders had been refused admittance into several ports, they were allowed a market at Rhegium, though not admitted within the city. Meanwhile, they received the report of commissioners, whom they had sent to ascertain the true amount of the boasted treasures of Egesta, whose answer destroyed all the golden dreams which had been entertained respecting its resources. On finding that the people of

Athens had been deceived by the allies, for whose succour they had sent out their armament, the commanders entertained different opinions respecting the proper measures to be taken. Nicias proposed that they should relieve Egesta and return; Lamachus, that they should sail at once to Syracuse; while Alcibiadēs urged the propriety of endeavouring to attach the Sicilian states to their cause by negotiation; and that, afterwards, they should direct their arms against the Syracusan power. The last advice was followed. On a message from Camarina, that the people of that city were ready to unite with the Athenians, the fleet sailed thither; but the chiefs, finding the invitation to have been made prematurely, returned to Catana, their former position. Here they found the Salaminian galley, bearing an order for the immediate return of Alcibiadēs, and other officers, to answer charges which had, before their departure, been advanced against them. This order they obeyed; but Alcibiadēs found means to escape at Thurium. On the arrival of the Salaminian galley, he was condemned to death in his absence. B. C. 415. Alcibiadēs ordered home.

It soon became manifest, that the only chief really suited to the conduct of the expedition, was removed from it. Feebleness and irresolution marked the steps taken by Nicias and his remaining colleague. The season of action was wasted in a fruitless negotiation with Himera, the capture of Hyccara, and the seizure of a great number of defenceless Sicels. As the people of Egesta were unable to fulfil their promises of pecuniary aid, Nicias raised a large sum by the sale of his unhappy captives, among whom was a girl named Lais, said to have been the person afterwards so famed for her seductive attractions. Feeble conduct of Nicias.

On the approach of winter, however, the Athenian commanders were roused to a degree of energy, of which they had hitherto displayed no symptoms. They invested Syracuse, and seized on a post of great advantage in the vicinity of the capital. This movement excited no small alarm in the minds of the Syracusans, who perceived that the great strength of the position occupied by their foes precluded all hope of carrying it by storm. The next day, the Athenians drew out in order of battle, and succeeded in compelling the Syracusans to take refuge within their walls. But Nicias and Lamachus were not prepared to take any vigorous measures for improving their successes. They left their position, sailed quietly to Catana, laid up the fleet, and dispersed the army in winter quarters.

During the interval which the winter afforded, the people of Syracuse took the most prudent measures for averting the dangers of the expected siege. Happily for them, Hermocrates, a man of great ability and patriotism, was the chief director of their councils. Chosen commander-in-chief, with two colleagues, he proceeded to extend the fortifications of the city, and to place garrisons in the forts in its neighbourhood. He next endeavoured to win over allies to the Syracusan cause, and succeeded in obtaining from the people of Camarina, a promise that they would remain neutral. But his chief Measures of the Syracusans.

B. C. 415. measure was the appointment of an embassy to Greece, to solicit aid from the foes of Athens.

His deputies first proceeded to Corinth, by the citizens of which place Syracuse had been originally founded. Here they experienced a most favourable reception; ambassadors were appointed to accompany them to Sparta, and add weight to their requests, before the Lacedæmonian senate. Happily for their mission, they found Alcibiadēs, who had been received with cordiality at Lacedæmon, ready to support them with all his eloquence. Endowed with consummate abilities, and necessarily possessed of the most accurate knowledge of the plans and the resources of the expedition, of which he had been the chief adviser, he decided the hesitating councils of the Spartan magistrates. They consented to send Gylyppus to command the troops which Corinth could supply, and they also resolved to fortify Decela, and to renew the war with Athens.

Preparations for the siege of Syracuse.

Meanwhile, the Athenian commanders in Sicily prepared for the intended siege. Finding the mountaineers ready to revolt against Syracuse, they engaged them in their cause, and obtained from them money and provisions. They procured horses to afford them cavalry, of which they were greatly in need. Stone, iron, and other materials, they also succeeded in collecting. Early in the spring they moved their forces, gained the advantage in a skirmish, took the town of Centoripa, and ravaged the surrounding regions. On returning from Catana, they found reinforcements and supplies from Athens, consisting of 250 horse soldiers, 300 talents in silver, and a considerable quantity of military stores. On receiving these, they determined immediately to sail for Syracuse.

Commencement of the siege of Syracuse.

B. C. 414.

The first measures of the Athenian generals were taken with great judgment, and prosecuted with great success. They landed at Leon, near Syracuse, and took possession of the hill Epipolæ, commanding the city, before the enemy knew that they had left their position at Catana. Immediately, however, on observing that the forces had attained the height, the Syracusans attacked them with great vigour, but were soon repulsed by the steady discipline of the Athenians, and forced to retreat within the city. The next day the citizens declined renewing the combat. Their foes improved the occasion by fortifying the height of Labdalum among the steeps of the mountain, and commencing the circumvallation of the city. This they succeeded in completing on the northern side, having repelled another attempt of the Syracusans to impede them. On the southern side, Hermocrates carried out a work from the wall, to break the line, but it was shortly after surprised by the Athenians, and its garrison forced to retire. Another work erected with the same design occasioned a fierce contest, in which Lamachus was killed, and Epipolæ would have been taken, had not Nicias, who was afflicted with sickness, ordered fire to be set to the outworks, and thus checked the progress of the enterprising troops. After this engagement, the Athenians were permitted to

continue their circumvallation for some time without further resistance. B. C. 414.

Despondency at Syracuse.

Everything seemed now conspiring to favour the Athenian arms. Despair crushed the energies, and faction divided the resources of the people of Syracuse. Many of the cities of Sicily, believing the Athenians must succeed, came to offer them their alliance. Repeated propositions were made in the public assemblies of the Syracusans for a capitulation to their besiegers. While affairs were in this critical situation, Gongylus, a Corinthian commander, arrived in the harbour, and revived the almost expiring hopes of the people, by assurances of immediate support from Lacedæmon and Corinth. Nicias, meanwhile, remained in a singular state of inaction. Gylippus, who now arrived in the neighbourhood with 5,000 soldiers, was actually suffered to pass Epipolæ by the same road through which the Athenians themselves had attained its summits. The lately dispirited people of Syracuse went out to meet and welcome him, and escorted him into the town without the least opposition from their foes. Willing to show his confidence of success, he sent a herald to the Athenians, with a message, that if they would quit Sicily, he would allow them a truce of five days for their peaceable departure. To this bold intimation no reply was given, nor was any attempt made to show, by action, the futility of the defiance. The Spartan general was allowed to choose his own position, and pitched his camp in the quarter of Temenites, on an elevation suited to his plan of warfare.

Arrival of Gongylus and Gylippus.

The next day Gylippus drew up his troops in order of battle before the works of Nicias. Perceiving that general still passive, he sent a detachment, which took possession of Epipolæ, and destroyed the Athenian garrison. After this, Nicias stood on the defensive, and erected three forts near the southern entrance of the great harbour, for the protection of his forces. Two actions soon ensued, in the first of which he gained the advantage, but in the second, was compelled to retire. He was about the same time dispirited by the arrival of the squadron of Spartan and Corinthian ships, and the capture of an Athenian galley at the mouth of the harbour. So completely, indeed, were affairs changed since the appearance of Gylippus, that Nicias sent home a letter to Athens, in which, after stating the difficulties of his situation, he implored that he might be allowed to resign the command, and impressed on the people that either the forces must be recalled, or increased to double their number. This remonstrance, as far as it related to the recal of Nicias, or the troops, was in vain. The Athenians could not endure the frustration of hopes which they had cherished with so great an ardour. They commanded Nicias to remain, with Menander and Euthydemus as his colleagues, sent Eurymedon with ten vessels, and twenty talents of silver, to reinforce him, and prepared to despatch Demosthenes for the same purpose, with larger succours.

But while Demosthenes was on his voyage, the Athenians in Sicily

B. C. 414. were suffering a continuance of reverses. Gylippus took the bold measure of causing an attack to be made on the Athenian fleet, while he led the infantry towards the three forts occupied by the army on the southern side of the harbour. In the naval action which ensued, the Syracusans were beaten, after a hard contest; but, while the troops of Nicias were drawn to the shores to assist the fleet, Gylippus took their three fortresses, almost without experiencing resistance. Thus large quantities of stores, ammunition, magazines, masts of vessels, and three ships laid up on the shore, fell into his hands. He demolished one of the fortresses, placed garrisons in the other two of them, and drew up a squadron near them, by which the supplies would be prevented from reaching the Athenian camp. New allies were induced, by the successes of the people of Syracuse, to assist them with money, recruits, and arms. Agatharcus forced his way through the harbour with ten vessels, one of which he despatched to the Peloponnesus, and with the remainder intercepted store-ships and transports, which were proceeding to reinforce the Athenians. And Gylippus, hoping to strike a decisive blow before Demosthenes could arrive, made preparations for another attack on the hitherto victorious navy.

Reverses of the Athenians.

Naval engagement.

When the fleet was ready for action, the Spartan commander drew out his land forces, and made a feigned attack on the Athenian lines, by which he diverted the attention of the generals from the scene where his real operations were commencing.

At the period agreed on, the fleet of the Syracusans, consisting of eighty vessels, moved towards the naval station of their foes, who hastily manned seventy-five galleys to resist them. An obstinate contest ensued, in which neither party gained a decisive advantage, but two Athenian vessels were destroyed. The event of this doubtful engagement was exceedingly dispiriting to the Athenians, who had long been accustomed to know no rivals on the ocean. Instead of meditating conquest, they sought to provide for the security of their marine, by a kind of naval fortification, consisting of a line of merchant-vessels, bearing instruments of great weight, which might sink any hostile ship attempting to pass them. The day after the battle was occupied by these preparations, which the Syracusans did not impede. On the following morning the engagement was renewed, and continued for a long time with dubious success. At length the Syracusans retreated in good order, and the Athenians retired, little expecting a renewal of the contest. But the troops of Gylippus, having taken a hasty refreshment, prepared for them, returned to the ships, sailed forward, attacked their foes while wholly unprepared for combat, and compelled them to retire with loss behind their floating fortresses.

Arrival of Demosthenes with succours.

While the hearts of the Athenians were sinking within them on these repeated misfortunes, Demosthenes and Eurymedon arrived with a force calculated once more to inspire them with confidence of victory. They saw with joy seventy-three galleys majestically entering the port, with 5,000 heavy-armed troops, and light-armed infantry and slaves,

which swelled the total number to nearly 20,000 soldiers. The sight of this new force, so fresh and so vigorous, struck the Syracusans with terror. To them the resources of Athens, which could equip a second armament thus noble, seemed boundless. The effort was, indeed, astonishing, under the present circumstances of Athens. By the fortifications of Decelea, the whole of Attica was overawed, and the Spartans enabled to ravage its fields. The city was almost in a state of siege; it was changed from an imperial commonwealth to a necessitous garrison. And yet such was its power, such the magic of its name among the allies, that it was enabled to raise, as by enchantment, one of the greatest fleets which ever left the Grecian shores; and such was still the spirit of enterprise in its people, that they chose to employ this mighty force in a scheme of distant conquest, hitherto unsuccessful, rather than to use it against their domestic invaders. B. C. 414.

Attack on Epipolæ.

On the arrival of Demosthenes, the generals resolved to attack Epipolæ, the possession of which by the foe, was a great obstacle to the progress of the siege. As, however, the place was exceedingly strong, as well from the advantages of its natural position as its fortifications, there seemed little hope of effecting its capture, unless by surprise. At the hour of repose, the army was set in motion, seized one of the outworks, and advanced to the second line of fortresses. But the garrison was now alarmed, and the troops under Gylippus advanced to oppose the progress of their foes. Still the Athenians proceeded with great vigour, climbing the steeps, and repulsing the Syracusans, till they were met by a body of Bœotians, who firmly opposed them, and increased the confusion, which, from the declivity and the unevenness of the ground, had already prevailed through the ranks. Dreadful carnage ensued; the moon gave an uncertain light, which only served to confuse the Athenians; in their ignorance they fell on each other, and in their disunion, suffered their watch-word to be learned by their enemies. Broken, fatigued, and bewildered, they endeavoured to retreat, but the flight was attended with a series of disasters. Many perished amidst the rocks, dashed to pieces in falling from the heights; many were killed by the enemy in the steep and narrow roads; and those who escaped to the woods were found and cut to pieces. The Athenians lost 2,000 soldiers, whose bodies were the next day given to them, on the usual request of the defeated.

Determination of the Athenians to retire.

On this sad disappointment, Demosthenes proposed the immediate return of the forces to Athens. But Nicias, who had secret negotiations with a party friendly to his cause within the walls of Syracuse, at first earnestly pressed the continuance of the siege. At length, finding that the troops were wasting away with sickness, and that Gylippus was receiving new succours, he assented to the proposals for retiring. Measures for this purpose were taken, with the secrecy requisite for their success; but an eclipse of the moon prevented the embarkation, for which all the preparations were completed. The

B. C. 414. augurs being consulted as to the import of the phenomenon, declared that it indicated the will of the gods, that the fleet should not sail until three times nine days were past. On this, Nicias, as superstitious as he was just, refused to consent to any removal until that period should be concluded.

The design of retiring inspired the Syracusans with additional boldness. They resolved to prevent the retreat of the enemy, and accordingly compelled the Athenian fleet to meet their navy. Taking advantage of the extension of the Athenian line, they broke through the centre, and defeated the armament after a fierce contest, in which Eurymedon fell. But a detachment of the land forces, sent by Gylippus to prevent the landing of the crews was met by part of the infantry of Athens, and compelled to retreat, after considerable slaughter. This advantage was, however, a very inadequate compensation for the naval defeat sustained by the late masters of the seas.

Distress of the Athenians.

Want of provisions now began to occasion great distress among the Athenian forces. It was, therefore, determined to withdraw the armament, with whatever risk it might be attended. Demosthenes, Menander, and Euthydemus, led on the navy to force a passage through the entrance of the harbour. They had succeeded in taking the vessels which blockaded the port, when the Syracusan fleet advanced in order of battle. A terrible combat now ensued, in which the Syracusans obtained a decisive victory, and such was the despondency of the Athenians, that when Demosthenes and Nicias proposed that they should all embark on board their remaining vessels, which were still superior in number to the Syracusan fleet, they refused, offering to pursue any course by land, but alleging that at sea they were fated to destruction. It was the eve of the festival of Hēraclēs, when no persuasions could induce the Syracusans to march; but the opportunity was lost through a stratagem of Hermocrates, who sent one of his emissaries, under pretence of friendship, to the Athenians, to advise Nicias not to move that night, as the Syracusans lay in ambush to destroy him. He believed the intelligence, and remained that night and the next day taking measures for retreating. While he thus delayed, Hermocrates and Gylippus burnt the whole of the Athenian fleet, seized the passes of the country, guarded all the paths through the mountains, broke down bridges, and spread cavalry over the plain, so that there could be no passage without a combat. On the third day the march commenced, in agony and despair. No sooner did the soldiers move, than all the slaves and attendants deserted, so that they were reduced to the necessity of carrying their own baggage and provisions. Nicias, greater in adversity than ever he had been in prosperous fortune, still strove to animate the Athenians, who marched in two divisions, with the baggage in the centre, Nicias commanding the van, and Demosthenes the rear. They were so harassed by the enemy from the rear, and found so many obstacles in

Attempt to escape, and naval defeat.

Retreat from Syracuse.

front, that their progress was exceedingly slow, and every day added to their distresses. They now resolved to change the direction of their march, and to proceed by Gela and Camarina, through a more circuitous and more level road. The change was effected in the night, and in the movement, the division commanded by Demosthenes was separated from that under Nicias. The former troop being unable to reach their comrades, marched till they came to the brook Erineus, where they were overtaken by the Sicilian cavalry. The Syracusan infantry now came up, and the Athenians were surrounded. After defending themselves with great bravery, they were reduced by losses, hunger, and despair, to surrender, on the mere condition that their lives should be spared; and were, to the number of 6,000, conducted to Syracuse. B. C. 414. Surrender of Demosthenes. B. C. 413.

Meanwhile, Nicias crossed the Erineus, and encamped on an elevated position beyond it. Here he was informed, by some of the enemy's horse, who called to him to surrender, of the fate of his colleague, which at first he refused to believe, but soon ascertained, beyond question, through a messenger whom he was permitted to send to make inquiry. On the confirmation of the melancholy tidings, he offered to pay the Syracusans all the expenses of the war, if the troops under his command might be allowed to quit Sicily in safety. The Sicilians having rejected this offer, surrounded Nicias, but declined coming to a close engagement, continuing dreadfully to harass his troops with missile weapons. Thirst and hunger compelled him to make an effort to escape, and at midnight he began silently to withdraw his forces. But the enemy discovered his intention, and rushed to arms. He then with his forces, excepting three hundred, (who broke through their foes, but were afterwards taken) remained in the camp until the dawn, when he gained the banks of the river Assinarus, which there ran through a steep and rocky channel. Extreme thirst maddened his troops—they forgot their discipline—rushed down to the stream, and while death pressed on them from behind, drank of the waters with fatal eagerness. Meanwhile the light-armed Syracusan troops gained the opposite bank, and thus surrounded the miserable Athenians in the craggy bed of the river. Numbers were slain; some fighting with desperate valour, others drinking the bloody stream, half choked with the bodies of their fellows. At length, seeing all further resistance hopeless, Nicias surrendered himself to Gylippus, and his surviving troops were made prisoners. Surrender of Nicias.

The two Athenian generals now experienced the atrocious revenge of the Syracusans. They solemnly decreed the death of Nicias and Demosthenes, who fell immediately by the hands of the public executioner. The fate of the soldiers taken was more dreadful, because their misery was of longer duration. The slaves were sold by auction, the freemen confined to a quarry in the hill Epipolæ, without shelter from the burning sun, or the chilling air of the night, and with food scarcely sufficient to protract a wretched breathing-time in this their Fate of the captives.

B. C. 413. living grave. Those who died were left to putrify amidst their still existing comrades. The survivors were, after seventy days of horror, indulged by being sold to private masters. The fate of the residue of the Athenians is doubtful. Some of the captives, who became the property of individuals, met with a gentler destiny. They are said to have conciliated kindness by their ability to repeat the verses of Euripides, whose soft, flowing, and tender strains were better calculated to win the Sicilian, than the more majestic works of his nobler rivals. This tale affords the only gleam of humanity to be discerned amidst the complicated horrors with which the narrative of the expedition to Sicily is crowded.

Reception of the news at Athens.

The intelligence of these dreadful calamities was not credited when it first reached Athens. It was only by degrees that the astonished citizens learned the full extent of their misfortune. Grief, rage, and terror, alternately agitated their bosoms. At length, their passionate feelings had subsided, and they began to seek resolution from despair. They retrenched their public expenses, strove to renew their navy, and appointed a council of elders to examine all measures before they should be proposed in the popular assembly. But no prudence or wisdom could prevent the dependent states of Athens from revolting from her in her change of fortunes. A part of the Lesbians and Eubœans offered their services to Sparta, and it soon became evident, that the Athenian power had been withered for ever in one mighty and vain exertion. The naval force which had acquired complete dominion over the seas, was totally destroyed; and the Peloponnesian fleets now sailed round every coast without a rival. The flower of the Athenian youth had perished; and though some gleams of prosperity yet remained for Athens, her glories, as the imperial republic of Greece, had vanished for ever.

Revolt of her allies. B. C. 412.

Interference of Tissaphernēs in the affairs of Greece. B. C. 411.

The Grecian cities in Asia, which had been hitherto tributary to Athens, now manifested strong symptoms of a desire to throw off the yoke. Mutual interests consequently united the Lacedæmonians and Tissaphernēs, the satrap of Sardis, in an alliance most dangerous to the existence of Athens. But while revolt seemed spreading in every direction, and danger threatened the Athenians from every side, the state of their affairs was greatly changed by the decline of the power of Alcibiadēs in Sparta, the shameful order of the Lacedæmonians for his murder, and his retreat to the court of Tissaphernēs, to which these occurrences speedily led. From this period, Alcibiadēs appears to have been uniform in his exertions in behalf of the Athenian cause. For the present, he persuaded Tissaphernēs to temporise, to decline effecting the ruin of Athens, and to relax in his efforts to serve the Peloponnesian cause. His intrigues, at length, effected his recal, after an obligarchy had obtained the direction of the government of Athens, and had been expelled thence by popular champions. Before his return, he once more raised the character, and, in some degree, restored the naval superiority of Athens, by a series of most brilliant

successes. We refer our readers to his life, for a more minute detail of the occurrences of Grecian history, in which he was the principal actor. B. C. 411.

Spartan negotiations with Cyrus.

While Alcibiadēs was raising the fame of the Athenian arms by repeated victories, the Lacedæmonians gained a great advantage by a fresh negotiation with Persia. Artaxerxes, advancing in years, resolved to commit the chief administration of the provinces, bordering on the Grecian seas, to his son Cyrus. Before the youthful prince left the capital, to execute the trust thus committed to him, ambassadors who were at the court of his father from Sparta, obtained his ear, and completely won him to favour their cause. He came, therefore, to Sardis, with prepossessions friendly to Lacedæmon, and hostile to the Athenians. At the time of his arrival, the commander of the Spartan fleet for the year was one exactly calculated to confirm the impressions of an oriental prince: Lysander was bold, yet crafty; proud, yet cringing; valiant, yet luxurious; equally fitted to solicit or to command, to labour or to enjoy. He immediately visited the prince, and experienced a most gracious reception. Through his means a treaty was concluded with Persia, by which the king stipulated that he would allow thirty Attic minæ for the pay of every galley engaged in the war against Athens. Defeated in his endeavours to procure a much larger allowance, Lysander took a favourable occasion after supper, on his royal host making use of liberal expressions towards him, to request that an obolus a day should be added to each seaman's wages. His desire was readily granted, and not only gave high satisfaction to the mariners, but was calculated to occasion large desertions from the Athenian fleet when opportunity should offer.

Ill success of the Athenian fleets.

These circumstances were unknown at Athens when Alcibiadēs sailed from the Piræus. His force consisted of fifteen hundred heavy-armed infantry, a hundred and fifty horse, and a hundred trireme galleys. After defeating the Andrians, but leaving their city, which was too strong to be reduced, he sailed for Samos, where news of Lysander's success excited in his mind considerable alarm. He dreaded the effects of Persian gold, not of Persian arms. Distressed for money, he left the fleet in order to raise it, leaving strict orders with Antiochus, the second in command, that he should not engage in his absence. These directions were disobeyed; Antiochus defied Lysander, and was defeated near the headland of Notium. This victory of the Spartans, of no great importance in itself, was, in the highest degree, injurious to Athens, by directing popular fury against her ablest chieftain. Alcibiadēs was superseded, and ten generals, with Conon at their head, were appointed to the command of the naval and military forces of the republic. B. C. 407.

Naval operations under Conon.

Conon, who was engaged in prosecuting the siege of Andros, was immediately directed to hasten to Samos, and take the command of the fleet. Finding, on his arrival, that the forces under his direction were not animated by a spirit which could encourage him to seek a

B. C. 407. battle, he divided the navy into squadrons, with which he collected contributions, and made prizes. But Callicratidas, who had superseded Lysander, resolved to prevent the mischief with which this mode of warfare was attended. After taking Methymenē, in Lesbos, he pursued the Athenian fleet to Mitylene, took or destroyed thirty galleys, and compelled the remainder to seek refuge beneath the fortresses. Here he besieged Conon by sea, while the Laconian infantry invested Mitylene by land. But the Athenian commander, though closely blockaded, found means to send a vessel home with intelligence of his perilous condition. The people of Athens immediately prepared to relieve him, with a vigour astonishing, after their repeated losses. They equipped and manned a hundred and ten galleys, on board which, not only the citizens capable of bearing arms, but even men of the dignity of knights, who had always been exempt from naval services, were collected. Meanwhile the situation of Conon became more alarming. Diomedon, another of the ten officers lately appointed, while coming to his assistance with twelve ships, was intercepted, and ten of his vessels taken. But while all things seemed to promise Callicratidas an easy triumph, he received intelligence that a large Athenian armament was approaching. Detaching, therefore, fifty ships to continue the blockade, under Etonicus, he sailed with a hundred and twenty to meet the more formidable enemy. He came up with the fleet, which was commanded by the colleagues of Conon, among the islands of Arginusæ, near Lesbos, and, failing in an attempt to surprise it, he soon found that its numbers were superior to his own. Hernon, the master of his vessel, advised him not to risk an engagement under such a disadvantage; but he replied, in a truly laconic spirit, "Sparta will not miss me if I fall, but my flight must disgrace her." The contest was long and obstinate, both while the fleets preserved their order, and after the line, on both sides, had been broken. At length, the galley of Callicratidas, striking with its beak an Athenian vessel, he fell overboard at the shock, and perished in the water. By his fall the event of the engagement was decided. The Peloponnesians fled in disorder, and left their foes in possession of a victory, purchased by the loss of many soldiers, and thirty-five galleys.

Sea-fight of Arginusæ. B. C. 406.

Relief of Conon.

After this brilliant success, it was determined that the great body of the fleet should sail to the relief of Conon, while Thrasybūlus and Theramenes should be left with forty-six ships, to succour those who had been wrecked or wounded in the recent contest. But a storm arose, which compelled the whole armament to seek shelter among the islands; and thus the citizens, who had been cast on the seas, were left to perish. During the delay thus occasioned, news reached Etonicus of the defeat of his comrades, upon which he instantly decided on escaping. He directed the soldiers who brought the tidings to sail back, and, in the morning, to return, wearing chaplets as though they brought news of victory. This being done, he assembled his troops, offered sacrifice, and while he deluded his foes with the belief

that he was celebrating a conquest over their friends, he ordered preparations for his departure. When all was ready, he set sail with a favourable wind, reached Chios, and led his infantry to Methymne. Thus Conon found himself unexpectedly relieved, and was soon after joined by his victorious countrymen. B. C. 406.

Two of the generals only who had commanded in the battle of Arginusæ, Aristogenēs and Ptolomachus, remained with Conon, who took his station at Samos, while the remaining six, Aristocratēs, Diomedon, Erasinidēs, Lysias, Periclēs, and Thrasyllus, returned to Athens. There they met with a reception very different indeed from that which their success had led them to anticipate. A previous decree had deprived them of their offices. They were accused by Theramenes before the council, of having neglected to take measures for the safety of the crews, wrecked during the late battle; and were thrown into prison. They were not allowed the privilege of making a full defence, but only permitted briefly to address the people. Moved, or rather convinced by their statements, the majority voted for acquitting the generals; but the party against them proposed to adjourn the assembly, on the pretence that it was growing too dark to distinguish the hands held up on either side, and then, with the inconsistency of passion, made a proposition of their own, that the council should consider and decide on the manner in which the trial should be conducted. This proposal, which really gave to the council a power of dispensing with all the constitutional forms, was hastily carried without a division. Accusation of the victorious generals at Athens. B. C. 406.

The members of the council, thus invested almost with the power of determining the fate of the accused, were instigated by Callixenus, one of their bitterest foes, to determine that the people should ballot by wards for their destiny. In the mean time, a number of persons, habited in mourning, were directed to traverse the city as the relatives of those who were wrecked at Arginusæ, imploring vengeance. But the friends of the generals, and especially Euryptolemus, earnestly protested against the mode of trial proposed, as illegal. Overborne by clamour, they, however, thought it prudent to give up this point to their foes, and entreated the people to allow each individual a separate trial, and a day to prepare for his defence. This modest request was denied; the proposition of Callixenus, after some doubt as to the majority, was carried, and the people proceeded to the ballot. The judgment thus obtained was for death; the eight commanders were sentenced; and the six who were then at Athens led to execution. No word of resentment or complaint escaped the noble sufferers. Yet were they terribly avenged. In their death, faction the most wretched had been triumphant, and all order, justice, and dignified virtue forsook the Athenian councils. Athens, her honour sunk, and liberties profaned, hastened, even amidst victory, to her ruin. Proposition of Callixenus.

The allies now earnestly requested of the Spartan rulers, that Lysander should be sent to command them. This able chief hastened

B. C. 406. to Ephesus, in the beginning of the winter, and exerted all his energies to equip a fleet which might be able to cope with that of Athens. At Sardis he was again received with great kindness by Cyrus, who furnished him with ample supplies of money for the payment of his troops, and manifested the warmest interest in his success. Thus assisted, he soon raised his fleet to an equality with that of the foe, but chose rather to direct his arms against the Athenian dependencies, than to risk a general combat. He took Cedræa, a city on the coast of Caria, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers. Thence passing along the Asiatic shore of the Hellespont, he attacked Lampsacus by sea and land, and became master of the city. Meanwhile the Athenians, struck with some remorse for the murder of their commanders, compelled Callixenus and his friends to fly from the city. They committed the charge of their fleet to six chiefs: Menander, Tydeus, Cephisodotus, Adeimantus, Philoclēs, and Conon. These, with the whole armament, went in pursuit of the Peloponnesian fleet, and finding that it lay at Lampsacus, took their station at Aigospotamos, near the opposite shore of the Hellespont, the width of which did not there exceed two miles.

Battle of Aigospotamos.

B. C. 405. The Athenian commanders were anxious immediately to give battle to Lysander. But that politic general, though he ranged his ships in proper order, and drew up his land forces on the shore, did not think proper to engage. He soon learned that the fleet returned, after offering him battle in the morning, in disorder, and that the troops afterwards were dispersed in quest of provisions, or amusement on the shore. Three days he suffered them to defy him, that their insolence and security might increase, while he prepared for their destruction. At this crisis, Alcibiadēs, perceiving the danger of his countrymen, made one effort more to save them. He hastened to their naval camp from his Thracian residence, exposed the perils they were incurring, entreated the commanders to change their measures, and even offered to co-operate with them, at the head of a band of Thracians. But they scornfully rejected his admonitions and his offers, and forced him to leave them to their destiny. This was not far distant. On the fifth day, when they had retired as usual, and the troops were dispersed on the shores, Lysander suddenly attacked the fleet, when wholly unprepared, and seized every vessel almost without resistance, excepting nine galleys, with which Conon fled.

Flight of Conon.

Thus nearly the whole naval force of Athens, consisting of a hundred and seventy ships, fell at a single blow into the hands of the Spartans. Troops, amounting to three thousand, and all the generals, except Conon, were made prisoners. These, dreadful to relate, were all, with the exception of Adeimantus, put to immediate death, under pretence of retaliation for the fate of the crews of two vessels, from Andros and Corinth, whom Philoclēs had ordered to be cast down a precipice. It was also urged by the advocates of this horrible massacre, that the Athenian commanders had, with the exception of

Adeimantus, agreed, on reaching the Hellespont, to cut off the right hand of any prisoner whom they might secure. On Philoclēs being asked what he could urge in his defence, he replied, "Ask not those for a defence who have no judges; use the right conquest has given you, and dispose of us as we would have disposed of you had we been the victors." Meanwhile Conon escaped to Cyprus, where he was hospitably received by Evagoras, the monarch of Salamis. B. C. 405.

Miserable condition of Athens.

The whole residue of the Athenian power was thus destroyed in one day. Athens had exhausted all her resources in sending out the noble armament, which was now added to the trophies and the naval strength of her foes. Still, in its despair, the state preserved something of a lofty attitude. As a siege by sea and land was expected, preparations were made to endure it. All the ports, but one, were blocked up, the gates barricaded, and guards mounted on the walls. While Lysander was making triumphant progress, receiving the submission of states now eager to hail the victors, Pausanias, son of the unfortunate Spartan of that name, entered Attica, and joined by Agis from Decelea, fixed his head-quarters in the gymnasium of the academy, near the city. The people thus blockaded, became, in a short time, greatly distressed for want of provisions. Scanty supplies were indeed sometimes procured by the intrepidity of the youth, who, with still unconquered spirit, broke through the mouth of the Piræus, and returned with the means of appeasing the hunger of the people. At length an attempt was made to open a negotiation with Agis, which he sternly repressed by declaring that all proposals must be addressed to the government of Sparta. An embassy was then despatched to Lacedæmon, to offer the resignation of all the possessions of Athens, excepting the city and the harbour, and a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance, which implied subjection. But the envoys were stopped on the borders of Laconia, by a message from the Ephori, commanding them to return, since the terms with which they were charged were already known at Sparta, and if they desired peace, they must come with different conditions. On the return of these messengers, Theramenēs offered to go to Lysander, and endeavour to negotiate with him for a treaty; but, after an absence of three months, he returned without success. He was then, with nine others of his fellow-citizens, commissioned to go to Lacedæmon, with no instructions but to procure peace on the best terms he could obtain for the despairing Athenians.

Peace agreed on.

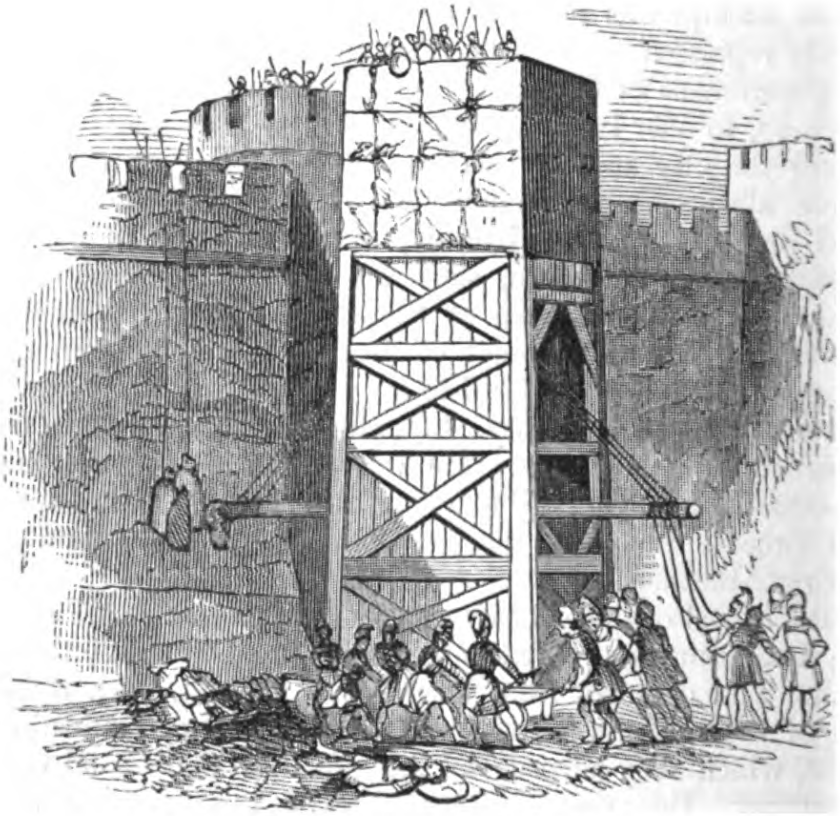
On the arrival of the embassy at Sparta, an assembly of the deputies of the Lacedæmonian confederacy was convened to decide the fate of Athens. The deputies from Thebes and Corinth, with those from others of the states, vehemently urged the total extermination of a republic, which they alleged had attempted to deprive all Greece of its freedom. But the Spartans checked this ferocious spirit of revenge, and declared that they could not think of wholly destroying a people who had once rendered services so important to Greece in

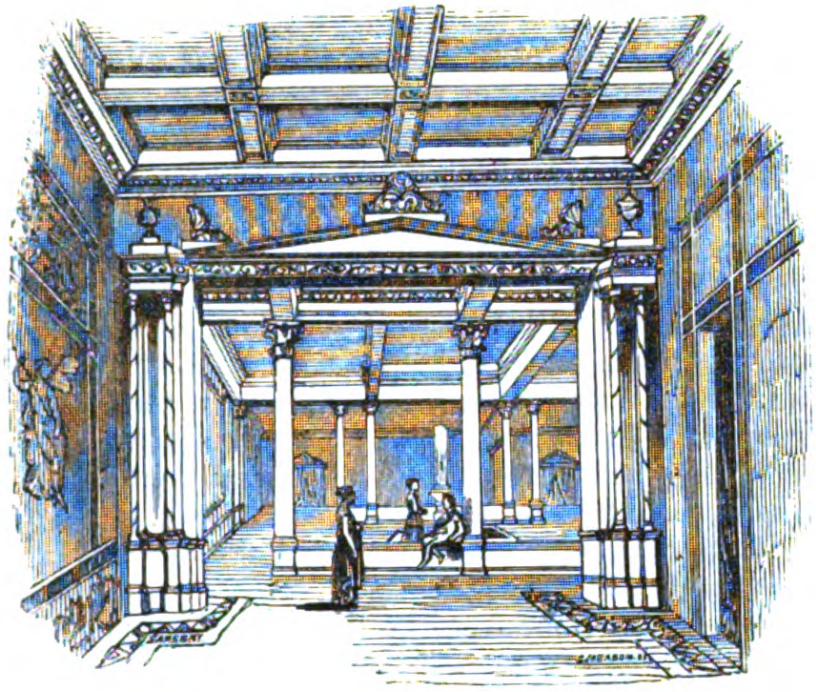
B. C. 405. the Persian invasion. Peace was, therefore, concluded in the following terms: "That all the Athenian ships of war, except twelve, should be surrendered; that the long walls of the city should be destroyed; that all exiles should be restored to their country and their possessions; that the Athenians should treat the allies of Lacedæmon as their friends, and its foes as their enemies; and that the forces of Athens, by sea and land, should be at the complete disposal of the Spartans." These hard conditions having been ratified, Agis, with his army, took possession of the walls; and Lysander, with his fleet, entered the harbour. The fortifications which connected the city with its ports were demolished, while military music was played, and exulting shouts everywhere proceeded from the conquerors. The nobles of the aristocratic party, who were in exile, returned to their homes. On their arrival, the popular constitution was overthrown, the assemblies of the people prohibited, and the powers of government vested in thirty rulers. When this revolution was completed, the Peloponnesian forces withdrew, and left the humbled Athenians to enjoy all the repose which their new governors would allow. Thus, in its twenty-seventh year, ended the Peloponnesian war, after totally subverting the grandeur of Athens, and destroying the finer spirit of Grecian freedom.

Surrender of Athens to Lysander.

B. C. 404.

The Athenian power totally subverted.





CHAPTER XIII.

ON THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE ANCIENT GREEKS.

INTRODUCTION.

Introductory remarks.

THE readers of the Iliad may remember that the combats of Homeric heroes are often interrupted by a polite delay, unknown in modern warfare: deeds of arms are suspended, while warriors relate family histories; and thus the reader's mind, after the excitement created by battles described, reposes awhile on these amicable conferences, in which are introduced old traditions, national customs, personal adventures, and traits of individual character.

Something after the same manner we desire to interpose, between the graver and more political parts of the history of the Greeks, some account of their social condition. The subject ascends into that early literature in which history finds few trustworthy materials; it creates for itself a wide interest, because the manners and customs of antiquity are connected with our own daily life in the way either of likeness or of contrast. It may, therefore, communicate knowledge and amusement to minds which care little now for the restless politics of the Peloponnesian war. After the historian has gathered in his rich and more important harvest, much may remain for the antiquarian student—"as the shaking of an olive-tree, and as the gleaning grapes when the vintage is done:"[1] but he who would labour in this field

[1] Isaiah, xxiv. 13.

must be willing to wander far, and to make his acquisitions by slow degrees.

Sometimes these acquisitions are communicated to the public in an ample and orderly collection of facts, gathered from various writers of antiquity. Such details would naturally be interwoven with the author's own observations of admiration or censure, classical criticism, and comparison. This is the plan followed by Bruce, in his State of Society in the Age of Homer,[1] and St. John, in his Ancient Greece;[2] a work which Walter S. Landor calls "the most learned, the most comprehensive, and the most judicious, ever written about the manners, the institutions, and the localities of that country."[3] Other writers have sought the help of fiction: the circumstances, whether opinions or customs, political and domestic, are grouped around imaginary personages. Thus tessellated fragments of ancient writers are made to form, or to sanction, Greek history, biography, or novel; and what the subject loses in exact truthfulness, it is supposed to gain in vivacity and interest.

Bruce.

St. John.

Barthelemy. In the last century,[4] the Abbé Barthelemy published a voluminous work, called Les Voyages du Jeune Anacharsis; the fictitious travels of a Scythian in Greece:[5] the author was a laborious student, and examined widely; but critical scholarship was at that time far below its present elevation, and he had little skill in weighing the value of authorities.

Athenian Letters. In 1741, four octavo volumes were privately printed, purporting to be a recently-discovered correspondence between Cleander, a Persian spy residing at Athens, and the ministers of the great king: his arrival is supposed to take place in the first year of the Peloponnesian war, and these "Athenian Letters," as they were called, conclude about the time of the death of Artaxerxes. They were the joint productions of Lord Hardwicke, Mr. Yorke, and others. In 1798, the work was published in quarto, and again in 1810. It was creditable to its authors; but it has been superseded by the increased knowledge and scholarship of later times.

Landor. Landor's Periclēs and Aspasia[6] consists chiefly of letters, which pass between that celebrated beauty and a certain Cleonē[7] resident at Milētus: they are on matters domestic, political, and literary. Aspasia becomes acquainted with Periclēs[8]—converses with Anaxagoras[9]—dines with Aristophanēs[10]—writes to Herodotus, to express her admiration of his works[11]—reports a speech of Periclēs on the defection of Eubœa and Megara[12]—learns from Cleonē the affairs of

[1] Duod. Belfast, 1827. [2] Three vols. octavo, London, 1849.
[3] Page 425, Letter 174, note.
[4] The work began in 1757, and was published in 1788.
[5] About the year 362 B. C. Anacharsis arrives at Athens, and returns to Scythia 337 B. C.
[6] Published with the rest of his works in 1846.
[7] Letters 1 and 2. [8] Letter 10. [9] Letter 79.
[10] Letter 86. [11] Letter 88 [12] Letter 95.

Samos, and hears Thucydides read parts of his history.[1] There are some tender and some sad passages, and a few ludicrous sketches of domestic life, *e. g.*, the supper given to Polus the actor;[2] but as the literary and critical element of these letters predominate over the social, they lie in great measure beyond our present subject.

In the works already mentioned, Barthelemy gives us fictitious biography and travels. The Athenian Letters are chiefly political, and Bekker's Charicles[3] is a Greek novel, not a romance: a novel, in that the characters introduced to give a portrait of Greek life are imaginary; not a romance, in that to each of the chapters or scenes an excursus, or essay, is annexed, giving authorities for the manner in which the several parts of the story are handled. Bekker.

The general incidents, the cast of the characters, and the particular details, are justified by a wide and accurate knowledge of ancient literature; and references are given to many modern authors, especially Germans. The work is arranged in twelve scenes, with the following titles: The Friends of Youth. Corinth. The Paternal Abode.[4] The Trapezitæ. The Habits of Youth. The Banquet. The Trito. The Invalid. The Will. The Dionysia. The Ring. The Wedding Day.[5]

We proceed to offer to our readers some observations on the social condition of the ancient Greeks: not borrowing from the works above mentioned, except where acknowledgment is duly made; nor attempting to vie with them in copiousness or learning; but bringing within a small compass such details of private life as may stimulate inquiry into a department of knowledge which, in England at least, has been less cultivated than it deserves.

SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE ANCIENT GREEKS OF THE HOMERIC AGE,

IN ITS

ARTS.
RELIGION - - - Objects; Sanctions; Ceremonies.
DOMESTIC RELATIONS.

POST-HOMERIC AGE.

ATHENS	Education	*Male.* Under the Grammarian, Philosopher, and Sophist.
		Female. Marriage Ceremonies; Domestic Economy; Mental Cultivation; Station in Society.
	Slavery; Administration of Justice; Convivial Habits.	
SPARTA	Slavery; Education.	

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[1] Letter 143. [2] Letter 78.

[3] Translated from the German by the Rev. Frederick Metcalf, 1 vol. 8vo. 1845.

[4] This chapter has an excursus on the markets and commerce; the one called Trito has an excursus on the slaves.

[5] To the works above mentioned should be added, Periclēs, a Tale of Athens; and Amymonē, a Romance of the days of Periclēs. They are criticised in the Edinburgh Review, published in October, 1850.



SECTION I.

THE SOCIAL AND MILITARY CUSTOMS OF THE HOMERIC AGE.

Homer and the Rhapsodists.

BEGIN we then with Homer: in his works we have the earliest extant Greek, and a glimpse, if not a view, of society in its earliest form; or, at least, in a form earlier than any, except what the Old Testament describes. Homeric and patriarchal life have, as might be expected, many points of likeness. He who would see how characters and incidents assimilate, and how the Greek hexameter and Hebrew prose converge towards the same subject, will find an index of direction in Coleridge on the classic poets.[1] But such examples lose their beauty when isolated: to be properly felt, they should be read as parts of their own continuous stories: then "the Old Testament and the Iliad reflect light mutually each on the other; and in respect of the poetry and the manners at least, if not of the morals . . . he who has the longest studied, and the most deeply imbibed, the spirit of the Hebrew Scriptures, will the best understand, and the most lastingly appreciate, "the tale of Troy divine."[2]

Resemblance between the Iliad and the Old Testament.

Individuality of Homer.

As to Homer, etymologists have tormented his name:[3] ancient cities contended for the honour of his birth; some modern critics have been impartial to all the claimants, by denying that he was born anywhere; *i. e.*, making the disputed name stand rather for a bundle of poems of various dates and authors than for a real living individual man. But taste and feeling, even if they are unable to answer the arguments of scholastic criticism, are wont to hold their own opinions:

[1] Page 179. [2] Coleridge, p. 180 (1 vol. 12mo, 1834).

[3] *E. g.* ὁμοῦ ἄρω· ὁμηρεῖν· ὁ μὴ ὁρῶν.

they have decided, and will maintain,[1] that the Iliad is not a congeries of songs originally unconnected, except by their general subject, and that its author was the Great Unknown of antiquity. Whether he was the author of the Odyssey is also another *vexata quæstio*.[2] But in whatever way we decide these questions, the works that pass under his name (notwithstanding Plato's disapprobation), have entered into that system of education which has trained successively the Athenian, the Roman, and the English mind. Even the unliterary Spartan received them with pleasure from the hands of Lycurgus; in fact, this treasure which he brought to his fellow-citizens from Ionia was more valuable than the constitution he framed for them at home. One line of it concentrated a Spartan's patriotism—

Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πατρης.
The best of omens is our country's cause.

A small part of the fifteenth book, from verse 486 to 513, contains the substance of those martial strains of Tyrtæus which, either as lessons in elegiac verse (ὑποθήκαι δι ἐλεγείας, Suidas) or marching songs (ἐμβατήρια), cheered the frugal meal of the Spartan's bivouac, or animated his courage at the moment of assault.

The Athenian mind was at all times capable of enjoying the tender and the picturesque, as well as the warlike parts of the Iliad—the traits of character, as well as incidents of fiction, which appear in the Odyssey: nor could they fail, by reason of their national and commercial relations, to import these poems, or fragments of them, from Ionia. Travelling minstrels, called Homeridæ and Rhapsodists, made them known still more widely; and at length Solon and Peisistratus rendered this service to Athens and to literature: they collected and compared the extant versions of the Iliad and Odyssey, as far as this could be done from oral recitation, and perhaps interpolated occasionally a few lines, to gratify national vanity, by honourable mention of Theseus.[3] Thus they fixed a text, and then engraved it: this text was incorporated with the public amusements of the Panathenæa, and the rhapsodists were compelled to recite it in succession; not according to their own taste or fancy, but in that order which appeared to accord best with the poet's original plan.[4] Poems

Text of the Iliad and Odyssey fixed by Solon and Peisistratus.

[1] One of the latest and ablest books on this subject is a "Critical History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece," by William Mure, of Caldwell. Those who have not access to the book itself may see a critical account of it in the Edinburgh Review, No. 188.

[2] Coleridge decides against this, p. 270. Mühler speaks thus doubtfully: "That the Odyssey was written after the Iliad, and that many differences are apparent, is quite clear; but it is difficult and hazardous to raise on this foundation any definite conclusions as to the person and age of the poet. *Perhaps* Homer, having sang the Iliad in the vigour of his youthful years, in his old age communicated to some devoted disciple the plan of the Odyssey, which had long been working in his mind, and left it to him for completion."—Hist. of Lit. of Greece, c. v. s. 13.

[3] Od. xi. 630.

[4] See Papers on Homer and the Homeridæ, Blackwood's Magazine, No. 312; Mühler, Lit. Ancient Greece, c. v. s. 14; Coleridge, p. 52 *et seq.*

thus stamped with the mark of public praise must thenceforward, if not before, have entered into private education. Ælian says, Alcibiadēs beat a schoolmaster who had no part of Homer as his stock in trade. At a much later time, Quinctilian lays on the Iliad and Odyssey the foundation of his orator's persuasive powers; and many, if not most, of those who, among ourselves, have risen to eminence at the bar or in the senate, have drawn from the same source their first acquaintance with eloquent composition.

Literary criticism, however, is not within our present purpose; rather we would give our readers a theory on Homer's social condition, having, as we hope, sufficiently pleaded for his existence. Professor Keble[1] shall be mainly, though not exclusively, our guide: the sagacity of one poet has framed, from the internal evidence of the works of another, a view of his position among his fellow-men, his patriotic predilections, manner of life, feelings, and political opinions. Such a theory as that presented by Keble should be estimated by a careful collation of the passages on which it rests; and should it be found less complete, it is at least less improbable than the opinion of those who identify Homer with his own Odysseus.

Homer lived at a time when the manners and feelings, the actors and achievements, of the Heroic age were fresh in the recollections of mankind; the abiding subjects of his own admiration and regret: these were kept alive by traditionary song;[2] they were cherished by the martial spirit of the times, and the family pride of the illustrious. Such materials of fiction, containing historic truth without being restricted to it, were moulded by the imagination of Homer into the Iliad and Odyssey. It was his delight to dwell on the past; it was his hope to convey an impression of it to the future; the time present being in a state of transition, not improvement.[3] His heart and sympathies were with the Greeks, yet right nobly has he assigned the Trojans their share of prowess and of praise: this is a trait both of the heroic age and the individual poet. The hero of heroes, *le brave des braves*, is unquestionably Achilles:[4] there is a force and grandeur, a sublimity in the conception of this character, and a splendour in the poetry embodying it—there are traits of courtesy and generous feeling, intermingling with sternness and ferocity, like streaks of light crossing a dark cloud—which hurry us into admiration. But better feelings rest with greater pleasure on the superior civilization and character (ἦθος), of Hector, Priam, Sarpedon, and Glaucus, as compared with the Grecian chieftains: these were gentlemen of their day as well as heroes. Andromache delights us by her domestic virtues; on the other hand, Helen wins us in spite of her domestic delinquencies: we

His sympathies Greek, but not too partial.

[1] Prælectio Sexta, *et seq.*

[2] On the Ante-Homeric Poetry; see Lit. of Greece, c. iii. iv.

[3] See Hesiod, Ἔργ. καὶ Ἡμ., 172.

[4] Compare Il. xvi. 70, and Il. xviii. 198 *et seq.*, with Il. xvi. 233; ix. 197; xxiv. 582.

forget her guilt in her repentance and affectionate gratitude. The unity of this character alone is a strong argument against a plurality of authors of the Iliad.[1]

Homer knew by practical experience what he describes so well; the minute details of battle and the tented field—fighting or feasting, or at rest—on bivouac with Diomed[2]—wounded or triumphant—arming for battle or retreating—feeding his horses or driving them—the Homeric chieftain and soldier is what Homer knew him to be by actual service; though, of course, characters and circumstances, as the intended representatives of the heroic times, are ennobled and glorified by poetical imagination.[3]

Before the poet's eyes lay the book of Asiatic[4] nature, and he read it largely and accurately: when he would illustrate by comparison the Trojan troops pouring from their ships and tents, the swans of Cayster and the Asian meadows rose spontaneously to his mind. His knowledge of natural history is Asiatic: similes drawn from the lion[5] and the panther have a truth and colouring which would not have occurred to a Greek, or, at least, they would probably have been deficient in such characteristic minutiæ as observation and experience alone bestow. Homer's thoughts are those of one accustomed to live much under the open canopy of heaven; observation painting pictures on the organ of memory, to be reproduced for the delight of all generations, perhaps when the visual ray had been quenched. Further, it is likely that Homer, when not engaged in military service, was employed in the cultivation of the earth: his measures of distance are rustic;[6] his divisions of the day are often marked by the cessation of rustic labours;[7] the woodcutter's meal, or the unyoking of oxen. Who that had not often handled a woolly[8] sheep would have thought of telling us that Hector poised a stone in act to throw as easily as a shepherd carries a ram's fleece? Shepherds in those days must often have done battle with the lion to save the flock, and the verses which describe the chase or attack—the flight or death—of wild beasts, are probably from the same hand which sometimes dealt the blow.

Homer's social position.

Homer was not rich, but it is manifest from his poetry that he admired, not only the uses, but the show of wealth:[9] he was of the commonalty, not of the nobles. In the heroic age only these two classes appear. The one class met to advise and inform the king, and they communicated their determinations to the other class assembled as listeners; the former were kings (*βασιλέις*), rulers (*αρχοντές*), elders (*γεροντές*), and the latter were the people (*ὁ λαὸς*).[10] Perhaps Homer worked

[1] Compare Il. iii. 171, *et seq.*, with Il. xxiv. 762, *et seq.* [2] Il. x. 150.
[3] Præl. ix. [4] Il. ii. 461; v. 864; Præl. x. [5] Il. xvii. 132; xxi. 571.
[6] Il. xxiii. 845. [7] Il. xi. 67 and 84; Od. xiii. 31; xii. 421 and 439.
[8] Præl. x.; Il. xii. 451.
[9] Il. xxi. 75; xi. 241; xvi. 221; xii. 310; Præl. x. and xiv.
[10] Heyne's note on Il. ix. 397, and Grote, vol. ii. c. xx. *Θῆτές*, first mentioned in the Odyssey, lib. iv. v. 644, were those who worked for hire; *δοῦλοι* were slaves purchased; *ὀδμωὶς* were slaves captured in war.

His political views.

for hire; he evidently understood the business, and entered into the feelings of that class:[1] still, when Greece was in a transition state from monarchies established on limited privileges to democracy more or less developed, Homer was on the conservative side.[2] This appears most strongly in the Odyssey, where the party destructive of established law, custom, and government, is represented by the suitors, and the supporters of monarchical principles by Laertes, Telemachus, and Eumæus.

Whether this theory, worked out with much ingenuity and apparent confidence by Professor Keble, finds more or less acceptance, the student of classical poetry will be much indebted to his course of lectures for many new trains of thought, and the development of many new beauties; he will also find there a model of modern Latinity: the style is perspicuous, without being feeble; it is a good copy of the ancient masters, not a servile imitation.

Homer flourished probably B.C. 1005.

Probably we shall not err very widely in saying that Homer flourished not earlier than 1005 years before Christ, not later than 776.[3] Tradition as old as Simonides assigned Chios as his birthplace or habitual residence: the Hymn to Apollo says the same thing; and the beauty of the lines[4] in which the communication is made has won some critics to believe that they are Homer's own composition; but, however this may have been, Homer was like his own Odysseus[5] in that "he had wandered far, had seen the cities, and studied the character of many men." He could handle, not only a woolly sheep and a javelin, but a harp too; and perhaps the Lay of the First minstrel was like the lay of the Last, in that it procured him a hospitable and honourable reception at the houses of the great—

> In varying cadence, soft or strong,
> He swept the sounding chords along,
> Each blank in faithless memory void
> The poet's glowing thoughts supplied. *Scott.*

He arose in a rude age, which he instructed and charmed by the fiction of incident: he arose in an age of religious ignorance, which felt its need of instruction, and therefore readily accepted that structure of mythology[6] which he wrought out of the materials of tradition, consolidated and embellished by his own poetical imagination: but neither the fiction of incident, nor the inventions of superstition, possess a durable and universal interest. Homer added to these another excellence, which his contemporaries were scarcely able to appreciate—the fiction of character;—and this rendered him the ornament and the oracle of ages of progressive refinement. Had he

[1] Præl. xiv. [2] Ibid. xiii.

[3] Fast. Hellen. Introd. The Arundel Marble places him 907 B. C. Professor Keble thinks he wrote about the time of the return of the Hēracleidæ, *i.e.* about eighty years after the fall of Troy. Mr. Grote places the Iliad and Odyssey between 850 B. C. and 776 B. C.

[4] 165 to 173. [5] Od. i. 1; Landor's Peric. and Asp. Letters 83 and 84.

[6] Herod. ii. 53.

not painted faithfully the exploits of a rude age, his poetry would not have been preserved so long by the medium of oral tradition; but his universal and lasting charm arises from his power of delineating human nature,[1] the constitution of which remains essentially the same, however it may be modified by climate, polity, or religion.

Iliad and Odyssey.

The Iliad and the Odyssey are, indeed, wonderful examples of human genius; wonderful, both in the extent of their range, and the minuteness of their details.[2] In them we may explore the structure of society, the state of the arts, the sacred ordinances, and the forms of government, which existed perhaps a thousand years before the Christian era; and we have every reason to trust the fidelity of our guide. True it is, that no contemporary writings remain, by which his accuracy may be tried; but the correctness of his geographical accounts, especially of Greece, Crete, and Ithaca, the precise propriety of his epithets and descriptions, have been satisfactorily attested by the unexceptionable authority of geographers and travellers from Strabo,[3] to the author of Eothen.[4] "Methley reminded me of a passage in the Iliad, in which Poseidōn is represented as looking at the scene of action before Ilion, from above the island of Samothrace. Now Samothrace, according to the map, appeared to be not only out of all seeing distance from the Troad, but to be entirely shut out from it by the intervening Imbros, a larger island. I think the testing of the poet's words by map and compass may have shaken a little of my faith in the completeness of his knowledge. Well, now I had come—here at my side was Imbros all right—but aloft in a far-away heaven was Samothrace, the watch-tower of Poseidōn—now I believed—now I knew, that Homer had passed along here." If, then, he was exact where fictitious accounts might have been easily imposed on the credulity of an untravelled audience, we need not suspect his delineation of life and manners, where every hearer would be a judge of the force and fidelity of the representation.

Geography.

The characters of Homer's poems were formed by the records of tradition. Accordingly, many minute circumstances are introduced of no intrinsic interest, and of no importance in the poem, merely because they *were* traditional:[5] they were not worth inventing, and the fact of their being preserved at all, is a sign that the whole work has its foundation in history, though its embellishment is fictitious. The heroic ages declare by their very name that "there were giants in those days," and Homeric allusions extend upwards beyond the war of Troy to the Calydonian boar-hunt, the Argonautic expedition, and the war

[1] Il. iii. 153; vi. 380 *et seq.*; xvi. 7; xxiv. 253 and 486; Od. vi. 66; ix. 447; viii. 457.

[2] Il. iv. 122; xvi. 156; xviii. 490 *et seq.*; xxi. 257; Od. ix. 371 *et seq.*; xiv. 5 and 418. Yet in Philemon's time no one called Homer prolix (*μακρὸς*). Fragm. 22.

[3] *E. g.* The epithet *τειχιοῦς*, well-walled, is applied only twice, to Tyrins and Gortyna; the walls of the former remain to this day.

[4] P. 47.

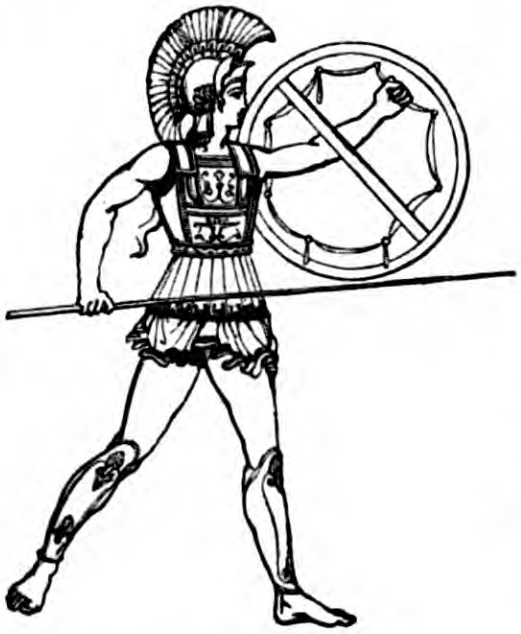
[5] *E. g.* Il. xi. *γνόθου καὶ γνήσιον*, 102, 111, and 427.

of the Epigoni.[1] "The tale of Troy divine" gives us, on a grand scale, both the vices and the virtues of an age of moral darkness and frequent warfare:—the very scenes of battle itself, its plunder, and its bloodshed, have their lights and shades.[2] Heroes stay their strife to relate, with honourable pride, the deeds of a long line of ancestry; and if such details by chance bring to light any tie of ancient hospitality, between the remote kindred of the contending parties, the claim is recognised as one which should terminate hostilities, and each seeks a more appropriate foe, to preserve that claim inviolate.[3] Still, the general character of warfare was ferocious[4] in the extreme: the plundered city is burnt, and the defenceless prisoner murdered without remorse; living enemies are addressed in the language of insult; indecent outrages are perpetrated on the dead; while those who escape the conqueror's sword, are reserved for the hardships of servitude, or the degradation of concubinage.[5]

War, generally cruel, but

The descriptions, however, of these deeds are relieved by circumstances to which modern warfare offers no counterpart: such are the scenes when whole armies determine to suspend their fate on the issue of a single combat—the solemnities of sacrifice by which this agreement is ratified[6]—the dialogue which precedes the fight[7]—the separation of the combatants by the intervention of heralds—their mutual interchange of gifts[8]—and the reward bestowed on each champion, a more ample goblet at the general feast, or a larger share of the sacrificial victim.[9] Such also are the rites of divination, the burning of the dead, and the games celebrated around their graves; such, also, are the fanciful personages of mythology who mingle in the fight, with enough of power to excite hope and fear, and yet enough of weakness and imperfection to be the objects of human sympathy. These descriptions, connected with the names and the achievements of ancient families, must have charmed an audience, delighting, as the Orientals have always done, in vivid narration of incident; while the traits of per-

mitigated by the laws of hospitality.



[1] See Heyne's note on Il. ix. 529.
[2] Il. vi. 416; vii. 81.
[3] The same custom is said to exist among the tribes of the Bedouin Arabs.
[4] Il. ii. 354; vi. 55; xxiv. 212; xxii. 41 and 335; xviii. 336.
[5] Il. ix. 660.
[6] Il. iii. 276 *et seq.*
[7] Il. iii. 68 and 268; vii. 274.
[8] Il. vii. 303; x. 216.
[9] Comp. 1 Sam. ix. 23; Il. vii. 321; Od. v. 371.

sonal character they draw out, the curious customs they display, and the fragments of traditionary history they preserve, have secured the interest of succeeding ages.

Chariots of the Homeric age.

It is remarkable that Homer's heroes never fight on horseback: not that the practice of riding was unknown in his own time, for he alludes to a refinement[1] in the art, which proves the perfection it had acquired. Chariots supplied the place of cavalry; but, unlike the iron carriages of a much earlier period, which defended the valleys of Canaan,[2] or the scythe-armed chariots[3] of a later date, which delayed the fall of Antiochus, these were slight cars, raised on two low wheels, and open behind; the body being no higher than the backs of the horses, and the sides giving no protection above the knee to the driver and the warrior who occupied them. When the line of battle was drawn up with most of caution and regularity, they occupied the van: the veteran infantry were ranged behind, and between these two ranks were those whose courage or whose patriotism might be suspected. Sometimes these chariots mingled in the thickest affray;[4] or they hovered on its skirts to convey the chieftain where his example and his encouragement might be most wanted; or they bore him to his tent, where the barbed arrow[5] might be cut from his wounded limb, the blood stanched by bitter roots, or the pain assuaged by medicinal herbs; such were the simple remedies of an age, when the profession of the surgeon and physician was the same; when the imagination of the patient was sometimes pacified, and thus the chance of recovery increased, by the charm of metrical incantation;[6] while many diseases were dismissed as incurable, under the idea that they were visitations from heaven. The poet's own knowledge of the structure of the human body seems to have been considerable: enlightened critics have agreed, that when he describes the fatal wounds of his warriors, they are very scientifically killed.

Medicine.



Metallurgy.

In an early stage of civilization, a high value will naturally be attached to the occupations of the mechanic and the artificer. Accordingly, the armourer[7] is ranked with the diviner, the physician and the bard, as one whose presence was not only welcome, but solicited.[8] Such skill supplies the wants of society, and is dignified by the title of

The armourer.

[1] Il. xv. 634 and 679; iv. 259; xii. 310; iv. 343.
[2] Judges, i. 19. [3] Liv. xxxvii. 41.
[4] Il. xvi. 367; iv. 297; and Heyne's notes on Il. xii. 75.
[5] Poisoned arrows are named, Od. i. 262, but not in the Iliad.
[6] Od. xix. 457, conf. Soph. Trachin. 1003. [7] Od. xvii. 384.
[8] Od. xvii. 382.

wisdom.[1] The art of working metals is necessary for the armour of personal defence; that of embroidery is connected with personal ornament; the appointments of the prince or the chieftain combine the two, and thus become illustrations to remoter periods of the peaceful artist's proficiency. In Homer's time[2] iron was apparently scarce; at least, a mass of this metal is offered as a prize[3] at the funeral games of Patroclus; and mentioned in a manner which seems to imply its rarity as well as its usefulness. Armour was chiefly fabricated from a metallic substance containing copper and tin. The breadth of the breastplate and the ample shield afforded most scope to the armourer's ability and taste: these were constructed with plates of gold, tin, brass, and silver. As a decoration of the former, we find when Agamemnōn[4] arms for battle, he braces on a breastplate on which six serpents are wrought, whose burnished crests were reared towards his throat, and which reflected, or perhaps were stained to imitate, the colours of the rainbow, as they glanced in the sun: on the latter, were studs of tin, amidst which were representations of warlike goddesses, personifications of fear and flight, with the Gorgon's terrific head, while the handle was worked in silver like the spires of a three-headed snake. The sword has a silver scabbard, suspended by thongs of gold. But the most magnificent example of the art of metallurgy was the famous shield of Achilles:[5] in the centre were the planets and the sun, the waves of ocean rolling round the extremities; then followed, in a beautiful series, scenes of pastoral life, tillage, the harvest and the vintage; there, too, was the siege, the ambuscade, and the battle; judicial inquiry, and political deliberation; the musical festivities of a marriage, and the evolutions of a national dance. The grouping of these scenes respectively, their number, variety, and contrast, attest the skill of the artist, or of the poet, or of both. How the difference of colour was produced is uncertain; it might have been by paint, since ivory[6] was stained to adorn the bits of horses; or, perhaps, by the effect of fire, for the art of fusing metals was known. Indeed, casting, gilding, and carving, both in wood and metal, were practised at a much earlier time by those who are described in Exodus[7] as "devising cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in cutting of stones to set them, and in carving of timber, to work in all manner of workmanship." That temple, which the piety of Solomon dedicated, and which his opulence enriched, owed the beauty and the delicacy of its sculptured decorations to the skill of a Tyrian artificer.[8] The descriptions of it recorded in the national archives of Judæa,[9] may vindicate Homer from unduly exaggerating either the abundance of the precious metals, or the progress of the ornamental arts.

Ornamental metallurgy.

Nor was the warrior altogether unindebted to the labours of the

[1] Exod. xxxvi. 1. [2] Il. xxiii. 831. [3] Il. xxii. 826.
[4] Il. xi. 28. [5] Il. xviii. [6] Il. iv. 141.
[7] Ch. xxxi. 5. [8] 2 Chron. ii. 14.
[9] 2 Chron. ix. 19; Od. vii. 100.

needle and the loom;[1] wild animals were embroidered on his belt; the trophies of his dexterity in the chase, and the decoration of his person in the fight. More ample robes were either received as the pledge of courteous hospitality, or won as the prize of valour. Such occupations suited the secluded life and unintellectual habits of oriental females: they are mentioned early, with an emphasis of description which seems to mark their costliness and value. "Have they not sped? Have they not divided the prey?—to Sisera a prey of divers colours; a prey of divers colours of needlework on both sides; meet for the necks of them that take the spoil."[2] Such garments were stored in the treasury of Priam. Sidonian[3] artists were most expert in their fabrication; but the high-born ladies of the court were apparently no mean proficients. Helen[4] weaves a representation of a battle between the Greeks and the Trojans: Andromache[5] copies flowers in a veil: the web of Penelope[6] is proverbially known—that funeral offering for Laertes from the hand of filial affection; while another, which she presents to an unknown guest, is thus beautifully described by Pope:— Embroidering.

> ——————— In ample mode,
> A robe of military purple flow'd
> O'er all his frame: illustrious on his breast.
> The double-clasping gold the king confest.
> In the rich woof a hound, mosaic drawn,
> Bore on full stretch, and seiz'd a dappled fawn;
> Deep in the neck his fangs indent their hold;
> They pant and struggle in the moving gold:
> Fine as a filmy web[7] beneath it shone
> A vest, that dazzled like a cloudless sun:
> The female train, who round him throng'd to gaze,
> In silent wonder sigh'd unwilling praise.
>
> *Od.* xix. 261.

It was natural that the goldsmith and the jeweller should be put in requisition, when the materials of their trade were abundant. We trace them in female dress,[8] and in the implements of the toilet; in both there is, together with the magnificence of real wealth, much of the simplicity of real taste: there were necklaces of gold and of amber;[9] there were earrings, whose pendent drops imitated either the form or the brilliancy of the human eye:[10] the hair was curled or braided, and covered with a veil: the robe was fastened over the bosom with golden clasps: a fringe surrounded the waist, and completed the full-dress costume[11] of a lady of the Homeric age. The appointments of her palace were as costly[12] as the decorations of her Jewellery. Dress. Domestic ornaments.

[1] Od. xi. 608; Il. iii. 371.
[2] Judges, v. 30.
[3] Il. vi. 289. Conf. Prov. xxxi. 13; Il. xxiv. 228.
[4] Il. iii. 125.
[5] Il. xxii. 440.
[6] Od. ii. 99; see also Od. vii. 235.
[7] Literally like the coat of an onion in softness, κρομύοιο λοπὸν. Od. xix. 233.
[8] Od. xviii. 292.
[9] Od. xv. 459.
[10] Il. xiv. 183.
[11] Il. xiv. 181.
[12] Il. iii. 382 and 391.

person; its walls glittered with silver, tin, ivory, brass, and amber:[1] her tripod has four handles, graced by eight golden doves:[2] her lyre[3] has a silver frame, her basket[4] is silver, and her distaff gold: the ewers and the basins which are served at the banquet, and even the bath, which alleviates fatigue, are of the like precious materials.[5] Such descriptions are splendid, but not improbable: for the mines of Ophir on the eastern coast of Africa, and those of Tarshish, perhaps in the south of Spain, had long since opened their prodigious treasures:[6] knowledge of navigation enabled the Phœnicians to seek and to circulate them; and since it does not appear that gold and silver were used as the medium of commercial transactions, there was no inducement to convert plate into money.[7]

Abundant supply of gold.

Social state.

In the Homeric age, however, with much of splendour in the domestic appointments of its kings and nobles, there was, in the constitution of its society, much of the rudeness and ferocity[8] of a half-

[1] Od. vii. 83. [2] Il. xi. 632. [3] Il. ix. 187.

[4] Od. iv. 131. Some ancient jewellery found in Ithaca, in a tomb amidst ruins which tradition designates as the residence of Odysseus, are as exquisite in their workmanship as any of those ornaments which Homer describes. Their date is unknown. See Hughes' Greece, vol. i. 160.

[5] The description of Nestor's cup is thus translated by Pope:—

> Next her white hand an antique goblet brings,
> A goblet sacred to the Pylean kings
> From eldest times: embossed with studs of gold,
> Two feet support it, and four handles hold,
> On each bright handle, bending o'er the brink,
> In sculptured gold, two turtles seem to drink.
>
> *Il.* xi. 777.

[6] Homer names Alybē as famous for its silver mines: *ὅθεν ἄργυρου ἔστι γένεθλη*, Il. ii. 857.

[7] Oxen are sometimes named as the standard of valuation; by this criterion the armour of Glaucus is compared to that of Diomed, in the sixth book of the Iliad, 236: and it appears that gold was more valuable than the metal commonly used in making armour, in the proportion of 100 to 9. Wine that arrived from Lemnos was distributed to the troops before Troy, in exchange for brass, iron, skins, and slaves. (Il. vii. 472.)

The pagan temples, in the time of Herodotus, abounded in the offerings of wealthy superstition. Crœsus (Herod. i. 50 and 51) sent to Delphi a lion of pure gold, which weighed ten talents, and a statue of a female near five feet in height; besides a quantity of ingots, bowls, casks, and other utensils equally costly. The riches of Babylon (Herod. i. 183) also were immense: there was a vast figure of Zeus, whose altar, table, and throne were of gold; and Cyrus found in the treasury 5400 vessels of gold and silver, the plunder of the temple of Jerusalem (Ezra, i. 11). He is said to have had also a vine wrought in gold, from which hung clusters of jewels: and in the time of Darius there was a similar work of art, and a palm tree of the same materials (Herod. vii. 27). The store-house of Odysseus (Od. ii. 337) contained piles of gold and silver, raiment in chests, fragrant oil, and casks of wine.

Various comparisons have been made of the precious metals now consumed in the arts, with the quantity of gold and silver coin. One estimate is, coin 270 millions sterling, arts 4,250,000.—*Ed. Rev.* April, 1832.

[8] *Τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν ῥῖνάς τε καὶ οὔατα νηλέι χαλκῷ*
Τάμνον· μηδέα τ' ἐξέρυσαν, κυσὶν ὠμὰ δάσασθαι.

Od. xxii. 475.

civilized state.[1] Its chivalry at the best and brightest was not chaste; no point of honour forbade flight in battle. Odysseus prides himself on the wide reputation he had obtained by his versatile cunning (Od. ix. 19).

Εἶμ' Ὀδυσσεὺς Λαερτιάδης ὅς πᾶσι δόλοισιν
Ἀνθρώποισι μίλω καὶ μευ κλέος οὐρανον ἵκει.

Homicide might be either avenged, or compromised by payment, at the will of the relations of the deceased.

Piracy.

Whether alphabetical characters are implied in the Iliad is a disputed question. The profession[2] of the freebooter was not discreditable; he who asked his guest if he was a pirate, violated no courtesy by the question: no affront was intended on the one part, and no indignation excited on the other.

Hospitality.

Hospitality[3] was a general virtue required by the exigencies, and cultivated by the good feeling, of the age: its attentions were as delicate and refined[4] as its parting gifts were liberal.[5] He who sought protection from his enemies took his seat as a suppliant on the hearth: no time was unseasonable—not even the day of a wedding festivity—for the arrival and reception of strangers;[6] and it is not till they have enjoyed the bath and the banquet, that their name and their destination are asked.[7] In the Homeric poems feasts are described with a frequency and minuteness, more tolerable in the original than in any less sonorous and dignified language; but as illustrations of ancient manners they are curious. The part which princes and princesses take in preparing them indicates a period of simplicity; some occupations, indeed, of these noble ladies,[8] such as feeding the horses of their lords, bathing their guests,[9] and carrying linen to the river to be washed,[10] may offend the delicacy of modern days: still females at this time seem to have mixed more freely, and yet more modestly, in the business and the amusements of social life, than they did when Greece was more polished and refined.[11] The practice of divorce, so common at Athens in later times, was unknown to the Greeks of the Heroic age. The usual employments of married women are to educate their children, distribute tasks to their maid-servants, provide for the table, and "guide the house." Occasionally[12] their ears and eyes were gladdened by the tidings and the toys of a Phœnician merchant: even as Minna and Brenda rejoiced in the arrival of Bryce Snailsfoot, when he visited Burgh Westra with his pedlar-wares.[13] Penelope appears among the

Freedom of female society.

[1] Od. xix. 91.—Conf. Thuc. i. 5.
[2] Od. iii. 73.
[3] Od. i. 123; vi. 289; Il. vi. 15; Od. vi. 310.
[4] Od. viii. 207; Il. ix. 193; xxiv. 582 *et seq.*
[5] Od. xxiv. 273. Seven talents of gold, a cup of solid silver, twelve close vests, as many coats, robes, and pieces of tapestry, together with four beautiful women. See also Od. viii. 424. On the hospitality of the middle ages, see some curious particulars in Robertson's Charles the Fifth, sect. 1, note 29.
[6] Od. iv. 28.
[7] Od. iv. 60.
[8] Il. viii. 188.
[9] Od. iii. 464.
[10] Od. vi. 59.
[11] Od. vii. 67 and 71; vi. 276.
[12] Od. xv. 415: μύρι' ἄγοντες ἀθύρματα νηὶ μελαίνῃ.
[13] Pirate, c. xviii.

suitors with authority dignified and mild. Helen does not retire when strangers are introduced to Menelaus, and Hector[1] himself pays a deferential regard to the opinion of the sex collectively. The passion of love in Homer's heroes is, indeed, far removed from that purity, sentiment, and individuality, which was the pride and the virtue of the knights of chivalry: but it contained many of the elements which constitute the happiness of domestic life; and is immeasurably better than the same passion in a later age, when its root was planted in intense selfishness, its growth distorted by an absurd policy, and when its fruit was, what might be naturally expected, sensuality, gross, odious, and universal.

Convivial meetings.

In connection with the subject of convivial meetings, Homer fails not to make honourable mention of his brother-bards. It has been thought his praise of Phemius[2] may have been prompted by gratitude for his early instructions. However this may be, the music of the lyre was often put into requisition; he who instructed and warned his hearers as the guardian of morality, or who charmed their hours of ease by tales of love and war, held an honourable place at the courts of kings. Demodocus, among the vain and opulent Phæacians, has his silver-studded throne,[3] his separate table, and his own attendant: he sung the strife between the bravest and the most crafty of the chieftains, who met before the walls of Troy; and roused his hearers to the imitation at least of warlike deeds,—athletic exercises at home: these trials of dexterity with the javelin, the bow, and the quoit, together with hunting, dancing, and perhaps hawking,[4] being the ordinary recreations of Grecian life.

Bards.

Farm-service.

Such then were the domestic establishments, and such were some of the domestic customs among the higher classes of society: as we descend in the scale, the description is less pleasing; when Peleus gave Phœnix a tract of land, the inhabitants passed with it as part of the present.[5] Alcinous proposes to his council to be liberal towards Odysseus in parting gifts, and he adds, we will repay ourselves by a tax on the people.[6] Laertes bought Eurycleia when very young[7] for twenty oxen; Eurymachus proposes to hire Odysseus as a farm servant to plant and cut hedges; for this service he was to be clothed and fed.[8]

Slavery.

Slavery existed universally,[9] Egypt, the Greek Islands, Cyprus, and Sicily being its chief emporia. Servitude of some kind must always prevail, because the idle, the extravagant, and the vicious will squander what they possess, and must then earn a subsistence by their labour; but slavery is a state of things which, by the voluptuousness, cruelty, and pride which it engenders, has a tendency to entail on one party as

[1] Il. vi. 442; Od. ii. 101; xix. 146; xxi. 323.
[2] Eustathius, quoted in Wood, page 81.
[3] Od. viii. 65.
[4] Od. xxii. 302.
[5] Il. ix. 479.
[6] Od. xiii. 15.
[7] Πρώθηβην ἐπ' ἰεῦσαν, Od. i. 430.
[8] Μισθὸς ἄρκιος, sufficient pay, Od. xviii. 356.
[9] Od. xvii. 448; xx. 383; Il. xxiv. 752; Od. xv. 482. Conf. Thuc. i. 8.

much of moral mischief, as it does of personal suffering and degradation on the other. It arose, however, out of the habits of the times; for piracy being sanctioned as a profession, and war so frequent, those who were carried off from one country as prisoners, were naturally sold in another as slaves. Still they were, by this system, at least saved from death. It was moreover slavery in a mitigated form, with less than usual of its jealousy, distance, and suspicion: fidelity by degrees assumed the warmth of attachment;[1] captives identified themselves with the interests or honour of the family they had entered, and mourned the death or misfortunes of him to whom destiny had assigned them. Sometimes indeed a bloody superstition demanded them as a sacrifice[2] to the manes of some departed friend; and in case of delinquency at home, they seem to have met with very summary justice. Odysseus,[3] on his return to his palace, hangs twelve of them like thrushes in a springe—it is the poet's own comparison; and the chieftain apparently feels as little scruple as the agriculturist, in ridding himself, by this simple process, of so many noxious animals.

[1] Il. xviii. 28; xix. 282; Soph. Ajax, 491; Od. xiv. 144; vii. 12.
[2] Il. xxiii. 175; xviii. 336. [3] Od. xxii. 465, and xviii. 84.





SECTION II.

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES OF THE HOMERIC AGE.

Religion of the Homeric age.

IN transferring our attention from the domestic customs of the early Greeks to their religion, we must still content ourselves with the same guide. Herodotus could ascend in his researches no higher than to Homer and to Hesiod: accordingly he[1] ascribes to these poets the structure of Grecian theogony; or that arrangement of attributes, forms, and occupations, which it assigns to its deities respectively. Some few traces, indeed, the historian himself gives us of a still earlier religion, which prevailed among the Pelasgi. Different[2] names for different deities did not enter into their forms of worship, their sacrifices, or their prayers; and though this fact will not prove the system not to have been polytheistic, it is a sign of its having degenerated less from the truth and simplicity of an original revelation.

Change from Theism to idolatry.

The change from theism to idolatry is easily explained: the mind of man is, in a certain sense, constitutionally religious; and yet, being unable to rise by unassisted reason to the abstract idea of one perfect supreme Being, or to retain the notion firmly, even if it should have been conceived, deities were naturally invented, which were personifications of all that is great and good in man. The circumstance, moreover, that poets were the first teachers of religion, would originate and perpetuate this error: they who viewed with the eye of taste and genius the various beauties of the physical world[3] would soon people the mountain and the grove, the glen and the river, with imaginary beings. Pretensions to inspiration would frequently be made, and readily acknowledged; the vulgar being unable to refuse a religious

Poets the first teachers of Grecian religion.

[1] Lib. ii. 53. [2] Lib. ii. 52.

[3] See Wordsworth's Excursion, lib. iv.: "the lively Grecian."

system, which the superiority of their instructors imposed on their judgment, or unwilling to destroy an illusion which had so many charms for their imagination. Perhaps the poets were partly deceived by their own fancy; or if not, from the mere love of truth, they would not have sacrificed machinery so useful to them, both as authors and as courtiers. Its instrumentality made their fictions more pleasing; and their flattery was more acceptable when they could trace to a deity the genealogy of their patron, or promise hereafter a participation in divine honours to the friendship and the virtues of private life, or to him whose abilities were a public benefit.

Its origin Egyptian.

Egypt was to the early Greeks what the later Greeks were to the rest of the civilized world—the source of their religion, their philosophy, and their legislation: accordingly, a considerable portion of the Homeric theology is of Egyptian parentage. There are circumstances in the geographical situation of that country which will account for her early progress in the exact sciences: a clear sky, even without a wide horizon, facilitated the observation of the heavenly bodies, whose rising and setting marked the seasons of tillage and navigation; while the science of geometry was indispensable to a people, the landmarks of whose property were effaced by the annual inundations of the Nile. Improvement in manufactures was advanced by the opportunities of inland navigation.[1] The powers of the mind excited by natural phænomena, their causes and their consequences, soon passed from the study of physics to philosophy and legislation. Those, who in other countries were stimulated to the pursuit of knowledge by active curiosity, or the consciousness of superior talents, went to Egypt as the place where this curiosity could be most fully gratified, and these talents most successfully exercised. Here Thalēs and Pythagoras sought that wisdom which they were to transmit along the lines of the Ionic and Italic schools: and here too it is probable Homer was an eye-witness of many things which he adapted to his religious and mythological system. A tradition to this effect is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus:[2] the Infernal rivers and Elysian fields had their real prototypes in the neighbourhood of Memphis, where the lives of the dead were subjected to an actual scrutiny, corresponding with the inquiry and the sentence of the fabled Minos. But if the Egyptian theology was partly borrowed by Homer, in his hands it was greatly improved. Those deities which were only personifications of the various powers of nature became moral agents; and instead of being represented under images of disgusting deformity, they become models of human beauty, grace, and majesty.

Character of Homer's deities.

> Scattering from his pictured urn,
> Thoughts that breathe, and words that burn,

he inspired the statuary, as well as the poet of succeeding ages: the skill of Phidias embodied in marble the awful dignity of that Zeus,

[1] Smith's Wealth of Nations, i. 27. [2] Lib. i.

whom Homer's imagination had conceived, and Homer's eloquence described. The inferior deities were supposed to assume at will the human form; they wooed the daughters of man;[1] at times they were jealous of his skill;[2] they protected his interests or impeded his enemies like tutelary genii; they shared alike the battle, the feast,[3] and the sacrifice.[4] They were propitiated by votive offerings, libations,[5] and prayer: they were provoked by neglect, or by disobedience to such laws as were most especially necessary in the existing state of society; and whatever might be the personal vices of these beings, or their mutual discord, they were supposed to sanction justice in general, respect for oaths,[6] protection to the suppliant, hospitality to the stranger, and compassion for the poor.

No exclusive priesthood in Greece.

Another point of difference between the theology of Greece and Egypt was the existence of the priesthood in the latter country, as an united body, possessed of power, wealth, and learning. Perhaps these were the heads of the families who originally constituted the ruling power: and one being chosen king the rest combined together, intervening, like a house of peers, between the prince and the people, and assuming to themselves the superintendence of religion as the readiest means of promoting general order, and securing their own power. In Egypt professions were hereditary:[7] the eldest son of a priest became a priest himself on his father's death, inheriting by descent the wealth, knowledge, and privileges of the society. Their property in land amounted to one-third of the kingdom:[8] their knowledge was considerable and exclusive;[9] and the natural result of such a system was as well adapted to the credulity and superstition of the people, as it was to the avarice and ambition of the priests: for wherever men are taught to see with the eyes, and believe with the understanding, of others, and to remove from themselves the obligations of personal piety by laying them on a priesthood, such a plan suits the indolence of human nature; conscience or moral feeling is pacified by the idea of performing its duty by proxy, and it gladly supports and enriches that system of artifice and superstition of which it is the willing dupe.

Union of the regal and priestly office.

In Greece there was no similar system at all; nor was there that political union, stability, and peace, which was necessary to produce this effect. The priesthood as a body had no mutual combination, no civil power, and no common creed. The right of presiding at public sacrifices was in early times a part of the kingly office, and probably the head of each family was also its domestic priest. In this character Nestor[10] is introduced in the third book of the Odyssey, his sons assisting him in the religious ceremonies; Achilles also sacrifices to

[1] Od. vi. 280. [2] Il. vii. 452. [3] Od. vii. 199.
[4] Od. iii. 435. [5] Il. vii. 450 and 480; ix. 492 *et seq.*
[6] Od. vi. 207; Il. iii. 279; iv. 160.
[7] See Shuckford's Con., and Herod. ii. 37. [8] Diod. Sic. lib. i.
[9] Isoc. Busir. [10] Od. iii. 444.

the manes of Patroclus. Still it is likely that those who were eminent for worth or sagacity might occasionally be called in to preside or to advise. Thus the Iliad opens with a proposal from Achilles to inquire the cause of the pestilence by means of some "prophet, priest, or interpreter of dreams." Calchas confidently declares it. Odysseus on another occasion refers to a previous prediction of the same augur, and its fulfilment,[1] as a reason for courage and perseverance. Of course such circumstances gave room for the display both of real sagacity and dexterous fraud: he would be most frequently consulted whose answers were worded with most of skilful ambiguity; or who conjectured the future from the past, the effect from the cause, by superior acuteness and observation: and if to these qualities he added boldness in delivering his predictions, this very confidence would, in an age of ignorance and superstition, tend to produce their accomplishment.

Chief Homeric deities.

The presence, however, of these priestly seers was not necessary to render religious ceremonies valid: each head of a family possessed the ordinary rights of priesthood; altars were commonly erected in the open air; and the principal deities of the Homeric poems for whom these altars smoke, are Zeus, Poseidōn, Athēnē, and Apollo. The supremacy[2] of the first over all the inferior deities is marked decisively. His own declaration of this, and the test he proposes, are a curious picture of the social condition of the deities. If I, says the great king, catch any one of you helping the Trojans or the Greeks, he shall either make his escape to Olympus disgraced and bruised, or else I will seize him, and throw him into Tartarus. Then you shall know my superiority in power. Come now, make the trial; hang a gold chain from heaven, and fasten yourselves at the end of it, all of you, gods and goddesses: you cannot pull Zeus down, but, whenever I please, I can pull you up with the earth and the sea, wind the chain round Olympus, and there you would all dangle in the air.[3]

Fate, or Destiny, a mysterious power.

True it is that the expressions, fate or destiny (*μοῖρα*, *αἶσα*), are frequent; but, in the mouth of man, these need mean no more than the will of the Supreme Being. Once indeed[4] it seems to come into collision with that will: Zeus laments that it is Sarpedon's destiny (*μοῖρα*) to die by the hand of Patroclus—Sarpedon his best beloved among men—and he hesitates whether he shall save him. Yet, even in this case, the answer of Hērē proves his absolute power: "Do you wish to rescue from death a man long doomed by fate" (*αἶσα*)? "Do it, but all the rest of us praise you not." Æschylus leaves this difficulty purposely in mystery in the Prometheus, where, speaking of the fates (*μοῖραι*), he says, § 26—

> CHORUS. Is, then, Zeus less powerful than these?
> PROM. None assuredly can escape destiny.
> CHORUS. Why, what destiny has Zeus except everlasting dominion?
> PROM. That you cannot yet know by inquiry—do not desire it.

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[1] Il. ii. 330.
[2] Il. xv. 20; viii. 17 *et seq.*
[3] Il. viii. v. 10 to 27.
[4] Il. xvi. 433 to 443.

At all events, whatever this mysterious power might have been, room was so far left for free-will that men[1] were chargeable with their own crimes and follies. The Stoics stated this difficulty, and perhaps thought they had solved it in this sentence: "Semel jussit, semper paret," or, "Zeus first made the law, and thereafter obeys it." An attempt has been made to explain the several parts of Homer's theological system by allegory; but this interpretation is, in its details, more absurd—more revolting to common sense—than the theology which it attempts to vindicate. The true account is that given by the Scholiast on Il. xiii. 521 (quoted by Coleridge, p. 189): "In the poet the gods are conceived corporeally, and appear in human form, differing from men in their immortality alone, and subject to the same passions."[2] In fact, what reason did not dictate, reason cannot explain.

Effect of mythology on manners.

The virtues have already been mentioned, which these fabulous inhabitants of Olympus were supposed especially to sanction: violations, nevertheless, of their own laws might be abundantly illustrated by their own examples. It has, indeed, been said, that these examples would not exert a pernicious influence on the morals and character of men, because there was no positive injunction to imitate them. But human nature would naturally palliate its vices by appealing to such respectable authority, and in later times we know such was the fact. Plato says, the Cretans made this use of the story of Zeus and Ganymede;[3] first inventing the tale, and then justifying their own wickedness. In that amusing dialogue[4] in one of the comedies of Aristophanēs, in which a personification of equity and a personification of villany plead their causes, the latter uses, with adroitness and success, the traditionary tales of Grecian mythology, to "make the worse appear the better reason;" and to show that chastity, honesty, and such homely virtues, were neither encouraged by the example, nor rewarded by the protection, of the gods. The graver testimony of Isocratēs[5] traces some of these fables to Orpheus, who degraded the deities to the level of the worst of mankind, and was torn to pieces for the mischievous impiety and falsehood of his inventions.

Religious sanctions.

Such, however, as early Grecian morality was, its sanctions were administered partly in this world and partly in another. Temporal punishment overtook the guilty; or, if they seemed to be successful, the pangs of conscience interrupted their enjoyment: though Zeus may suffer them to carry safe to their home the spoils of piracy and unjust aggression, still "the strong alarm of anxiety falls upon their mind."[6] The Furies have the office[7] of punishing the wicked after death. The good have different localities allotted to them. Hēraclēs

[1] Od. i. 32.

[2] The whole system of Pagan polytheism is exposed with much acuteness and drollery in the third book of Cicero's treatise, De Natura Deorum, 16 to 25.

[3] *ἵνα ἐπόμενοι τῷ θεῷ καρπῶνται καὶ τάυτην τὴν ἡδυνήν.*—*De Legibus*, lib. i.

[4] Nub. [5] Busir. Laud. [6] Od. xiv. 88; Il. iv. 161.

[7] Il. xix. 259.

is "with the immortal gods," but his shade is in Hadēs, practising archery with great zeal.[1]

Menelaus has a promise that the gods will speed him to Elysium and the ends of the earth—

> From the bleak pole no winds inclement blow,
> Mould the round hail or flake the fleecy snow,
> But from the breezy deep, the blest inhale
> The fragrant murmurs of the western gale.
>
> *Pope's Od.* iv. 774.

Ajax retains in Hadēs his haughty sullenness, and Orion still chases wild beasts; but neither the dignity nor the diversions of the abode can reconcile Achilles to his lot: he tells Odysseus he had rather be the hireling of a poor farmer on earth than king of all the ghosts (Od. xi. 488). This was the sentiment that moved so much the indignation of Plato: verily darkness covered the earth, and "gross darkness the people."[2]

Sacrificial rites.

When the deities plead among each other the cause of their favourites on earth, exactness and liberality in the rites of sacrifice hold a high place among the moral virtues. Such was the excellence of Priam[3] and his people: and when Athēnē is contrasting Odysseus with Ægistheus, for the very purpose of engaging the favour of Zeus, this is the foremost plea.[4] It is not written in Homer's theology, "Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams."[5] This part of the Pagan ritual was at once a festival, a banquet, and a religious offering: the poet's descriptions of it are frequent and minute.[6] It is remarkable, that similar institutions have prevailed alike in the civilized and uncivilized world; whether they were the spontaneous suggestions of human gratitude and fear, or whether they were a fragment of an original revelation, rolled down the stream of time, and moulded by the hand of different nations into various unsightly shapes.

Divination.

But we are now to view these votive offerings in connection with another important part of Pagan religion—the art of divination. And here, again, attention is invited by the universality of the practice: no age has been too ignorant, or too enlightened, to feel a strong desire to pry into futurity, and a strong belief that such an insight is attainable. Nor is it difficult to account for this, upon the known principles of human nature: they who enjoy prosperity are anxious about its continuance: they who are in misfortune look forward earnestly to a change: the contemplative mind perceives so much in

[1] Od. xi. 600.
[2] See on this subject a paper in the Classical Museum, No. 4, 1844.
[3] Il. iv. 47; xxiv. 70.
[4] Od. i. 60.
[5] 1 Sam. xv. 22. There is a better feeling in a fragment of Menander, beginning—
ἴσ' οἶς τὴν θυσίαν προσφέρων ὦ Πάμφιλε.
[6] Od. iii. 430; Il. i. 458.

Divination.

the ordinary course of events which perplexes reason, that it hopes, from a knowledge of the future, that explanation which the past and the present deny. Where there is credulity on one hand, there will be fraud on the other: there will be either enthusiasts or deceivers, who will imagine or invent what popular feeling demands. Not, however, that all predictions of antiquity must of necessity be referred to these two sources. Some had their origin in real science; as when Thalēs foretold an eclipse; and many more were doubtless the result of shrewd sagacity[1] exercised on facts and characters, and of observations registered by a retentive memory, which invested predictions with such a rational probability, as was often borne out by the event. Still, where these qualifications were the real means of divination, other instruments would be ostensibly employed to give a mysterious dignity to the craft. Their choice and application indicate folly and superstition, but in very different degrees. That the favour or displeasure of the deities might be supposed to be revealed by any unusual natural phenomena—that dreams should be thought to have the nature of divine communications—if it is not reasonable, is at least intelligible: but it does indeed exemplify the "fears of the brave" and "the follies of the wise," that they should seek to penetrate futurity by noticing the flight of birds, or suspend important undertakings on the inspection of a sacrificed victim. Yet such follies prevailed, not only in the early ages of Grecian history, but in the maturity of her refinement and intellect.[2] Lightning[3] on the right, or an eagle on the left,[4] could gladden or afflict the heart of Homer's heroes: Teiresias appears on the stage,[5] doubtless in conformity with ancient tradition, interpreting the gestures and the notes of birds. Divination,[6] however, by victims prevailed longer and more extensively. The tragic poets are frequent in their description of these rites; disastrous omens were a struggling victim, an imperfect formation,[7] or a dull flame.[8] On the other hand, the favour of heaven was indicated by a clear fire, mounting like a pyramid, dispersed by no wind, extinguished by no showers, and feeding rapidly on a complete and perfect sacrifice. It was in patient expectation of some such appearances that the Lacedæmonians[9] and Tegeœtæ sustained at Platæa the charge of the Persian cavalry, and "because the victims were not favourable, there fell of them at that time very many, and far more were wounded." Such a sacrifice of life could only have been made by a real belief in divination on the part of the generals or the soldiers, or of both.[10] What the more educated and enlightened minds might have thought on the subject it is not easy to ascertain. Plutarch[11] has preserved a tradition that the great question, whether

Of various kinds.

Dreams.

Lightning.

Flight of birds.

Victims.

Popular belief in divination.

[1] Il. xviii. 250 *et seq.* [2] Conf. Œd. Col. 1456. [3] Il. ii. 353.
[4] Il. xii. 225. In divination the Greeks faced the north (Il. xii. 240); the Romans faced the south.
[5] Antig. 1000. [6] Ezekiel, xxi. 21. [7] Eurip. Elect. 826.
[8] Antig. 1006. [9] Herod. ix. 61.
[10] Plut. in Aristid. [11] In Themist.

the Grecian fleet should risk a battle at Salamis, was determined in conference by the appearance of an owl. Whether this were an accident, or whether it were a trick, the fact, if it be true, is a curious proof that where courage and wisdom failed to persuade, superstition saved the liberties of Greece. The dramatic writers were wiser in their generation: picturesque descriptions of these ceremonies suited their purpose as poets: they were in keeping with the characters introduced, with ancient tradition, and religious feeling. But the chorus, the appointed organ by which the instructive reflections of the author were to act on the public mind, expresses itself on these subjects with all the freedom[1] of incredulity. "As for the declarations of prophets," says Euripidēs,[2] by the mouth of one of his personages, "I have seen how worthless they are, and full of deceit; there is nothing sound (or trustworthy) in the sacrificial flame, or the notes of the winged tribe: and verily it is a simple thing to fancy that birds can aid mankind." Sentiments of equal boldness are to be found in the tragedies of Sophoclēs.[3] With such passages recorded and circulated (for the moral sentiments of Euripidēs, especially, were familiarly remembered and repeated), it is a curious fact, that minds like those of Xenophon and Socratēs should still remain entangled in the absurdities of divination. The latter condemns, indeed, the habit of consulting the gods on cases which common sense may determine, but he unequivocally expresses his belief that they do hold correspondence with mankind.[4] The philosophic Xenophon, in his character of an historian, relates his dreams[5] and their verification with as much gravity as his military movements. When the army suffers from cold, a sacrifice is performed to the north wind: "whereupon it appeared most evidently to all, that the severity of the blast ceased." Xenophon was prevented from accepting[6] the sole command of the army by the recollection that he had seen an eagle settling on the ground near Ephesus; which omen the augurs interpreted to mean some station of publicity and honour, attended with anxiety and toil. It is, indeed, a strong proof of the tenacity with which superstition may fix itself on minds even of extraordinary excellence, that Xenophon could not emancipate himself from its follies by the power of a philosophical education, by the familiar society of the best and wisest man of Pagan antiquity, by long experience of active life, and by various and extensive studies pursued in the tranquillity of retirement.

Belief in divination

shared by some educated minds.

Such is a brief sketch of the social customs of the Homeric age and its religious ceremonies, with a prospective view of the latter at a later period; the value which they held in popular estimation, the scepticism of some superior minds, and the credulity of others. The picture has its lights and shades strongly contrasted. The earliest condition of social life, where we can trace it, exhibits much that is rude, unpolished,

Social life semi-civilized.

[1] Eur. Helen. 764; Œd. Tyr. 500. [2] Helen. 750.
[3] Œd. Tyr. 708; Ajax, 1419; Pind. Ol. xii. 10.
[4] Xenoph. Mem. i. 1. [5] Anab. 4 and 6. [6] Anab. 6.

and inconvenient, with much that is splendid in costly equipage, and elegant in the ornamental arts.[1] Signs there are of taste and delicate feeling in generous hospitality; and of personal integrity and domestic affection, combined with ferocity in war, and licentiousness in peace. The human mind in the same age—nay, in the same individual—was debased by childish absurdities, and yet capable of teaching much that was admirable in morality, and much that was profound in speculation. There was, indeed, the nominal recognition of one Supreme Being;[2] but the truth of this doctrine was tarnished, and its practical use destroyed, by the admission of subordinate deities to share in his prerogatives of praise and prayer. Still, even the pagan priesthood, with all its fraud and its folly, was probably productive of more good than evil.[3] They found the tradition of a revelation universally prevalent: where they combined together, as in Egypt, religion was indeed made an engine of political power; yet this was better than anarchy. Where they did not, as in Greece, it was degraded by various follies; yet even these were better than atheism. The priesthood in Egypt were the depositaries of the learning of the age: in Greece, though they were not teachers of religious doctrines, but rather performers of religious rites, yet they were the intermediate agents by which the voice of prayer, praise, or humiliation, was transmitted to the objects of their public worship, and thus probably kept alive some feelings of religion in the human mind.

Bad theology better than none.

Polybius[4] and Livy testify, respecting a later period, that when the influence of the priesthood was greatest, then there was most of public and private worth:[5] in proportion, moreover, as this influence declined, the people became gradually worse. That which they assert of the history of Rome is true also of the history of Greece.[6] The religion of Homer's time was bad; but the irreligion of succeeding ages was worse: for those minds which were capable of removing the rubbish of error were not capable of establishing the fabric of truth. If the social[7] manners of Homer's time were bad, those of the age of Periclēs were worse: and when society had received the last polish of refinement, and human intellect the last discipline of cultivation, then it was that civil polity was most destitute of religion, and private life most regardless of virtue.

Social immorality increased after the Homeric age.

[1] Il. xxiv. 657.

[2] Il. i. 567 and 580.

[3] "The right conceit that they had, that to perjury vengeance is due, was not without good effect, as touching the course of their lives." Hooker's Eccl. Pol. lib. v. 1.

[4] Hist. vi. 54. Cic. de Divin.

[5] Cic. de Nat. De. lib. ii. 3.

[6] Conf. Ar. Pol. v. 11. Xenoph. Mem. i. 4, *ad fin*:—*οὐκ' ὁρᾷς ὅτι τὰ πολυκρονιώτατα.—κ. τ. λ.*

[7] It cannot be denied that the women of Homer occupied a more worthy position in the household than those of the so-called Historic period (see especially Od. vii. 67, the character of Aretē). The reason for this cannot be ascertained, as we have no certain accounts of the intervening centuries which brought about such a revolution.—Bekker's Charicles, excursus (or appendix) to scene 12, page 339.



SECTION III.

EDUCATION OF THE ATHENIANS.

Evil effects of the Trojan war

In taking leave of that period of early history which the Iliad and Odyssey embrace, no guide is to be found who can adequately supply their place. Homer's successors[1] inherited his name without his genius; but they deserve the gratitude of posterity for having preserved and circulated, in their character of rhapsodists, the several books of the Mæonian bard. There is a probable tradition, that Lycurgus brought these from Ionia into Greece. There they became incorporated in the national education: Peisistratus, as has already been observed, compared the extant versions of the Iliad and Odyssey, fixed their text, engraved the whole or parts of it, and arranged the several books in their present order:[2] Hipparchus ordered them to be recited at the Panathenæa: they delighted the martial spirit of the Spartan, the cultivated taste of the Athenian, and became familiar to both, as a lesson of exalted patriotism.

in disqualifying the Greeks for pacific occupations.

The period, however, which elapsed between the composition of these poems, and their established recitation during one of the most imposing public festivals at Athens, is involved in great obscurity. The effect of the Trojan war was to plunge Greece again into barbarism. It had, indeed, combined the Greeks, as a nation, in one general enterprise; an union which they were proud to acknowledge, when contrasting themselves in triumphant superiority with men of other tongues, and which they were nevertheless ready to violate

[1] Schol. on Pindar; Nem. Ode ii. 1.

[2] Cic. de Or. iii. 34: "Homeri libros confusos antea sic disposuisse dicitur ut nunc habemus."

whensoever separate interests gave rise to rival claims. It might partially have prevented the evils of an excessive population: but this advantage was dearly bought. Habits formed amidst a ten-years' predatory warfare, disqualified those who returned for sedentary and pacific occupations. Their place, too, knew them no more. Cities had received the authority of new masters; fresh domestic connections had been formed, to the injury or the exclusion of the absent; some resumed their station, but it was by violence and bloodshed, while others, unable or unwilling to purchase their restoration at such a price, emigrated in search of safer residences. Scarcely had these domestic dissensions subsided, when fresh disturbances and fresh emigrations were the consequences of a foreign invasion. The Hēraclidæ issued from the mountains of Doris, and succeeded in establishing their dominion in the Peloponnesus eighty years[1] after the capture of Troy.

Wealth of Corinth.

Such repeated convulsions of course checked the progress of agriculture and arts, of literature and civilization: they who cultivated the inland country were never sure that a more powerful horde of invaders would not reap the fruit of their labours; while many of those spots on the coast, which offered every advantage for commercial undertakings, were left untenanted, for fear of the merchant-pirates who swept the seas. Corinth, however, had risen into very early[2] opulence; being planted on an isthmus, washed by the waters of two ample bays, one of which spread its arms for the shipping of the Archipelago, and the other invited the commerce of the west: from her dock-yards were launched the first Grecian triremes. The genius of her sovereign, Periander, conspired with these local advantages, and this naval skill, and a grateful nation commemorated his wealth and his wisdom, on the shores of that ocean to which he early turned her attention, as the source of opulence, stability,[3] and power.[4]

Population of Attica not migratory.

The aggrandisement and fame of the people of Attica sprung from a very different cause—the union of a people who held their possessions without interruption, because their soil was too poor to invite spoliation.[5] Foreigners, who were driven from other districts by civil discord or by war, found there the security of a settled government; which, having its origin in Cecrops, and being consolidated by Theseus, had struck its roots so deeply in the feelings and interests of the people, that it suffered less than other states in the turbulent period that followed the siege of Troy. Security produced refinement;[6] armour was exchanged for linen dresses: golden grasshoppers bound back the hair, being emblems of a favourite[7] national opinion, that the original inhabitants of Attica were Athenians. Of these two cities, which rose into early eminence by the operation of causes so essentially different, Corinth requires not any further consideration. Materials connected with the private life of its inhabitants are scanty: in literature it was

[1] Thuc. lib. i.
[2] Il. ii. 570; conf. Thuc. lib. i. 13.
[3] Pindar, Ol. xiii. 5.
[4] Diog. Laer.
[5] Thuc. lib. i. 2.
[6] Thuc. lib. i.
[7] Soph. Œd. Col. 728.

undistinguished; its government suffered less from factions in proportion as it was administered with less of injustice: wealth and ease produced their natural effect on domestic manners, and at length the very name of this city became proverbial[1] for everything that was licentious and corrupt.

Athenian education contrasted with Spartan.

From this point, then, it is intended to trace Athenian[2] education, both bodily and mental, in its several stages, and the subjects corresponding or contrasted with these at Sparta; to examine the relations which existed between master and slave in these two states, and then to enter on an investigation of the state of their female society.

Infanticide permitted in Athens.

When a child was born in a private Athenian family, if it was a daughter, a fillet of wool was suspended at the door: the sex of the infant was thus indicated by the symbol of her appropriate occupation. The birth of a son was marked by a crown of that olive which was the choicest[3] production of national culture, and connected in the traditions of mythology with the beneficence and protection of his patron-goddess. The state gave to the parent an atrocious and unnatural privilege: he might refuse to preserve and rear his own offspring.[4] This blasting of human life in the bud, the legislator saw with indifference; but this point decided, he took every precaution that the rights of the new citizen should be registered with speed and precision. At a public festival, the father assisted at a sacrifice, and secured those political advantages which the infant inherited, by swearing that it was his child by an Athenian wife, in wedlock. From this time the mother, assisted by a pedagogue, who was commonly a domestic slave, superintended the education of her children: the girls were taught to read and write, to sew, to spin, and dance; the latter accomplishment was not so much to vary the monotony of a secluded life, or even to enlarge the amusements of social mirth, as to qualify them to bear their part in the religious processions to which they were admitted at the age of ten; and in which their steps and

[1] Κόρινθιαζειν·
Οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εἰς Κόρινθον ἐστιν ὁ πλοῦς.
Vet. Schol. Hor. Ep. i. xvii. 36.

[2] See a dissertation on this subject by Adolphus Cramer, of Wiesbaden, 1833, and the authorities therein quoted.

[3] Soph. Œd. Col. 694.

[4] Terence, who portrayed Greek manners, being, as Cæsar called him, a semi-Menander, has the following dialogue between a husband, Chremes, and his wife, Sostrata, about their infant daughter:—

CHREMES. I know what you have done; you have brought it up.

SOSTRATA. By no means: but there was here a respectable old woman of Corinth: I gave it to her to be exposed.

CHREMES. Oh, Jupiter! that there should be such folly in your mind.

SOSTRATA. If I have offended, my dear Chremes, I acted ignorantly.

CHREMES. This I know, however you may deny it, you say and do everything without sense or foresight: why, first of all, if you had chosen to perform my orders, the child ought to have been killed, instead of your pretending to say she was dead when you had really given her a chance of life.—Heautontim., Act 3, Scene 5.

their voices were attuned to the praise of the national deities. When sons passed from the immediate care of the mother, their education was divided into three parts: the development of the mind was entrusted first to the grammarian, and afterwards to the musician; while the body was disciplined by the exercises of the Palæstra and Gymnasium. Education reduced to system, and regulated by law, may be referred to the time of Solon: it progressed rapidly after the Persian war, and attained its perfection in the days of Periclēs: after that time it was gradually undermined by luxury, which enfeebled the body, and by the system of the Sophists, which corrupted the mind. In the Iliad, Phœnix stands towards Achilles in the relation of tutor-companion; this relation, under the name of Παιδαγωγὸς, was recognised, and regulated by law in Solon's time. Plato thought such a companion and guide as necessary for boys as a shepherd for a flock. His office (which, in fact, was common to Greece, except Lacedæmon) was to conduct the youths to and from school, and attend them in the city; some severity of discipline was permitted to them, and some share of the domestic education. In the meantime, public education was, in the best[1] times of the republic, uniform and common to all whose condition entitled them to share thereafter in public affairs; thus the schoolfellows of one generation became the fellow-patriots, or rivals, of another. Scholastic establishments were under the care of public officers called Σωφρονισταὶ (Moderators): the feelings and sentiments which they endeavoured to implant were a love of the honourable and the beautiful, filial respect, patriotic love, obedience to the laws, and reverence towards the deities: this last feeling, δεισιδαίμονία, remained as a trait of Athenian character till the time of St. Paul, and in Acts xvii. 22, the word "superstitious" is not well chosen to express it.

Education, domestic and scholastic.

Gymnastics.

The importance attached to gymnastic exercises, we are not likely, in modern times, to appreciate aright. At Athens, to be a soldier was the duty and the delight of every genuine citizen: the fate of battles, moreover, depended on individual strength, prowess, and example, in a far greater degree than modern warfare permits: and the same qualifications repaid with glory the state that encouraged them, when her sons were victorious in the athletic exercises of the public festivals of Greece. A system, then, which communicated to the human frame so much of flexibility, elegance, and vigour, was applicable to all alike. It had been admitted in the time of Solon, and was in general use when Themistoclēs was a boy. It furnished for Athens the soldier who defended her liberties, the Pancratiast who exalted her name amidst competitors in the national games, and those

[1] Many of the Athenian soldiers who were taken captive at Syracuse bettered their condition by their literature; hence there was a proverbial saying at that time, "Either he is dead or turned schoolmaster," ἤτοι τέθνηκεν ἢ διδάσκει γράμματα. Οὐδὲ γράμματα οὐδὲ νῆν ἐπίσταται, was another proverb: "He can neither swim nor read."—Cramer, p. 23.

perfect models of manly beauty which exercised the genius of her artists. Gymnastics.

For these sports a public place was appointed, called the Gymnasium, where a magistrate presided.[1] It contained, besides the Palæstra, where those wrestled who were athletæ by profession, the stadium for races, and the xystus, a covered gallery for the wrestlers, large halls opening into a square court,[2] baths, porticoes, and groves to which the Athenians resorted for exercise or idleness, for private meditation or philosophical dispute. Here, too, the Athenian youth wrestled,[3] leaped, threw the javelin, and the quoit, and tried their breath and speed by racing in deep sand.[4] At eighteen, they were admitted into the class of Ephebi, and assumed the military character; each bound himself by an oath not to quit his post, not to dishonour the republic, nor to cease from attempting to extend her frontiers as long as there were wheat, barley, vineyards, and olive-trees beyond it. During the first year they did not serve out of Attica: at twenty, a solemn act registered them in their respective tribes, and it is probable they were admitted then to the full rights of citizens.



In the meantime their mental faculties[5] were cultivated by means which, without exactly answering to any one system of modern instruction, combined the peculiarities of several. Some principles of religion and conduct were early learnt at home: for a moral sense is implanted in every breast; and a mother's affection will always cultivate this with as much of purity and knowledge, as the state of society admits. The pupils who frequented the public schools at early dawn, returned in the evening;[6] so that although these institutions were the source of learning, home was its sanctuary; and the lessons of scholastic or moral discipline had their range and their application in the sphere of domestic life. The offices of the grammarian and musician were sometimes discharged by the same individual, and it is neither easy nor necessary to mark their exact limits. The name of the former indicates that his instructions were elementary: generally he taught reading and writing, the latter either on waxen tablets or engraved metal; but the Greeks, by μουσικὴ, meant much more than the term music expresses. It was, indeed, a very comprehensive word, implying all that was elegant, either in literature or art.[7] Music, in its modern sense, being a part of it, was[8] cultivated generally as an art and science. "After the repulse of Xerxes, a Lacedæmonian, exhibiting, at his own expense, a chorus of music himself Morals and religion. Music.

[1] See Cramer and the authorities on gymnastics.
[2] See the plates in Anach. Travels. [3] Il. xxiii. 710. [4] Lucian.
[5] See St. John, vol. i. ch. iv. [6] Plato, Lysis, and Æschin. in Timarch.
[7] Athenæus, xiv. p. 628. [8] Ar. Pol. lib. viii. trans. by Gillies.

Instrumental music.

played on the flute, and there was then scarcely an Athenian citizen totally unacquainted with this instrument, as appears by the picture dedicated by Thrasyppus, of the musical exhibition." The double pipe was often accompanied by the lyre.[1] Alcibiadēs, however, set his fashionable influence against the pipe or flute, because it deranged the beauty of his features (Plutarch), and for this reason, or for others, it "was proscribed in education, and its use forbidden to freemen."[2] Themistoclēs played upon neither; the vanity of the man probably pleased itself with this deficiency, which introduced his famous saying, "It is true I never learned how to tune a harp, nor to play upon a lute, but I know how to raise a small and inconsiderable city to glory and greatness."[3]

Ethical effects of music.

Certain it is that music as a political and ethical instrument of education had more influence over the susceptible population of Athens than it has now. The grave view of this subject may be found in Aristotle's Politics, in Plato's Republic, and the first book of Quinctilian; the jocose and satirical view in the sixth chapter of the Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus—a work in which the wit and humour of Swift, Pope, and Atterbury are brought to bear on the social condition of the Greeks, and the ancient commentators upon it.[4]

Literature.

The earliest patrons of literature were the Peisistratidæ; their plan of diffusing knowledge, by inscribing passages from various authors on columns in the public streets, proves the scarcity of books. All that was valuable, probably found its way to their collected library: the process of transcribing was costly and laborious, so that oral instruction[5] was the principal medium of education. Its chief materials were parts of the laws, the proverbial sentences of wise men, the fables of Æsop, the verses of Hesiod, Simonides, and Solon, the early lyric

[1] Hor. Ep. ix. 5.

[2] Gillies, Ar. Pol. viii.

[3] Langhorne's Plutarch.

[4] "I have here," says Cornelius, "a small lyre of my own, framed, strung, and tuned, after the ancient manner. I can play some fragments of Lesbian tunes, and I wish I were to try them upon the most passionate creatures alive." "You never had a better opportunity," says Albertus, "for yonder are two apple-women scolding." With that Cornelius jumps out into his balcony, his lyre in hand, in his slippers, a stocking upon his head, and waistcoat of murrey-coloured satin upon his body. The uncouth instrument, the strangeness of the man and of the music, drew the ears and eyes of the whole mob, and at last of the combatants. They all approached the balcony in as close attention as Orpheus' first audience of cattle. This sudden effect of his music encouraged him mightily. The mob laughed, sang, jumped; all which he judged to be caused by the various strains and modulations. "Mark," quoth he, "in this the power of the Ionian; in that you see the effect of the Æolian." But in a little time they began to grow riotous and threw stones. Cornelius then withdrew. "Brother," said he, "do you observe I have mixed unawares too much of the Phrygian; I might change it to the Lydian and soften their riotous tempers; but it is enough. If this lyre in my unskilful hands can perform such wonders, what must it not have done in those of a Timotheus or a Terpander?"

[5] Hence ἀκούειν means what we express by the verb *to read*. Note also the use of "Dictare," Hor. Sat. i. 10, 75, and Ep. ii. 1, 71.

poets and tragedians, Theognis,[1] Solon, and Homer; the latter would naturally, in most cases, supersede the rest; if the imagination was to be cultivated at the expense of the other faculties (and it could scarcely be otherwise where literature was chiefly poetry), at least, it was under excellent tuition. Besides, from no other work could so much geographical knowledge be acquired as from the catalogue of ships in the second book of the Iliad; accordingly, boys learnt them by heart; the traditions also which are there preserved (and history flowed only in the channel of tradition), are more unbroken and more probable than those even of a later age: while the spirit which the study of Homer engendered, was a spirit of patriotic enterprise; an emulation of those achievements which the heroes of ancient Greece had performed, and which the poets of ancient Greece had sung.[2] As books were scarce, the range of instruction was of course scanty; but from oral teaching there resulted these advantages:—it imposed on all parties the necessity of speaking with accuracy and distinctness; and hence arose a quick and nice discrimination of all that is either excel-

Literature.

Results of the scarcity of books.



lent or defective in pronunciation. Music, moreover, was never detached from poetry, and hence the Athenian ear was habitually alive to melody. It is obvious, too, that he who commits to memory well-selected passages of poetry, is likely to have a more lively perception of their beauty, and to cultivate his taste far more effectually than by their mere perusal. And the Athenians, who were a talking, rather than a reading, people, would unconsciously, if not by design, employ the stores of their memory to enrich and polish the language of daily conversation. If this was the natural course of things, it was accelerated both by the public policy and the private character of Periclēs; the former drew the people from the country to the town, and deteriorated their general character, in proportion as he interfered with the habits and the virtues of a rustic life. But the same measure was

Periclēs and Aspasia.

[1] Isocr. ad Nicoclem.

[2] On the trade in books see Bekker, Excursus 2, Scene 3.

the cause of that concentration of talent, and that collision of minds, which a metropolis only can bring into play, and thus aided the progress of refinement. In private life, he was the first to temper the wisdom of philosophers and statesmen, by the grace, elegance, and accomplishments of Aspasia and her friends; if the Peisistratidæ were the first patrons of literature, the patron of polite society was Periclēs.

Patrons of polished society and literature.

Progress of civilization.

From the usurpation of Peisistratus to the time when Periclēs began to have a share in public affairs, there was an interval of ninety-one years. It was a spirit-stirring period: Athens was laying the foundation of her military fame and her naval greatness, and displaying that indestructible love of liberty, to which she owed her ascendancy in Greece. There was more intercourse with foreigners than there had been previously, and, for a time at least, more union among the Greeks: there was also the excitement of civil discord, and the glory of foreign conquest: it was a period calculated, not indeed for the cultivation of pacific pursuits, but to rouse all the energies of a great nation. These causes brought a vast deal of ability into play; while the course of things was tending rapidly to the establishment of a government essentially popular, which extended equality of patronage to every variety of excellence. The soldier, the poet, and the musician, were all held in honour: many combined their several qualifications; Æschylus chose to have recorded on his tomb the single distinction of having fought at Marathon. The artist was proverbially a welcome guest: if his arm did not share in those battles which secured the independence of Athens, his art immortalised their memory. The portrait of Miltiadēs was painted by Panænus on the walls of the Pœcilē. Brazen statues reminded the nation what it owed to Harmodius and Aristogītōn.[1] Poetry celebrated their patriotism in one of those popular songs,[2] which enlivened domestic festivities, and told of their reward in the islands of the blessed among the most celebrated of Homer's heroes.



Fine arts.

Where the fine arts are honoured, they will thrive: Cimon encouraged their progress; when he led the way, the aristocratical party followed; and the national taste, genius, and powers of execution could not fail to develop themselves with rapidity and success, where Phidias wrought under the patronage of Periclēs,[3] in a city peopled with statues, and crowned by the incomparable Parthenon.

Herodotus.

Such was the public encouragement which a free state extended to the fine arts; although the practice of drawing[4] was not introduced

[1] Ar. Rhet. i. 9.

[2] Ἐν μύρτου κλαδὶ τὸ ξίφος φορήσω. κ. τ. λ.

[3] Paus. lib. i.

[4] It is mentioned in Aristotle's Politics.

till a later period into the habits of domestic life. Such, too, were the early materials of liberal education in Greece, till they were enlarged and improved by the recitation of the history of Herodotus at the games of the 81st Olympiad, and also twelve years later, at the Panathenæa at Athens. Its style, its subject, and the character of its author, were admirably adapted to the age: its form is occasionally dramatic, and it is enlivened by much that is essentially poetical: its graceful and picturesque narrations, diffuse without tediousness, have not lost their charm even for those whom a wide choice and variety of excellence might naturally have made fastidious. How great, then, must that charm have been for a people to whom prose composition was as yet a pleasing novelty! The chief subject, moreover, of the historian, was the triumph of Greece in general over the gigantic power of Persia, and the vindication of herself and her colonies from foreign slavery and degradation. His details brought prominently into view the rapid progress of Athenian greatness; the universal homage[1] paid to one of her leading citizens; and her own public spirit in its best and rarest form.[2] His character also gave him an additional hold on the mind and feelings of his hearers.[3] His honesty proclaimed before assembled Greece, that Athens had saved their liberties, and this eulogium, which she felt to be agreeable, she must also have known to be just. He did not, indeed, profess so grave and dignified a purpose as that of bequeathing a possession to the latest posterity; nor had he the necessary discrimination for it: but that which he could not execute, the age did not require; and the very credulity which induced him, in his extensive travels, to report, on the evidence of others, much that is marvellous, made his work far more delightful to Athenian curiosity, than it would have been had his judgment been more exact, and had he drawn more accurately the line between fact and fiction.

Herodotus.

But in every age, and amidst every civilized people, there will be minds whose earnestness of inquiry, and force of penetration, require more than the invention of the poet, or the narration of the historian. The restless activity of intellect which was characteristic of an Athenian, was likely to increase the number of those who were dissatisfied with the elementary education of the grammarian and musician. These would be encouraged by the researches and example of the Ionic school; Thalēs was its founder, and it passed[4] through the hands of Anaximenēs, Anaximander, and Diogenēs to Anaxagoras, who was the instructor of Periclēs.[5]

Early Greek philosophy.

Early Greek philosophy was divided[6] into three parts: physics,

[1] Lib. viii. 123.
[2] Lib. viii. 41 and 52.
[3] Lib. vii. 139.
[4] Cic. de Nat. Deor. i. 10.
[5] Most of the philosophers were of Asiatic or Insular, not of Grecian, birth. The line of succession is sometimes given thus: Thalēs, Anaximander, Anaximenēs, Heraclitus of Ephesus.
[6] Diog. Laer. Procem.

Early Greek philosophy.

ethics, and logic. This was the order in which they naturally arose; for an inquiring mind would first be drawn towards those phænomena of the universe which daily and powerfully address the senses. Thus Socratēs says, "When I was young I had a marvellous desire of that knowledge which is called natural history."[1] Such pursuits were both safe and useful:[2] safe, because they offered no grounds of jealousy or suspicion to the civil ruler; and useful, because he who discovered, observed, and registered those secondary causes, on which the operations of nature depend, could manifestly make his knowledge available for the purposes of navigation, and the culture of the earth.[3] The sailor and the agriculturist were guided by those signs of the heavens which the philosophers had recorded; and since the latter were in early times legislators also, morals, so far as they were connected with politics, necessarily claimed their notice. Now it was in the latter capacity only that they were teachers of religion: they commonly pretended to trace their polity to a revelation from heaven;[4] and the ordinary description of a legislator is, "he arranged the form of government, beginning from the gods:" "in civil institutes," says one[5] of the earliest, "the first and most important article is the belief of the gods:" again, "the first law of the constitution should be for the support of what relates to the gods, the ministering spirits, (δαιμονὲς), and our parents, and in general of whatsoever is good and venerable." Accordingly, those sages who betook themselves to legislation—as, for example, several did of the seven wise men of Greece[6]—found a religion transmitted by tradition, established by usage, and therefore they enforced it, not as philosophers, but as legislators; not as true, but as expedient: that is, they supported, both by their authority and example in one character, what they ridiculed and disbelieved in the other.[7] This will explain many of the inconsistencies of Grecian literature: the memorials even of Socratēs which are come down to us, contain some of the absurdities of polytheism, together with passages which indicate a purer faith.[8] He was taught by Archelaus, a pupil of Anaxagoras, and so far improved philosophy, as to attempt to make it bear more practically on the regulation of men's characters and lives. Now, whenever moral philosophy comes in contact with human interests and passions, in the daily intercourse of life, different systems will be invented, to justify what is agreeable and to evade what is difficult; the necessity of adjusting these differences gave rise to the science of logic; which was systematised,

Hypocrisy of pagan legislators.

Moral philosophy.

[1] Περὶ φύσεως ἱστορίαν (Phædo, ch. xlv). [2] Œd. Tyr. 795.
[3] Diog. Laert. ii. 15; Ar. Pol. lib. i. ch. viii.
[4] Warburton's Divine Legation, ii. 2; Virg. Ecl. iii. 40.
[5] Warburton's Divine Legation, ii. 3. [6] Cic. de Or. iii. 34.
[7] When Pomponatius, or Pomponazzo, was accused of ridiculing Christianity, he answered that he wrote only as a philosopher, but as a man he was willing to submit his judgment to the Church. Accordingly, it was proposed that he should be burnt as a philosopher, and acquitted as a man.—Life of Leo X., vol. iv., p. 101.
[8] Phæd. 63.

traced to its principles, and enlarged, by Aristotle. Indeed, his comprehensive mind embraced all the departments of ancient philosophy: succeeding ages have added little to the precision of his logic; antiquity offers us nothing so good as his treatises on morals and politics; and amidst these graver studies, he still found leisure for the prosecution of physical inquiry and criticism. Quinctilian says he doubts whether Aristotle's chief claim to celebrity rests on his practical knowledge, the fulness of his writings, the sweetness of his style, the sagacity of his discoveries, or the wide range of his works.[1] Aristotle. Logic.

Not equally extensive or successful, but equally safe and honourable, were the pursuits of Thalēs, who died in the 58th Olympiad. Milētus had the honour of his birth and the advantage of his residence: he secured the gratitude and respect of his fellow-citizens by the wisdom with which he assisted in administering their government. But neither the duties nor the fame of public life, neither the ease nor the pleasures of retirement, could divert him from his favourite physical studies. He distinguished some of the constellations by name, observed the solstice and equinoxes, divided the year into four seasons, and into 365 days, and predicted an eclipse of the sun (both the prophecy and its fulfilment are related by Herodotus[2]). He also calculated the solar magnitude as compared with that of the moon. It is said that he travelled into Egypt and there ascertained the height of the pyramids by a very simple expedient—by noticing at what time the shadow cast by a body was exactly equal to its altitude. As the pursuit of knowledge was the occupation of Thalēs, its possession was his enjoyment in a good old age. The reputation of it seems to have been his greatest present happiness, and his brightest future expectation; for on imparting[3] some particular discovery, the only reward for which he stipulated from his pupil, was that when he in his turn made it known to others, the name of the original inventor should always accompany the communication. Thalēs. Natural philosopher,

Morals had not as yet been digested into a system; they were taught chiefly by proverbial apophthegms, suited by their conciseness to dwell in the memory, and to be transmitted for popular use by the medium of oral tradition. If, however, all the sayings attributed to Thalēs by Diogenēs Laertius were really his, they contain much that is practically excellent; happiness he placed in a healthy body, an easy fortune, and a well-educated mind; justice and good conduct; in avoiding ourselves what we censure in others, in rejecting all improper modes of becoming rich, in being mindful of absent friends, in loving our neighbour, and in forbearing to upbraid the unfortunate. He said, space was the greatest, intellect the swiftest, hope the most universal, necessity the strongest, time the wisest, success the and moralist.

[1] Or. Ins. x. 1.

[2] Lib. i. 74. Probably it happened on the 10th of September, B. C. 610. See art. Thalēs.

[3] Diog. Laert. vol. ii. 14.

sweetest, virtue the most useful, vice the most mischievous, to know oneself the hardest, to give advice the easiest, the world the most beautiful. It would be out of place here to enlarge on the doctrines of the early physical philosophers. Let it suffice to say, that Thalēs thought water the beginning (ἀρχὴ) of all things; Anaximenēs, air; Diogenēs held that air was intelligent, and had the same relation to the universe that the soul had to the body. Anaximander thought the Infinite (τὸ ἄπειρον) was the Primal Existence.[1]

Theology of Anaxagoras,

It was Anaxagoras who so far improved the tenets of the Ionic school, as to establish two separate and opposite existences—mind and matter. The foundation of his philosophy was—of nothing, nothing can be made. In the beginning, then, there existed matter in a state of chaos, without motion; but there was another principle from all eternity, self-acting, all-comprising, incorporeal, possessed of inherent motion, and communicating it to matter. This mind—the mind of God (νοῦς θεοῦ)[2]—arranged all things, and out of chaos generated the visible universe. The credit, then, of having first separated the idea of God from materiality belongs to Anaxagoras.[3] His physical science also enabled him to make inroads on the absurdities of polytheism; he taught that the celestial bodies were not deities: he also undermined the authority of divination and omens, by explaining the natural causes of those phænomena by which soothsayers pretended[4] to prognosticate. A residence of thirty years at Athens, during which he delivered professional instructions, and above all, the characters of two of his most distinguished hearers, were likely to give his philosophy great influence upon the age in which he lived. For many of the highest classes were desirous of imitating the ambitious and successful career of Periclēs, though they had neither his talents nor his integrity; and Periclēs was the pupil of Anaxagoras.[5]

and of the dramas of Euripidēs.

Of the dramatic writers, Euripidēs was calculated to produce a greater effect on the public mind than any of the contemporary tragedians; and Euripidēs was the pupil of Anaxagoras. "His constant endeavour is merely to please, without caring by what means,"[6] and he possesses genius and talent to ensure success. His style and subjects are less lofty, and his theology far more irreverend, than those of Æschylus: over Sophoclēs he had this advantage—he drew men as they were; Sophoclēs as they ought to be. Aristotle calls him τραγικωτάτος, most tragic; an epithet which, even if it conveys, as Schlegel says, "important censure," certainly implies great power. This power he used "to insinuate his own libertine opinions

[1] These tenets, their meaning and their importance, as the foundation and development of Greek philosophy, are explained in a small volume of G. H. Lewes, published by Knight, 1845.

[2] Plutarch de Plac. Phil. i. 7.

[3] Brucker, Cic. de Nat. Deor. i. 11; Phædo, ch. xlvi.

[4] Plut. in Peric. [5] Fast. Hell. B. C. 450. [6] Schlegel.

and scepticism amidst those fabulous marvels connected with religion which were the subjects of his plays."[1] His popularity as a dramatical author is evident from this fact, that by the recitation of his verses, those who were taken prisoners in the disastrous expedition of Nicias against Sicily, mitigated the rigours of slavery: so familiar was he to the memory of the Athenian commonalty, by his glowing descriptions of Grecian climate and scenery, by the tenderness and force of his pathetic appeals to the feelings, by the abundance and variety of his moral sentiments, and by his passionate delineations of the effects of love. He was too studious and too solitary for politics; he was too timid for philosophy; but, under the shelter of his dramatic characters, he could utter the sentiments of his master, without incurring the same responsibility or the same punishment. As a poet whose productions were consecrated to a religious ceremony, he was bound occasionally to speak respectfully of the gods; and so he does, *e. g.*, Heracl. 901, and especially in the Bacchæ; but, as a philosophical inquirer, his sentiments were opposed to the received system of popular mythology, and he attacks it accordingly.[2] He ridicules[3] the folly of allowing temples to be an asylum for guilt: he condemns, by name, Apollo, Poseidōn,[4] and Zeus, as encouraging immorality among mankind. Clytemnestra[5] thus addresses Achilles: "If there are gods, you, at all events, since you are a just man, will meet with prosperity; and if not, why trouble one's self at all?" It is obvious, that one such doubt would outweigh many contrary declarations. In the Alcestis, Hēraclēs, "the noble son of Zeus most high," v. 1139, must have been *intended* to be ridiculous; coming an unexpected guest to the house of Admetus, carousing, bawling (ἄμους' ὑλακτῶν), quarrelling, prosing; then penitent, v. 829, on learning the family loss; anxious to repair it, and therefore proposing to lie in wait for Death, and squeeze him tightly round the ribs, till he released his prey—Alcestis. It was likely the sire would share the ridicule the son excited; so would the whole system of which sire and son were a part. Indeed, numerous passages in other plays would encourage the philosophy which they appear to oppose, and undermine that system of polytheism which they seem to embody and support; because they contain so much which is not only false, but repugnant to common sense. Thus the truth they might contain—for instance, the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, or of the self-existence of the Deity, or of future[6] retribution—would be neutralized by its combination with so much folly, while their falsehood would take effect, because it was perspicuous and intelligible. Æschylus, for instance, was a Pythagorean, and therefore taught, in a certain sense, the immortality of the soul:[7] but his master's proof of this

Euripidēs.

His sentiments hostile to the popular polytheism.

[1] Schlegel. Professor Keble takes a more favourable view of Euripidēs, Præl. 29.
[2] Hercules Furens, 1314. Hecuba, 492. [3] Ion, 1312.
[4] Ion, 446. [5] Iph. in Aul. 1034. [6] Alcestis, 1005.
[7] The funeral pile subdues not the spirit of the dead (φρονήμα θανοντὸς), but it shows its temper afterwards.—Chæph. 321.

doctrine was absurd and ridiculous. "He referred himself to former generations, saying that first he was Euphorbus, secondly Æthalidēs, thirdly Hermotimus, and fourthly Pyrrhus, but now Pythagoras; by which (things) he proved (*δι ὧν ἔδεικνυεν*) *ὡς ἀθανάτος ἡ ψυχή*, that the soul is immortal (Porphyr. de vita Pyth). If supplications are addressed to a monster slumbering at the entrance to the regions of futurity, in the very same passage which suggests the resemblance between eternal sleep and death, we may conjecture which idea would be most deep and durable.[1] The same Zeus of Euripidēs, who is at one time invoked as a moral governor, is rebuked at another as an example too bad for man to imitate,[2] or confounded with the operation of physical necessity[3] or man's intellect.

Effects on morals of the poetry of Euripidēs.

The effect of such sentiments recited before assembled multitudes must have been great; but whether it was good, will admit a question. To exhibit the falsehood and folly of polytheism was, doubtless, one step towards religious truth; and perhaps there were a few individuals whose minds ascended by these means to the knowledge of the unity of God.[4] But no one was able to impose this belief on his followers as a sect. Many who could follow their teachers so far as to be convinced of the absurdity of the popular superstitions, were yet unable to grasp or to retain the notion of one Supreme Being. So that the general effect of this improved state of philosophy was only to establish, in place of polytheism, an idea of virtue without moral obligation, of a Deity without a providence, and either annihilation after death, or a future state of existence without rewards or punishments. Aristotle says as much, Ethic, lib. iii. 6: "Death is the most formidable (of all things), for it is the end; and to the dead nothing seems to remain, either good or evil." Whether he expresses here his own, or the popular opinion, the passage bears on the present subject. Socratēs, in the Phædo of Plato, chap. 29, says distinctly, that the greater part of mankind (*οἱ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι*) held that the soul, when released from the body, straightway was scattered to the winds, and it perished (*διαπεφύσηται καὶ ἀπόλωλεν*). It is right to add that this great man, probably the most enlightened among the heathen, states this doctrine

Popular opinions about the immortality of the soul.

[1] Ed. Col. Erfurdt, 1568, *κ. τ. λ.*

[2] Ion. 449.

[3] *Ζεῦς, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσεως, εἴτε νοῦς βροτῶν,*
Προσηυξάμην σε. *Troades*, 887.

The following lines are a fragment of Euripidēs preserved in Stobæus, ch. i.:—

ὁρᾷς τὸν ὕψου τόνδ' ἄπειρον αἰθέρα
καὶ γῆν περίξ ἔχουθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις
τούτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα τόνδ' ἡγοῦ θεόν.

You see this boundless firmament on high,
Embracing earth with circumambient arms,
Be this thy Jupiter—think this thy god.

[4] An expression *τὸ θεῖον*, which might seem to imply the Unity, stands in the same passage (a very beautiful one) with words which declare Plurality, *e. g.* *ἀντούς* and *θεοῦς*. See Xenoph. Mem. i. 4, *ad fin.*

only to condemn it. His latest opinions are in substance these: "Since I have had no suggestion from my internal monitor (ἡ εἰωθυιά μοι μαντικὴ), moving me to attempt to avoid a sentence of capital condemnation, there is great hope that death is a good: one of two things it must be—either the annihilation of all perception (ἄισθησις), or, as is commonly said, a certain change and transmigration of the soul. In the first case, death will be a wonderful good; and so it will if our departure hence unites us to the deceased of past ages. . . . The approaching hour brings death to me, to you continuance of life; and which of these two is the better none knows, except the Deity."[1] Even among the instructors themselves, truth, as such, was not the object of their search, and virtue, as such, was only the subject of their declamations.[2] If they released men from the fears of the fabled Tartarus—if they destroyed the hope of the fabled Elysium—for these they had no substitute which could operate practically in the regulation of life or the formation of character. And this will account for the known fact, that public morals became gradually worse. Aristophanēs,[3] whose writings are the mirror of his time, laments it; Isocratēs[4] confirms it at a later period, marked, as he says, by the absence of those public and private virtues which adorned the early ages of the republic. Religious festivals were not then converted into disorderly seasons of ostentation, extravagance, dishonesty, and innovation; public men were neither covetous nor tax-eaters; the rich and the poor were bound together by the feeling of mutual benevolence, and the exercise of mutual assistance; and, in money transactions, by the security of general confidence. Education was begun early, and directed well. The lower orders were taught to be contented and industrious; the rich were trained to the amusement of the chase, the exercises of the gymnasium, and the study of philosophy. Young men did not pass their time in gaming-houses and taverns, among female singers and buffoons, or in idle parties of pleasure. The orator here gives us, by implication, a sketch of his own times, when even the pursuits of literature were but another form of gay, polite diversion. The gram-

Social morality deteriorated in the time of Aristophanēs



and in the time of Isocratēs.

[1] Plat. Apol. 32, 33.
[2] Ar. Ethics, ii. 4: ὁι πολλοὶ τἄντα μὲν, κ. τ. λ. Conf. Ezekiel, xxxiii. 32.
[3] Nubes.
[4] Orat. Areop.

marian[1] and the musician, who had cultivated little beside the imagination, handed over their pupils to the philosopher: the latter bewildered their judgment by discussions about the Deity, his attributes—the formation of the world—the soul of man, its origin, and its future destination—the universe—matter—intelligence—knowledge—opinion—sensation, and motion. Philosophy on these subjects became fashionable; the restlessness of Athenian intellect originated a thousand opposite opinions, and amidst this diversity of theories, practical virtue was forgotten.

One thing was yet wanting[2]—the perversion of the moral sense, together with the power of confounding the simple-minded rectitude of an opponent by the subtleties of dexterous argumentation. This last polish of refinement was produced by a race, who, under the title of Sophists, have been by many writers handed down to the ridicule and detestation of posterity.[3] Not, however, that the term had always a bad sense, or that this mischievous corruption was at first either their avowed or their real object. But they professed to teach the art of public speaking on any side of any question, and such a faculty must be liable to abuse. The age of Periclēs was one in which the character of the statesman,[4] as such, had just begun to acquire an ascendancy and reputation above that of the military commander. Now Periclēs was the first statesman in the first nation in Greece; he was the most eloquent speaker of his day, and he was known to have studied philosophy: the Athenian youth, then, who had quitted their early teachers, thought that, if they studied philosophy, they too should become eloquent, and rise to political power. It is in literature as it is in other commodities—demand creates supply. Public speaking was at that time an essential requisite for public life; it was the only mode by which a political aspirant could make known to the people his sense of their grievances or their grea-

The Sophists.

[1] The following dialogue is the substance of an epigram in the Greek Anthology, No. 671, p. 308, Edwards' ed.:—

PHYSICIAN. What do you teach my son?

GRAMMARIAN. We have read in the Iliad Homer's account of souls being sent prematurely to the grave.

PHYSICIAN. Then my son need not go to you any longer—I can teach him this at home.

ὁ παῖς παρ ἐμοὶ ταῦτα μαθεῖν δύναται.

[2] Those who desire to see specimens of modern sophistry in its worst garb will find some choice ones in the notes to the "Lettres Provinciales," and in the eighth Letter. In the time of the Peloponnesian war, the Sophists had taught in very many (plurimis) cities of Greece.—Cramer, p. 45.

[3] Mr. Grote has undertaken their defence: it will be found elaborately conducted in the sixty-seventh chapter of his History of Greece. The Sophists with whom Plato brings Socratēs into controversy are, Protagoras of Abdera, Gorgias of Leontium, Polus of Agrigentum, Hippias of Elis, Prodicus of Cos, Thrasymachus of Chalcedon, Euthydamus and Dionysidorus of Chios; to these Xenophon adds Antiphon of Athens. Stallbaum, Ritter, Brandis, and generally the recent German commentators on Platonic philosophy, condemn the Sophists.—Grote, ch. lxvii.

[4] Heeren on Greece.

ness, together with his designs for redressing one and increasing the other. Hence, the art of influencing, by persuasion, such a miscellaneous, intelligent, half-educated, capricious audience, was eagerly coveted by one party, and boldly professed by another; and in order to make instruction more palatable, it was pretended that no deficiency of talent would interfere with eventual success.

Of these professors, Protagoras[1] was the earliest, and Gorgias the most distinguished. The former was persuaded by Democritus to quit manual labour for philosophy, and accordingly repaired to Athens. There he taught that nothing could be known with certainty, since all information came by the senses, and these were liable to deception; that no opinions could be either false[2] or contradictory; that about the existence of the gods, and their nature, he could assert nothing; that actions were good or bad, not by any essential qualities, but relatively to the agent; or, in other words, what a man thought good, relatively to him, was good, and *vice versâ;* therefore honour, virtue, justice, and the like, were only creatures of opinion. Upon such principles as these, Protagoras established his art of confounding[3] right and wrong: by such exercises of Protagoras.

> ——————— Wit and gay rhetoric
> That hath so well been taught her dazzling fence,
> Obtruding false rules prankt in reason's garb,[4]

he acquired fame and wealth. He received from his pupils one hundred minæ for their complete education.[5] It unfortunately happened that the taste of the times discouraged, and even punished, his researches[6] in natural history, which might have been innocent and useful (fixing on such students generally the derisive title *μετεωρολέσχαι*), while it listened to his metaphysics,[7] which were destructive of the first principles of morality.

To these, or similar principles of philosophy, Gorgias added a far greater proficiency in rhetoric. He was the first[8] professor of extempore eloquence, offering to declaim in a mixed assembly on any subject which any of the audience might choose. Perceiving that the influence which versification exercised arose in a great measure from its structure,[9] he united the artificial diction of a poet to the subtle casuistry Gorgias.

[1] A treatise of Protagoras was the first book that was publicly burnt because it expressed doubts about the existence of the gods.—Diog. Laert.

Grote gives the following passage of Protagoras, partly from Diogenēs Laertius, partly from Sextus Empiricus, as he (Grote) thinks the words would be most likely to stand (p. 499): *περὶ μὲν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν οὔτε ἔι εἰσίν οὐθ' ὁπόιοι τινές εἰσί πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ κωλύοντα εἰδέναι ἥ τε ἀδηλότης καὶ βραχὺς ὢν ὁ βίος τοῦ ανθρωπου.* "As to the gods, I have it not in my power to say whether they exist, nor what kind of beings they are: for the hindrances of our knowledge are numerous, the obscurity of the subject, and the shortness of the life of man."

[2] Isoc. Hel. Laud.: *ἰσί τινες ὅι μέγα φρονούσιν. κ. τ. λ.* Ch. i.
[3] Cic. Brutus, 15.
[4] Comus.
[5] Boeckh, vol. i. 163.
[6] Plut. in Nic.
[7] Plat. Men.
[8] De Finibus, lib. ii. 1.
[9] Arist. Rhet. iii. 1.

Gorgias.

of a sophist. From Leontium, his native place, he came to Athens, in the fifth year of the Peloponnesian war, on an embassy to invite assistance against Syracuse. There he struck[1] his hearers forcibly by the dexterity of his arguments, the novelty of his style, the abundance of his figurative language, and nicely-balanced periods. For the people were always alive to the charm of eloquence, and had not yet learnt that it was bad taste to confound poetical with oratorical ornament. Accordingly, his success was great: from his scholars he received an hundred minæ for his instructions; Greece rewarded him with the unprecedented[2] honour of a golden statue at Delphi; and Plato found a charm in his writings, which even that marvellous master of language did not disdain to imitate.[3] He too, the sweetness of whose elocution was typified on his sepulchre by the expressive emblem of a Siren, was a pupil of Gorgias; and not only a pupil, but so far a copyist as to injure his own reputation.[4] Cicero is eloquent in commendation of the sophist's talents, but silent, or nearly so, respecting their misapplication. The extreme felicity of his own style, which he may be said to have invented, together with his practised habits of disputation, made him sensible of the one, and he had too much tact to notice the other, when his special purpose was to recommend the study of Grecian literature. But professors of the same art received sterner treatment from the more austere disposition of Cato.[5] Carneadēs the academic, Diogenēs the stoic, and Critolaus the peripatetic, came from Athens on an embassy. Each was eminent in a different style: the Roman youth were eager to see and hear men so distinguished for wisdom and eloquence. Cato, however, in his place in the Senate, advised "that all the philosophers should be dismissed from the city on some honourable pretext; that these adepts in the arts of persuasion might return to their own effeminate Greeks (Græculos suos), and leave the Roman youth, unsophisticated by any subtleties of argument, to obey the laws and the magistrates, as their fathers had done before them." These, indeed, were later descendants of the family of sophists, but this historical fact illustrates both the extent and the nature of their notoriety. Their elder brethren were a race equally mischievous. Travelling about Greece, they were arrogant in their professions of universal knowledge, impudent in their plagiarism,[6] avaricious in their exactions,[7] paradoxical and absurd in their tenets, fluent in their style, ensnaring in their



Pretensions of the sophists.

[1] Diod. Sic.
[2] De Orat. iii. 32.
[3] Dion. Hal. Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.
[4] Philost. vit. Isoc.
[5] Livy, xlvii. 25.
[6] Isoc. Panath.
[7] Isoc. Hel. Laud. and Plat. Hippias, Major.

questions, ridiculous in their promises, selling,[1] at the price of four[2] or five minæ, infallible receipts for virtue and happiness, subtle in their casuistry, and depraved[3] in their morals. The details of their various artifices, and the masterly confutation of them by Socratēs, may be sought in the dialogues of Plato.[4]

The sophists satirised by Aristophanēs.

Such instructors, and their pupils, were fair marks for the satirical shafts of Aristophanēs: his talents, as a wit and a poet, made him popular; his boldness spared neither people nor rulers; as a dramatist, he had his audience before him collectively; and in the theatre, if anywhere—from him, if from any one—Athenians would listen to good sense and political wisdom, disguised in jest and raillery. His comedy, entitled the Clouds, is directed against these pseudo-philosophers. That the portrait is strictly accurate, it would be rash to assert and unreasonable to expect; but even a caricature, if it hopes to be effective, must preserve some likeness; and though Aristophanēs may have partially enlarged or distorted the features, he was too clever an artist to miss the general resemblance. There is, indeed, no excuse for his making Socratēs the representative of the sophists—Socratēs, who was of all men their most formidable, persevering, and successful opponent—Socratēs, whose logical head, and skill in exposing conceit and ignorance by cross-questioning—Socratēs, whose good sense, ready wit, extraordinary powers of illustration, and keen sense of the ridiculous, enabled him to encounter and defeat them with their own weapons.[5] But there can be little doubt that the Unjust Reason (ἄδικος λόγος) of the Clouds had his counterpart among this unprincipled class. A verbal illustration, though it may not prove the point, will aid the general argument; their character changed the very meaning of their title:[6] the term σοφιστὴς[7] marked, in its early acceptation, all that was respectable and honest in the pursuit of truth and knowledge; it became afterwards[8] a byword for all that was disin-

Early and later meaning of the word σοφιστὴς.

[1] Boeckh, in his Public Œconomy of Athens, has collected some curious information respecting the remuneration of the professors of literature. Protagoras, the first who taught for money, received from his pupils 100 minæ for their complete education. Gorgias required the same sum. Hippias, while still a young man, together with Protagoras, earned in Sicily, in a very short space of time, 150 minæ; of which more than twenty were from one small town, and not, as it appears, by any long course of education. By degrees, however, the number of teachers brought about a reduction of the price. Isocratēs taught the whole art of rhetoric for ten minæ. Prodicus received from each pupil, for private lectures, from one to fifty drachmas. (Vol. i. p. 163.) Hippomachus received one mina from each pupil on his entrance; he might then attend lectures as long as he pleased. (St. John, vol. i. p. 179.)

[2] Isoc. Cont. Soph. [3] Plato, Euthyd. and Men.

[4] See also Mitchell's Aristoph. [5] Cic. Brutus, 15. [6] Ar. Rhet, i. 4.

[7] Pindar, Isth. v. 36. Æschylus, in Athenæus, xiv. 8, applies the word to lyrists: ἦιτ οὖν σοφιστὴς καλὰ παρὰ πάιων χίλυν.

[8] If, in the middle of the Peloponnesian war, any Athenian had been asked who were the principal sophists in his city, he would have named Socratēs among the first; for Socratēs was at once eminent as an intellectual teacher, and personally unpopular, not because he received pay, but on other grounds which will be here-

genuous and false: the orators of the succeeding age were eager to fix it on their opponents, as intimating the misapplication[1] of talent in devising fallacies; and even in our own time the name of sophistry is connected with the same associations. There is a letter, too, in Alciphron which sheds light on this subject; and though the date of that collection may not be ascertained, still it is probable they are, if not a transcript, at least an imitation of a state of things not unlike the times of Aristophanēs.[2] A courtesan there repels indignantly the imputation of a sophist, that her sisterhood corrupt the Athenian youth. She frankly admits, that the object of both the sophists and the courtesans was the same, namely, money; but the young men might as well be with the latter as the former; nay, rather better, for their principles did not inculcate the disbelief of the existence of the gods; and their practice was preferable to that universal degradation of the female sex recommended by some of their traducers. Of these last, Critias was the pupil, Aspasia was the instructress of Periclēs; and of these two, which was the better citizen? The state of things must have been bad indeed, when such parties as these could gravely argue which was the most mischievous. The letter itself, indeed, may be either genuine or fictitious; but, even in the latter case, the circumstances would not have been invented had they contained any gross improbability. Besides, when the graver voice of history is heard on the manners of the times collectively, it is loud and decisive in their condemnation. In the Peloponnesian war, the plague at Athens, and various forms of insurrection all over Greece, brought to light men's real character. Thucydidēs, speaking of the first, says, "And the great licentiousness which also in other kinds was used in the city, began at first from this disease. For that which a man before would dissemble, and not acknowledge to be done for voluptuousness, he durst now do freely, seeing before his eyes such quick revolution of the rich dying, and men worth nothing inheriting their estates; inasmuch as they justified a speedy fruition of their goods, even for their pleasure, as men that thought they held their lives but by the day. As for pains, no man was forward in any action of honour to take any, because they thought it uncertain whether they should die or not before they achieved it. But what any man knew to be delightful, and to be profitable to pleasure, that was made both profitable and honourable. Neither the fear of the gods, nor the laws of men, awed any man. Not the former, because they concluded it was alike to

National character at Athens brought out by the plague.

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after noticed; and this was the precise combination of qualities which the general public naturally expressed by a sophist. Moreover, Plato not only stole the name out of general circulation in order to fasten it specially upon his opponents, the paid teachers, but also connected with it express discreditable attributes. Aristotle, following the example of his master, gave to the word sophist a definition substantially the same as that which it bears in modern languages. Rhet. i. 1; Grote, ch. lxvii.

[1] Dem. pro Cor. [2] Lib. i. Ep. 34.

worship or not worship, from seeing that alike they all perished; nor the latter, because no man expected his life would last till he received punishment of his crimes by judgment."[1] In the same historian, the details connected with the Corcyrian[2] sedition exemplify most forcibly and most widely the dissolution of all the ties of political, social, domestic, and personal virtue. Xenophon,[3] at a later period, declared of the Athenians that they could distinguish among the citizens who were excellent and who were base; that with this knowledge they love those who contribute to their convenience and profit, base as they may be, and the others they hate: for they think that virtue has a natural tendency to promote, not their benefit, but their detriment. The testimony of Isocratēs is to the same effect?[4] Each of the periods referred to in these historical passages was later than the time when the sophists began to teach; and to the seeds of their instruction may, in some measure, be referred that moral produce which this field of inquiry exhibits.

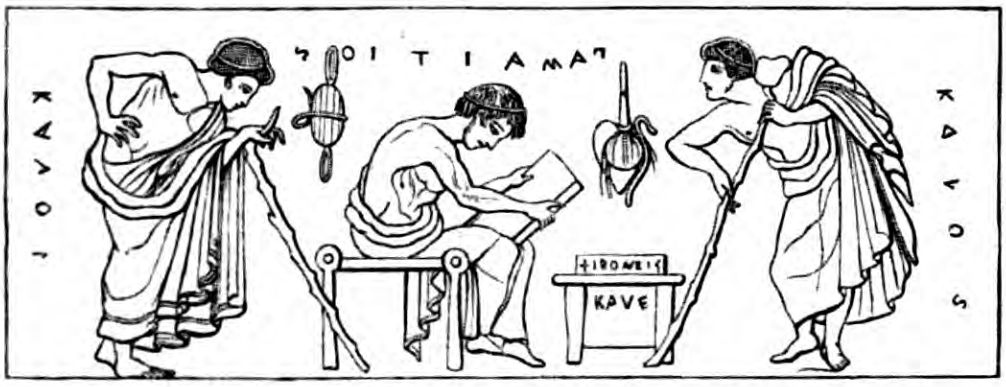
Testimony of Xenophon,

and Isocratēs.

[1] Hobbes. [2] Lib. iii. 82 : *καὶ πᾶν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκινήθη.*

[3] Resp. Ath. There is, however, among scholars a doubt about the genuineness of this treatise.

[4] De Pace. That in the time of Demosthenēs the Athenians were a degenerate race; that levity and indolence had taken the place of patriotism and honourable ambition is matter of history.—Kennedy's Preface to his translation of Demosthenēs.







SECTION IV.

EDUCATION OF THE SPARTANS.

Spartan education.

IT was the great mistake of the politics of antiquity, that they sacrified to the imaginary happiness of the state so many domestic institutions, duties, and affections. In no city was this error so strongly exemplified as in Lacedæmon.[1] Its original history will account for some of its peculiarities. Eighty years after the Trojan war, the descendants of Hēraclēs, assisted by the inhabitants of Doris, regained possession of Laconia. Thus a regal family and a soldier nation occupied as their own the lands they conquered, the original inhabitants (περίοικοι) having the option either of emigrating, or of holding as tenants, and as an inferior caste, the property which was by right their own. The posterity of the Dorian invaders were the Spartans; their position was like that of the Normans, after their settlement in England, or of the continental nobles of the middle ages: they were a garrison in the midst of a conquered people; a garrison, however, defensive, rather than aggressive. From his cradle to his tomb, a Spartan was public property. Scarcely had he entered into life, when a public council deliberated whether that life should be continued: they whose feelings were most interested in the question, had no voice in its decision. Infirmity of constitution, or personal defects, warranted a sentence of death. Those infants whom the service of the state did not require, private affection might not spare, and they were cast as useless animals into a cavern on Mount Taygētus. The healthy and the strong were cradled in a shield,[1] and had warlike instruments perpetually before their eyes; they were habituated to coarse and scanty food, to endure darkness without fear, and contradiction without complaint.[2] At the age of seven, domestic education

Infanticide permitted.

[1] See Theocritus, Idyll. xxiv. 3.

[2] Plut. in Lyc.

ended, and that no slave assisted in it, was one of the Spartan[1] peculiarities. Those whom the state preserved, she now undertook to discipline. Being divided into classes, over each of which a youth presided, they were collectively under the control of a public governor. In his occasional absence, any of the elder citizens might execute his office. Shoes[2] were thought needless: at the age of twelve, of the two garments hitherto allowed, one was retrenched; and since the other was very rarely changed, it appears cleanliness and decency were not much consulted. The luxury of oil, and the bath, were only allowed on particular days; they slept in companies, on beds of rushes: they also dined in companies, under public inspection: those whose appetite outran the frugal provision of the public table, might steal to supply the deficiency.[3] Detection was followed by punishment; but the culprit suffered, not for his dishonesty, but for his unskilfulness; not for having plundered, but for being found out. At these meals in the public halls, lectures of morality were delivered, the deeds of great men were recounted, and that sort of repartee encouraged which has survived to our own day, under the title of Laconic. Ancient witticisms, or pithy sayings, are, in general, scarcely tolerable in a modern dress; and the characteristic brevity of these makes them particularly untranslatable. Ἢ τὰν ἢ ἐπι τὰν[4] was the address of a Spartan mother, as she gave a shield to her son, who was arming for battle: no version can adequately render its simplicity, patriotism, and conciseness.

Domestic education during childhood.

At the age of twelve, each distinguished youth became the favourite companion of some one of the elder members of the community. This connection was founded on personal affection, and conducted, according to the best testimony,[5] with all the purity and warmth of paternal or brotherly love. The elder was to be the guide, patron, and model to his younger friend, to share his honour or his disgrace; and if several had chosen the same youth as the object of their regard, no jealousy prevented the union of their efforts to render him an accomplished citizen. Rivalry in excellence was encouraged by another expedient. The magistrates nominated three individuals, who selected three hundred as a distinct class. These were, of course, watched with a jealous eye by the remainder: any deficiency in courage, (and the parties usually fought when they met,[6]) or impropriety of conduct was observed, reported, and punished; and virtue was thus kept alert and active, by the caution of those who held the post of honour, and the hopes of those who desired it.

Education in early youth.

As to literature,[7] they were brought up to despise it as a foreign luxury, useless, if not mischievous: many of them could neither write nor read;[8] but they listened with pleasure to the warlike verses of

The Spartans illiterate, but fond of martial poetry.

[1] Xenoph. [2] Xenoph. Lac. Res. [3] Xenoph. Anab. iv. 6.

[4] *I. e.* "Either bring this home, or be brought home upon it." This motto was inscribed on one of the national flags in the Greek revolution of 1827.

[5] Plut. and Xenoph. [6] Xenoph. [7] Ar. Rhet. ii. 23.

[8] Meursius, Mis. Lac.: οὐδὲ γράμματα μανθάνουσιν, Isoc. Panath. 83.

Tyrtæus[1] and Homer. Dramatic and rhetorical compositions they had none: martial[2] music they cultivated and admired; but whatever seeds of general taste, talent, or accomplishments might exist in any individual mind, their institutions speedily destroyed. An orator was banished for making profession of the art of eloquence, and when Timotheus[3] played too well on the lyre, the Ephori ordered four strings to be cut from his instrument. In a word, as the city of



Lycurgus was a camp, his people were always on parade: music was an art by which warlike feelings were cherished, and they loved it as such: speech was but a medium of transacting business; and what they said was close,[4] pertinent, and sensible. To the Samians, who besought assistance in a long harangue, they replied, they did not understand the end of the speech, and had forgotten the beginning: upon which, the ambassadors, adapting their mode of entreaty to the character of the nation, exhibited an empty bag. The Lacedæmonians understood this appeal, and promised the necessary supply.[5]

As the aristocratic part of the nation, the Dorians, thus disregarded the accomplishments of literature and art, they held in still greater contempt the occupation of manual labour. Idleness suited the dignity of their liberty, except when it was exchanged for dancing, the exercises of the gymnasium, or the chase. They wrestled, ran, and threw the javelin: they had also a game like football,[6] and their sportive combats had the ferocity of warfare without its excuse. Feet,[7] fists, nails, and teeth, were all brought into play most effectively; the state permitted and superintended these encounters, and thus trained her citizens by an absurd and cruel system, fit only for uncivilized savages. For such pastimes as these, she left agriculture and the mechanical arts in the hands of the Helots; they hired from the proprietor that land which each head of a family possessed, and

Their sports ferocious.

[1] Athenæus, xiv. ch. viii. [2] Ar. Pol. 5. [3] Plut. Agis.

[4] The well-known "Veni, vidi, vici," of Cæsar is not so good in its way as Lysander's letter, "Athens is taken."

[5] Herod. iii. 46, and conf. vii. 228. [6] Lucian, de Gymn.

[7] Paus. iii. 14; Cic. Tusc. Quæst. v. 27.

thus profited by the folly of the state, in marking such pursuits as a degradation. These original estates were private property, and passed, without increase or diminution,[1] to the eldest son. But, in some respects, there was a community of goods at Sparta; he,[2] for instance, who wished to hunt, or to travel, took his neighbour's dogs or equipage without hesitation:[3] wives occasionally were not excepted under this plan of mutual accommodation. To improve the breed of citizens was the legislator's great aim:[4] he recommended his system most pertinently by illustrations drawn from dogs and horses; and his people admitted its efficacy, apparently without thinking that they paid too high a price for it. Spartan tenure of property.

It was, indeed, especially in his conduct in respect of the female sex, that Lycurgus showed his ignorance of the true source of human happiness.[5] Political liberty he secured; but, in its attainment, he lost almost all that could make it valuable; for he violated all the sanctities of domestic life, and many of the decencies of natural propriety. The gymnastics of his young females, their dancing, running, wrestling, leaping, throwing the javelin and the quoit, were performed in public. Even their ordinary dress[6] was notorious, and proverbial for its indecorous exhibition of the person.[7] It may be doubted,[8] whether this state of things was a part of the legislator's deliberate design, or whether it arose from his systematic neglect; but, in either case, the effects were equally immoral.[9] Condition of women.

The time of marriage for all the citizens was appointed by law, but not actually enforced. In early ages, the marriageable girls[10] were collected in a room perfectly dark; the young men were admitted, and she whom each one caught became his wife. This custom, however, afterwards fell into disuse. But as late as the days of Lysander, the law punished those who did not marry at all; or who remained widowers; or who married too late; or who married ill. Thus, Marriage.

[1] A law, permitting their alienation, was passed by the influence of Epitadeus. Its consequences were the accumulation of landed property in the hands of a few, general poverty and discontent, the decay of public spirit, and a restless desire of change.—Plut. Agis.

[2] Arist. Pol. [3] Xenoph. Res. Lac. [4] Plut. in Lyc.

[5] ὅσοις γὰρ τὰ κατὰ γυναῖκας φαῦλα ὥσπερ Λακεδαιμονιοίς, σχεδὸν κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ εὐτε εὐδαιμονοῦσι.—Ar. Rhet. i. 5.

[6] It was a chiton, or frock, without sleeves, and often did not reach the knees; one side was quite open, and it was fastened on the shoulders by clasps. This is perhaps what Plutarch calls γύμνωσις τῶν παρθενῶν; but at times, in public, the Spartan females wore no garment.—Bekker.

[7] φαινομηρίδες.—Plut. in Num.

[8] Conf. Plut. in Lyc. and Ar. Pol. lib. ii.

[9] The undisciplined manners of the Spartan women are inconsistent with every wise plan of legislation, and totally adverse to the principal aim of Lycurgus, who, exacting the most rigid temperance in his men, with a view to harden them to fortitude, has granted every indulgence to his women, and thereby corrupted them with licentiousness.—Arist. Pol. lib. ii; Gillies, vol. ii. p. 122.

[10] Plut. in Lyc.

Celibacy discouraged at Sparta.

though it was not absolutely compulsory, yet it consigned bachelors to public disgrace; it obliged them to march, in an ignominious procession, singing songs to their own discredit; and once a-year they were personally chastised.[1] On a certain festival, the women might beat them with the hand, or with a stick. Whether the thickness of the latter was regulated by law, as it is said to be in modern times, with reference to its application in conjugal discipline, is uncertain. Now, a Spartan lady, in one of the plays of Aristophanēs,[2] is thus complimented by her friend Lysistrate: "My beloved Lampito, how handsome you are; your complexion is so fine, and your person so full and healthy; why, you could strangle a bull." "Yes," replies Lampito, "I fancy I could, for I exercise myself in jumping till my heels touch my back." Doubtless, such personal vigour was not rare in Laconia; the chastisement, then, of an annual vapulation, received from such hands, and inflicted, probably with considerable severity, for the honour of the fair sex, was a disagreeable tax on celibacy. Certainly, the victims would not be spared, if Euripides gives a just character of the Spartan females (*ανδρομανεῖς*); but, as a man, he was unjust to the sex in general; and, as an Athenian, his testimony may be suspected, with regard to Lacedæmonian ladies in particular.

Marriage customs.

It seems as if the institutions of this extraordinary state were always to be at variance with good sense and good feeling: the law commanded a man to marry, and then public opinion forbade him to associate with his wife. The early meetings of the wedded pair were contrived with secrecy,[3] and abridged in their duration, lest the absence of the bridegroom from his usual occupations and friends should awaken a suspicion of its cause. When the course of true love does not run smooth, it is often most interesting in its adventures; in its alternations of hope and fear; in the tenderness of stolen meetings between parties engaged by affection, and yet separated by accident or thwarted by design; in the bold dexterity of their interviews or the stratagems of their escape; in their detection or in their success. But the romantic charm of these things is lost in their absurdity, when the marriage has been already ordered by the law, permitted by the families, and solemnized by the individuals.

Respect granted to the married; freedom to the unmarried.

Still, in the unions thus singularly arranged and conducted, as there was commonly less disparity of years than was customary elsewhere, so there was more of mutual confidence and respect,[4] and as the married women enjoyed more public respect (their customary title, *δέσποιναι*, showed it), so the unmarried enjoyed more freedom. The men claimed no intellectual superiority, and on the common level of patriotism they met as equals. For this, the strongest instincts and the purest feelings were so far subdued, that Spartan mothers have been known to slay their sons for cowardice, or to count, with satis-

[1] Meursius, Mis. Lac.: *ῥαπίζουσι.*
[2] Lys. 78.
[3] Xenoph. Lac. Res.
[4] Plut. Agis.

faction, the honourable wounds upon their corpses.[1] The truly heroic patriotism of the mother of Brasidas is admirably contrasted with this unnatural ferocity. He who communicated to her that general's death, mixed commendation with condolence, by calling him the bravest of the Spartans. "Stranger," she replied, "my son was brave, but Sparta can boast of citizens still braver."

These examples illustrate, perhaps, the best and the worst consequences produced by Spartan customs on the female mind and character: and here, before we pass on to the corresponding subject at Athens, we may consider the Lacedæmonians in one more of those relations which arise out of the structure of civil society—their conduct as masters to their servants.

Slaves at Sparta oppressed and degraded.

It might, indeed, have been supposed, that they who knew so well the value of liberty, would be inclined to communicate its blessings. But the fact was so far otherwise,[2] that it was proverbially said, "Where the free man is especially free, there the slave is especially a slave." The severity of the servitude inflicted on the Helots was an act of ungenerous revenge: as Messenians, they fought for their own independence with a pertinacity of resolution which a Spartan ought to have admired: whereas, the punishment inflicted on them was as degrading as it was unjust. As captives, they were the property of the state at large; but it did not shield them from the cruelty or the caprice of an individual, while it did prevent them from profiting by his compassion. The foolish notions of national dignity which pre-

[1] Such traditionary stories are thus versified in the Greek Anthology:—

Τᾷ πιτάνᾳ Θρασύβουλος ἐπ' ἀσπίδος ἤλυθεν ἄπνους
Ἑπτὰ πρὸς Ἀργείων τραύματα δεξάμενος,
Δεικνὺς αντία πάντα· τὸν ἀιματόεντα δ' ὁ πρίσβυς
Παῖδ' ἐπὶ πυρκαϊὴν Τύννιχος εἶπε τιθείς
Δειλοὶ κλαιέσθωσαν ἐγὼ δὲ σέ τέκνον ἄδακρυς
Θάψω τὸν καὶ ἐμὸν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιον.

Dioscoridēs floruit circiter 230 A. C., No. 464, *Edwards' Greek Anthol.*

The aged Tynnicus, as he placed on the funeral pile his son Thrasybulus, brought home on his shield, having received seven honourable wounds in war, spake thus,—"Let cowards weep, I shall bury you, my son, without a tear—yea, my own and Sparta's son."

Εἰς δηΐων πίμψασα λόχους Δημαινέτη ὀκτὼ
Παῖδας ὑπὸ στήλῃ πάντας ἔθαπτε μιᾷ
Δάκρυα δ' οὐκ ἔρρηξ' ἐπὶ πένθεσιν ἀλλὰ τόδ' εἶπεν
Μοῦνον ἰὼ Σπάρτα σοὶ τέκνα ταῦτ' ἔτικον.

No. 465.

Demainetē buried eight sons from the wars in one tomb: she shed no tears in her anguish, but only said, "O Sparta! I produced these sons for thee." Demetrius was killed by his mother for transgressing the laws, and she addresses him in the following maternal language:—

Ἔρρε κακὸν σκυλάκευμα, κακὰ μερόεις ἔρρε ποθ' Ἅιδαν
Ἔρρε· τὸν οὐ Σπάρτας ἄξιον οὐδ' ἔτικον.

Tymnes. No. 468.

'Begone, you base whelp, you fragment of villany, begone to the grave: unworthy of Sparta, you are no son of mine." See also No. 509 on the same subject.

[2] Plut. in Lyc.

vailed, in some degree mitigated their condition; for a Spartan could not condescend to cultivate his own land; he therefore let it to the Helots,[1] who paid their rent, and enjoyed the surplus of the produce. In war, too, their services were employed; seven Helots attended each Spartan at the battle of Platæa.[2] But, though the pride and idleness of their masters might thus allow them to acquire property, and though in imminent danger they might be trusted with arms, yet their numbers always made them an object of suspicion and alarm. In no other Grecian state did the slaves so far exceed the free population; probably, they were as five to one. On this account, the Lacedæmonians endeavoured to break down their spirit by contumely and degradation; so far had they succeeded, that some of them, being taken prisoners by the Thebans, and desired to sing the odes of Terpander, and other national songs, excused themselves, under the plea that it was forbidden by their masters. Their common dress was a badge of servitude,—their periodical chastisement, an ordinance of cruelty,[3]—their public exhibition in all the debasement of compulsory intoxication, intended as a warning to the citizens, was a gross and odious insult. The Cryptia, or ambuscade, was an institution of unexampled cowardice and barbarity. It authorized the Spartan youth to disperse themselves in the country, armed with daggers, and sallying forth by night, to kill all the Helots they could meet: nay, sometimes by day they fell[4] upon them in the fields, and murdered the strongest of them. Lest private cruelty and wanton power should fail to thin their numbers efficiently, murder on a larger scale was perpetrated by public authority. A most atrocious example is recorded by Thucydidēs, of ingratitude, treachery, cowardice, and barbarity. In the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war, the Lacedæmonians sent out an army against the confederates of Athens, because they desired a pretence to send away part of their Helots: "For," says the historian, "the Lacedæmonians had ever many ordinances concerning how to look to themselves against the Helots: they did also this further, fearing their youth and multitude; they caused proclamation to be made, that as many of them as claimed the estimation to have done the Lacedæmonians best service in their wars, should be made free: feeling them in this manner, and conceiving that as they should every one, out of pride, deem himself worthy to be first made free, so they would soonest also rebel against them. And when they had thus preferred about two thousand, which also, with crowns on their heads, went in procession about the temples as to receive their liberty, they not long after made them away, and no man knew how they perished."[5]

Their numbers thinned by state policy.

If any further proof were wanted of the inhumanity of the Spartans

[1] Helots, *i.e.* prisoners, according to Müller's derivation of the word, from ἁλῶ, to take, as δμῶες from δαμάω.—Smith's Dict. Antiq.

[2] Herod. ix. 28. At this time they did not know gold from brass.—Herod. ix. 80.

[3] Plut. in Lyc. [4] Plut. in Lyc. [5] Hobbes, lib. iv. 80.

towards their slaves, it may be found in a passage in Ælian.[1] He has preserved a tradition, that when an earthquake damaged their city, popular opinion in Greece esteemed it a direct judgment from heaven, in consequence of this very inhumanity. Now, independent of the truth or the reasonableness of this opinion, its very existence is a curious fact. The treatment of slaves must have been very bad to have been noticed at all; but to have excited such a strong and general feeling of condemnation, it must have been monstrous. For in general, the deliberate sentiments of the more educated minds combined with the prejudices of the vulgar; they agreed, that this despised race had forfeited the rights of man. Philosophy made her speculations, and legislation her enactments, as if they had ceased to be rational beings. Accordingly, the very tender mercies of Grecian law towards them were cruel. The favour which public opinion extended to them was conveyed in the language of insult: the very privileges it conceded became an additional mark of degradation. The legislator, who protected them from certain acts of violence, was careful to add, that he did it not for their sakes, but for their master's: if he advises the citizen[2] to abstain from insulting his slaves, it is because such self-command proves his genuine love of justice, and promotes the cultivation of his own moral virtue.[3] Still the slave was to be managed, not by advice, like a freeman, but by castigation, because Zeus was supposed to have taken away half his understanding. Again, he was a sort of living tool;[4] his work, like the work of a shuttle, consisted in production; the exercise of reason is beyond his power, but he is competent to obey it, and herein, chiefly, he differs from tame animals; but he performs the same labours, and for his own advantage becomes the property of his superiors.[5] It is clear, that in the eye of a Grecian legislator, a cast-iron image which could have worked by steam, would have been thought more valuable property than a slave; for it would have eaten less, and lasted longer.

Any humanity towards a slave shown only from self-interest.

The number[6] of these wretched beings in Attica was immense; they bore to the free inhabitants the proportion of about three to one.[7] The greater part were imported, for it was found more economical to buy than to breed; a capitation tax of three oboli a year was levied on them by the state. Even many of the poorer citizens had one. A little higher in the scale of society, several were employed in domestic purposes, in trades, and as mechanics. At Rome, slaves

Slaves at Athens employed in handicraft.

[1] Var. Hist. vi. 7. [2] Plato de Leg. 6.

[3] "I would kill thee," said Charillus to a Helot, "were I not in a passion." (Plut. Apoph. St. John, vol. iii. p. 40.) Sceledrus, a slave in Plautus, says—

> Pray, spare your threats, I know the gallows waits me—
> A sepulchre where all my ancestors
> Have gone before me, father, grandfather.
> *Braggard Captain*, Act. 2, Sc. 8.—*Thornton.*

[4] ἔμψυχον ὄργανον. Ar. Eth. viii. 11.

[5] Arist. Pol. lib. i. [6] Boeckh's Œc. Ath.

[7] Free population, 127,000; slave population, 400,000.

Slaves at Athens.

were a luxury and the outward sign of wealth: in Greece, they were the investment of capital and returned interest. Trade of any kind was at no time much respected. The Athenians would advance money to others for carrying on mercantile concerns, but it was held dishonourable to take part in them personally.[1] Demosthenēs inherited fifty-two slaves from his father, some of whom were swordmakers and chairmakers. Nicias had a thousand, of whom many worked in the mines; these he farmed out at an obolus apiece per day; he who hired them, undertaking to provide them food, and keep up their number. The interest on their value, including the rent of the mines, is computed at about 47 per cent. The price of a slave, skilled in handcraft, might be about five minæ, while an ordinary one would cost two; and a female player on the harp, twenty or thirty.[2] Still, slavery appeared at Athens in a milder form than elsewhere; insomuch, that Demosthenēs makes it the groundwork of a glowing panegyric upon his country; having cited a law which forbade the striking a slave, he adds, "You hear, Athenians, the humanity of the law, which prevents the offering insult even to a slave. What, in the name of the gods, do you think would be the sentiments of those nations, from whom slaves are purchased into Greece, should they be told that there were certain Greeks, men so gentle and humane, that, notwithstanding the accumulated injuries received from barbarians, and a natural and hereditary enmity to their race, yet did not allow these enemies to be ill-treated, even in servitude."[3] The account, however, of this philanthropy, which the orator apparently thought so wonderful, must be received with caution. The state had not the power to protect the slave altogether from the caprice and cruelty of individuals; and in judicial proceedings, where it had the power, it had not the will. "Take the slave," says one of the characters in a comedy of Aristophanēs, "put him in the stocks, hang him up, flog him with a scourge of hog's bristles, flay him, put him on the rack, pour vinegar into his nose."[4] "I might as well," says a landed proprietor, in one of the letters of Alciphron, "I might as well keep a wolf as that accursed slave; he kills all my goats; some he sells, some he eats, consuming them until his inordinate appetite is quite oppressed by indigestion. The fold is neglected while he is playing the lute and the pipe, and indulging himself at the perfumer's. If I can catch him, his hands shall be tied; he shall be heavily clogged, and the spade, the rake, and the prong shall drive out his luxurious notions, and teach him what rustic temperance is."[5] The law did, indeed, forbid an Athenian to strike the slaves of another (just as it forbade him to drive or kill his neighbour's cattle); but, if evidence was wanted in court, torture was unsparingly applied. "Let my adversary," says Demosthenēs,[6] "prove this point in question between

Their condition, therefore, more tolerable.

[1] Bekker's Chariclēs, Excursus, Scene 4, p. 221.
[2] Boeckh, vol. i. 53, *et seq.* [3] Gillies, Arist. Pol. vol. ii. 37, note.
[4] Ranæ, 620. [5] Lib. iii. Ep. 23. [6] Dem. in Neær.

us, by submitting his female slaves to the torment; and if they are damaged, I will pay for the injury done." The refusal of this reasonable request, the speaker seems to consider equivalent to a confession of guilt. Such circumstances are common in the Greek orators, and the insight they give us into the scenes of domestic life may diminish our admiration of these men, "so gentle and humane." It must, however, be allowed, that the sufferings of servitude were worse in other states. At Athens, the slaves, as a body constituted an important part of society; their services were valuable in the business and the battles of a commercial and naval republic. Those who fought at the engagement of Arginusæ received their enfranchisement as the reward of their valour; the same gift had also been bestowed on others, who had deserved it by the same exertions at an earlier period of the Peloponnesian war. Besides, their treatment at home was less degrading; no particular dress distinguished them from citizens. Under oppression, the temple of Theseus was their refuge; they had the right of appeal to the local authorities, and those who could acquire property might purchase their freedom. The sense of their own importance to the state made them impertinent as a body, while to their own masters, they were by turns servile or insolent; at one time threatened with the lash, or crucifixion, for their dishonesty; at another time, courted for those arts of cunning and intrigue which made them useful in ministering to the vices, or promoting the interests, of their owners. Such, at least, is the character of the Greek slave in the dramas of Plautus; and, as these are a transcript of the old Greek comedy, the representatation is probably correct.

Slaves served in the fleet,

and had some political rights.





SECTION V.

STATE OF FEMALE SOCIETY IN ATHENS.

Domestic manners of the Greeks,

THE view which we, who have descended so far down the stream of time, are enabled to take of the structure of Grecian society, may be compared to that distant prospect of a country which a mariner enjoys, while he navigates along its coasts. Occasionally a valley or a bay may lay open the interior, and his view may be extensive and distinct: bright lights falling on particular objects, may bring them into strong relief, and mark their outline with exactness. Much, however, is altogether concealed, and of that which is seen, much is necessarily indistinct. Researches into Grecian manners are attended with similar disadvantages; information on the subject is scanty and unconnected; for there are not, and it is probable there never were, any portions of Grecian literature which correspond with those departments from whence the domestic manners of modern times may be so copiously illustrated. This species of composition presupposes a reading public, which had no existence in Athens: even as late as the time of Plato the trade in books was small; those also who were willing to undertake the labour of writing, when circulation was slow and limited, profits inconsiderable, and reputation remote, commonly chose graver subjects. The most spirited general sketch of the morals of the age, namely, the account of the Corcyrian sedition, is intro-

scantily illustrated by their literature.

duced as part of the history of the Peloponnesian war; the most minute details we possess respecting the family of an Athenian gentleman are connected with a philosophical discussion on the use of property. Neither the one subject nor the other would have been treated on its own account. The Athenians had no biographical memoirs, essays, novels, nor journals, for they were not a reading people; though the tender sentiment expressed itself by καλὸς, or καλὴ, with the name of the loved one on the walls and pillars of the market and Cerameicus[1]; but, as they were a seeing, hearing, and play-frequenting nation, they had comedies in abundance. The character of these compositions, as they were more or less offensively personal and political, has suggested an arrangement of them, under three heads,—the old comedy, the middle, and the new. In each department, authors[2] were numerous.[3] "Though the new comedy developed itself and flourished only in the short interval between the end of the Peloponnesian war and the first successors of Alexander the Great, yet the stock of pieces amounted to thousands."[4] The characters of social life at Athens at that time, as it is reflected to us in the theatrical mirror, are the austere and stingy, or the mild and easy father, the latter not unfrequently afraid of his wife, and making common cause with the son against her; the housewife either loving or domineering—the young man giddy and extravagant, yet frank and amiable—the courtesan—the simple or cunning slave who assists his young master to deceive the father: the flatterer, the sycophant who stirs up lawsuits and offers to conduct them—the gasconading soldier boasting his exploits in foreign wars—the dealer in female slaves—the buffoon, jesting on himself and others. Such were the characters:[5] the plot was occasionally something of this sort—a young man, citizen of Athens, falls in love with a young woman whom he must not marry because she is apparently not free-born: as the action of the comedy is unfolded, it turns out that she was exposed in infancy by her parents, and is by birth an Athenian citizen—thereupon the parties marry.

The old comedy, political.

The new comedy, domestic.

The genius of some comic authors must have been wonderfully prolific. Antiphanēs has the credit of 290 dramas; Alexis of 245; Philēmon, who was second only to Menander, of 97. The titles which remain of these, and others, sufficient indicate the nature and extent of our loss. Such comedies[6] as the Gamesters, the Nuptials, Sappho, the Parasite, the Glutton, the Poor Men, the Pædagogues, Woman's Love and Woman's Tyranny, the Philosopher's Cloak, would have shed a light upon domestic manners, which it is vain to

Numerous productions of the comic writers.

[1] Bekker, Scene 11.

[2] Of the old comedy, 52; of the middle, 34; of the new, 20. Int. Fast. Hell.

[3] Plays of the old comedy were 365; of the middle, 617; nay, Athenæus says that he himself had read above 800 plays of the middle comedy.—Bentley.

[4] Schlegel, Lecture 13.

[5] Schlegel; compare also Terence, Prologue in Eunuchus.

[6] Cumberland's Observer, vol. ii.

The comic writers afford sketches of social life.

seek elsewhere[1]. But, unfortunately, the fragments of the comic muse are few and comparatively insignificant; of thirty-two writers of the middle æra, scarcely a thousand lines have been preserved.[2] The ravages of time naturally destroyed much; and, when Christianity was established,[3] these were assisted by the scruples of piety. Saint Chrysostome is said to have saved the works of Aristophanēs. Had any other saint extended the same protection to the writers of the new comedy, our present knowledge respecting female society in Greece would have been more accurate and enlarged. For the writers of the second æra were restrained from introducing "their fellow-citizens by name as characters in the dialogue."[4] Personal and political satire thus became less effective, and therefore the attention of comic authors was likely to be drawn more towards domestic life: and they sketched from living models, not only Athenian wives and mothers among the higher classes, but other less respectable characters also, who, by their numbers, their personal qualifications, and their influence, held an important place in the constitution of female society in Greece. In default, however, of this assistance, although materials are inadequate to the design of tracing, with precision, the changes which may be supposed to have arisen in the habits of social life, an attempt may still be made to collect and arrange the scattered notices which remain.

Female infanticide common.

There is a curious distich preserved from Posidippus to this effect, that, "even a poor man will take the pains to bring up a son, whereas a rich man will scarcely be induced to rear a daughter."[5] This alludes to the unnatural law which made it optional to a parent whether he would or would not preserve his offspring. "You remember," says a wife to her husband, in the Heautontimoroumenos of Terence,[6] "you insisted very strongly that if the (expected) child should prove a girl, you did not choose to rear it." It is remarkable, that this unnatural barbarity occurs in the same play with a passage that has passed into a proverb, for its enlightened and expanded philanthropy: "Homo sum nihil humani a me alienum puto."[7] In the Andria, it is esteemed an act of madness on the part of two lovers, that they had determined to preserve their expected infant, whatever its sex might

[1] To this list may be added the Tarentines, the Milesians, the Locrians, the Usurer, the Cook, the Soldier, the Vine-dresser, the Physician. Stolle on Greek Comedy, p. 53.

[2] Of seventy tragedies composed by Aristarchus of Tegea, one line only remains. Greek Theatre, 151.

[3] See Coleridge's Classic Poets, p. 144.

[4] Int. Fast. Hell. 41.

[5] υἱὸν τρέφει πὼς κἀν πένης τὶς ὢν τύχῃ
θυγατέρα δ' ἐκτίθησί κἂν ᾖ πλούσιος.

Stobæus, 78.

[6] Act 3, Scene 5.

[7] "I am a man: nothing relating to man is uninteresting to me." This is something like a well-known line—

One touch of feeling makes the whole world kin.

be. These passages are not indeed extracts, but the plays in which they occur are copies, of the Greek comedy; and they are curious and presumptive proofs of the low estimation in which females, as such,[1] were held. Their condition and happiness depend much on public opinion, which is always regulated by men; wheresoever, then, one sex is degraded, as it was in Greece, the fault originates with the other, and the misfortune extends to both.

Low state of female education.

On this subject, there are some observations of Socratēs, preserved in one of Xenophon's dialogues. Conversing one day with his friend Critobulus, with reference to domestic economy, he says, "I can point out to you some men who treat their wives in such a way,[2] as to secure their co-operation in promoting the welfare of the family, and others, whose behaviour to them is such, that its best interests suffer." Is the fault, in that case, replies his companion, with the husband or with the wife? To this pertinent question, Socratēs answers, "If the cattle suffer, we blame the shepherd; when a horse does mischief, we condemn the rider; and, in like manner, if a wife, after having been properly instructed by her husband, conducts herself ill, the blame rests with herself, otherwise it rests with him." This illustration is not, perhaps, very complimentary, but the distinction is substantially just; and it is abundantly clear, that, in general, no efforts of education were made to qualify Athenian women to deserve confidence, or enjoy society, either by their parents before marriage, or by their husbands afterwards. "How," says one of the interlocutors of the same dialogue,—"how could my wife have learned anything at home? She was not fifteen when she married; her father and mother had brought her up with great care, so that she might see as little as possible, hear as little as possible, and ask as few questions as possible." This emphasis of repetition strongly marks the value that was attached to female[3] ignorance.

Domestic seclusion of females.

Their life was, indeed, a state of seclusion and restraint. No daughter of a free citizen could, with propriety, have attended a school beyond her father's house; and because the scene of Greek comedy lies in the street, the daughter is not one of the personæ, though father, mother, and son are. Houses were generally built round a quadrangle, which opened by a gate in the street. At a distance from this entrance, behind the part allotted to the men, but on the same level,[4] the women occupied their sleeping-rooms, and those apartments where woollen materials were stored and wrought. A fondness for the latter occupation was an important female[5] excellence, because the clothing of the family was

[1] Χαλεπόν γε θυγάτηρ κτῆμα καὶ δυσδιάθετον.—*Menander.*

[2] Menander has some good advice on this subject in a fragment preserved by Stobæus, 74, beginning—

τὸ μὲν μεγιστὸν ὄντος ἄνδρα χρὴ σοφὸν
λιάν φυλάσσειν ἀλοχὸν ἐν μυχοῖς δόμων.

[3] Conf. Soph. Fragm. Brunck. ii. 319.

[4] See Bekker's plan of a Greek house.

[5] φιλεργία ἀντὶ ἀνελευθερίας.—Ar. Rhet.

usually made at home. Beyond their precincts Athenian ladies ought not to have passed, except on occasion of some public festivities, or some religious rites. Such laws were of course frequently evaded by their own dexterity, or dispensed with by their husbands' indulgence; but they might be enforced, either by the severity of his anger, or the suspicions of his jealousy. Some curious traits of domestic etiquette occur in the old dramas. A married woman, says Menander, ought not to appear beyond the door of the court. A princess in Euripidēs obtains her mother's permission to view a distant battle from the house-top: "stay, however," says the pædagogue, "till I have examined the passages, for if any of the citizens should see you I shall be blamed as negligent of my duty, and you as careless of your reputation."[1] The stage, moreover, echoed the proverb of domestic life, that silence was the ornament of women;[2] or if she were allowed to break it, it must be at home among her servants. A question whether the state were likely to have peace or war, was answered by a suggestion that the loom and the distaff were unoccupied.[3] The sculptor too, who placed his Aphrodītē on a tortoise, thus reminded the sex that their duties were at home; the orator rarely mentioned them, and if he did, his address was unfeeling; the general who animated his troops, appealed to their patrotic not their domestic affections. He, whose unrivalled funeral oration delights the readers of Thucydidēs, could eloquently expatiate on the constitution of Athens,—her ancient renown,—her general encouragement of talent,—the festive gaiety of her recreations,—her energy in political business,—her conquests in war,—her hospitality to strangers,—the easy freedom, and the various luxuries of her social life, contrasted in all the subtlety of dextrous insinuation with Spartan institutions, discipline, and manners; and how does he dismiss the widows, sisters, and mothers of those who had fallen nobly in their country's cause? If, he adds, I ought to say something of female excellence, with reference to those who are now in widowhood, a short exhortation will comprise the whole; "It is your great glory to show yourselves not unworthy of your natural character, and that the least possible mention should be made of you among the men, either by way of praise or of condemnation."

Influence of Periclēs on female society.

Such negative approbation, however, was not calculated to satisfy the vanity of Athenian dames. Their energies were not to be confined within four walls,[4] or their sensibilities engrossed by the spindle and its woollen appurtenances, though tortoises were carved by Phidias, and orations made by Periclēs. The latter, indeed, had, of all men, least right to be censor of female morality: whatever might have been the vices or the follies of his countrymen,—and undoubtedly they were deep and numerous,—he was, in great measure, the cause of them. For his taste and talents polished society without purifying it: his example, and his choice of friends, raised into place and influence

[1] Eur. Phæniss. 88; conf. Androm. 876.
[2] Aj. 292
[3] Aristoph. Lys. 519.
[4] Menander apud Stob. 89.

a class of females who were the rivals of Athenian matrons in their husband's regard, and who were far better formed for that companionship which their name Hetæræ implied, by every qualification, except respectability of character. But before we enter upon this subject, it may be an interesting inquiry to trace the public ceremonies which preceded marriage, and the occupations of domestic life which followed it.

Marriages generally arranged by the parents of the parties.

As unmarried females[1] generally lived in strict seclusion, they could not form many acquaintances among the other sex; and therefore their parents' choice of a partner for life was not likely to be opposed by any pre-existing preference. "My father," says a lady on the tragic stage, "will take care of my marriage; it is not my concern to think about it." Still such indifference was not universal; for many of the public processions and festivals which girls were allowed to join, besides being religious solemnities, were also opportunities of attachment, seduction, or intrigue. Hence, the bridegroom, selected by one party, was not always acceptable to the other. A letter, on exactly such an occasion, preserved in Alciphron, expresses the same love and the same despair which, under similar circumstances, occur in present times. The reply is singularly curious: the remedy it suggests is so compendious and complete, that modern damsels may congratulate themselves in the change, both in civil institutions, and in



the habits and feelings of private life, which have now superseded its application. Glaucippē, having strongly expressed her disinclination

[1] Douglas writes thus about the modern Greeks (p. 108):—"The Greek girls are so strictly confined to their homes that few of their marriages are founded on personal attachment. The agreement of the respective parents, often made at the birth of the child, or even at their own marriage, can be but little influenced by le rapport des esprits et des cœurs, des sentimens, des goûts, et des humeurs.'

Παρθενικὴν δὲ φυλάσσε πολύκλειστοις θάλαμοισιν
Μηδὲ μὶν ἄχρι γάμων πρὸ δομῶν ὄφθηναι ἐασῃ.

Brunck. Com. Frag.

'Lock up your girls safely, never let them be seen outside the house till they are married.'"

to a match proposed by her parents, receives this answer from her mother:—

Charopē to Glaucippē.—"You are mad, my dear daughter, and quite beside yourself: be tranquil, return to your senses, and banish this pernicious affection; for if your father should hear anything that has passed, without the least hesitation or delay he will toss you into the sea, to feed the monsters of the deep."[1]

Form of betrothment political.

Indeed, the happiness of the wedded pair was not much consulted in matrimonial arrangements. That children should be legitimately born to supply the state with free citizens was essential to its welfare: and if the parents chanced to be mutually happy in each other, it was a fortunate accident. Aristotle,[2] in his Politics, advises that women should marry at eighteen, and men at thirty-seven: he treats it as an affair, in which the legislator should determine the age and qualities of those who are fit to be united: winter is recommended by the naturalists, as the season, and a north wind esteemed desirable. The very form[3] of betrothment had a political aspect:—"I give you this my daughter, to make you the father of children lawfully begotten."

Marriage ceremonies of the Athenians.

Before marriage, young women went in procession with presents to Artemis and Athēnē, asking permission to desert their virgin train. The ceremony itself was preceded by prayer and sacrifice: the gall of the victim was carefully cast away, as if to banish for ever those bitter dispositions to which it had an analogical resemblance. A gilded garland decked the bride with roses, verbena, hyacinth, and other flowers and herbs, to which custom or mythology[4] had annexed a figurative sense. The thorns of the wild asparagus were emblematic of the difficulties of the lover's pursuit; its fruit typified the value of his acquisition: cakes of sesame were an omen of fruitfulness. That the bride might be reminded of the household duties of the wife, she carried to her husband's home a vessel for roasting barley. The chariot which conveyed her was preceded by torches, and in some places, its axletree was broken at the door, to indicate that she returned thence no more; as she entered, fruits were poured upon her head; a banquet which, in fact, accredited the marriage, awaited her,[5] graced by music and the dance; a basket of loaves, together with branches of the oak,



[1] Alciph. Ep. lib. ii. 5. [2] Pol. lib. iv. [3] Menander.

[4] During the ceremony itself, two chaplets of lilies and ears of corn, emblems of purity and abundance, are placed by the priest alternately upon the heads both of the bride and bridegroom, and a similar rite is performed with two rings of gold and silver. Catullus, in his Epithalamium, has mentioned no event, consistent with the change in the religion, which does not take place at the wedding of a modern Greek. Douglas, p. 110.

[5] Bekker.

was carried round, to intimate, by symbols, that the change from celibacy to marriage was as pleasing and as beneficial as that, in earlier ages, from acorn diet to bread. To kindle and to bear on high the nuptial torch was the mother's privilege;[1] and when the married couple had supped upon a quince, as by law appointed, the festivities of the day concluded, by the relations joining in the hymeneal song. Within the week presents were brought, such as robes, vessels, couches, plate, ointment-boxes, sandals, and the various necessaries of housekeeping. Marriage presents.

It must be acknowledged, that the life to which these ceremonies were the introduction was of a very different character; the latter were cheerful, pleasing, and poetical; the former was dull, monotonous, and unsocial; for married women dined with their husbands only if he had no male friends at table.[2] In the very focus of civilization, the women were treated as a lower order of beings, neglected by nature in comparison with men, both in intellect and heart, unserviceable for public life, and easily inclined to evil.[3] One treatise[4] of antiquity has made us acquainted with domestic life: it should be borne in mind, that the parties in question were among the wealthy citizens of Athens; and he whose inquiry draws out these circumstances, evidently considers them as a picture, nearly perfect, of that happiness which matrimony was capable of conferring.

There lived in Athens, in the time of Socratēs, one whom men and women, strangers and citizens, agreed to call a complete gentleman: with this Ischomachus, the philosopher contrives a meeting, and, having complimented him upon his reputation, (one great cause of which Ischomachus himself seems to think was, that he did not pass much of his time at home,) he pursues the inquiry respecting his wife; it was the same lady whose education at home, and early marriage, have been before mentioned. Upon this, the Athenian gentleman gives the following account of his domestic economy:— "My wife," says he, "knew when she came from her father's house, how to make a robe, to distribute to her maids their tasks of spinning, and instruct those who were inexperienced. As to her appetite, she was temperate,—a great point both in man and woman. After a mutual sacrifice, and prayer, that my instructions might be profitable, I taught her that our property was to be in common,—that we were to bring up our chlldren to be our comfort in old age,—that it was her business to take care of the things in the house: I showed her the various receptacles where she was to stow away the crops, the corn in the dry, the wine in the cool; the chambers for woollen garments, and stores of dresses, with male and female shoes, lady's holiday costume, —things used in sacrifice, and tools for wool-carding, grinding, roasting, and baking. I pointed out the apartments of the female slaves, separate from those of the men, that no increase of family might occur without Household of Ischomachus. Athenian housewifery.

[1] Phæniss. 344; Iphig. in Aulis, 722.
[2] Bekker.
[3] Bekker, Excursus to Scene 12.
[4] Xenoph. Œconom.

our permission. She was to superintend the manufacture of woollen garments; like the queen-bee, who does not allow the rest to be idle, but sets[1] them their tasks. She was to take care that a year's provision was not consumed in a month, and be attentive to the sick slaves; above all things, to be orderly, to have a place for everything, and from time to time to review the household implements, as a commanding officer does his troops."



Female employments at home.

A modern reader might suppose this complete gentleman of Athens was hiring a housemaid, rather than conversing with his wife. The lady, however, is delighted with her sphere of occupation; and Socratēs, hearing that she had promised diligence in the care of her household, exclaims, with admiration, "By Hērē! you have described quite a noble disposition in this your wife." To this commendation, Ischomachus replied, "I can give you an instance of real magnanimity in her ready obedience to me. She had once rubbed a considerable portion of white paint into her face, and an herb that gave a redness to her countenance beyond its natural complexion:[2] she also wore high shoes to make herself taller. Accordingly, I said to her, 'do you think it would be handsome in me to pass myself off to you as richer than I am, and show you false necklaces, counterfeit money, and dyed dresses for genuine? or do you wish me to stain my eyes with vermilion? Lay aside, then, all this artificial colouring, which a shower of tears may destroy: you will get a good colour, health, and appetite,—not by sitting still everlastingly, but by walking from loom to loom, improving yourself, and instructing others,—overlooking the baker,—superintending the distributions of the housekeeper,—observing if all things are in their place. Besides, you can wet the flour for bread, pound it in a mortar, or shake and fold the clothes and blankets, thus combining wholesome exercise with domestic duties.'"

An Athenian gentleman's ordinary life in the country.

Upon this Socratēs remarks, "I have heard enough of your wife to be convinced that you both deserve high commendation. Now, as to yourself, how do you pass your time?" The freedom of this request does not prevent its being gratified. "I begin the day," replies Ischomachus, "with prayer to the gods for health, strength, honour in the city, affection from my friends, safety in war, and an honest increase

[1] See Proverbs, xxxi. 13, 15, 19, 27.

[2] The Greeks had a game like our forfeits. Once, when it came to the turn of the beautiful Phrynē to play queen, she ordered that every lady should wash her face: she appeared only the more lovely and fresh after the process; but, alas for the others! when the anchusa psimmathion and phukos had been removed by the water, their freckled and coarse skins exposed them to general laughter. St. John, vol. i. p. 155.

of my property; which blessings I endeavour to deserve by my conduct; for the respect I pay to the gods is on an expensive scale; I assist any friend who is in need, and contribute to the decoration of the city. On rising in the morning, I admit any who may want to see me, or transact what business I may have in the town. In that case I send my horse forward into the country, walk thither and inspect those who are sowing, planting, carrying, or laying down the fallows.[1] Then I practise on horseback such manœuvres as are useful in war, leaping banks and ditches as they come: afterwards, I use the strigil, and dine temperately. These exercises and occupations preserve my health and property, and fit me for military service. In order, moreover, to protect myself in case of accusation, I practise speaking at home, listening to the disputes of my domestics, detecting their falsehoods; or I converse with my friends, or reconcile any that may be at variance."

The amusements of the city

The writings of antiquity have given us no picture, so complete as this, of the private life of those Athenian landed proprietors, whom neither mercantile traffic, nor judicial business, seduced from their rural occupations. The latter, of course, were often exchanged for politics in the assembly, scandal[2] in the perfumers' shops or the Agora, philosophy on the banks of the Ilissus, games in the Gymnasia, or law in the courts. Hunting, too, was a favourite amusement in the country; life in the city was enlivened by various civil and religious festivals.[3] Men might pass their life amidst these agreeable vicissitudes: women, on the contrary, had none of the excitement of business, few of the pleasures of recreation,[4] and even from convivial parties they were excluded. Some submitted to their lot through habit, fear, or indifference; others, probably the greater part, found refuge in the

scarcely ever enjoyed by females.

[1] The love of the Athenians for a country life is strongly brought out in Thucyd. lib. ii. 14, *et seq.*

[2] The following lively picture of city life is from Bekker, Scene 5:—"The paths leading to the Academy, the Lyceion, and Cynosarges were now most frequented. The free burgher who was not confined to the close atmosphere of his domicile by any base handicraft sought these places of meeting, perhaps in order to whet his appetite by some invigorating exercise, a warm or cold bath, or it might be by a constitutional in the Dromos, or perhaps he amused himself by being a spectator of the dexterity and agile feats of the wrestlers. Here a sophist, seated amidst his scholars, was discussing by question and answer the pros and cons of some question in ethics; here a rhetorician was making a critical examination of a speech elaborated by one of his pupils."

[3] Pericl. Fun. Or.

[4] τοὺς τῆς γαμετῆς ὅρους ὑπερβαίνεις, γύναι,
δι' αὐθάδειαν, πέρας γὰρ αὔλιος θύρα
ἐλευθέρᾳ γυναικὶ νενόμισται.

Menander, apud Stob. 19.

"O lady, you transgress the limits of a wife through wilfulness; for, to a woman of birth, the appointed boundary is the court-yard gate."—In another fragment (No. 74), Menander gives better advice: "A wise man ought not to keep his wife too much shut up at home: by sight-seeing and visiting she escapes a great many evils."

follies of dress,[1] or the vices of intrigue. These evils were naturally engendered by a life so solitary, by such vacancy of mind, and by the possession of activity and talents, without their appropriate occupations.[2] The Athenian ladies, too, had an additional cause of exasperation in that latitude of immorality which custom allowed their husbands. It not only pardoned their conjugal irregularities, but it raised the Hetæræ to such a level of education and accomplishments, as modesty and virtuous merit were not suffered to ascend. They were trained to perform skilfully on musical instruments, to sing and dance, their minds[3] and talents were cultivated, and the peculiarities of their natural characters drawn out, by a more free and even a more literary intercourse[4] of society than their rivals were allowed to share. Their very name implies a companionship for which the others were not qualified. Having added to their attainments in the fine arts a knowledge of philosophy, and the powers of eloquence, they became thus trained and educated the companions of orators, statesmen, and poets.[5] In the Persian war, Thargelia acquired considerable political influence by her wit and politeness: the society of Aspasia, who was first the mistress, and afterwards the wife of Periclēs, was courted by philosophers and statesmen: the former profited by her wisdom, the latter by her powers of eloquence; and even the most transcendant orator of his time,—"he, who alone struck a sting into the very souls of his hearers, and left it there to remain for ever,"[6]—is said to have been assisted by this extraordinary woman. There was, indeed, no reason in the nature of things why Grecian females should not abundantly repay any culture that was laid out in their education; and if Athenians chose to confine this culture exclusively to their Hetæræ, their selfishness was as ill-judged as it was ungenerous.

Hetæræ.

Education of the Hetæræ.

The extent of their outrage against wedded affection, and the principles on which it was perpetrated, are stated by Demosthenēs:[7] stated, too, in all the publicity of a court of justice, as a matter of general notoriety and experience,—a fact, that admitted no doubt, and required no apology. But still, while public opinion was so lax, and the usual habits of domestic life so shameless, the law recognised the superiority of virtue. The severity of its institutions which guarded

Respect paid to marriage politically.

[1] Aristoph. Lysist.

[2] Si les Français pouvoient donner à leurs femmes toutes les vertus des Anglaises, leurs mœurs retirées, leur gôut pour la solitude, ils feraient très-bien de préférer de telles qualités à tous les dons d'un esprit éclatant; mais ce qu'ils pourroient obtenir de leur femmes, ce seroit de ne rien lire, de ne rien savoir, de n'avoir jamais dans la conversation ni une idée intéressante, ni une expression heureuse, ni un langage relevé, loin que cette bien-heureuse ignorance les fixât dans leur interieur, leurs enfans leur devriendroient à-la-fois moins chers lorsqu'elles seroient hors d'état de diriger leur education. Le monde leur deviendroit plus necessaire et plus dangereux: car on ne pourroit jamais leur parler que d'amour, et cet amour n'auroit pas même la delicatesse qui peut tenir lieu de moralité.—Mde. de Stael, De la Littérature, vol. ii. p. 153.

[3] Dem. in Neær.

[4] Laert. in Plat.

[5] Dunlop, Rom. Lit. vol. i. 230.

[6] Eupolis. Fragm.: κιντρὸν ἐγκατιλίπειν.

[7] Dem. in Neær.

the conduct of women of respectability, showed the value that was attached to them politically. Solon forbade them to go beyond the city walls with more than three robes, or more provisions than a small basket would contain. Nor might they go out at night, except in a carriage, preceded by lamps. There was, at all times, a magistrate, whose office it was to superintend the sex in general, and anything indecorous, either in dress or behaviour, was punished by a fine of a thousand drachmæ. The restrictions thrown around their marriages proved the anxiety of the state that Athenian blood should flow unmixed in the veins of their offspring. No foreigners[1] might become their husbands, on pain of bondage and confiscation. An heiress was obliged to marry her nearest relation; and even although she became one after marriage,[2] the heir at law might still claim her person, and her inheritance. An orphan virgin who had no portion might claim the hand of her nearest kinsman, or a dowry proportionate to his rank in the state. The law, too, secured to women of character certain privileges of dress,—access to the temples,—and the performance of religious rites,—from all which the Hetæræ were excluded. In case of their assumption of these decorations, or their intrusion into these assemblies, the right of punishment lay with the parties whom they insulted by their presence; their dress might be torn off, and, provided life was spared, no ill usage was unlawful. Nor did the new comedy spare these enemies of all that was chaste and respectable: political abuse was less freely allowed; and satire, therefore, sought materials in the extravagance of a Lais, or the wealth and ambition of a Phrynē, who offered to rebuild the walls of Thebes, if her name might be inscribed on the structure. The comic stage inveighed against the luxury of the sisterhood, their arts, and their treachery, or it exulted over their reverses; but in all this, there was more of anger and disappointment, than purity of feeling, or honourable and righteous indignation. For their attacks on the Hetæræ were not more frequent, nor more acrimonious, than those on marriage itself:[3] so that the cause of virtue gained little from writers, who abused Athenian wives as

The writers of the new comedy satirised the Hetæræ

and wedded life with equal bitterness.

[1] Dem. in Neær. [2] Isæus.

[3] See Com. Græc. Fragm. Brunck. 91, 94, 224, and 226, and Cumberland's Observer, vol. ii.

Οὐδέποθ' ἑταῖρα τοῦ καλῶς φρονεῖν
Ἢ τὸ κακόηθες πρόσοδον ἤθους ποιεῖν.

Menander in Stob. 83.

"An Hetæra, who is accustomed to lead an immoral life, never casts a thought on honour."

γεγάμηκε δῆπου, τί σὺ λέγεις, ἀληθινῶς
γεγάμηκεν, ὃν ἐγὼ ζῶντα περιπατοῦντά τε
κατέλιπον.

Antiphanes in Athenæus, p. 559.

"Married! what *do* you mean, really married? Why, 'tis only just now I left him alive and merry." See also some lines, perhaps Susarion's, in Bentley, Phaleris—ἀκούετε λεῶς. κ. τ. λ.; and Menander in Athenæus, lib. xiii. σὺ γαμεῖς ἂν ὧν ἐχθής.

indiscriminately and as severely as their rivals. Such passages may be found amidst the fragments of Alexis, Antiphanes, and others; but in general, they have little to recommend them, either in novelty of invective or sprightliness of fancy.

Political regulations respecting widows and heiresses.

It will, probably, have appeared from this brief sketch of female society, subsequently to the age of Periclēs, that it contained within itself the causes of its own moral degradation,—seclusion without domestic affection,—leisure without adequate occupation,[1]—activity of mind, without scope or object,—the authority of a master, without the fidelity of a husband,—and rivals, whom they could neither escape nor meet on equal terms. These ingredients of domestic life naturally provoked retaliation, and guilt justified the suspicion which innocence could not hope to avoid. For these disadvantages of their social condition, they were not indemnified by the respect which was shown them publicly: their political importance was bought at too high a price; for that freedom which they transmitted as the birthright of their sons, they might not enjoy themselves. In fact, their life was a state of perpetual vassalage: as girls, they might not marry without the consent of their natural or legal guardian; as wives, they might be separated from their husbands, as widows they might be claimed by the nearest of kin, unless, indeed, they had been bequeathed to some one else by the prospective care of the deceased. The form of such a bequest is actually preserved;—"This is the last will of Pasio, the Acharnian; 'I give my wife, Archippe, to Phormio, with a fortune of one talent.'" Demosthenēs, also speaking of his father's will, says, "To Demophon he gave my sister, with a portion of two talents, and to the defendant he gave my mother." This arrangement, however, was not compulsory on the widow; but it supersedes the necessity of such espousals as were necessary to give validity to a first marriage: these espousals were a contract between the man, and the woman's guardian (*κύριος*). A woman becoming an heiress after her marriage might be claimed as a wife by the next of kin. The female representative of a family *was* an heiress whether she had property or not, and the next of kin was bound to marry her, or to give her a portion suitable to *his* rank.[2]

Wives and daughters bequeathed by will.

Married life as portrayed in the Aristophanic comedy.

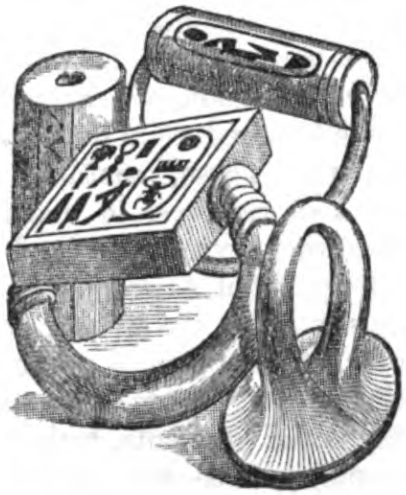
Of such a system, criminality was the natural consequence. If the imputations laid on the sex by the Aristophanic comedy[3] had not had some foundation in truth (allowance being made for comic exaggeration), they would neither have been invented by the dramatist nor tolerated by the audience: unless they had borne such a resemblance to real life as comedy was privileged to draw, they could have had

[1] The disputed question whether women might attend the tragic theatre (comedy was out of the question) has been determined in the affirmative by Bekker (Excursus to Scene 10, p. 299), on the authority of a fragment quoted from Satyrus by Athenæus (lib. xii. p. 534, Casaubon).

[2] See Kennedy's notes on his translation of some of Demosthenēs' speeches. Conf. Ruth, ii. 12.

[3] Thesm. Eccles.

no merit whatsoever. In one of these plays, the ladies complain that they are the victims of suspicion:[1] scarcely are their husbands returned from the theatre, when they look askance, and search the house for a paramour. If a girl looks pale, a lover is suspected; if a garland is woven, it is for a gallant. To scare such intruders, Molossian dogs are kept; locks and seals are put on the women's chambers; even to gaze from the windows is forbidden;[2] the very store-room is secured by a Laconian lock, with three bolts; no longer is there meal, oil, and provisions *ad libitum*, by copying the impression of the signet-ring which sealed them up; no longer can wine be stolen by a siphon, or meat purloined, and the blame laid on the cat.[3] Such homely touches are truly ludicrous illustrations of the state of society. Suspicion on one hand produced artifice on the other; Attic love laughed at Laconian locksmiths; the passion for dress, of course, kept pace with the love of conquest, and, as Athenian ladies were not remarkably handsome, they endeavoured to borrow from art the charms which nature had denied. Cosmetics, in which soot was an ingredient,[4] were not unknown; padded corsets rectified an irregular shape; cork soles exalted a diminutive one. A lady's tradesmen[5] in Plautus (who copied Epicharmus) are alarmingly numerous: her toilette in Aristophanēs is elegantly and expensively furnished. The former introduces Megadorus, urging, as a reason for marrying a girl without fortune, that "he shall not be asked, as he must if the wife brought a



Female extravagance.

[1] Thesm. 395, *et seq.* [2] Ibid. 790. [3] Ibid. 559. [4] Alexis.

[5] The reader may like to see a scene on this subject from a comedy of Shirley, called The Lady of Pleasure:—

LADY B. What charge more than is necessary for a lady of my birth and education?

B. Your charge of gaudy furniture and pictures;
Of this Italian master, and that Dutchman;
Your mighty looking-glasses, like artillery,
Brought home on engines; the superfluous plate,
Antique and novel varieties of tires.
Four-score pound suppers for my lord your kinsman;
Banquets for t'other lady-aunt and cousins;
And perfumes that exceed all: train of servants,
To stifle us at home or show abroad,
More motley than the French or the Venetian.

LADY B. Have you done, sir?

B. I could accuse the gaiety of your wardrobe,
And prodigal embroideries, under which
Rich satins, plushes, cloth of silver, dare
Not show their own complexion. Your jewels
Able to burn out the spectator's eyes,
And show like bonfires on you by the tapers.

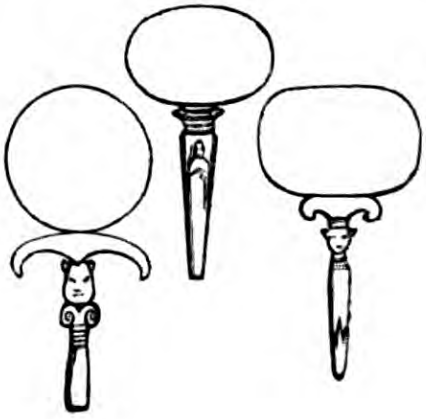
dowry, to find purple, gold ornaments, slaves, mules, mule-drivers, foot-boys, gentleman ushers, and a carriage. Then, there are the calenderer, the embroiderer, the goldsmith, the draper, the purple-studded-tippet maker, the sempstress, the dyer in flame colour and violet, in yellow, wax colour, and purple: then, the makers of gowns with long sleeves, the perfumers of women's shoes, the hucksters, the linen-weavers, the haberdashers, makers of pattens, and of different sorts of sandals, of neckerchiefs, and girdles. Besides these, there are three hundred more duns in the hall; clothiers, fringe-makers, upholsterers. These," continues the old man, "are some of the disadvantages of receiving in marriage a considerable dowry; these are its intolerable extravagancies." The description of a Grecian toilette, in a fragment of Aristophanēs, is less intelligible, because it has not been illustrated by the writings of the Latin dramatists; some parts, however, of its apparatus are sufficiently plain; its razors, mirrors, scissors, clasps, gems, rings, chains, seals, armlets, bracelets, ear-rings, various bands and garments, turbans, girdles, net-work fringes and veils, ointments, pumice-stone, and paint. Other articles, whether of ornament or use, still remain in the obscurity of the original language: sixteen hundred years ago, one[1] whose researches into antiquity were conducted with activity and skill, declared that of many of the terms it was hard to form any idea. If success was then difficult, it is hopeless now. Female commentators, had they existed, might have cleared up the mystery; but, perhaps, it is true in all ages, that the general effect of female dress is all that the other sex are capable of appreciating aright: respecting its separate parts, they have less interest, and less knowledge, than its owners imagine or desire. The writer above mentioned has enumerated about ninety articles of female habiliments or female decorations.[2] A description so exact as to discriminate between these would be unnecessary, even if it were possible; for modern ladies need not have recourse to Athenian models for taste or elegance, and any suspicion of their talents for original invention would be at once ungenerous and unjust.

Athenian trades.men.

Grecian toilette.

[1] Julius Pollux. lib. v. 16.

[2] Bekker's Excursus on female dress is full, and illustrated with engravings. See also Athenæus, folio, p. 568.





SECTION VI.

JURISPRUDENCE OF THE ATHENIANS.

THE degree of curiosity and sympathy with which we examine the social customs of past ages is chiefly regulated by two circumstances: first, by their dissimilarity to the times in which we live ourselves; secondly, by the conviction of our own superior advantages impressed by an impartial comparison. The latter condition interests our self-love in the inquiry; and without the former, there is not a sufficient enlargement of our knowledge. There can be little doubt that the preceding investigation embraces both. There is a manifest inferiority in the institutions of a selfish Athenian democracy, as they influence the condition of female society. This point is so important, and constitutes so nearly a test of the progress of civilization, that a corresponding defect in other branches of social life might, with confidence, have been anticipated from antecedent probability, even if there had been less of direct evidence on the subject. The repetition of any such mischievous injustice is now rendered impossible by the advancement of intellect, by the amended state of law, and by refinement of manners. Beyond, and above all these, is the influence of a pure religion, which has prescribed to each sex its respective duties, and, where its direct tendencies are not checked by folly, vice, or ignorance, draws out from the arrangement of their opposite qualifications the harmony of social and domestic life. If, however, any one should so far cling to ancient prejudices as to doubt whether both parties are gainers by participating in the blessings of knowledge and the freedom of familiar intercourse, let him fully study in the Greek comedy the effects on the female character[1] of solitude, ignorance, and confinement.

The Athenian system of female education

worked ill for domestic happiness.

[1] Compare the verses of Simonides on women with the matrimonial precepts of Naumachius. Com. Græc. Fragm. 94 and 122.

Such details may be found, if they are sought impartially, where they are wisely left, in the obscurities of a learned language.

In passing forward to a further examination of private life and manners among the Athenians, it is no easy task to discuss the subject with brevity, or arrange it with method. In modern times it is proverbially said, that one class of mankind knows not how another subsists; and though formerly there might not have been the same minute subdivisions in the graduated scale of society, nor were its extremes separated by so wide an interval, yet much of inequality and contrast[1] existed. Two heads of arrangement may be assumed with reference to the manners of the Athenians. First, their system of jurisprudence, as it illustrates the insecurity both of their property and their civil privileges; secondly, their convivial habits, which were combined with their social recreations.



The Athenian system of jurisprudence worked ill for the security of property.

The number[2] of Athenians who had votes in the general assembly has been computed at 20,000; the citizens, with their families, in all Attica, may be taken at 90,000; and the resident aliens at 45,000. Various circumstances will account for the singular fact, that the latter amount to one-half of the free population. Those who had ability without money flocked to Athens, because every kind of active talent found there its level and its reward: those who had fortune without ability congregated at the same spot, because money bore a high rate of interest, circulated widely, and returned soon; twelve per cent. was the common premium, and three times that sum if the loan was risked by investment at sea. Capitalists, therefore, reaped a plentiful harvest; merchants conducted an extensive system of commerce; men

[1] Conon had 40 talents; Nicias, 100. Hipponicus, who was called the richest of the Greeks, had not more than 200, = 38,000*l*. Demosthenēs may be taken to represent the moderately rich: his father left him fourteen talents. Lysias says two boys, a girl, a nurse, and female servant, can live for eighteen oboli a-day.

[2] Conf. Athen. vi. 20, and Herod. v. 97; also Boeckh, vol. i. 52.

of taste, "amateurs of whatever is imposing in religious[1] spectacles," votaries of science, art, poetry, philosophy, or the drama, with its several appendages, painting, music, and dancing, all found occupation and encouragement at Athens. Sparta, even had she been willing to open her gates to strangers, had no such attractions, either for the man of business or the man of pleasure; comparatively little foreign trade;[2] few[3] public works to employ an alien population; no orators, actors, or loquacious politicians, to entertain them: her civil institutions, also, must have been intolerable to any to whom they were not endeared by long habit and by national pride. In the inferior states, it is probable life was dull and subsistence difficult;[4] hence the restless and adventurous spirits among their surplus inhabitants, combined with Lydians, Syrians, and Phrygians, to swell the labouring population of Athens, to raise her public edifices, to carry on her manufactories, to serve in her armies, and to man her fleets. The line, however, drawn between them and the free citizens, was marked by distinctions sufficiently invidious:[5] each head of a family was compelled to pay a capitation tax of twelve drachmas,[6] and to choose some patron, under whose protection he was taken. When, also, at the Panathenæa, the Athenian damsels went in procession to the shrines and altars, the daughters of the resident foreigners attended them, with portable umbrellas and folding chairs. Under certain circumstances, their property and their persons might be sold; and it is little creditable to the boasted hospitality of the Athenians, that they sometimes endeavoured to entrap their guests into a violation of the laws, that they might gratify their appetite for confiscation.

Resident foreigners.

Besides this division of the residents into aliens and citizens, local habitation introduced another distinction among the free population of Attica. The inhabitant of the plain was unlike the inhabitant of the highlands, in habits of life and general disposition. Both differed from those who dwelt on the shore; and, before the establishment of the power of the Peisistratidæ, each had made itself known as a political party, with its own leader, and its own views of civil government. These found their respective occupations in the business of agriculture,[7] which included, besides the cultivation of the vine and olive, the care

Native population.

[1] Xenoph.

[2] Of the trade of Sparta extremely little is known; in fact, until a comparatively late period, it appears to have been inconsiderable, and to have been conducted in the rudest manner possible. (St. John, vol. iii. p. 259). The trade which meanwhile was carried on by Laconia must have been at times very considerable. (Id. vol. iii. p. 268). See the whole chapter on the Commerce of the Doric States.

[3] ἔυτι συνοικισθέισης πόλιως ὔυτι ἱροῖς καὶ κατασκιναῖς πολυτελίσι χρησαμίνης.—Thucyd. i. 10.

[4] τῇ Ἑλλάδι πινίη μὶν αἰί κοτὶ σύντροφος ἐστὶ.—Herod. vii. 102.

[5] They might not take a part at the great Dionysia among the dramatic chorus, because these were, in a certain sense, the representatives of the nation.

[6] Menander in Harpos.: πρός ταῖς δώδεκα Δραχμαῖς καὶ τριώβολον μίτοικος τελεῖ.

[7] The proverb in Philemon gives it an unfavourable character: Ἀεὶ γεωργὸς εἰς νέωτα πλούσιος. "The farmer's wealth is always to come."

of cattle, especially sheep and goats; in the fisheries; in the quarries of Pentelicus and Hymettus; and in the silver mines of Laurium.[1] Of those who lived within the walls of the metropolis, many superintended their farms in the country. The Athenians, as a people, were fond of a rural life;[2] its occupations suited their notions of a dignified liberty far better than either commerce or manufactures. These, however, flourished[3] in the hands of the resident foreigners. Athens was well known for its exportation of oil; for its furniture and dress; its tanners, lamp-makers, and cloth-weavers; its arms, and other metallic fabrics. The raw materials for the latter they imported from the Mediterranean coasts; the Black Sea sent timber, slaves, salt fish, pickled provisions, honey, wax, tar, rigging, and leather; carpets were imported from Phrygia; pottery from Chios; supplies of corn arrived from Pontus, Egypt, Sicily, and especially from the Chersonesus Taurica, or modern Crimea. Every wind brought commodities from abroad; and those inconveniencies of barter which in other places incommoded merchants were unfelt at Athens, from the abundance, purity, and general currency of her coinage. In these, and various other branches of trade, as well as by manual labour, many of the inferior citizens gained their livelihood. Yet a certain stamp of degradation was set on them all by public opinion, insomuch, that a law was necessary to restrain the expression of it, and prevent mutual reproaches on this subject among those who were engaged in business. This kind of disrepute was founded on the principle, that every citizen should have leisure for affairs of state. But where the transactions of trade were conducted by agents, this objection had no weight. Demosthenēs inherited from his father a sword manufactory, worked by thirty slaves; a bed manufactory; stock in hand, consisting of iron, wood, and ivory; and capital lent in business. Some derived their income from gangs of slaves, whom they let out like beasts of burthen. Nicias received a clear profit of a thousand oboli a day, for a thousand slaves who worked in the mines. Athenian idleness and vanity willingly transferred household duties to menials, and the occupations of trade to resident foreigners: the citizen might then frequent the general assembly, or the courts of law; he might talk politics, or make puns; exercise himself in hunting, or at the gymnasium; lounge by the Ilissus, or in the public groves and gardens, hearing and telling some new thing; indulge at the baths the protracted enjoyments of the steaming-rooms and anointing-rooms, or study the fine arts amidst the models of statuary and painting which ornamented the porticoes of

Trade.

Amusements

[1] . . . . . ἀργυροῦ
πηγὴ τὶς αὐτοις ἐστὶ θησαυρὸς χθονὸς.
Æsc. Pers. 235.

"They have a fountain of silver, a treasure in their own land." See also a fragment of Aristophanēs in Stobæus, οἰκεῖν μὲν ἐν ἀγρῷ τοῦτον.

[2] Thuc. ii. 22.

[3] See St. John on Attic Commerce, vol. iii. ch. ix.; Boeckh, and Grote, vol. v. chap. xlvi.

the city. If to these tastes be added the cheerfulness of habitual conviviality, and a passion for dramatic entertainments, they complete the picture of that social life which was at once dignified and agreeable.[1]

State donations

But it was no easy task to place such leisure, and such recreations of idleness, within reach of those whose means were inadequate to their ordinary daily maintenance. In a democracy, however, there are rarely wanting orators to propose, or assemblies to carry, any measures which procure immediate gratification to the multitude. Accordingly, the state collectively paid to its citizens individually two oboli a head as entrance-money to the theatre; this sum, called theoricon, was received by persons of high rank in the age of Demosthenēs, though, at first, they disdained this, as well as other donations. The theoricon was distributed also at the Panathænæa and all the great festivals (*ἱερομηνίαι*); probably eight thousand persons received it. Besides this, each citizen who attended the Ecclesia, or public assembly, received three oboli about fifty days in every year; and every member of the *βουλὴ*, or senate, a drachma a-day about three hundred days in every year; and, further, almost one-third of the freemen of Athens received, by law, daily pay from the public treasury for attending the courts of justice, in the capacity of dicasts, or jurymen.[2] The stipend, introduced first by Periclēs, was one obolus a day; it was afterwards raised to three, probably by Cleon,[3] and then it amounted to about three-fourths of a common labourer's pay. This regularly-appointed remuneration formed an important share of the maintenance of those who received it. Its direct tendency, and its actual result, was to keep them idle, and to make them litigious;[4] unlawful profits also came to them through the channel of corruption;[5] and it is manifest that, as the number of the judges varied in particular trials from two hundred to two thousand, each individual must have felt his own responsibility lessened: *defendit numerus* was a fact before it was a proverbial saying. This was a change from oligarchic to democratic

to the ecclesiasts and dicasts.

[1] "Some persons complain that a man often waits a twelvemonth at Athens before he can obtain an audience of the senate or of the popular assembly: how could it be otherwise, when there are more feasts and holidays at Athens than in any other Greek city, during which it is not easy to attend to affairs of state; and they have more actions, prosecutions, and scrutinies of magistrates' accounts than all the rest of Greece put together? (Kennedy's Dem. from Xenoph.) The citizens themselves, with their numerous festivals and amusements, public and private, evidently devoted a far greater proportion of their time to pleasure than would now be possible to any save the opulent." (St. John, vol. iii. ch. ix.)

[2] Boeckh, vol. i. p. 302. Mr. Grote says this calculation is exaggerated. Vol. v. ch. xlvi.

[3] Ar. Eq. 51 and 256.

[4] Isoc. de Pace, ad fin.

[5] Money, says Philemon, is the real Amalthæa's horn—the horn of plenty:—if you have that, you may have everything—friends, partisans, *witnesses*, guests: among mankind integrity is all smoke. (Stobæus, Flor. 91.) Money, says Menander, will furnish all you wish—land, houses, servants, plate, friends, *jurymen* (*δικασταί*), *witnesses* (Menander, Fragm. 151, p. 242)—only fork out, *μόνον δίδου*.

judicial functions, and each system has found its advocates. Mitford and Grote are at issue; the former prefers that social condition in which trials were determined by the Areopagus, or various magistrates of the wealthier class, and finds the new plan fraught with reckless injustice, bribery, and intimidation. Grote defends the change, and says these large assemblies of dicasts "are nothing but jury-trial, applied on a scale, broad, systematic, unaided, and uncontrolled, beyond all other historical experience, and that they therefore exhibit, in exaggerated proportions, both the excellencies and the defects characteristic of the jury-system, as compared with decision by trained and professional judges."[1] At all events, judicial functions, supplying both employment and excitement, almost daily, to a large proportion of the citizens, must have been the cause, as well as the effect, of a litigious spirit; and this spirit was stimulated by that jealousy and suspicion which are the inherent faults of a democratic government: accordingly, offences having been divided into two classes—first, those against individuals; secondly, those against the state—in the latter case, any citizen whatsoever was not only empowered to prosecute, but encouraged to do so, by the fact that his civil rights generally made him also a member of a judicial tribunal. That class, too, was extended so far, that many acts, which modern law would treat only as private offences, were accounted political crimes. Now, however accurate the list might nominally be of offences against the state, still many of them must be indefinite in their nature, and therefore the ingenuity of informers might easily contrive accusations. When Mantitheus, in one of the speeches of Lysias, urges in his own favour that he had never been tried in a court of law before, this commendation is not so slight as, at first sight, it might appear.[2] Probably, many an honest man had not the same discretion, or the same good fortune, as Mantitheus, in a city which abounded, according to the testimony of Theopompus, with robbers, false witnesses, sycophants, and lying informers. These public nuisances were, however, instrumental in making business for the courts of law, whose members found their interest in prosecutions, whether the accused were innocent or guilty. In the former case, they were paid as dicasts; in the latter, they might also occasionally hope to share in the public confiscation of his property. Had the general feeling set as strongly against informers as it does now, complaints would not have been so frequent in the Greek orators of their artifices, their power, and their numbers. Had they not plied their trade with mischievous and successful activity, a private Athenian gentleman would not have made it a part of his home-occupation to practise the art of speaking, in order that he might be a match for them. For example, the cry of "no tyranny"[3] was easily raised at

General state of society

litigious and dishonest.

[1] Hist. Greece, vol. v. 317.

[2] Aristophon, towards the close of his political life, made it a boast that he had been thus indicted and acquitted seventy-five times. Grote, vol. v. p. 508.

[3] Vespæ, 488.

any time; or an accusation, which implied debt to the public, was contrived without difficulty, and received without reluctance. Indeed, it must have been the frequency of frivolous or vexatious lawsuits which suggested that regulation by which a prosecutor, who failed to obtain a fifth part of the suffrages, was heavily fined himself.

Dicasts and informers

Nor is it difficult to account for this state of things, upon the principle that, between these pestilent excrescences of a corrupt society and the whole body of Athenian dicasts, there existed a certain community of interests. Six thousand of the latter were chosen annually to sit on the tribunals, of which, under the general name of Heliæa, four took cognizance of criminal, and six of civil, offences. To these courts, every citizen above a certain age was eligible; the number of those who were occupied in any one cause varied from five hundred to two thousand. Festivals occupied about one-sixth part of the Athenian year; but, on all other days, business was transacted in the Heliæa, and when the assembly dispersed, each dicast received three oboli. Thus, one-third of the citizens partly subsisted on litigation; and, as the jackal is said to provide for the king of the beasts, so informers, equally savage, and equally sagacious, purveyed for their majesty the people. The orators did, indeed, pursue them with the severity of eloquent indignation; the comic stage attacked them with its raillery; but, under all circumstances, whether in poverty or in wealth, prosecutors or defendants, acquitted or condemned, they were useful to a considerable portion of the community, and therefore they flourished. Poverty was a stimulus to their exertions: in affluence they were assailed[1] by their own artifices; if they were acquitted, the jury shared their profits in the way of bribery; if they were condemned, in the way of confiscation. With this consciousness of his own utility, the informer of the old comedy[2] takes high ground. He is, according to his own description, a patriot, as well as a man of character; not, indeed, with any ostensible occupation; not a merchant, for example, or an agriculturist; but still he does business with the state, and with individuals: his enemies may call him a busybody and sycophant, but he is, in fact, a public benefactor, anxious for the preservation of justice, awake to every violation of it, and quick to bring his case before the dicasts. When he is pressed with this question, whether the dicasts themselves are not appointed by the city to exercise these powers, his reply illustrates the connection which existed between the parties respectively—what is a jury without a prosecutor? This, then, is my vocation; and without such an excitement, leisure, ease, and opulence, would be mere animal existence. Another of these gentry appears in the imaginary city of the birds;[3] he requests wings, that he may conduct his business with more rapidity—an old-established business, transmitted even from his grandfather. He will poise his flight with lawsuits, he will cite the distant

preyed on the people.

[1] Xen. Mem. ii. 9.

[2] Plutus, 900 to 925.

[3] Aves, 1420 to 1461.

stranger, secure his condemnation before his arrival, and then seize his property with the rapidity of a whirlwind. A third sketch of the same character, by the hand of the same artist, is to be found in the Acharnenses.[1] A Bœotian arrives anxious to exchange his wares for some of the staple commodities of Athens; he is advised to export an informer; one of the fraternity is soon at hand, threatening to denounce the stranger for importing candlewicks, which might burn down the arsenal. Whereupon the sycophant is seized and carried off, swathed up in matting, like an earthen vessel, in which, cracked as it is, lawsuits may yet be stirred up, and mischief still be mixed.

Dicasts denounced by the comic writers,

While comedy thus poured its ridicule and contempt on the species, oratory, as it came more in contact with the business of real life, concentrated its powers of invective upon the individual. "There are altogether," says Demosthenēs,[2] "about twenty thousand Athenians, of whom each one frequents the agora, having some business or other, public or private. Not so this man. He can point to no occupation honourable, decent, or advantageous to the public, in which his life and thoughts are employed. He attends not to trade, agriculture, or any other profession; he shares no intercourse or kindly feeling with any one, but he passes through the agora like a serpent or a scorpion, having erected his sting, leaping here and there, watching whom he can so far alarm, by fear of mischief, by foul language, or by any other annoyance, as to exact money. Not one of the perfumer's, barber's, or other shops in the city does he approach, but friendless, homeless, and unsociable, without gratitude, affection, or any other feeling of a respectable man; his are the companions which painters assign to the impious in hell—Imprecation, Blasphemy, Envy, Sedition, and Strife. This monster, then, you should exile, cast from the city, and cut off, preventing any public misfortune by this precautionary measure."[3]

by Demosthenēs,

Such is the language which oratory employed to expose the character of informers; how far they deserved it may be conjectured from a passage in Plutarch, where, having mentioned the riches of Nicias, he adds, "wherefore, there were around him no inconsiderable number, who begged and shared his bounty. For he distributed as much to those who could do him injury, as to those who deserved assistance; his timidity was a revenue to the wicked, and his kind-heartedness to the good." Now, the exercise of that influence which is here implied, does, in its various bearings, shed far more light on private manners, on the condition of social life, and on that part of national character which is drawn out in the intercourse of man with man, than the corresponding circumstances in modern times. A very small proportion of the community is now connected with the civil or the criminal courts of law; whereas, in Athens, one-third part of the citizens sat as jurymen; their temper and general character may be traced in the speeches which were addressed to them; and the power

and by Plutarch.

[1] Achar. 899 to 940. [2] Dem. Wolf. p. 836. [3] Dem. Wolf. p. 842.

of the sycophants depended, first, on the facility with which prosecutions might be legally instituted, and secondly, on the disposition with which this assembly received them.

It has been already mentioned, that in case of certain offences, which were supposed to be against the state, any individual might bring forward the charge. The law of treason was worded with a tremendous latitude of expression, which caprice, suspicion, cunning, or avarice, might easily pervert to purposes of oppression. Before[1] the council hall stood a column, on which was engraved, "Whoever shall overthrow the democracy, or hold any magistracy in Athens, when the democracy shall be overthrown, may be lawfully killed by any one; the person killing him shall be held holy before the gods, and meritorious among men, and shall be rewarded with the whole property of the person killed." Now, a suspicion that the democracy was about to be dissolved was easily excited at Athens. Alcibiadēs incurred it just before the memorable expedition against Sicily; and its origin and progress are proofs of the inroads which might be made by popular jealousy on the constitution of social life, and of the insecure tenure by which civil privileges were held.

State trials.

It happened that some young men, in a drunken frolic one night, mutilated the stone images of Hermēs, with which the streets of Athens were ornamented. Superstitious feeling magnified the matter; Alcibiadēs was accused of being concerned in it, and also of a profane imitation of some of the sacred mysteries of religion. Immediately a cry was raised, that the democracy was in danger. At first there was nothing against him but slight suspicions, and the testimony of slaves and resident foreigners. He was on the point of sailing with the fleet; in vain he demanded an immediate trial; in vain he urged the imprudence, as well as the injustice, of placing him over such a host, before this imputation was either verified or refuted. The party, however, whose political ascendency he had prevented, procured an order for his immediate departure, "by means of orators who were not reputed to be his enemies, but hated[2] him as heartily as the most professed ones; being desirous to have him home for trial upon a greater stock of false accusations, with which they could more easily provide themselves in his absence."[3] The fleet accordingly sailed; and the people, mindful of the ancient tyranny of the Peisistratidæ, "received, in their jealousy, all testimony without discrimination, arresting most respectable citizens through their confidence in wicked men, and choosing to try the affair to the bottom, rather than that any one, although of good reputation, who had been accused by the villany of informers, should escape unquestioned."[4] Thus popular feeling became more fierce, and imprisonments more numerous; till at length, one of the victims imprisoned was persuaded to accuse himself and others, on the ground that, even though he were not

Alcibiadēs suspected of impiety.

[1] Mitford, ch. xxi. s. 1.
[2] Plut. in Alcib.
[3] Thucyd. vi. 29.
[4] Thucyd. vi. 53.

guilty, confession was safer than a trial. Accordingly, he himself escaped with his life; of those whom he denounced, some were executed, and a price was set on the head of those who fled. Thucydidēs closes his account of the transaction with this remark:—"In this matter, whether the sufferers were punished unjustly is uncertain; however, under existing circumstances, the rest of the city were very manifestly benefited."[1] Unknown at Athens was the just and humane maxim on which must depend all confidence in civil institutions, "better is it that ten guilty should escape, than that one innocent person should suffer."

State punishments

Thus vague was the law of treason, and thus suspicious and unjust was the spirit occasionally shown in its application. Other parts of the code had their own severity; degradation might suspend or destroy the various rights of citizenship; imprisonment might be inflicted for life; banishment was either temporary or perpetual; offences against religion, treachery in war, murder, some kinds of robbery, and peculation, were punished by the sword or poison; by strangling or drowning: in many cases, confiscation of the delinquent's property followed; and thus another wide avenue was opened for falsehood on the part of the informers, and oppression on the part of the public. This sentence, whether deserved or undeserved, was, in its execution, often attended with most flagrant injustice. If, for example, the ministers of this legal spoliation were so far disappointed as to find less booty than they expected, they came upon the connections of the defaulter to make up the deficiency. Ergoclēs was convicted of having embezzled thirty talents; and, because they could not be found, this sum was claimed from his friend Philocratēs. The orator who pleaded against the latter, says, "He has only two modes of establishing his innocence; either let him prove that Ergoclēs did not plunder the public at all, or that some one else has got the money; for if we do not find it among his friends, we shall hardly find it among his enemies." If this accusation is curious, the defence is not less so. Philocratēs suborns persons to testify, that so far from being the friend of Ergoclēs, he was his greatest enemy,—and this was not difficult in a city where figs[2] and false witnesses were equally plentiful. The whole speech lays open a strange scene of iniquity: the party of Ergoclēs openly declared they had bribed 2100 jurymen in the Piræus, and in the city; he gave the public orators[3] three talents not to appear against him, but when they saw that the temper of the people was disposed to punish him, they dared not perform their promise; still they kept the bribe, nor would they refund without a threat of prosecution. On another occasion, Aristophanēs and Nicophemus, father and son, were imprisoned and destroyed; the state seized their property, and, because it was less than was expected, the widow of the

Bribery and corruption of the law courts.

[1] Lib. vi. 60.

[2] Theopompus in Athenæus, lib. vi. 16.

[3] See a fragment of Timoclēs in Athen. lib. viii. beginning Δημοσθένης τάλαντα πεντήκοντ' ἔχει.

brother of Aristophanēs was prosecuted. Lysias conducted the defence, and he brings forward a case in point, which shows how little security there was, either for reputation, property, or life. "You know," says he, "there was a report in the general assembly, that Diotimus had received abroad, from the merchants, forty talents more than he acknowledged. When he came home and complained of the calumny, and was ready to pass his accounts, no one proved the charge, though the state wanted money; but suppose he had died abroad while this rumour still prevailed, his relations would have been in the greatest danger, obliged to answer to this calumny, and knowing nothing of the circumstances; and thus it is, bold, avaricious informers frequently deceive you, and some perish unjustly."[1]

Private wealth in danger,

Nor let it be supposed, that liability to oppression and calumny was only a tax, which men paid for the distinctions of public life. "Where vice prevails, and wicked men bear sway, the post of honour is a private station;" but, in Athens, no station was so private as to escape vexatious interference, and the demands of extortion. The rich were hated by the poor; and the law placed in the hands of the latter a power of espionage and inquisition, that made it questionable which station of the two was the more desirable. Charmidēs, who had tried both, determined in favour of poverty.[2] "When I was rich," says he, "I feared some one would dig through my walls, steal my money, and ill-treat me. I courted the sycophants, knowing they could injure me more than I could injure them. Besides, there was for ever an order[3] for me to spend something for the city, nor could I go abroad; whereas now, since I am deprived of my estates beyond the frontiers, and reap no profit from those within, and all I have at home is sold, I stretch myself at my ease to sleep, and am one in whom the state confides; I threaten others, instead of being menaced myself; I may go away or stay at home, like a free man; the rich give me the wall, and the seat of honour; now I am like a king, then I was manifestly a slave; then I paid tribute to the people, now the city supports me; then I was always losing something, either by accident or by the state; now I lose nothing, but am always expecting to gain."[4]

from informers and taxation.

[1] Reiske, p. 655.

[2] See also Philemon, Fragm. 39.

[3] . . . . . ἡ γὰρ εἰσφορά τις ἥρπακε
τἄνδοθεν πάντ' ἢ δίκη περιπεσὼν ἀπώλετο,
ἢ στρατηγήσας προστῶφλεν· ἢ χορηγὸς αἱρεθεὶς
ἱμάτια χρυσᾶ παρασχὼν τῷ χορῷ ῥάκος φορεῖ,
ἢ τριηραρχῶν ἀπηγξατ'.

In a word, as Antiphanes adds, an Athenian was sure of only one thing—his dinner after he had eaten it. (Walp. Com. 12.)

. . . . . ἀλλ' ὅταν τὴν ἔνθεσιν
ἐντὸς ἤδη τῶν ὀδόντων τυγχάνῃ κατεσπακὼς
τοῦτ' ἐνάσφαλεῖ νόμιζε τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μόνο.

For either some tax swept away all one had, or a man is ruined by a lawsuit, or incurs new debts as strategus (general); or, from furnishing gilded garments for a chorus, he goes in rags; or, being appointed trierarch, he hangs himself.

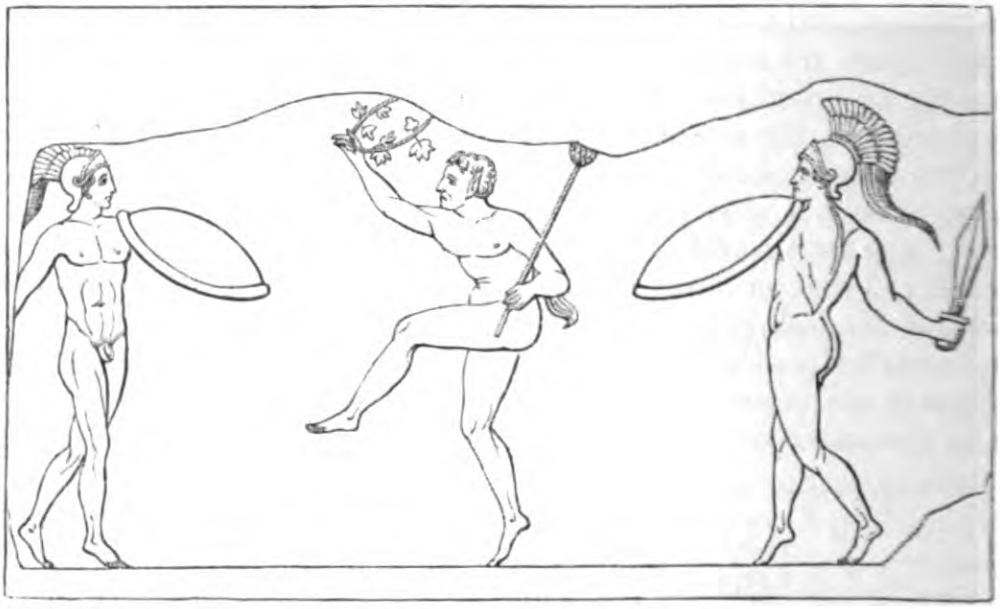
[4] Xenoph. Conviv.

The inconveniences which are here said to be connected with the possession of wealth, may be elucidated by a brief statement of some parts of the public expenditure, and of the source whence this expenditure was defrayed.

Recreations of the people,

The state services were numerous and extravagant: the war and peace establishments of the first naval power in Greece were necessarily great. It has been shown that the law department was costly: the members of the council of five hundred received, during ten months, a drachma a day, and those who attended the general assembly, perhaps amounting to five[1] thousand, received three oboli a day, about fifty days in each year.[2] But, beyond these expenses of political business, immense sums were lavished on national amusements. Thirty days in the year, about eight thousand citizens received two oboli a-piece, as entrance money to the theatres. This luxury was essential to the happiness of the people; insomuch, that death was denounced against any one who should propose the application of these funds to the war department, however pressing its exigencies might be. Festivals occupied two months, in which, beside plays and processions, with their flutists, lyrists, rhapsodists, dancers, and gymnastic exercises, (all of which were costly appendages,) there were distributions of money, corn, and the flesh of sacrificed victims.[3]

paid for by the state,



either from the general taxes

To meet these various charges, the state derived a revenue from mines, houses, and lands—from a tax of the twenty-fourth part of the silver mines, worked by individuals—from an impost on freedmen and resident foreigners—from confiscation—and from duties on merchandise. Application was sometimes made to the general assembly

[1] Thuc. viii. 72. [2] Boeckh.

[3] Boeckh says, "The skins alone, for seven months, amounted, in the 111th Olympiad, to 5,148 drachmas."

to subscribe a benevolence for the public necessities, and a certain tax was paid by the ten tribes. These sources, however, were inadequate, and a great burthen of expense was therefore thrown on a few wealthy citizens. At one time, these amounted to three hundred ;[1] at another, ten classes were made, each containing one hundred and twenty persons, of those possessing land, manufactories, or money in trade ; and this whole body was divided into two portions, one of which furnished its contingent every alternate year. This taxation was inflicted, not as a definite sum, but in the shape of an order to perform such public services as the equipment of a trireme,—the appointment of a chorus for the tragic or the comic stage,—the exhibition of a military dance or musical entertainment,—or a public supper to a district. Of those, however, who were thus chosen, any one might escape the impost,[2] provided he could find a substitute who was better able to bear it. The person thus cited was obliged by law either to take the place of the other in the list of contributors, or to exchange fortunes with him. From this system sprung much active zeal ; one party endeavouring to discover property, the other to conceal it, while the informers thrived at the expense of both. " All the jury," says Isocratēs, when he was himself subjected to this pecuniary challenge, " all the jury should exercise that sort of judgment which they would themselves expect to receive ; reflecting that, owing to the impudence of sycophants, it is uncertain who may be placed in this danger, and compelled to plead, as I do now, before those who are to pass their votes upon him." These public duties were, indeed, beset by considerable difficulties : if they were discharged expensively, they brought private embarrassment ; if frugally, public unpopularity. Thus Socratēs tells one of his opulent young friends, that the state will make him expend much in rearing horses, in sacrifices, in receiving strangers and feasting the citizens, in choruses and gymnastic exercises, in naval charges, " and such contributions as you will not easily bear ; and if you do any of these scantily, the Athenians will punish you as if you had stolen some of their property."[3] In one of the orations also of Lysias, after a long enumeration of similar public services, with their respective cost, the speaker adds, that had they been performed merely according to the letter of the law, a fourth part of the expense would have sufficed.

or by special impost on the rich.

From the preceding observations, it will have appeared, that the people, whose political freedom was their perpetual boast, held individually the blessings of this very liberty by a slender and precarious tenure. It has been seen, that, with reference to treason, peculation, and the public services, the law afforded, and the informers employed,

Precarious tenure of Athenian freedom.

[1] Libanius, Præfat. to Isocrat. de Permut.

[2] The casuist quoted by Paschal says, " Quand on voit un voleur resolu et prêt à voler une personne pauvre, on peut pour l'en detourner lui assigner quelque personne riche en particulier, pour le voler au lieu de l'autre." Lettres Prov. ii. 459.

[3] Xenoph. Mem.

such power as endangered the security of life, property, and reputation. The temper with which these and other charges were received by the judicial assembly, may be learnt from the Greek orators; they, of course, knew well the disposition of their audience, and what line of argument was likely to bear upon it effectively. The constant success which attended Lysias, makes his speeches very important, as illustrations of national character; for the jury whom he addressed were not so much representatives of the nation as the nation itself. To this subject, then, with this view, inquiry shall now be directed, after a few preliminary observations on the technical management of an Athenian lawsuit, and a picture of an Athenian dicast, from the comic pencil of Aristophanēs.

Athenian lawsuits.

Preliminary forms of a lawsuit.

As the archons were, in virtue of their office, presidents of the court of judicature, any application from an injured party was first made to some one of the body. If he thought an action would lie, the plaintiff cited the defendant; the matter in question was then discussed; each party made oath that his cause was just. A sum of money was deposited by the plaintiff as a pledge that he would continue the suit, which sum went to the jurymen[1] if he failed; the various depositions and documents were then placed in a vessel, in which they were carried into court. There the jury swore that they would never accept, directly or indirectly, a reward for pronouncing their sentence, nor willingly suffer any of their fellows to be influenced by any artifice whatsoever: nor refuse[2] impartial attention, either to the plaintiff or the defendant. The parties brought with them as many friends as they could; their speeches were often composed by some of the professed rhetoricians; a practice which is said to have originated with Isocratēs, and which Demosthenēs did not disdain. The length of these was determined by the archon, according to the nature of the cause, and measured by a clepsydra, or water-clock.

The jury sworn against bribery,

Vain, however, were all the precautions used to secure honourable conduct in these Athenian dicasts, who were judges of the law as well as of the fact, though a scrutiny preceded their admission to the office, and the solemnities of an oath attended it. Æschinēs accuses them of habitual inattention to the proceedings; and the spot where stood the statue of Lycus, was as notorious for the negotiations of bribery as were the porticoes of the Piræus for mercantile transactions. But their character is to be learnt most fully from the comedy of The Wasps, whose stings were no insignificant emblems of the author's meaning. It must be remembered, that the originals of these dramatic characters were the very audience before whom they were produced; a fact, which is at once a proof of the author's boldness, and a pledge of the fidelity of the representation.

yet openly practised it.

The Athenian dicast.

The apparatus of the Athenian dicast was very simple; a cloak in which he enveloped himself, a few beans, by means of which he gave his vote, a tablet which entitled him to his pay, and a staff, which

[1] Schol. on Æschin. [2] Isoc. de Permut.

directed him to the court, where he was to take his seat. There he sticks, with the tenacity of bark; thither he repairs at early dawn, after dreams of coming litigation.[1] That any defendant should be acquitted, would cost him at least a fever, if not his life.[2] Persuasion could no more mitigate his severity, than the art of cookery could mollify a stone;[3] not skate nor eels are so dear to him for dinner as a little dish of hot lawsuits.[4] His invocation is to the god of bribery. What character is so enviable, what station so luxurious, as the dicast's? what so gratifying as his power and his privileges? The attentive salutations of the great, their obsequious[5] services, the pressure of some gentle hand which has ere now filled itself from the public treasury, awakening in the dicast a compassionate fellow-feeling, by reminding him of his own past peculations,—the promises which are made and broken,—the entreaties addressed to his pity,—the melancholy spectacle of a son's lamentation,—the tempting offer of a daughter's honour,—the wit that is employed to disarm his anger,—the opportunities, moreover, of altering a will, and thus disposing of an heiress to the highest bidder,—the impunity,[6] too, of these proceedings and their daily pay,—the ready money he carries home,—and the caresses,[7] conjugal and filial, which are bestowed in consequence. Such is the dicast's public importance, and such his domestic happiness. The remainder of the play is in a strain of still broader drollery. The public functionary admits there are some inconveniencies connected with his station, which it is proposed to remedy, by establishing for himself a little court of justice in his own house. There he can officiate and eat lentils at the same time; sickness will not suspend his pay; if he falls asleep during the defendant's speech,[8] his own domestic chanticleer will wake him. The statue of Lycus completes the establishment. The first offender brought before the court is a dog for stealing a cheese; his canine companion prosecutes, and complains loudly that he received no share[9] of the stolen property. With difficulty can the dicast be persuaded[10] to hear the other side: the witnesses called by the president are, the dish, the pestle, and the cheeseknife. In vain are pleaded the services of the defendant, in watching the house and fold; in vain his puppies are produced in court, weeping and whining to extort compassion. The dicast's habitual severity prevails, and it is only by his unintentionally dropping his vote into the wrong box, that the culprit is acquitted.[11]

The dicast, as described in the Wasps of Aristophanes

What now are the dark spots of the Athenian character which are suffered to appear through this veil of comic raillery,—like things "neither rich nor rare," preserved in transparent amber? They are plainly these—that the dicast, while he was discharging an office of

Courts of law.

[1] Ar. Vesp. 93. [2] Ib. 160. [3] Ib. 280.
[4] Ib. 511. [5] Ib. 597. [6] Ib. 587.
[7] Ib. 606. [8] Ib. 816. [9] Ib. 914. [10] Ib. 919.
[11] Xenophon mentions interest, entreaty, and flattery, as customary causes of acquittal by the dicasts. Mem. iv. 4.

much solemnity as a moral obligation, and much importance as a civil institution, was habitually swayed by his own interest; the justice or injustice of the case before him, and the truth or falsehood of the testimony adduced, having little influence on its decision. The imputation thus cast upon him by the sportive humour of the stage is justified by the real pleadings of the bar. The remains of the Greek orators are, indeed, the mirror of their age; and if the image they reflect is unsightly, it is because the very form and features of justice are distorted. They found their audience alive to all the graces of style, and easily swayed by the force of eloquence; and, instead of employing their transcendent talents to correct public opinion and elevate national character, they fattened on the corruption of both by falsehood and by flattery. They addressed their hearers as the representatives of equity and law, which, nevertheless, they might alter or apply in any way they pleased. "You ought," says Lysias,[2] "to be in this case not only judges, but legislators; for whatever decision you shall pass now will henceforth be a precedent; and I think a good citizen and a just juryman ought to handle the laws in such a way as may hereafter be advantageous to the state." As prosecutors, these pleaders scrupled not to avow the motives of personal resentment, or to produce facts altogether irrelevant to the matter in hand, if they were likely to tell upon the feelings of the audience.[3] As defendants, their apologies related little to the circumstances of the case, turning chiefly on past services to the state, which might establish a claim on the gratitude of the jury, or on promises of such future exertions as may excite their hopes. Or, if it suited their purpose better, they would themselves condemn these artifices; thus recognising their existence, while they disclaim their use. "It is customary," says Lysias,[4] "to make no defence as to the matter of the prosecution, but they mislead you by narrations respecting other matters of their own; their gallantry as soldiers, or their victories as commanders of galleys, or their skill in gaining the friendship of hostile cities." Again, "Yet we see you, oh judges! if one presents to his children, with tears and lamentation, pitying the disgrace which condemnation would entail on himself and his offspring, and remitting the punishment on their account, though you know not whether, in their manhood, they will prove good citizens or bad." Now, since it is the effect of such pleadings as these, which makes them a faithful index of the character of the hearers, it is fit the subject should be first illustrated from the speeches of one who was, when he pleased,

The Greek orators

prove the corruptness of Greek judges.

[1] Isocrat. de Pace. [2] In Alcib.

[3] We must not forget that all this intemperance of language, all this bitter invective, which occur in the Attic speeches, was not poured out in the wrath or excitement of the moment, but was the artful composition of the pleader, calmly reflecting on the circumstances of the case, and judging, from his experience of human nature, what were the topics most advantageous to be urged. Kennedy, Dem. Pref. [4] In Eratosth.

among the most successful in their application. The oration[1] against the son of the great Alcibiadēs, exemplifies the open avowal of motives of personal resentment, where no such feelings ought to have found admission, the indiscriminate severity of the penal law of Athens, and the introduction of matter, totally irrelevant to the merits of the case. "I, oh jurymen!" says the prosecutor, "thinking this man my private enemy, and now having by him been injured—enmity, moreover, having existed formerly between his father and mine,—will endeavour, with your assistance, to avenge myself upon him for all his deeds." And what was the cause in question? it related to a point of military discipline, namely, that when the defendant was ordered to serve in the heavy-armed infantry, he joined the cavalry. Upon this, a case apparently so unconnected with any considerations of a personal character, not only are the immoralities of his own life brought forward, but also the political treacheries of his father,—the invasion of Attica by the latter, and the suggesting to the Lacedæmonians the plan of fortifying Decelea,—from all which circumstances, the orator concludes, "wherefore, it behoves both you and all future judges to punish any of the family whom you can apprehend." From another speech of Lysias, it appears how little reliance a defendant could safely place on the facts of his case, however favourable, even though the Areopagus were the court in which it was to be tried. The accusation relates to the destruction of a sacred olive-tree: to refute this, not only is the charge shown to be in its details utterly improbable and absurd, but it is proved by the testimony of successive tenants of the land, that the tree or stump named in the indictment never existed at all. But even this fact does not dispense with the necessity of humble supplication. "I should be the most wretched of men if I shall have been unjustly made an exile, childless and solitary,—my family desolate, my mother destitute, and myself leprived, by the basest accusations, of my country, for which I have so often fought by sea and land." Such a suppliant evidently despairs of obtaining from the justice of his judges, that merited acquittal which, by this appeal, he endeavours to procure from their compassion.

The pleadings often irrelevant to the cases under trial.

From the character, however, of the Athenian dicast, an address to his pity was not likely to be so effectual as an address to his interest. Accordingly, one accused of bribery and dreading confiscation, having numerated his various expenses incurred for the state, adds, "You ught to consider this the most certain public income,—the property f those who are willing to undertake the cost of liturgies: you will ien take as much care of my property, if you are wise, as of your wn, knowing that you will still have the use of it as you have had. suppose you all know I shall take better care of my fortune for you an those who manage the affairs of the city; if you make me poor,

[1] Lysias, Reiske, 519.

Cost and nature of public liturgies.

you will injure yourselves." What the nature was, and what the expenses were, of these liturgies, may be learned from one who thus states the share he had borne in this species of taxation, which was laid on the wealthy citizens. "In superintending the tragic chorus, I spent thirty minæ: on the dances for Apollo and Artemis, in which I conquered, two thousand drachmas; on a military dance, eight hundred; on public festivals, including a dedication of a tripod, five thousand three hundred; in seven years, I laid out six talents of silver in the capacity of trierarch; and afterwards, thirty minæ in contributions together with four thousand drachmas: on gymnastics, twelve minæ on the comic chorus, sixteen; on a military dance, seven; at a boat-race, fifteen; and on sacred processions, thirty." It appears from this statement, that the more opulent part of the community were obliged to provide, not only for the security, but also for the recreations, of their poorer brethren. Sometimes, however, opportunities arose whereby the votes of those who were gratified by this expenditure were made to indemnify those who bore it. If, for example, the latter were engaged in questions of litigated property, the judges are reminded of the costly entertainments exhibited for their enjoyment, in comparison with which a just right and title is of secondary importance: thus the people plundered the rich by legal taxation, and the rich plundered one another through the medium of popular and venal courts. Even on the supposition that the legal decisions were equitable, the means employed to procure them prove the jury to have been corrupt.[1] Ample proofs of this state of things are to be found in the writings of Isæus, who fully justifies the representation of the Athenian dicast, as it is drawn in the Aristophanic comedy. Whatever be the question at issue, whether the validity of a will, or the legality of the forms of adoption, the same mode of pleading is pursued. Each party attempts to show that he has been serviceable to the judges, and that his opponent has not. It is remarkable, too, that these persuasives are often placed towards the end of their respective speeches:[2]—probably, because, though they might be totally unconnected either with the question of law, or the question of fact, they were known, by long experience, to be the most effective kind of argument.[3] "There was no judge's summing-up to counteract or miti-

[1] Hence the friendship of the judges is esteemed so important by Aristotle, de Rhet. Hence, too, the following dialogue from the same treatise:—

Τις. Why do you not make your defence?

φιλ. Not yet, at any rate.

Τις. When then?

φιλ. Not till I have seen some one else unjustly convicted.—Lib. ii. 3.

[2] Isæus, de Apoll. and de Dic.

[3] The contrast between this state of things, and the system of practical jurisprudence under which it is our happiness to live, is drawn thus briefly and forcibly in the Edinburgh Review for October, 1850:—"In England, the sole questions asked (in state trials for libel, treason, and sedition) are, what is the law, and has the accused violated that law? To these questions all parties, judge, prosecutor, and

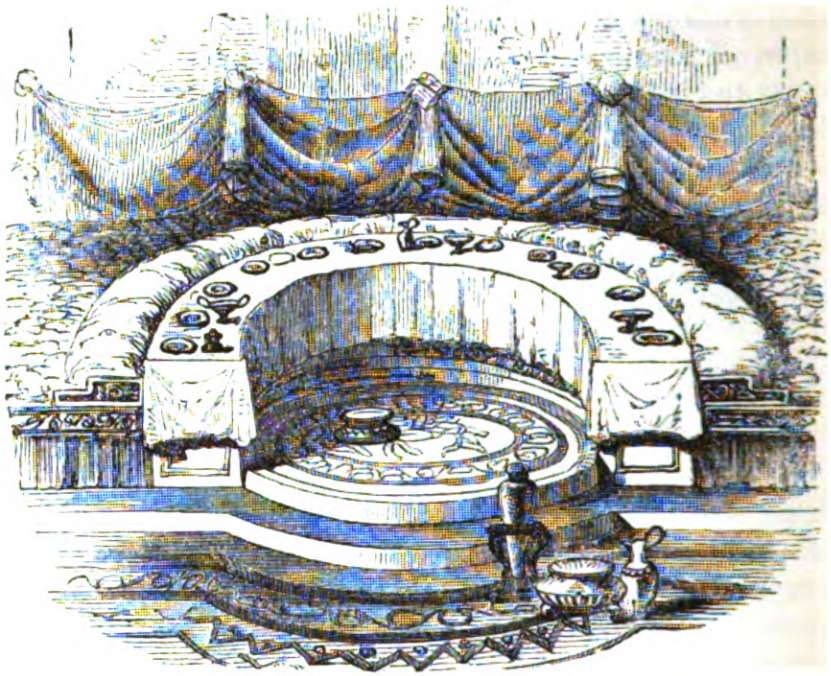
gate a false impression; the whole scene was too much like a theatrical exhibition, the parties combatants, and the jury spectators. A trial it was not of truth only, but of skill and strength; the jury, fresh from the charms of eloquence, with its music ringing in their ears, were called upon to give their verdict." [1]

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prisoner, address themselves and confine themselves. Neither the counsel for the crown nor, generally, the counsel for the prisoner, make any appeal to the political predilections of the jury; they are supposed to bring no such predilections into court: the judge coldly explains the law, the jury impartially investigate the fact.'

[1] Kennedy, Dem. p. 238.





SECTION VII.

CONVIVIAL HABITS OF THE ATHENIANS.

Convivial habits of the Athenians.

It was after the termination of the business of the courts of law,—it was when the mercantile noise of the Piræus had subsided,—when the landed proprietors had returned to the city,—when philosophers had ceased to moralise in public, and statesmen to debate,—that the polite society of Athens indulged their taste for convivial meetings.

Food of the commonalty.

The first meal of all ranks was early and frugal: the lower classes subsisted chiefly on bread, beans, olives, figs, lupines, turnips, vetches, peas, beech-mast, locusts, wild pears,[1] pickled provisions, and salt-fish seasoned with onions and garlic; and of such necessaries of life it has been computed, that a given sum of money would command about eight times as much as it would at present.[2] Among the higher orders, those meals to which each guest contributed his share, were

Banquets of the rich.

customary forms of conviviality. Athenian parties were a transcript of the national character: their taste invested them with much that is elegant; their mythology with much that is poetical; their versatility of intellect admitted a combination of the lowest buffoonery with discussions of profound speculation; while their feelings of democratic equality introduced, amidst the habits of luxurious refinement, riot, insolence, and gross indelicacy. That the furniture of the banqueting-

1 Walpole, Com. Fragm.; Græc. p. 10; Athen. lib. ii. p. 55.

2 Boeckh thinks this too high; he says, "the necessaries of life were, upon the whole, cheaper than at the present time." Vol. i. p. 83.

room was at once elegant in shape, and costly in materials, is sufficiently attested by descriptions and relics[1] which exist. Many of the finest specimens of modern skill have done little more than copy or combine its excellencies. The very name of Grecian vases, couches, lamps, candelabra, and scrolls, suggests ideas of beauty, both in form and in decoration. Yet much of the original charm is necessarily lost, because the artist wrought on fictions, or on facts, whose interest no longer exists. In the Flatterer of Eupolis, a handsome banquet is reckoned at one hundred drachmæ, and the wine at the same sum.[2] But in the construction of houses, as late as the time of Aristīdēs, domestic architecture had not been so applied as to mark, by the character of their residences, the different classes of society. Demosthenēs,[3] speaking of that age, says, "Privately, they were so moderate, and adhered so stedfastly to the customs of civil society, that if any of you chance to know the habitation of Aristidēs and Miltiadēs, and the illustrious men of that time, he perceives it to be not more conspicuous than its neighbour." But in later times, wealth and luxury took their usual course in the size and arrangement of dwellings as in other things, and hence Aristotle observes of the magnificent man (μεγαλοπρεπὴς), that his house is appointed in a manner consistently with his wealth.[4] It is also remarkable,[5] that the works of the most eminent painters and statuaries were not at any time purchased for the embellishment of private mansions. Artists either worked for the state directly, or for individuals who intended their specimens of the fine arts as votive offerings.[6] Patriotism at Athens was a passion; each citizen identified his own pleasure in these works with the glory of his country; and therefore would have had less pleasure in the personal appropriation of private collections, than in the architecture of the incomparable Parthenon, the paintings of the Pœcilē, and in the numberless statues which adorned the streets and porticoes of Athens.

Domestic architecture.

But, if the luxury of art was absent, the arts of luxury abounded; flowers decorated both the dining-room and the guests: of these, some had a figurative meaning, and others, a medicinal use; a chaplet of violets, for example, was thought to counteract the effects of wine;[7] the rose, which poetry had dedicated to Aphrodītē, was suspended above the table as an emblem of confidential intercourse.[8] This custom

Use and secret meaning of flowers.

[1] *E. g.* the Portland vase.

[2] Poll. ix. 59, quoted by Boeckh, vol. i. 137. "Four drachmæ are equal to about two shillings and threepence of our money." P. 153.

[3] Olynth. 2. [4] Eth. iv. 2. [5] Heeren.

[6] "For those purposes, they think some part of the wealth of the country is as usefully employed as it can be in fomenting the luxury of individuals: it is the public ornament; it is the public consolation; it nourishes the public hope; the poorest man finds his own importance and dignity in it."—Burke's Reflections.

[7] Plut. Symp.

[8] "Ce que les Grecs entendoient par l'amitié existoit entre les hommes: mais ils

is, perhaps, the origin of the proverbial expression now in use "under the rose." "Most of the flowers cultivated, moreover, suggested poetical or mythological associations;—thus the laurel recalled the tale and transformation of Daphnē, the object of Apollo's love." Pollux gives a list of the flowers used in garlands.[1]

Festive habits.

The festive habits of the Greeks contained many allusions to the poetical parts of their religion. The first fruits of each meal were offered to the goddess Hestia. Three cups of peculiar solemnity passed round; the first to the good genius, the second to Zeus the protector, the third to health. It was a maxim that the guests should not be less in number than the Graces, or more than the Muses; but, as extravagance and ostentation flourished, these poetical ideas were so far disregarded, that a sumptuary law was necessary, suffering no more than thirty invited guests.



Extravagance in perfumery.

Before each meal, and between each course, water was poured upon their hands. In the use of perfumery they were profuse. Oil[2] from Egypt was applied to the feet; the palm-tree furnished ointment for the bosom, sweet marjoram for the hair and eye-brows, wild thyme for the arms. The room was fragrant with cinnamon and frankincense, myrrh, musk, camphor, and cassia.[3] The feast had commonly three courses: the first provoked appetite, rather than satisfied it, by sharp herbs, eggs, oysters, asparagus, olives, and a mixture of honey and wine. The third consisted of sweetmeats, with Thasian, Lesbian, and Chian wines.[4] But it was on the second course especially, that Athenian cooks exercised their art, and Athenian epicures their appetite. Poultry and fish were its chief materials. Of the latter, a fragment of a comedy, by Mnesimachus, enumerates, in a bill of fare, twenty-six different kinds; the names of which are translatable, with a reasonable probability of correctness. The shop of the Athenian poulterer also offered a tempting variety to the palate; ducks, pigeons, pullets, becaficas, quails, thrushes, larks, red-breasts, woodcocks, turtle-doves,

Epicurism.

Grecian bill of fare.

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ne savoient pas, mais leurs mœurs leur interdisoient d'imaginer, qu'on pouvoit rencontrer dans les femmes un être égal par l'ésprit, et soumis par l'amour; une compagne de la vie, heureuse de consacrer ses facultés, ses jours, ses sentimens, à compléter une autre existence."—De Stael, sur la Lit. vol. i. 85.

[1] St. John, vol. ii. 304, 305.

[2] Potter.

[3] Mnesim. Fragm.

[4] To perfume, clarify, and perfect wines the following strange ingredients were used:—sea-water, resin, vine-flowers, cypress leaves, cedar, bitter almonds, milk, chalk, pounded shells, toasted salt, gypsum, olive kernels, tar, pitch, spikenard, myrrh, saffron, cassia; at last some were like a thick sirup. See Henderson on Wines.

partridges, and pheasants. By way of stimulants to the appetite, were used, pickled radishes, olives, onions, colewort, garlic, gourds, beans, or lettuce. Athens was celebrated for its pastry and bread; Rhodes for dried figs; Cappadocia for a species of bread, made of milk, oil, salt, and flour of wheat; Bœotia[1] for eels; Salamis for ducks; Eubœa[2] for apples; Phœnicia for dates; Corinth for quinces; Grecian bill of fare.



Naxos for almonds. Xenophon remarks, that from the extent of their commercial transactions, the Athenians learnt different modes of "good living;" "whatever," says he, "is delicious in Sicily, in Italy, Cyprus, Egypt, Lydia, Pontus, in Peloponnesus, or anywhere else, is collected at Athens." Nor did the taste of the epicure fail to discriminate amidst variety; accordingly, he rejoiced in tunny-fish from Tyre,[3] a

[1] Aristoph. [2] Athenæus. [3] Julius Pollux.

kid from Melos, turnips from Mantinea, cheese from Sicily,[1] radishes from Thasos, beet-root from Ascra.[2] Materials collected by so wide a search abroad, were employed with great culinary skill at home; nor were the secrets of this art transmitted along the line of cooks only by oral tradition. Archestratus wrote expressly on the subject: fragments of his works are preserved in Athenæus, together with some ancient receipts,—the singularity of which may excite a smile, without any strong regret that they are now superseded. Flour was kneaded with aromatic herbs and blossoms; sesame, with honey and oil; pounded barley, with oil and lamb gravy; a pig might be served up with the skin unbroken, and stuffed with thrushes, yolks of eggs, oysters, and various other shell-fish. A wild boar's liver was esteemed a delicacy; also a lamb's head, and a sow's belly seasoned with cummin and vinegar; small birds were dressed with sauce of scraped cheese and oil. A fragrant cake might be made by bruising rose-leaves in a mortar, mixed with the brains of birds and pigs, and the yolks of eggs, with oil, pepper, and pickle, boiled over a slow fire.

Culinary skill.

Ancient receipts, from Athenæus.

From the same industrious compiler, may be learned some amusing characteristics of the behaviour of the guests. The following passage is written in mock heroics, containing an ingenious application of the phraseology of Homer. "The bread," says the speaker, "was whiter than snow: Boreas was enamoured of the loaves as they were baking: others fell on the vegetables.—I did not; I ate onions and oysters. The shell-fish crackled under the slaves' feet; a mullet entered; his head was already in the hand of Stratoclēs; I snatched and devoured it; then came an immense eel; the cook carried it up and down on his shoulders; a sturgeon followed; full as I was, I stretched out my hand for a bit. 'Surely,' said I, 'this is the true ambrosia;' then a blackbird, so tempting, I cried to think I should not see it to-morrow: then three ducks from Salamis; Chœrephon ate like a lion, and secreted one leg for a meal at home: I was lying back quite full, but when I saw a yellow, sweet, large, round, cheese-cake, how could I abstain from the divine dish?"[3] The following is the soliloquy of a

Description of a feast.

[1] And doves. Philemon apud Stob. 115.

[2] The following sketch is from Athenæus:—

How is it
No wreathed garland decks the festive door?
No savoury odour creeps into the nostrils?
Since 'tis a birth-feast? Custom, sooth, requires
Slices of rich cheese from the Chersonese,
Toasted and hissing; cabbage, too, in oil
Fried brown and crisp, with smothered breast of lamb.
Chaffinches, turtle-doves, and good fat thrushes,
Should now be feathered; rows of merry guests
Pick clean the bones of cuttle-fish, together
Gnaw the delicious feet of polypi,
And drink large draughts of scarcely mingled wine.

St. John, vol. i. 129.

[3] Athen. iv. 5. See Casaubon's notes.

a cook[1] from Philemon's comedies:—"How tender was the fish I served up!—not over-dressed with cheese; it looked alive when it was dished; the first who tasted it jumped up and ran off with the plate in his hand; the rest followed him; some were fortunate, others got nothing. If now, I had had to dress a scarus,[2] or an Attic glanciscus, a boar-fish, or a conger-eel, from Sicyon, the very dining upon them should have been an apotheosis."[3]

Such scenes of riot and rude merriment may be, in some measure, accounted for by the fact that, according to the conventional forms of Athenian society, some privileged characters, as jesters and jugglers, might appear without an invitation: parasites, also, frequently formed part of the company, combining, in different degrees, the qualities of buffoon, punster, flatterer, gourmand, and bully. "I make myself agreeable," says one[4] of the fraternity, "utter my jokes, praise the master, abuse any guest that contradicts me, eat and drink, and then betake myself to my bed." "When I go out," says another, "I do not notice the cornice or the ceiling: I look for the smoke of the kitchen; if that is upright, and strong, I rejoice; if thin and scattered, I sorrow." The character is thus sketched by Antiphanēs:—

Privileged jesters.

Office of a parasite.

> In life, my life at least, the first of pleasures
> Were to be rich myself: but next to this
> I hold it best to be a parasite,
> And feed upon the rich.
> No striker I, no swaggerer, no defamer,
> But one to bear all these, and still forbear.
> If you insult, I laugh unruffled, merry,
> Invincibly good-humoured still I laugh.
> Will you sit down to supper, I'm your guest;
> Your very fly to enter without bidding:
> I'm for all work, and though the job were stabbing,
> Betraying, false-accusing, only say
> "Do this,"—and it is done.
>
> *Cumberland.*

In general, however, the office of the parasite was more pacific. The parasite of Eupolis has a nimble page, two suits of clothes; he saunters on the agora, flatters the rich, gulls the foolish; in short, lives by his wits from day to day, and when he is not invited out, sups on barley-cakes.[5] The rude man (ἄηδης) in Theophrastus, at his own table, points out his parasite to the guests, and bids him amuse the company (*τέρψον τοὺς παρόντας*). In case his memory failed to supply anecdotes or jests, he read them from a book; but if his entertainers were dissatisfied with his powers of amusement, blows[6] and other practical insults were the consequence; his seat was removed from under him, the dishes were broken upon his head,[7] and he was turned

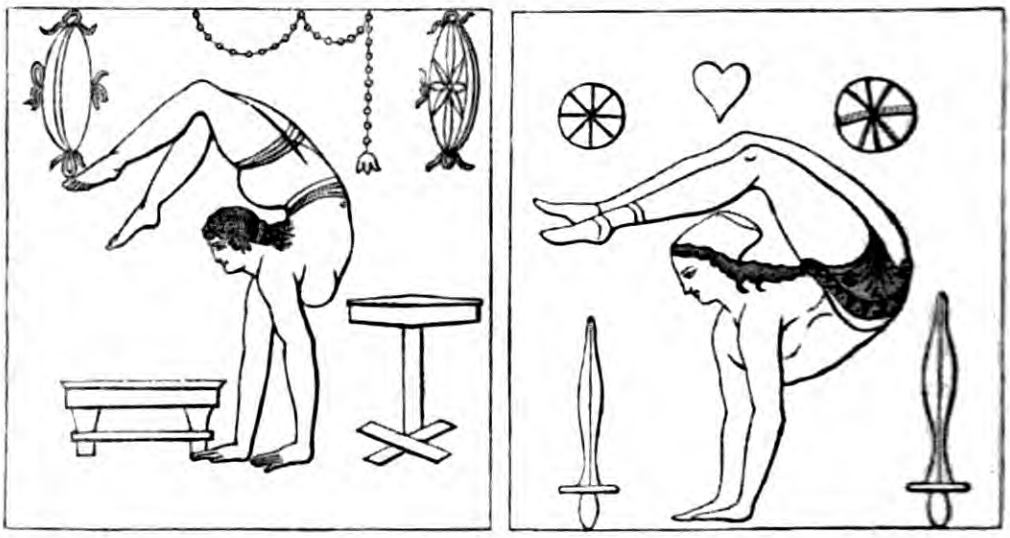
Amusements provided for the company.

[1] Ten minæ for a cook, one drachma for a physician, five talents for a flatterer, moonshine for a monitor, a talent for a courtesan, threepence for a philosopher.—Crates, quoted by Bentley.
[2] Athen. iv. 5.
[3] Ibid. vii. 10.
[4] Ibid. vi.
[5] Cumberland, Observer, No. 137.
[6] Plautus.
[7] Ibid. Capt. i. 1.

out of doors with a collar round his neck.[1] In the Banquet of Plato, besides a character of this stamp, there are introduced a piper, a

Dancing girls.

dancing-girl, a lyrist, and a juggler, who threw twelve balls into the air, "catching them exactly in time," and who tumbled and danced in the midst of sharp swords. Even at the least boisterous of the con-



vivial meetings of the Greeks, dancing was an ordinary recreation. Meursius names one hundred and eighty-four kinds of dancing, some were pantomimic representations of mythology, *e.g.*, the story of Niobē, or Daphnē, the infancy of Zeus, or the deeds of Hēraclēs. The master of the house did not necessarily preside at the feast. That dignity was determined by lot, and imposed the duty of providing, not only that each guest received his portion of wine, but also

Potations.

that he drank it. To taste a cup and hand it to a friend, was a courteous salutation, of which the reciprocal part was to finish the contents of the offered goblet. A lover drank to his mistress as many cups as there were letters in her name. The pleasures of wine were

Music.

heightened by those of harmony. A lyre was handed round, to which the guests sang, separately, or in chorus, satirical, amorous, or

Riddles.

more serious compositions. Or the guests exercised their ingenuity by questions couched in the ambiguity of fallacies, or in anagrams and

Poetry.

riddles: or by demanding verses from some poet, corresponding with certain conditions: as, for example, that a particular letter should be excluded, that the first and last letters should be alike, or that the first and last syllables should compose a word. A failure was followed by the penalty of drinking wine mixed with salt.[2]

[1] Walp. Com. Græc. Fragm. p. 5.

[2] Many of the games of the ancients, as described by Meursius, exist at present, with little variation. The Cottabus consisted in throwing wine into the orifice of floating phials, or into scales, suspended over a metallic image: there is more spirit in the following sport:—Stand on a round ball, with a running noose round your neck, and a knife in your hand; when your opponent kicks away the ball,

Philosophical banquet.

Of course, by graver characters,[1] more serious subjects were discussed. They who are desirous of becoming acquainted with the details of a literary conversazione, will find in the Banquet of Plutarch the political and domestic wisdom of the seven wise men of Greece, —or a strange mixture of metaphysics and sensuality in the eloquent Symposium of Plato,—or in that of Xenophon, a discussion more lively, more varied in its topics, more intelligible, and probably more characteristic of the state of convivial society among Athenians of rank and talent.

Respect paid to the dead.

Before we draw these remarks to a conclusion, there is yet one aspect more under which we may contemplate the customs of the ancient Greek—namely, as he testified by outward signs his respect and love for the memory of the dead. Such feelings are planted deeply in the human heart, and therefore such signs are universal. The desire of sepulchral honours is, in those who seek them, an expectation of one kind of immortality—the immortality of public renown, or, in private life, of affectionate remembrance. In those who pay this tribute to the deceased, sorrow is alleviated by the opportunity of immediate exertion: "Fungar inani munere"[2] has always been the language of love, though reason acknowledges that the gift is useless. Grassy mound, or cairn, or pyramid—mausoleum, bust, or statue—inscription, pillar, slab, or monumental brass—all attest by various signs the same feeling in different times and nations.

Funeral ceremonies.

In that semicivilized age described by Homer, the vindictive nature of a conqueror sometimes overpowered his generous feeling, and caused him to insult the corpse of a fallen foe; still such injury was the outbreak of individual anger: it was not sanctioned by the customs of the age. In fact, all through antiquity, respect for the dead was part of the law of nations. Achillēs, pierced to the heart with sorrow and anger, drags behind his chariot, thrice round the tomb of his beloved friend Patroclus, the corpse of Hector, who had slain him; but the same Achillēs, in his cooler moments,[3] bids his own slaves wash and anoint the same corpse; he himself assists in raising it to the litter,

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hen cut at the string; if you succeed, you win the game, if not, you are hanged. Athenæus.) See this subject treated historically, at great length, by St. John, ol. i. 3.; satirically, with great humour, in Scriblerus' Memoirs, ch. v. A few ames of the ancient pastimes and their (supposed) translation may excite curiosity. Muinda, blindman's-buff; chytrinda, hot-cockles; trygodiphesis, bob-cherry. (St. ohn.) "'I will permit my son to play at apodidascinda,' which can be no other han our puss-in-a-corner." (Scribl. ch. iii.) Bullinger has a learned essay on hese subjects in the Classical Journal, No. IX. p. 67.

[1] The short work of Theophrastus, in which he sketches the Flatterer, the Garulous, the Querulous, the Boaster, and others, is entertaining; it should, however, e read continuously: extracts from it appear insignificant and feeble.

[2] "I will discharge an unavailing office."—Virgil, Æn. vi. 885.

[3] Il. xxiv. 15.

Funeral ceremonies.

and swathes it in costly garments, that the eye of a broken-hearted father might not rest on the body of his warrior-son.[1]

The funeral robe,[2] thus diverted from its purpose by the considerate generosity of Achillēs, was sometimes woven by the prospective piety of filial hands. The web of Penelopē, the fame of which is proverbial, was destined, as she said, to shroud her husband's father: had she not made this provision, the Grecian ladies might have taxed her with neglect.[3]

The body, washed, anointed, and swathed (the eyes having been closed by some near relation[4]), was placed with its feet toward the door.[5] Hector's body, on its return to Troy, was met by a funeral procession, headed by his family: bards and women then raised a funeral song, and at intervals his mother, wife, and sister-in-law proclaimed his praise and bewailed their own loss. The corpse was then placed on a pile of wood and burnt; the embers were slaked with wine. The ashes of the hero were then collected in a golden vase and buried beneath a pile of stones.[6] Most of these circumstances are found also in the description of the funeral of Patroclus; and to these are added vases of honey and oil, and slaughtered victims, sheep, oxen, dogs, horses, and twelve Trojan captives.[7] The burial is followed by various games, which occupy the greater part of the twenty-third book of the Iliad.



Funeral feasts.

Some critics have thought it indecent and unfeeling that funeral ceremonies should conclude with feasting. This practice was certainly common both to Greeks and Asiatics in Homer's time;[8] and the poet plainly thought it consistent with the deepest grief. Surely a feast may be solemn as well as joyous; and, considered as hospitality in honour of the deceased, it loses all appearance of indecorum—at least,

[1] Il. xxiv. 583. [2] Ibid. 580. [3] Od. i. 101.
[4] Od. xi. 425. [5] Il. xix. 212.
[6] Il. xxiv. 707 to 798; and compare Od. xxiv. 57 to 90, and Eurip. Alcest. 407 to 478.
[7] Il. xxiii. 165 to 175. [8] Compare Il. xxiii. 29, and xxiv. 802.

it is not essentially indecorous, though of course it may degenerate into excess.[1] Funeral ceremonies.

While the body lay, as it were, in state, the chief mourner supported the head.[2] Dark robes and shorn hair,[3] and long abstinence from convivial meetings, appear as the usual signs of sorrow in the Alcestis; torn garments and lacerated cheeks[4] are the tribute of grief paid to Agamemnōn; and a single lock (πλόκαμος πενθητήριος) is dedicated to his memory by the filial hand of Orestēs.[5] The excessive grief of Achillēs showed itself by his throwing dust and ashes[6] on his head; that of Priam by his repeatedly rolling himself in the mire[7] (κυλινδόμενος κατὰ κόπρον). The body of the departed was covered,[8] and crowned with chaplets of flowers; a piece of money placed in its mouth, as payment of Charon's fee for being ferried across the river Styx, and a cake of flour and honey as an offering to Cerberus. Custom placed at the door of the deceased locks of hair as an indication of recent death, and a vessel of water as a means of cleansing by sprinkling.[9]

In respect of the time and place of Grecian burials, no uniformity of custom prevailed: some performed their funeral rites by day, others by night; some within the city walls, others by the highway;[10] but all wished to be gathered to their father's tomb, or at least to rest at last in their own country.[11] The first scene of the Andria of Terence describes a funeral with great perspicuity and spirit, and much curious information in detail will be found in those parts of Bekker's Charicles entitled the Invalid and the Will.[12]

It is obvious that these and kindred subjects would offer to the poet rich materials of pathos, and an ample field for descriptive verse. And such descriptions would lay hold more forcibly on the Greek mind than they could on the modern, because the dread of being unburied was in ancient times something like the dread of dying excommunicated now. When Abraham stood up from before his dead, a stranger and a sojourner among the sons of Heth, all that appears is Condition of the ghosts of those who remained unburied.

[1] One of the most pathetic passages in English fiction describes a species of feast forming one part of funeral rites: "According to the fashion of Scotland on such occasions, wine and spirits and bread were offered round to the guests. . . . . As the old woman tasted the liquor she suddenly exclaimed, with a sort of shriek, 'What's this? This is wine; how should there be wine in my son's house? Ay,' she continued, with a suppressed groan, 'I mind the sorrowful cause now;' and dropping the glass from her hand, she stood a moment gazing fixedly on the bed in which the coffin of her grandson was deposited, and then sinking gradually into her seat she covered her eyes and forehead with her withered and pallid hand."—Scott's Antiquary, vol. ii. ch. x.

[2] Il. xxiv. 724, and xxiii. 136.

[3] Eurip. Alcest. 833 and 353, and Orestēs, 113.

[4] Æschyl. Chœph. xxiii.

[5] Æschyl. Chœph. 7 and 177.

[6] Il. xviii. 23.

[7] Il. xxiv. 640.

[8] Eurip. Troades, 1143, and Hippolyt. 1458.

[9] Eurip. Alcest. 98.

[10] Alcest. 850. Burial took place the day after the body was laid out.

[11] Soph. Elect. 1135.

[12] See also Potter's Antiquities, lib. iv. ch. i., and Bruce's Age of Homer, p. 189.

his natural anxiety that he might bury his dead out of his sight, and that the field, and the cave that was therein, should be made sure unto him "for a possession of a burying-place."[1] But in Homer the importance of burial is far greater; the delay or the denial of it materially affects the happiness of the disembodied spirit. Its condition appears from the expostulations addressed by the ghost of Patroclus to Achillēs: "Bury me as quickly as possible, that I may pass the gates of Hādēs; the souls (ψυκαὶ), the spectres, of those who have passed through their labour (εἴδωλα καμόντων) do repel me far, and as yet do not suffer me to join myself to them beyond the river, but I wander neglected (ἄντως) in the dwelling of Hādēs."[2] It is remarkable that the superstition which was frightened by the thought of this absolute loss of burial was yet satisfied with very scanty funeral rites. Three handfuls of earth[3] cast on the body satisfied the law, and admitted the departed ghost to all the privileges of the lower regions.

Use made of the superstition by poets and statesmen.

As it was the object of the tragic poets to create that pleasure which arises from a mixed feeling of pity and terror, they naturally availed themselves of this part of the popular mythological creed. The pains and penalties of non-interment are the complaint of Polydorus in the Hecabē of Euripidēs,[4] the threats of Menelaus[5] against Ajax in Sophoclēs, and the decree of the Theban ruler in Æschylus against Polyneicēs.[6] The execution of a similar decree is the very tale and plot of the Antigonē. That tragedy of Sophoclēs carried two moral lessons connected with this subject: Creon, the usurper of Thebes, threatens with death any one who should perform the rites of sepulture over the body of Polyneicēs;[7] Antigonē, the sister of the latter, determines to bury him, and does bury him.[8] Both she and Creon suffer: she loses her life[9] and he his only son—the one suffers for breaking the law of the gods, the other for breaking the law of the state.[10]

All these superstitious feelings of the people were useful to the politician as well as to the dramatic writer: the latter wrought on them to create pleasurable emotions, the former to enforce civil obedience; and that in two ways, first by attaching to certain offences the public disgrace of non-interment, and, secondly, by so managing sepulchral honours as to stimulate patriotic ambition.

To the Greek not only his own country was politically his parent, but his thought and feeling carried the analogy much further than the modern expressions "Fatherland and native country."[11] "These,"

[1] Genesis, xxiii.

[2] Il. xxiii. 74. See Buttman on the sense of ἄντως. Elpenor makes, very pathetically, the same request to Odysseus (Od. xi. 66), and entreats that the oar with which he used to row may be fixed on his tomb (v. 77).

[3] Injecto ter pulvere curras. Hor. Odes, lib. i. 28.

[4] Eurip. Hec. v. 30.

[5] Soph. Ajax, 1140.

[6] Æschyl. Septem contra Thebes, 1015.

[7] Antig. 27 and 198.

[8] Ibid. 431.

[9] Ibid. 1221.

[10] Ibid. 1240.

[11] See especially Plato's Funeral Oration, sec. 2, μέγα δὲ τεκμήριον.

says Plato, in his funeral oration, "were brought up not by a step-mother, as others, but by a mother—the country in which they dwelt: and now, having ended their course, they lie where they are at home, within that mother who produced and reared them, and now has received them again to herself."[1] As thus parricide or matricide were naturally the greatest crimes against the family, so a traitor's treachery was politically the greatest crime against the state, and therefore was punished by privation of the rites of burial. When democratic jealousy and suspicion had procured the condemnation of Phocion to death, his body was not allowed to remain within the bounds of Attica, nor was any Athenian allowed to furnish fire for the funeral pile. Plutarch contradicts a story that the ashes of Themistoclēs were stolen from his tomb and scattered to the winds. The tale may be true or false, but it would not have circulated at all unless public indignation had been known to take this mode of expressing itself against the crime of treason. Potter, in his book of Grecian Antiquities, mentions some other offenders who received from the state this kind of punishment, more or less severe, *e. g.*, sacrilegious persons, suicides, or spendthrifts.[2] Public feeling on this subject was was also shown in that when scrutiny was made into the characters of those who were candidates for public offices, it inquired whether due respect had been paid to the burial and the memory of deceased relations.

Traitors deprived of interment.

When, however, the state could exchange the unpleasing offices of inquiry and punishment for the more agreeable manifestation of praise, she delighted to honour her deceased citizens by the ceremonies of a public funeral. To be gathered to the tomb of his fathers gratified the Greek's domestic feelings: to be buried on the field of victory was one of the highest rewards of his patriotic valour. The force of this feeling comes out in a dialogue between Crœsus and Solon: the former hoped and expected that the experience, observation, and travelled wisdom of the latter would pronounce him the happiest of men because he was the richest. Solon, however, gave the preference to Tellus, "because," said he, "as we estimate things" (ὡς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν) "the end of his life was most brilliant, for a battle having taken place between the Athenians and their neighbours at Eleusis, he, having routed the enemy, died most gloriously, and where he fell there the Athenians buried him publicly and honoured him greatly."[3] Those also who were slain at the battle of Marathon were buried on

Brave warriors buried where they fell.

[1] Periclēs was beyond his age when he said, in his famous funeral oration, ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος.—κ. τ. λ. Lord Byron has the same thought in his lines on the death of Sir Peter Parker:—

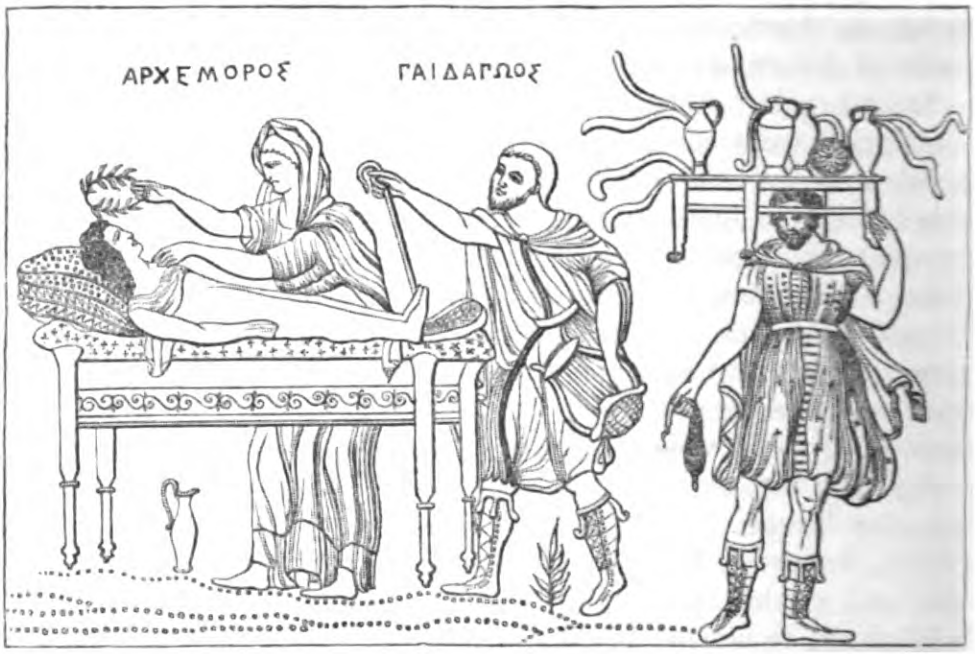
"In vain their bones unburied lie—
All earth becomes their monument."

[2] Xenophon, however, in the first book of the Hellenics, mentions only traitors (προδόται) and sacrilegious robbers (ἱεροσύλοι). Potter says, "Those who wasted their patrimony forfeited their right of being buried in the sepulchres of their fathers." Lib. iv. ch. i.

[3] Herod. lib. i. ch. xxx.

Public funerals

the spot:[1] one barrow covered the Athenians, another the Platæans: "Pausanias visiting the spot above 600 years after, found them with the inscribed names of the slain still perfect."[2] Annual offerings of garments and the fruits of the earth were made at the graves of those who fell in the battle, and were buried in the territory, of Platæa.[3] From that time onwards, if not earlier, at Athens a public speech was delivered by an orator chosen by the state over those who were digni-



fied with a public funeral. Thucydidēs tells us how that ceremony was performed, after the established custom, over those who were

described by Thucydidēs.

killed in the first battles of the Peloponnesian war. Three days before the carrying forth to burial, the remains (*τὰ ὀστᾶ*) lay in state in a tent: any one brought what offering he pleased to his deceased kindred or friends; each tribe placed in its own cypress chest the bones of its members; these were carried on wains to the Cerameicus, and with them was one empty chest, the cenotaph of those whose bodies might not have been recovered. Citizens and strangers joined the procession, and women, the kindred of the deceased, poured forth their lamentations around a public sepulchre.[4] Over these warriors thus interred was delivered the celebrated funeral oration of Periclēs.

[1] Thucyd. lib. ii. ch. xxxiv.: "Judging their valour pre-eminent, there they buried them."

[2] Mitford, ch. xi. sec. i.

[3] Thucyd. lib. iii. ch. lviii. The details of the ceremony are found in Plutarch's Life of Aristīdēs. Flowers, myrtle, wine, milk, oil, and essences: the Archon of Platæa follows the procession, sacrifices a black bull, and pours out a bowl of wine to the men who died for the liberty of Greece. Such is the ceremony still observed by the Platæans.—Langhorne, vol. ii. p. 443.

[4] Thucyd. lib. ii. ch. xxxiv.

Rhetoricians kept by them ready-made orations on similar subjects: we may conjecture the nature of these compositions from the speeches which have been preserved, one by Plato and the other by Lysias.[1] No doubt such ceremonies and such orations were instruments of a wise policy. Addressed to Athenians, when their hearts were softened by public sorrow, and their feelings kindled by emulation, ranging over the whole page of past times, fabulous and historical, without any fear that their descriptions would be very truthfully scrutinised, they could not fail to impress on every generous and high-minded citizen, that the first of his duties and his greatest happiness was to sacrifice all selfish views to the prosperity, dominion, and glory of his country.

Funeral orations.

And now, what conclusions may fairly be drawn from an inquiry into the social condition of the ancient Greeks? Briefly, they are these. Wheresoever it makes us acquainted with their jurisprudence, it reveals facilities of false accusation, against which no personal integrity was a sufficient guard, and a system of taxation and legal confiscation, by which wealth might at any time become the prey of popular rapacity. Wheresoever it illustrates their religious creed, it exemplifies an Apostle's declaration, "the world by wisdom knew not God." Wheresoever it exposes their domestic habits, it verifies the same writer's description of the vices of the heathen world. But, apart from these considerations, among those who did not trouble themselves with the theory of religion, or the practice of virtue,—among those who had neither the scruples of integrity, nor the anxieties of wealth, there were, in Athens at least, abundant materials of Pagan happiness; or, if happiness be too dignified a term, of much animal, political, and intellectual enjoyment.

Conclusions respecting the social condition of the ancient Greeks.

The convivial habits of the higher classes of society exhibit many of the refinements of luxury.[2] Poverty and debt were, indeed, among the many evils which demanded correction from the wisdom of Solon, but they do not appear in later periods as the frequent causes of popular disaffection. Isocratēs declares, that the effect of the constitution, as it was constructed by Solon, and modified by Clisthenēs, was to secure every citizen a competence:[3] and when he names the prevalence of poverty, he names it as the characteristic only of his own times. One obolus a-day was allowed to those who were disabled in war: the state educated the children of those who perished in her defence till the age of eighteen. By what steps the law came afterwards to embrace the aged, the sick, the blind, and infirm of every description, is not known. It did not, however, require them to be

Provision by the state for the needy.

[1] Among the speeches of Demosthenēs is one which purports to have been delivered over those who fell at the battle of Chæronea. Its authenticity is discussed by Mitford, ch. xlii. sec. vi. *ad fin.* See also article Greek Orators.

[2] Athenæus describes, at the wedding-feast of Caranus, together with munificent hospitality, the scenic illusion and machinery of a melo-dramatic entertainment.

[3] Areopagitica. See St. John, vol. iii. p. 68, *et seq.*

absolutely destitute before they could receive relief. Any citizen whose property did not exceed three minæ, or twelve pounds sterling, was entitled to the allowance;[1] probably two oboli a-day. Now Demosthenēs, who may be taken as the representative of the moderately rich, had eight hundred and forty minæ: thus, every one whose social position was to the moderately rich, as one to two hundred and eighty, might receive state relief if he chose. Some, no doubt, escaped the degradation by manual labour; others, by clubs, either political, religious, or charitable. Nightly shelter was accessible to all who needed it. Cimon was as remarkable for his munificent hospitality towards the poorer classes,[2] as for those conquests which enriched the public treasury. From the days of Periclēs, a third part of the citizens received from the government, during ten months of the year, more than enough for their maintenance; the other two months were occupied entirely in festivals; at which frequent distributions were made of corn, meat, and money. When that great statesman removed the public treasures of Greece from Delos, his appropriation of them to the decoration of Athens spread plenty "among persons of every rank and condition."[3] He also prevented or remedied, by extensive colonization, the evils of an excessive population. At the return of the people after the overthrow of the thirty tyrants, there were only five thousand of the citizens who had not some land;[4] from all which circumstances it may be conjectured, that among the Athenians the means of subsistence were not scanty, at least before the days of Isocratēs.[5]

Literary pleasures.

But, however this may be, the sources of their political and intellectual enjoyment are less questionable. To an Athenian citizen, life must have been a scene of perpetual excitement. He had his liveliest feelings kept alert, by war abroad, by faction at home, by his own importance in the general assembly, or the courts of law, by the flattery of those who needed his patronage, or by the objects that lay open to his ambition. Besides his personal share in the immediate concerns of his country, its past history was a theme of never-failing interest; and great must have been his pride and pleasure[6] when such a topic was intrusted to Periclēs or Plato, to Lysias or Isocratēs,—

[1] St. John.
[2] Plut.
[3] Plut. in Peric.
[4] Boeckh, vol. ii. p. 248.
[5] It was in the time of Demosthenēs that the first complaints were made that too many estates came into the hands of individuals. The necessaries of life were cheap, owing to the abundance of the supply and the comparatively limited range of commerce.
[6] As Socratēs says, in his droll ironical way: *οὕτως ἴναυλος ὁ λόγος τις καὶ εὔφθόγγος παρὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ἐνδύεται εἰς τὰ ὦτα, ὥστε μόγις τετάρτῃ ἢ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναμιμνήσκομαι ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ αἰσθάνομαι οὗ γῆς εἰμί· τέως δὲ ὤμην μόνον οὐκ ἐν μακάρων νήσοις οἰκεῖν οὕτως ἡμῖν οἱ ῥητορικοὶ δεξιοὶ εἰσί.* (Plat. Menex.) "With such musical freshness does the voice and argument of the speaker enter my ears, that scarcely, on the fourth or fifth day, do I remember where in the world I am: up to that time I imagine myself all but dwelling in the islands of the blessed: so clever are these our rhetoricians."

when all the powers of the most harmonious, flexible, and copious of languages were exerted in exalting those national subjects which really justified panegyric, while those which did not were palliated by the admixture of poetical fiction,[1] with the charms of oratorical eloquence.[2] These enjoyments, indeed, recurred only on occasional festivals, when the delights of music, dancing, feasting, and theatrical entertainments combined to amuse the people. But the business of the courts of law afforded a daily intellectual treat; for judicial pleadings were such finished specimens of composition as no modern orator would attempt, and no modern audience would appreciate. The Athenians, as a nation, were accurate judges of the harmonious arrangement of sentences; and, from the days of Themistoclēs, this taste was gratified by a succession of orators, whose several excellencies were combined in the matchless perfections of Demosthenēs.[3]

Pleasures of the drama.

The drama, moreover, was to the Athenians another source of intellectual gratification and of national pride; for they were not only its patrons, but its inventors. It would be superfluous to enlarge on the merits of Greek tragedy, or on that degree of taste and mental cultivation of which they are the sign. At two festal periods, an audience of thirty thousand listened all day without weariness to the great tragic poets; the same audience, with that versatility which was their distinguishing characteristic, listened with equal delight to the vulgar indecencies of the old comedy. Aristophanēs has accommodated himself far too much to the moral degradation of his hearers; yet, together with his gross ribaldry, there is much political wit addressed to Athenian party spirit, much political wisdom addressed to their good sense, and for their higher and purer feelings, much genuine poetry. His successors in the middle and new comedy were very numerous, and the testimony of Quinctilian is strong in favour of their merit. From the representation of the first play of Æschylus, B. C. 499, to the death of Menander, B. C. 292, a period elapsed of 207 years; during all this time Athens enjoyed the recreations of the drama, till at length she sunk into a state of dependence on the Macedonian monarch,—till her orators were bribed or frightened into silence,—and till Menander and Posidippus ceased to exercise those dramatic talents, which their successors were unable to imitate.

Yet their literature has a tone of sadness.

Yet, even in their mirth there was much of sadness; a sadness which we may trace, not only in the choral odes of tragedy, but even in the fragments of the comic Muse: a sadness, perhaps inseparable from the condition of active and highly-gifted minds, sensible of the ills of this life, and without the hope,—at least without the knowledge,—of a better. The most acute and accomplished heathen moralist[4] spoke of nothing beyond the grave; hence, the popular philosophy, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."

[1] Plat. Menex. [2] Plato in Menex. *ad init.*

[3] They who now read him with delight may remember the exclamation of his great rival, τί ἴ τοῦ θήριου ἀκήκοατι—"What if you had *heard* the monster!"

[4] Ar. Eth.

The sentiment of Job, ch. v., "Man is born unto trouble, as the sparks fly upward," passes into deeper sadness in the outpouring of Homeric verse: the poet, when life was fresh, lamented the *sorrows* of man as such: the same poet, when perhaps his own sun was declining into the fainter lustre of the Odyssey, lamented man's *feebleness*.[1] In these two passages, so nearly alike, the slight variation is natural, for the abiding sorrow of old age is its feebleness. The Chorus[2] in Sophoclēs would not have said "The best lot is never to have been born, and the second best is to depart from life as quickly as possible," unless the feelings of the audience were likely, at the moment, to vibrate in unison with this note of melancholy. Menander[3] claims for man supremacy of sorrow, enlarging his comparison with all the homely licence of the comic Muse: "If any one of the deities were to say to me, 'since, after you are dead, you must live again, you shall be what you please, dog, sheep, goat, man, or horse, I think I should straightway say, make me anything but man.'" Cratēs, Mimnermus,[4] Posidippus,[5] Philēmon,[6] and Sotadēs are alike mournful and despondent in their estimate of human existence. And as life was endurance in its progress, so was it a problem in its termination; both these ideas are brought out in the 32nd chapter of the Apology of Socratēs. One department of the Greek Anthology contains two hundred and thirty-seven epitaphs of various dates and authors; from Sappho and Erinna, about 600 B. C., to Damascius and Julian, about 350 A. D. Several of these describe a future state, under the usual imagery of the popular mythology,[7] Elysium and Olympus, Hādēs and Minos: some speak of the country of the pious, *ἐυσέβεων*, Nos. 564, 628, or of the heritage of the immortals: a few seem to have an exaggerated stamp of wretchedness, Nos. 614, 609. But, in general, where feeling appears to be most real, there hope appears to be most faint, or appears not at all. See especially Nos. 496, 497, 490, 587, 515. These short poems range over subjects of some variety and great pathos, and are expressed in language of simplicity, conciseness, and elegance. Some are thrown into the form of a dialogue, No. 587; in others, children, parents, wives, brides, friends, either lament those whom they have lost, or if, speaking from the grave, they suggest consolation to the survivors, it is drawn from the acknowledged sorrows of life, Nos. 577, 589, or the soothing pleasure of affectionate recollection, No. 620; a few, however, breathe the hope of reunion, Nos. 606, 610.

Examples from epic and tragic poetry,

from comedy,

and the Greek anthology.

[1] Compare Il. xvii. 446, with Od. xviii. 129. [2] Œd. Col. 1225.

[3] Fragm.: *ὅι τὶς προσιλθών.* Stob. 106. See also *ἅπαντα τὰ ζῶ ἔστι μακαρώτερα.* Stob. 98.

[4] Brunck. Anthol, p. 68, *ἡμεῖς δ' οἷατε φυλλὰ.*

[5] Ibid. p. 135, *ποίην τὶς βιότοιο.*

[6] Stobæus, *πολύ γ' ἐστὶ πάντων.* For Crates and Sotades see Cumberland.

[7] See Nos. 633, 507, 516, 554, Edwards' edition. The first of these opens very beautifully: "Thou art not dead, O Protē! but thou hast past to a better place, where, in much enjoyment (*θαλίῃ*), thou dost inhabit the islands of the blest." The author and date of this epitaph are unknown.

We know there is "a light which lighteth every man that cometh nto the world;" yet, if unassisted by revelation, it is, at best, as a amp in obscurity, making darkness visible, rather than dispelling it. The great truth of a Providence lay amidst the errors of polytheism; he great truth of future retribution lay among the poetic follies of Tartarus and Elysium. Speculations on such subjects, so far as they vere right, were divine; so far as they were mistaken, they were uman. Accordingly, Justin says, "Whatsoever has been well poken or discovered by philosophers and legislators has been owing to hat partial discovery and observation of the Word to which their abours conducted them. But because they had no complete knowedge of the Word, who is Christ, they fell into many contradictions."[1] mmortality was "brought to light" by the Gospel, and though the ractical piety of our own times has not been raised in a degree proortionate to its knowledge of divine things, yet our social condition is o far morally improved, in comparison with that of the ancient Greeks, that some ministers of moral pestilence are now forced to walk n darkness, which formerly destroyed in the noon-day. There are in Aristophanēs and Plautus not only expressions but scenes which no udience would endure now. The merciless remedy which checked n excessive population is forbidden by a religion which not only says, nan is not to put asunder what God has joined, but also, that the nfant life which God has given, man has no right to take away. Our ocial system is also free from the blot of slavery; but on this point ur superiority is probably greater in theory than in reality. Large nasses of the population of our crowded towns are now in a worse ondition both of body and mind than was the Athenian slave. He, at least, had the necessaries of life in abundance and some of its njoyments; to vast multitudes of our people, life is a process of tarvation from the cradle to the grave.[2] At Athens, provision was nade for the physical wants of all, and for the frequent recreation of he male citizens in general; though many of the refinements of our uxury were not enjoyed by any part of the community. Boeckh xamines this subject at great length, and comes to this conclusion, 'upon the whole, however, the cheapness and facility of living were onsiderable."[3] In our own time, extreme poverty is often the parent f vice, and vice the parent of remorse; and remorse inflicts most nisery on the conscience, the feelings, and the heart, when the understanding has admitted the Christian doctrine of a future state. Of ourse, many escape more or less from this mental distress by parting nore or less with this faith; but such a change is painful in its proess, fatal in its results, and thus the unbeliever born escapes much uffering of the unbeliever made. Constitutional freedom, and edu-

Pagan light and consolation

better than darkness and despair.

Our present social condition

compred with that of the ancient Greeks.

[1] Quoted in Archdeacon Wilberforce on the Incarnation, p. 132.

[2] It is calculated that the labour of the peasantry is two-thirds too much, and heir food two-thirds too little. Medical Essays, 1851, by Dr. King, of Brighton.

[3] Vol. i. pp. 57, 153.

cation which is political, philosophical, and literary (or an imitation of what is good in all these), but which is not religious in the sense of teaching self-control, or a reverence either for established institutions or the doctrines of revelation, are now united with political discontent, and with personal and domestic wretchedness, arising from the pressure of want. These are signs of our own times, which contrast unfavourably with the social condition of the ancient Greeks; at least, at Athens, where we know it best. Like chemical bodies, which, being mixed in certain proportions, explode, they threaten the stability of our social fabric. To remove or lessen some of these, and judiciously to direct the course of others, is the present and pressing task of the statesman, the philosopher, and the divine: and not of them alone—every Christian as such should take a share proportionate to his power in applying a remedy to our social difficulties: where the happiness of all is at stake, the exertions of all are required.[1]

[1] Can we venture to assert that the condition of the great mass of the people has improved in proportion to our riches? Are the relations of the employer and the employed on so satisfactory a footing as to give no grounds for anxiety? Has the labourer, by whose toil all those vast accumulations of capital are created, enjoyed an equitable share of them? Is not the rate of his remuneration diminishing with every step in our progress? Has not crime during the last half century increased fully ten times as fast as the numbers of our population? We go no further than to affirm that, in the experience of our own and the other most civilized nations of Europe, the rapid augmentation of wealth has not been attended with a corresponding increase of rational enjoyment, or of moral improvement, in the mass of the community. (Blackwood's Mag. for Dec. 1850, No. 422, p. 674.)





CHAPTER XIV.

THE EARLY SCULPTORS OF GREECE.

	Flourished about
DÆDALUS	B. C. 1000
DIPŒNUS	B. C. 776
SCYLLIS	B. C. 776
BUPALUS	B. C. 736
ANTHERMUS	B. C. 736
PHIDIAS	B. C. 450
ALCAMENĒS	B. C. 450
AGORACRITUS	B. C. 450
CRITIAS	B. C. 450
HEGIAS	B. C. 450
NESTOCLĒS	B. C. 450
POLYCLEITUS	B. C. 430
MYRON	B. C. 430
AGELIDĒS	B. C. 430
CALLON	B. C. 430
GORGIAS	B. C. 430
PRAGMON	B. C. 430
PYTHAGORAS OF RHETIUM	B. C. 430
PYTHAGORAS OF SAMOS	B. C. 430
LACON	B. C. 430
PARELIUS	B. C. 430
SCOPAS	B. C. 400
BRYAXIS	B. C. 400
TIMOTHEUS	B. C. 400
LEOCHARIS	B. C. 400

IN presenting to our readers such details as are to be collected respecting the sculptors and painters of ancient Greece, we shall not enter into a scientific examination of the arts of design, nor pursue, with antiquarian minuteness, their history. These objects will be most properly reserved for the general articles on SCULPTURE and PAINTING,

while it will be necessary here only to trace the progress of these embellishments of life, and to develop their principles so far as they have been affected by the national feelings of the people among whom they were first practised, or have influenced and moulded the character of nations.

Infancy of the arts.

Although the fine arts are not necessarily progressive after they have attained a certain degree of excellence; and although, after they have become the modes of the development of genius, their advances are singularly rapid, we shall find their first hints and beginnings rude, and bearing slender resemblance, even in kind, to that excellence to which they have afterwards given occasion. Painting and Sculpture scarcely assumed the degree of arts until long after their origin. The earliest traces we can discover of them have reference, indeed, to the purposes of religion, to the preservation of mystic truths, or to the solemnities of burial. But although the arts were employed on the most serious and interesting occasions, they were not, therefore, productive of objects intrinsically beautiful or grand. On the contrary, the very symbolical nature they assumed, and the deep thought they were intended to embody, often occasioned the creation of monstrous and unshapely forms. So long as nations are destitute of a refined and delicate sense of the beautiful and the harmonious, the representations by which they perpetuate or body forth the ideas of their superstition, or philosophy, will be in themselves merely grotesque, if not harsh and revolting. Even the most elevated truths will give occasion to the most hideous images, if a previously-formed taste do not provide for them elegant and graceful memorials. Thus the Indians have employed a figure with three heads to express the three great operations which they ascribe to the Divinity — creation, preservation, and destruction. Abstract truth, however noble, will not become visible in the form of beauty, without the aid of a plastic imagination to trace out its resemblance to the exquisite in the material world, and to mould images which may become its glorious vehicles. On the contrary, the imaginative faculties triumph by lending grace to the most gloomy views of humanity, making sorrow gentle, affliction heroic, and death soft, placid, and reposing. Mortality, so often personified as a ghastly spectre, has been represented under the most beautiful forms—as a pale, but lovely female—as a smiling angel of deliverance—and by a poet of the holiest and gentlest imagination, as "a shadow thrown softly and lightly from a passing cloud."

Arts of design in Assyria and Babylon.

We find scarcely any traces of the arts of design in the remains of the vast monarchies of Assyria and Babylon. The wonderful buildings, of the extent of which we read so much that borders on the incredible, in the accounts of their capital cities, do not appear to have been adorned with any peculiar taste, but were grand rather from their massiveness and apparent durability than from the grace of their ornaments or the exactness of their proportions. Even amidst the luxuries of the Persian empire, painting and sculpture seem to have made very

insignificant advances. That rich and prodigious monarchy, with all its stores of wealth, and the profusion of its barbaric magnificence, was compelled to yield to the small republics of Greece, as truly in the production of beautiful forms of art as in deeds of military prowess.

Arts of design in Egypt.

Far richer in the curious, at least, if not in the beautiful, are the obscure annals of Egyptian art. The wisdom of the wonderful people who inhabited the fertile banks of the Nile—the ideas of the Divinity and of the destinies of man, which had been gathered either by traditions from the sons of Noah, or from the meditations of sages—the early discoveries of the astronomers, and the wild dreams of magicians —and the great events of their far-reaching history, were all expressed in some strange, yet appropriate symbols, which remained the objects of mysterious wonder or of superstitious adoration when their primitive meaning was forgotten. These, as far as we can trace any vestiges of their form, had little of intrinsic beauty. The strong and vigorous imaginations of the elder time impressed the stamp of reverence on the most uncouth, and even frightful, symbols, and required no grand or harmonious forms to inspire veneration. But, perhaps, the choicest and most curious of arts in Egypt are to be found in the repositories of the dead. It seems to have been the popular belief that the spirit, when separated by death from the body, previous to its passing into other forms, hovered round its former tenement so long as it could be preserved from corruption, but quitted it as soon as it was reduced to dust. Anxious, therefore, to preserve even this frail and partial link of connexion between their earthly and their spiritual nature, the Egyptians not only embalmed their dead with a skill which is now lost amidst the ravages of time, but placed them in costly sepulchres, arrayed them in curious vestments, and exerted all the arts of which they were possessed to adorn and dignify their last abode. Their corpses, after undergoing the process of the embalmers, were wrapped in costly coverings, on which were depicted their own portraits in the freshness of life, surrounded often with the emblems of decay, or representations of the instruments by which the mortal part was for ages to be preserved entire. These were impressed on a chalky kind of paste, which at once served to dress and adorn the corpse, and to keep from it all influence of the air from without by which it might be affected. Above these were various ornaments and devices—ribbons and fillets, hieroglyphical representations and ancient figures of some deep meaning, with a covering of linen over the breast, in various folds, on which emblematical forms were painted. The coffin also, enclosing the whole, was curiously carved and adorned with hieroglyphical forms expressive of the course pursued by the deceased in his lifetime, of religious rites, or of philosophical mysteries. The arts thus employed seem to have been known even before the slavery of the Hebrews. Pliny informs us that the Egyptians boasted that the art of painting had been practised among them for six thousand

years before it engaged the attention of the Greeks, and although this assertion was manifestly exaggerated by national pride, it may serve to show that the origin of the art was of so high an antiquity that no vestige remained of its beginning or of its founders. The patriarch Jacob, as we are informed in holy writ, was embalmed by the physicians; and of his pious son we are more minutely told, that "they embalmed him, and he was put into a coffin in Egypt." It cannot, indeed, be hence concluded, that all the arts of adorning, as well as preserving the dead, were then practised as in later times; but we may, at least, discover their early traces in the concise memorial of the Hebrew sojourners. We find, from Herodotus, that the ancient modes of interment, or rather of preservation, were lost at the time of the expedition of Cambyses, in the year of the world 3430, by the forcible introduction of Persian manners, and the total extirpation of the priesthood, to whom the knowledge of the arts of burial was sacredly confined. All the bodies, therefore, which have been discovered in modern times, were deposited previously to this early period, and have, with their fantastic, but significant ornaments, withstood the desolations of time, to which the mightiest structures have yielded. It is worthy of observation, that there is a nearer approach to the beautiful in the flowers of mortality thus surrounding the dead, than in any other relic of Egyptian ingenuity and wisdom; as though the mind had been involuntarily directed to soothing and gentle fancies, by the tendernesses and softening recollections which the instances of our common destiny revive within us.

Arts of design among the Jews.

In the Old Testament we find very early mention of graven, as well as molten images. Of the latter description, it is probable, were the gods of Laban concealed by Rachael, and the idols of Terah. We have no means, even of conjecture, as to the degree of symmetry preserved in these efforts of superstition, the nature of the moulds in which they were cast, or the instruments by which they were fashioned. The children of Israel, during their bondage in Egypt, doubtless became acquainted with the arts then in use, which were not exclusively employed in the services of religion or in the rites of burial. In the wilderness, their workmen were immediately inspired by God to complete the marvellous symbols of his worship, and the seat which he deigned to honour with his immediate presence. The more stately and gorgeous temple of Solomon was also built after the pattern prescribed to David by Jehovah. Thus the arts of architecture and of sculpture derived, in a peculiar manner, a right to be regarded as divine; but we are not, therefore, to conclude, that the works thus directed by the finger of heaven, were, in themselves, the most exquisite productions of art. They were designed for loftier objects than the mere exhibition of material beauty; they referred to things unseen and eternal. Hence grace of form was regarded as subordinate to the secret meaning, or rather became totally insignificant when compared with the vast designs of Almighty wisdom, which the cere-

monials were intended to prefigure. Who could think of the workmanship of the ark, or the forms of the cherubim, when the Glory of God was visibly resting over them?

Introduction and progress of Greek sculpture.

The arts of design, with other ornaments of life, were doubtless introduced into Greece by the early settlers from Phœnicia and Egypt. It is perfectly manifest that sculpture must have been practised in the age of Homer, as we find allusions even to minute and curious workmanship in his poems. Of this kind the most remarkable instance is the description of the shield of Achilles, which some, however, have considered as an interpolation by a more recent bard. Reference is often made to the embroidering of figures in tapestry, and even to the representation, through this means, of a whole series of events, as the siege and destruction of Troy. Shields and bucklers, if we regard the testimony of the poets, were constantly adorned with various figures in bas-relief, even in the heroic ages. Virgil represents Æneas as being deeply affected by observing, at Carthage, representations of the fortunes of his country; but he would scarcely have suppressed a beautiful episode because it was inconsistent with the manners of a remote age, after the more striking instances in which he has ventured to deviate from authentic history.

As the desire of bodying forth abstract ideas in symbolic forms tended to produce scarcely any images but those of deformity among the Egyptians, we may probably conjecture that the first efforts of the Greeks in sculpture, who derived all the principles of their knowledge from Egypt, were retarded by similar causes. In the poetry of Hesiod and Homer, we are startled occasionally by mythical representations, in themselves, if realized, disgusting, which had reference to philosophical views of the moral or physical world. Briareus, with his hundred hands, the emblem of activity and strength; the odious fable of Saturn devouring his children, by which it was intended to shadow forth the perpetual decay and renewal of the foliage and the verdure, by the constant operation of nature; the passage in the Iliad where Zeus refers to a chain by which the united deities could not drag him down, but by which he could raise them to Olympus, which has reference to the mysterious connexion that links all creatures to each other and the universe to God; and that in which Hērē is reminded how she was once suspended from the firmament, with hands bound and weights affixed to her feet, in which F. Schlegel supposes the vaulted covering of the sky to be personified, and the poet to refer to some hieroglyphical carving in one of the temples,—have been adduced by the author just mentioned, to prove that symbolical images are hostile to the beauty of imitative representations.[1] They will also serve to show that such attempts at mere personification with regard only to philosophical purposes, had an unfavourable influence on the plastic arts in the earliest ages of Greece. But the genius of that happy land soon triumphed over every obstacle. Its

[1] Lectures on the History of Literature, Lecture ii.

exquisite faculties were rapidly unfolded into the fullest and the richest bloom. The old mythology, in so far as it was rugged and ungentle, was moulded into beauty, and a soft yet roseate hue of youth diffused over it. A people who were as fitted to enjoy as they were to conquer—whose eyes were ever eager to drink in new loveliness—whose ears were open to the most delicate of creation's harmonies—whose sense of delight was ever unsated, and fresh for the reception of the keen and shivering raptures which the glorious efforts of genius were capable of imparting—would scarcely be satisfied till that poetical atmosphere was unsullied, from which they imbibed unearthly joys. In Sophoclēs, therefore, whose life comprised the era when Grecian freedom, literature, and art, flourished in their utmost perfection, we do not find a single image which breaks the harmony, or even unduly raises a rebel emotion to the injury of the general and pervading sentiment. We have seen already how poetry became the pure and living mirror of the statuary's art;[1] and the causes which thus influenced the creations of the bard even more directly incited those of the sculptor. Indeed the triumph of the latter was more complete, because poetry, in becoming allied to the plastic, lost in perspective, while it gained in precision; but sculpture, confined in its very nature within exact boundaries, obtained the most decided victory.

Advantages of Greek sculptors.

The Grecian sculptors not only derived the highest advantages from a religion which disposed men to embody all the charms of nature in definite forms, and from a cast of mind requiring for enjoyment the distinctness of beauty rather than the visionary and the dim—but had all the benefit of studying the human frame in its most perfect freeness, elegance, and grace. Not only were the Greeks beautiful by nature, but the course of their lives, even from earliest infancy, was calculated to improve the form. The public exercises gave, in addition to the polished manner and elevated attitude of a citizen of the most glorious state on earth, something of the wild and airy grace of an Indian bounding in the chase, or of a stag delicately pacing through his native forests. The women, although too barbarously confined to domestic employment to excel in the expression which mind alone can kindle up in the features, were of a high and pure style of beauty, noble in outline, glossy and etherial in complexion, and perfect in the finishing. The materials for the workmanship of the artist were of the most appropriate and beautiful kind. Earth and clay, at first employed in framing statues, soon gave place to the white marble of Paros, and this yielded, in its turn, to that which was veined and spotted, and to jasper. According to Pliny, the artists had even the power of mingling different metals to produce fine and delicate shades, and thus to assist in expressing various passions and sentiments by a diversity of colours.

The ideal in Greek sculpture.

Admirable, however, as were the models which nature afforded to the Grecian artists, they did not rest contented with taking exact

[1] Homer and Hesiod, and the Tragic Poets of Greece, in the History of Greek Literature in this Encyclopædia.

representations even of the most august or beautiful forms. Their sense of the beautiful lay too deep to allow them to be satisfied with anything visible in the world of external nature, and they thought and brooded over the idea of perfection in shape, which they found in their own imaginations, till they were capable of presenting it palpably to "enchant the world" for ever. Hence their noblest productions have given intimations of a beauty more complete than nature itself, in the fairest of her works, has supplied. This triumph of art is one of the most striking proofs of the high origin and glorious destiny of our species. We have left us monuments that can never perish, which show that in the human soul there is a sense of loveliness, beyond even that everywhere exemplified in the wonderful embellishments of this our material abode—that, admirably as the earth and the human frame are constructed, there is in the heart of man a reaching forth after beauties and sublimities, still more astonishing and harmonious than are to be found in these stupendous works; and that so far is our nature from partaking only of the qualities of matter in its grosser sense, that it has a power of forming and moulding its particles into symmetry and grace, which no individual object of nature can rival. In the highest works of art, the goodness and the power of Him who formed the soul of the workman are, to a philosophic contemplation, more signally displayed than in those things of which he is the more immediate author; because these are manifestations of that genius which he has breathed into the spirit, and which evinces, in all its aspirations, a constant struggle towards that state which shall reveal the eternal and unfading beauty of the soul, which, even here, catches occasional glimpses.—But it is time to advert to the personal history of those artists of Greece whose wonderful achievements have called forth the preceding reflections.

Dædalus. B.C. 1000.

DÆDALUS is the first name we meet with among the sculptors of Greece. The adventures and the works attributed to him are so marvellous, that it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain how far any statement respecting him is worthy of reliance. As he flourished in the remote period of 1000 years before the Christian era, it is probable that his inventions so astonished the ignorant spectators of their effects, that they believed him something more than mortal, and readily gave credit to every wonderful tale related concerning him. We are told that he was descended from Erechtheus, king of Athens. From the intimations which can be collected respecting his works, there seems no reason to conclude that they were distinguished by peculiar symmetry or grace, or, indeed, that they were admired for any of those peculiar excellencies which were so conspicuous in the later style of Grecian statuary. He was a mechanist rather than a sculptor—at least so far as the latter term implies a possession of the loftier inspirations of the art. We are not told of the monuments of his skill as exquisite in beauty or as awful in grandeur, but as astonishing from

Dædalus.

the curious mechanism by which they were constructed. He was less celebrated as a framer of goddesses and of heroes, than as the contriver of moving statues, the architect of labyrinths, and the inventor of wings. He is said to have discovered the properties of the wedge, and other important instruments, to have applied glue to purposes of building, and to have given masts and sails to ships. It is, however, scarcely probable that all these great improvements in the most useful arts were made in the space of a single life, but it is rather to be supposed that, as the Greeks are said to have attributed the acts of many ancient heroes to Hēraclēs, they have ascribed the inventions of a train of artists to Dædalus, especially as we find no celebrated name in the annals of the plastic arts for ages after him. The details given of his life are evidently, in a great measure, fabulous. He is said to have become jealous of his nephew, who seemed fast advancing to an equality with himself in ingenuity and skill, and to have been guilty of the crime of putting him to death by throwing him from a window. For this offence he was condemned by the court of the Areopagi, at Athens, but whether to death or only to exile, authors are not agreed. In consequence of the sentence, however, he fled, with his son Icarus, to Crete, where he was hospitably entertained by Minos, the reigning prince, and was employed in the exercise of his favourite arts. Here he erected the celebrated labyrinth, which afterwards became his prison, for, in consequence of his having lent assistance to the queen, Pasiphaë, in her scandalous amours, he was confined there, with his son, by order of the king. He is said to have effected his escape from this place by wings, made of feathers and wax, by the aid of which he, together with Icarus, took flight from its summit. The latter, soaring too near the sun, found his waxen pinions melt, and fell into the sea, which, from his death, was denominated Icarian. But Dædalus, more prudent, arrived in safety at Cumæ, where he erected a temple, and thence departed to Sicily. In this island he was courteously received by Cocalus, king of part of the country, and repaid his hospitality by adorning the cities with his works, some of which were remaining in the time of Diodorus Siculus. Minos, in the mean time, resolved that the object of his revenge should not ultimately escape him, and therefore commenced warlike operations against Cocalus for having afforded him an asylum. This step succeeded; for the Sicilian king, afraid of the power of Minos, caused his guest to be murdered, in order to deliver his kingdom from the impending danger. The fable respecting the mode of the flight of Dædalus from Crete has been explained to signify that he escaped by means of a vessel with sails, which, if not used before, might, in that age, well be regarded as a description of wings. That part of it which relates to the death of his son is manifestly invented by the poets.

It appears that Dædalus wrought, for the most part, in wood. He seems, however, to have occasionally made use of metals, which were employed as materials of sculpture in very early periods. Pliny

forms us that he left two brazen figures of youths drying themselves after bathing. He is said to have introduced quicksilver into the avities of some of his images, so as to cause them to assume grotesque notions and attitudes, which would, of course, be attributed, by those who were unacquainted with the artifice, to supernatural powers. It ppears that, in comparatively modern times, there were works scribed to Dædalus in existence. A noble portico to the temple of Ephaistos, at Memphis, was shown as his workmanship. Pausanias ffirms that nine of his pieces were remaining in Greece in his age, which were rude, and destitute of grace, but had an impress of divinity pon them. The chief of these seems to have been a wooden Heraclēs, which is repeatedly alluded to by Pausanias. As there are several small bronzes now in existence which represent this hero, with very appearance of the rudeness of great antiquity, it is not impossible hat they may be copied from this old relic of the earliest of the Grecian culptors. A chorus, in white stone, of youths and girls dancing hand n hand, was alleged by the Gnossians, who possessed it, to be his work, and the same is mentioned in the eighteenth book of the Iliad. Endæus, his pupil, made a statue of Athēnē, which Pausanias saw in he Acropolis, at Athens. Dædalus.

After Dædalus and Endæus, scarcely any celebrated name occurs in he annals of Grecian art for a very long period. At length, DIPŒNUS nd SCYLLIS, both natives of Crete, in the year before Christ 776, are aid first to have executed works in marble. Before this time, statues were, for the most part, made of clay or of wood, though it is certain hat the ancients had previously made use of more costly materials. Dædalus, we have seen, sometimes wrought in brass, and even in tone; and from the Odyssey, it is certain, that, at least in the age f Homer, men had begun to carve out ornaments in ivory. Up to his period, the plastic arts seem to have made very little progress owards perfection. The first statues had all the air of savage nature: he limbs appear muscular and turgid, the loins narrow, the lips thin, he eyes small, the chin pointed, the corners of the mouth turned pwards, and the lower limbs in an advanced position; but the whole nimated with a kind of wild and rude energy, the expression of bodily ower and a resolute uncultivated spirit. Many of these indications f the infancy of the art seem to have marked the productions of the rst artificers in marble. The figures were of the same rude cast, the raperies fell in perpendicular folds, and the whole appeared destitute f ease; but there was great nicety observed in the finishing of parcular parts, especially of the curls or knots, in which it was usual to epresent the hair as confined. Dipœnus and Scyllis went to Sicyon, exercise their art, as that place was the great workshop of Greece. Here they were employed in framing images of the gods for the ornaent of the public temples; but after they had made considerable rogress, they disputed with the magistrates who employed them Dipœnus and Scyllis. B. C. 776.

respecting the terms of their remuneration, and consequently left the statues unfinished, and repaired to Ætolia. Shortly afterwards Sicyon was afflicted with famine, and the people sought advice from the oracle of Apollo, at Delphi, as to the means they should use to avert their fate. They received for answer that Dipœnus and Scyllis must finish the images which they had begun, and immediately sent entreaties to the artists for aid, offering them the most liberal remuneration if they would help them. Thus incited, they returned and completed the statues of Apollo, Artemis, Hēraclēs, and Athēnē; the last of which was afterwards struck by lightning. It is said, by Pliny, that the works of Dipœnus abounded in Ambracia, Argos, and Cleone, "in which cities a man could not see a corner without them."

Bupalus and Anthermus. B. C. 736.

At the distance of forty years from the time of Dipœnus and Scyllis, BUPALUS and ANTHERMUS, brothers, of the isle of Chios, became celebrated for their workmanship in marble. They seem to have descended from a family of sculptors, as their great-grandfather Melas, their grandfather Miciades, and their father Anthermus, all practised the same art. Of their ancestors we know nothing but the names. The brothers seem to have, for the most part, wrought in concert, and to have succeeded in framing many celebrated statues. Among their joint productions was a ludicrous representation of a contemporary poet, Hipponax, who was greatly deformed in his person, and who is said to have revenged the insult by so bitter a satire on the caricaturists, that they put an end to their lives by hanging themselves in vexation. But the account given of these artists by Pliny disproves the story of this tragical catastrophe, as he represents them as not only surviving the attack of their poetical foe, but as subsequently employed in framing several famous pieces of statuary. One of these was a figure of Artemis, in the temple of Chios, which, being placed in a very elevated position, seemed to wear a frowning aspect to those who were entering, and to smile on those who were quitting the portal. These statuaries appear to have formed a high estimate of their own and their father's skill, for they placed inscriptions on numerous pieces of their workmanship, in Delos, and islands adjacent to Chios, intimating that Chios was not only remarkable for its vines, which yielded fruit of peculiar excellence, but for Anthermus and his sons, who made so many beautiful and curious images. They wrought, for the most part, in Parian marble. It is said that, in cutting asunder this substance in the quarry, a perfect image, as of Silenus, was discovered by some of the ancient workmen. Bupalus, however, framed statues in gold of the Graces, which were placed in the temple of Nemesis, at Smyrna. At Jasius, an Artemis was exhibited which was the workmanship of the brothers. Some of their works were in the possession of Attalus, and others were placed at Rome, on the Palatine hill, where they adorned the temple of Apollo.

Phidias and his school. B. C. 450.

After these sculptors, a long and dreary interval occurs in the history of the art. We are unable to trace its slow progress until that period when a single mighty genius not only was able infinitely to surpass all that was done before him, but to raise the art itself to a height of which his predecessors could have entertained no conception. Indeed PHIDIAS, of whom we are now to speak, not only by his fame eclipsed the faint glimmerings of renown which attended the names of those who preceded him, but rendered all inquiry into their exertions matter rather of antiquarian curiosity than of philosophical investigation. He was the Æschylus of the plastic arts. Like the great tragedian, if he did not actually invent his art, he first discovered in it capabilities for the highest expression of mental sublimity, and made it a vehicle for the development of the noblest ideas and loftiest conceptions. His forerunners appear to have done little more than to have framed the weapons, by the aid of which he was able to manifest the most awe-breathing sublimity of thought which human skill has been able to embody in definite and circumscribed forms.

Genius of Phidias.

This wonderful artist flourished about 450 years before the Christian æra, at Athens. Nothing authentic is related respecting his early days. We find him exerting his art at the time when Grecian freedom was in its freshest bloom, after the overthrow of the Persian invaders. It is said that he first practised the art of a painter, and probably derived from this circumstance that nice judgment respecting *effect* for which he was afterwards conspicuous. He brought indeed to his profession a knowledge of all the finer parts of science which could tend to dignify and enhance it. With the most exquisite harmonies of poetry, and the most gorgeous fictions of mythology, he was no less familiar than with geometry, optics, and history. From Homer, whose works he must have deeply studied, he drew those images of greatness which he afterwards moulded in earthly materials with a kindred spirit. His skill in optics is attested by a curious circumstance in his life. It was intended to place a statue of Athēnē on a column of great height; and Phidias, and a contemporary artist, named Alcamenēs, were each employed in framing images for the purpose, the best of which was to be chosen by the citizens. On inspection, the preference was universally given to the work of the latter, which appeared neatly and elegantly finished, while that of the former appeared rude and sketchy, with coarse and ill-proportioned features. When, however, at the request of Phidias, the two statues were successively exhibited on the elevation for which they were destined, all the minute beauties of his rival's work disappeared, together with the seeming defects in his own, and that image which was before despised seemed perfect in its proportions, and was surveyed with delight and wonder.

Works of Phidias.

The genius of Phidias was highly, if not duly appreciated by his fellow-citizens. He was employed in the delightful office of forming a statue from a block of marble found in the camp of the Persians

Phidias.

after the battle of Marathon, which they had brought with them as materials for a trophy of the victory they anticipated as certain. In the true spirit of a Greek, he framed hence a most animated figure of Nemesis, the goddess of vengeance, in commemoration of that disgraceful overthrow with which the impious attacks on freedom had been so gallantly visited. From the spoils taken from the same invaders he also made a statue of Athēnē, for the Platæans, the body of which was formed of gilded wood, and the face, hands, and feet of the marble dug from the Pentelic hill in the Athenian territory.

But the circumstance which, by a singular felicity not often accorded to genius, elicited the powers of Phidias, was the coincidence, in point of time, of the full maturity of his talents with the munificent administration of Periclēs. The city of Athens having been, in a great measure, destroyed by the Persians, the opportunity was eagerly seized by this magnificent projector, of adorning it with far more splendid edifices than those which had been overthrown by the violence of the invaders. Intent on this great national design, he saw with eagerness, in the genius of Phidias, the means of giving form, shape, and completeness to the most glorious of his conceptions. He accordingly appointed this great sculptor the general superintendent of all the public works then in progress, both of architecture and statuary; and well, indeed, did the event sanction his choice. The buildings reared under the direction of Phidias, though finished within a short period, seemed built for ages; and, as observed by Plutarch, had the venerable air of antiquity when newly completed, and retained all the freshness of youth after they had stood for ages.

The Parthenon.

Of these works the most celebrated was the temple of Athēnē—the guardian deity of Athens—which was built on the Acropolis. This edifice had been previously called the Hecatompedon, from the circumstance of its having measured a hundred feet square; but after it was rebuilt, was denominated the *Parthenon*, being now of much larger dimensions.

Plutarch, after stating that Phidias was appointed to the general superintendence of all the public works, informs us that the temple of the Parthenon was rebuilt by Callicratēs and Ictinus. He further states, that the long wall of the city, which Socratēs says he heard Periclēs propose to the people, was built by the former of these architects. It has hence been inferred by some that Phidias had no personal or immediate concern in any parts of the workmanship, but that he is excluded from a share in the work of sculpture by the express language of Plutarch. This inference, however, seems scarcely warranted by the text, and is contrary to other evidence. It is true that the professions of statuary and architect were frequently united in Greece, especially in the earlier times; but it is exceedingly singular that, had this been the case with Callicratēs and Ictinus, and especially had they been the authors of works so exquisite as those which adorned the Parthenon, their names should never have been mentioned

by Pliny among the celebrated sculptors of the age of Phidias. Ictinus seems to have attained a higher eminence in his art than Callicratēs, and was employed in constructing the temple of Phygalia while his contemporary builder was engaged in raising the wall of Athens, a work necessarily of much more massiveness than taste. The marbles of the Phygalian temple have been regarded by the most competent judges as inferior to the metopes of the Parthenon, now deposited in the British Museum, and are probably executed by a different hand. But there is no evidence that Ictinus framed even these; and, therefore, no inference can hence be drawn in favour of the hypothesis that he completed those which adorned the temple of Athēnē. It cannot, however, for a moment be supposed that all the ornaments of the latter edifice were entirely the workmanship of Phidias. It is most probable that he formed the designs for the whole; that Callicratēs and Ictinus carried into effect the architectural part of them; and that Alcamenēs, and others his pupils and contemporaries, executed the larger part of the sculpture, while he occasionally touched and finished the more important figures, and overlooked the process by which his noble conceptions were embodied and rendered immortal. Phidias.

All writers agree in regarding the statue of Athēnē, which was erected within the temple, as the entire production of Phidias. It was, indeed, the most celebrated of all his works, if we except the Olympian Zeus, at Elis. Independently of the workmanship, it was of noble dimensions and of the most costly materials. It was twenty-six cubits, or thirty-nine feet in height, and formed of ivory and gold, being, most probably, composed originally of the former, and overlaid, at least in parts, by the latter. The goddess was represented in a noble attitude, erect, clothed in a tunic reaching to the feet. In her hand she brandished a spear, and at her feet lay her buckler and a dragon, of admirable execution, supposed to represent Erichthonius. On the middle of her helmet a sphynx was carved, and on each of its sides a griffin. On the ægis were displayed a Medusa's head, and a figure of Victory. This work was not only grand and striking in itself, but contained on its various parts curious specimens of minute sculpture in bas-relief, which Phidias is said to have brought to perfection. On the convex part of the shield was represented the contest of the Athenians with the Amazons—on its concave the battle of the giants and the gods—the slippers were carved with views of the fight between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ—and on the base was figured out the fable of the birth of Pandora, with images of twenty deities. Cicero, Pliny, Plutarch, Pausanias, and other illustrious writers of antiquity, in whose times this noble piece of workmanship was in existence, speak of it with unqualified rapture. After the execution of such a statue, the artist could not expect to enjoy repose at Athens. The flattering envy and hatred which almost uniformly attested excellence in that city, speedily attacked him. He was charged by Menon, one of his pupils, or workmen, with Statue of Athēnē in the Parthenon.

Phidias.

having embezzled part of the forty-four talents of gold with which he had been furnished to decorate the statue of Athēnē in the Parthenon. But Periclēs, having foreseen the danger to which his superiority would expose him, had advised him so to employ the gold that it might readily be separated from its place, and, on its being taken down and weighed, it was found perfectly entire. (See PERICLĒS.) This, however, was not the only charge with which Phidias had to contend. According to Plutarch, he had engraven his name on the statue in the Parthenon; but Cicero informs us, that not being permitted to inscribe his name upon its base, he introduced his own figure among the decorations of the shield. It appears, indeed, from Plutarch's life of Periclēs, that he carved his own figure and that of his munificent patron on the shield, representing the former as an old man, bald-headed, lifting a stone with both his hands, and the latter fighting with an Amazon, and so raising his arm, to throw a javelin, that part of his face was hidden. This circumstance was brought forward as a serious accusation against him; and, according to Plutarch, he was, in consequence, thrown into prison, where he died, as some supposed, a natural death, but, as others conceived, by poison. At least, the latter hypothesis was supported by those who wished to throw odium on Periclēs, by causing it to be suspected that this event was accomplished by his connivance. The whole story, however, appears, from the greater number of authorities, to be founded in mistake; and from these it seems that the artist withdrew in disgust to Elis, where he framed the Olympian Zeus. Menon, his base accuser, was exempted from taxes by a public decree, and the generals of the republic were ordered to afford him their especial protection. The conduct of the Athenians on this occasion, although it admits of no excuse, may be explained, in some degree, on the supposition that their envy of surpassing genius and success was heightened by their disposition to extend to Phidias part of that odium which at one period fell on Periclēs. Indeed, the artist had been previously accused of suffering his house to be made the scene of the debaucheries of his patron; though, for the honour of genius, it is to be hoped that the charge was destitute of foundation.

Statue of Zeus Olympius.

Animated rather than subdued by the ingratitude of his countrymen, Phidias laboured to surpass the greatest works with which he had adorned Athens. With this view he framed the statue of Zeus Olympius for the Eleans, and completely succeeded even in excelling his own Athēnē in the Parthenon. Lucian informs us that, in order to render this work as perfect in detail as it was noble in conception and outline, he exposed it, while in progress, to the public view, and, concealing himself near it, heard every criticism made by the spectators, and profited by every suggestion which he considered as useful. This statue was sixty feet in height, and is represented, in the enthusiastic descriptions of those who saw it, as embodying the sublime picture which Homer has given of the monarch of the heavens. It

s said, indeed, that when the artist himself was asked whence he had derived the idea of this his grand effort, he replied by reciting the verses of the poet, in which he represents the divinity as assenting to the request of Thetis :—

Phidias. His statue of Zeus Olympius.

Ἦ, καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων·
Ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος
Κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο· μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον.[1]

Never was bard illustrated by so noble a commentary! Of this mighty work Pausanias has left us, fortunately, a minute description. It represented Zeus as seated on his throne, which was made of gold and ivory; his brows surrounded with a crown of olive; his right hand holding a figure of Victory, of ivory and gold, bearing a small fillet; his left wielding the sceptre, on the top of which was the golden eagle; his robe of massive gold, curiously wrought with various figures, especially of lilies; and his sandals of gold. The throne was inlaid with all kinds of precious materials—ebony, ivory, and gems—and adorned with various pieces of sculpture. In the front of the throne was a representation of the Sphynx carrying off the Theban youths; beneath these, that of the fate of Niobē and her children; and on the frame, joining the feet, the contest of Hēraclēs with the Amazons, embracing twenty-nine figures, among which was one intended to represent Theseus. On the hinder feet of the throne were four Victories, as treading in the dance. On the back of the throne, above the head of the divinity, were figures of the Hours and Graces; and on the seat, Theseus warring with the Amazons, and lions of gold. Its base, which was of gold, represented various groups of the divinities, among which were Zeus and Hērē, with the Graces leading on Hermēs and Hestia; Eros receiving Aphrodītē from the sea; Apollo with Artemis: Athēnē with Hēraclēs; and, below these, Poseidōn, and the Moon in her chariot. The whole was encircled by a wall, on which were painted various grand and mythical pictures by Panaenus, the brother of Phidias. On the base of the statue, as if in reproach of the Athenian jealousies, was the inscription—"*Phidias, the Athenian, the son of Charmides, made me.*" Of the whole work Quinctilian observes, that it even added new feelings to the religion of Greece: "Ejus pulchritudo adjecisse aliquid etiam receptæ religioni videtur, adeo majestas operis deum æquavit."[2] It was confessedly without a rival in ancient times, all writers speaking of it as a work which none would dare even to imitate. The temple prepared for its reception seems to have been not unworthy of the

[1] He spoke, and awful bends his sable brows,
Shakes his ambrosial curls, and gives the nod,
The stamp of fate, and sanction of the god:
High heaven with trembling the dread signal took,
And all Olympus to the centre shook.
Pope's Homer's Iliad, i. 527.

[2] "Its beauty seemed to have added somewhat even to the received religion, so far did the majesty of the work equal the divinity."

Phidias.

work. It was built in the Doric style, by Libon, an Elean. In the front pediment was a representation of the contest in the chariot-race between Pelops and Œnomaus; on the back, the fight of the Centaurs and Lapithæ, with the nuptials of Pirithoüs; and in the interior were many works of Alcamenēs, depicting the labours of Hēraclēs. With this, his masterpiece, the great artist finished his labours. The manner of his death, if the account of Plutarch be rejected, is altogether unknown. The place at Elis in which he had wrought was long after preserved with care, and visited by travellers with deep veneration; and the Eleans, grateful for the honour which he had conferred on their country, gave a perpetual salary to his descendants, on condition that they should preserve the work they so highly valued, from every description of injury.

Other statues of Phidias.

Besides these most celebrated works of Phidias, several very distinguished compositions are mentioned by ancient writers. He made a statue of Athēnē, in brass, so beautiful that it was regularly named by the distinguishing epithet of Καλλιμορφος.[1] He also formed another image of the same goddess, which Æmilius Paulus dedicated in the temple of Fortune, at Rome. A figure of a key-bearer, two images in cloaks or mantles, and a naked Colossus, were also attributed to him. He framed likewise a figure of an Amazon, called Eucnemon, from the extreme beauty of the leg. A doubt has been raised by some whether Phidias ever wrought in marble; but there seems little reason for this surmise, for Pliny not only expressly numbers him among the gravers in marble, but represents him as having been the sculptor of a celebrated statue of Aphroditē, in the forum of Octavia, at Rome. It is asserted also, by the same authority, that he was the instructor of Alcamenēs, whose works in marble were exceedingly numerous at Athens, and were supposed to have been, in many instances, touched with the hand of the great master.

Phidias appears to have been the first sculptor who raised his works to the *ideal*. Cicero philosophically eulogizes him for this excellence, by which, in reality, he raised sculpture from a mechanical drudgery, to share in the glories of the most exalted poetry, and even to mould and influence the national imagination of Greece: "Phidias cum faceret Jovis formam aut Minervæ, non contemplabatur aliquem à quo similitudinem duceret: sed ipsius in mente insidebat species pulchritudinis eximia quædam, quam intuens, in eaque defixus ad illius similitudinem artem et animum dirigebat."[2] In the whole character of his works, Phidias seems to have borne a striking resemblance to Æschylus. Like the boldest of the tragic poets, he not only formed the vastest conceptions, but chose for his groundwork the grandest

[1] The Beautiful.

[2] "When Phidias intended to make a statue of Jove or of Minerva, he was accustomed to take no substantial original for his model; but there presided in the conception of the artist a certain indescribable form of beauty, and with his mental gaze fixed on this, he directed the energies of his mind and art to produce a faithful likeness."—Cic. in Orat. n. 9.

materials. Like him, also, he excelled rather in the representation of gods than of men, and delighted in presenting his images as apart from the world of ordinary existence. The repose of his figures was that of conscious omnipotence. He aimed not at expressing the passions of humanity, or at exhibiting the charms of beauty in motion, but directed all his exertions to the embodying ideas of the sternest grandeur. His whole soul was filled with the gorgeous visions of the elder time—the dark tales of old gigantic strength—the feelings of a power and a glory departed. He caught the spirit of ages long before his æra, to transmit it to generations after him by the most durable of earthly memorials. Phidias.

The principal sculptors of the age of Phidias, or rather of the earlier part of it, whom it is probable he employed in adorning the public works at Athens, were Alcamenēs, Agoracritus, Critias, Nestoclēs, and Hegias. There are, however, occasional inconsistencies in the accounts given by Pliny respecting the precise time when some of these flourished; as, although he expressly makes ALCAMENĒS contemporary with the earlier part of the age of Phidias, he represents him as having been his pupil, and hence draws an inference that Phidias wrought in marble. If we suppose this to be the same Alcamenēs whom Phidias overcame in the contest by his superior skill in optics, as we have related, the circumstance will tend to shake the assertion that he was the pupil of his adversary, although made so positively by Pliny: for it seems most probable that the circumstance occurred at the commencement of the career of Phidias, before his genius had been fully developed, and certainly before he was appointed to superintend all the public works by Periclēs. Hence it is scarcely to be believed that he had completed the instruction of a disciple, so as to enable him to enter into competition with himself, or that, had he done so, he would have neglected to impart to him that portion of his knowledge which related to the alteration in the appearance of objects which distance and position produce. It appears, however, from every authority, that Alcamenēs was one of the most distinguished of the contemporaries of Phidias. We have seen that part of the decorations in the temple at Elis, so renowned, as containing the Olympian Zeus, was from the hand of this artist. His most celebrated work was a statue of Aphrodītē, which was placed without the walls of the city of Athens, to which Phidias is supposed to have given the finishing touch. Besides his works in marble, he also made a Panthalon, in brass, which was called Eucrinomenos. As we are told by Pliny that a great number of his works were remaining in Athens, it is very probable that he had a large share in adorning the Parthenon, under the direction of Phidias. Alcamenēs. B. C. 450.

AGORACRITUS was, according to Pliny, a pupil of Phidias, and exceedingly beloved by his master, who carried his affection for him so far, as to allow some of his own pieces to be regarded as the pro- Agoracritus.

Agoracritus. ductions of his favoured disciple. He was a Parian by birth, and wrought in the marble for which his native island was famous. He had a contest with Alcamenēs, who is represented by Pliny as having been his fellow-pupil. They each endeavoured to produce the most excellent statue of Aphrodītē, and the latter was declared to be successful—not on account of the real superiority of his work, but because the Athenians chose to favour their own citizen rather than a native of Paros. Indignant at the result, the unsuccessful candidate is said, when he disposed of the statue made on the occasion, to have annexed to the sale the condition that it should never be placed in the city of Athens. In further revenge, he named it Nemesis, and allowed it to be placed in a village called Rhamnus, within the territory of Attica. M. Varro preferred this work to all other statues. Its sculptor was also celebrated for an excellent image of Cybele, placed in a temple at Athens, dedicated to the mother of the divinities.

Critias, Nestoclēs, Hegias. Of Critias, Nestoclēs, and Hegias, little is known. The latter made statues of Athēnē, of Castor and Pollux, which were placed before the temple of Zeus the Thunderer; and figures of youths called Celetizontes.

In the latter part of the age of Phidias a considerable number of artists arose of great excellence, the chief of whom were Polycleitus, Myron, Agelidēs, Callon, Gorgias, Phragmon, two sculptors named Pythagoras, Lacon, and Parelius. Of these, Polycleitus appears to have been the ruling spirit.

Polycleitus. B. C. 430. POLYCLEITUS was born at Sicyon, the great school of the plastic arts, and flourished about four hundred and thirty years before the Christian æra. As Phidias has been denominated the Æschylus, this artist may, with propriety, be regarded as the Sophoclēs, of sculpture. He perfected that which his great predecessor had invented. He did not possess the grandeur of imagination of Phidias, or even attempt, like him, to create the images of the most powerful deities. It seems, indeed, that he excelled less in representing the robust and manly graces of the human frame, than in the sweet, tender, and unconscious loveliness of childhood. In his works, however, he manifests an equal aspiration after ideal beauty with that of Phidias. He seems to have laboured to render his statues perfect in their kind, by the most scrupulous care in the finishing. Hence he is said to have observed, that "the work becomes most difficult when it comes to the nail." He framed a statue of a Persian life-guard so marvellously exact in its proportions, and so exquisite in its symmetry, that it was called *the Rule*, and became the model whence artists had their canons of criticism, which determined the correctness of a work. He executed also an image of a youth binding a fillet, of so perfect a beauty, that it was valued at the immense price of a hundred talents. Another of his celebrated works represented two children playing at dice, which was regarded with the highest admiration at Rome, where

it was in the possession of the Emperor Titus. His Hermēs belonged to Lysimachus, and his figure of Hēraclēs lifting Antæus was placed in Rome. He also produced an image of a voluptuary, called Antenor, languidly reclining on a couch, which was held in the highest esteem. Polycleitus.

It seems that Polycleitus was, during his lifetime, preferred even to Phidias. This appears from a similar circumstance to that by which Themistoclēs was shown to be entitled to the highest honour among the Greeks who fought at Salamis. It was resolved to place several statues of Amazons in the temple of Artemis, at Ephesus, and all the great artists of Greece were consulted as to their opinion who among them had the highest merit. Each named himself first, and the man whom he regarded as the next in desert, second,—and he who was found to have most of these second votes was declared victorious. By this mode of ascertaining the relative degree of renown enjoyed by each, Polycleitus obtained the first place, Phidias the second, and Ctesilas and Cylon the third and fourth. We can scarcely, however, regard this judgment as decisive. The Athenians were always jealous of the loftiest degrees of excellence; and it is not probable the immediate competitors for applause in the same art should have been impartial. If we form a judgment from the allusions of the orators and poets of antiquity to the works of ancient art, we shall find that those of Phidias made the deepest impression on those minds which may well be supposed to have had the truest sense and feeling of beauty and grandeur.

Polycleitus, himself, on one occasion, showed how little deference he felt for the fickle judgment of his fellow-citizens. Being employed in framing a statue, he freely permitted every one to inspect it, and to give advice as to the form and disposition of every part, and followed the councils thus offered him. In the mean time he privately completed another figure on the same subject, according to his own unbiassed opinion, and when both were completed, exhibited them together, and asked which of them was the finest. All joined in approving the latter, and condemning the former, when the artist triumphantly replied, "That which you reprove is your own work—that which you admire is mine."

Polycleitus is said to have carried alto-relievo, which Phidias invented, to perfection. He discovered the happiest mode of balancing figures on one leg, and is said to have been so partial to this mode of representing the human form, that he almost invariably adopted it in his statues. He is accused by Varro of too great uniformity in his figures, and the constant repetition of the same idea. Nothing could exceed the exactness of symmetry with which he framed his statues, but it seems that they were destitute of passion, sentiment, and expression. It is singular that, notwithstanding the refinement, the extreme polish, and exactness of finishing with which his works were in general elaborated, he represented the hair in knots, after the fashion of the

ancient sculptors. These defects, however, seem to have derogated but little from his fame, either in his own age or in after-times.

Myron. B. C. 430.

MYRON, the pupil of Agelidēs, was not so remarkable for any one style of composition as his predecessors and contemporaries, but appears to have been of a lively and versatile genius. He was a native of Eleutheria, but regarded as an Athenian, because his countrymen had sought and been allowed the protection of Athens. He wrought both in brass and marble. He seems to have been able to give to his work an air of great facility and ease; for it is said of him, by Statius Papinius, that he played rather than wrought with his materials. The particular work which contributed the most to his renown, was a brazen heifer, which became the subject of numerous Greek epigrams, some of which are preserved in the Anthology. The other statues by him, which were most celebrated, were the Discobolus, ascertained by an antique gem, and the description of Quinctilian, who apologizes for its forced attitude, and of which there is an ancient copy in the British Museum; the tomb of a grasshopper and locust, in brass, mentioned by Erinna, the poetess; Perseus slaying Medusa: a satyr admiring the music of the pipes; sawyers, called Pristæ; the figure of an old drunken woman, in marble, made for the people of Smyrna, and held in the highest estimation; a statue of Athēnē; the Delphic Panthali and Pancratiastæ; a Hēraclēs, which was afterwards conveyed to Rome, and placed in the great circus of Pompey; and an Apollo, which Marc Antony took from Ephesus, and Augustus Cæsar restored, in consequence of receiving a warning to that effect in a dream. Pythagoras of Rhetium is said to have surpassed Myron in the figure of a Pancratias, for the temple of Apollo, at Delphi.

Pythagoras of Samos.

Pythagoras of Samos was another celebrated sculptor of this period. He is said to have been originally a painter, and hence acquired the faculty of giving accurate resemblances of individual faces, in which he was singularly successful. He made a figure of an old man, and seven naked statues of the goddesses, which have been spoken of in terms of high eulogy. Respecting the other sculptors of this time, we have scarcely any distinct information.

Scopas, Bryaxis, Timotheus, Leochares, Pylus. B. C. 400.

SCOPAS, though enumerated by Pliny among those who were contemporary with Phidias, in the latter part of his life, seems, according to the best authorities, not to have flourished till a somewhat later period. He united the professions of architect and statuary, and was equally eminent in each. He was a native of the isle of Pharos, which seems to have been almost as productive in artists as in the materials of sculpture. It was his fortune to be employed as one of the four artists who were engaged by Artemisia, queen of Caria, in framing that splendid monument to the memory of her husband, Mausolus, in the city of Halicarnassus, which was ranked among the

seven wonders of the world. Each of the builders chose one of the sides, which he undertook to complete; Bryaxis chose the north; Timotheus, the south; Leochares, the west; and Scopas, the east. Before the work was completed, Artemisia died, but the architects determined, for the sake of their own fame, to finish it. A fifth, indeed, came, to crown the whole, with his assistance. This was Pylus, who carried up the sides in a pyramidical form, and placed at the top, figures of a chariot and four horses. The circumference was, however, only a hundred and eleven feet, and the height a hundred and forty; so that it must have been the exquisite beauty of its ornaments, rather than the massiveness of its size, which rendered it an object of so high admiration. Scopas was appointed also to contribute one of the columns to the temple of Artemis, at Ephesus, and that which he framed was regarded as the most beautiful of the whole. He seems, indeed, to have been scarcely inferior to Polycleitus or Myron. His statues were numerous: among the most remarkable of them were the images of Aphrodītē, Python, and Phaeton, which were held in the greatest veneration by the Samothracians. Many of his compositions were among the noblest ornaments of Rome in the days of Pliny. An Apollo of his workmanship stood on the Palatine Mount; a Hestia seated, with two female attendants sitting on the ground beside her, adorned the gardens of Servilius; and a group of the same description, as well as a virgin bearing on her head a basket of relics, were preserved in the collections of Asinius Pollio. His statues also of Poseidōn, of Thetis, and Achillēs, of the Nereids riding on the mightiest monsters of the deep, great fishes, tritons, and a whole train of marine creations attending Phorcus, were highly prized, and placed in the chapel of Cneius Domitius, in the Flaminian circus. A colossal image of Arēs, and an exquisite statue of Aphrodītē, were also greatly admired at Rome; the latter was preferred to a similar statue by Praxitiles, which has been thought to have furnished the original idea of the Venus de Medicis. It is uncertain whether the celebrated group of the Niobē is the production of Scopas, or belongs to a later age. It is one of the clearest manifestations of that deep and intense feeling of beauty which the Grecian artists delighted to preserve in the midst of suffering. The internal harmony of this divine work has thus been developed by a celebrated critic, who seems to have caught the true spirit of Grecian poetry and art:[1]—

Scopas.

Group of Niobē and her children.

"In the group of Niobē there is the most perfect mixture of terror and pity. The upturned looks of the mother, and the mouth half open in supplication, seem to accuse the invisible wrath of Heaven. The daughter clinging in the agonies of death to the bosom of her mother, in her infantine innocence, can have no other fear than for herself; the innate impulse of self-preservation was never represented in a manner more tender and affecting. Can there, on the other hand, be exhibited to the senses a more beautiful image of self-devoting

[1] Schlegel's Lectures on the Drama, Lecture iii.

Scopas.

heroic magnanimity than Niobē, as she bends her body forward, that, if possible, she may alone receive the destructive bolt? Pride and repugnance are melted down in the most ardent maternal love. The more than earthly dignity of the features are the less disfigured by pain, as from the quick repetition of the shocks, she appears, as in the fable, to have become insensible and motionless. But before this figure, twice transformed into stone, and yet so inimitably animated—before this line of demarcation of all human suffering, the most callous beholder is dissolved in tears."

The associates of Scopas, in the work of adorning the tomb of Mausolus, were celebrated not only as architects, but as sculptors. Timotheus was the framer of an admirable statue of Artemis, preserved in the temple of Apollo, on Mount Palatine, the head of which had, however, in the time of Pliny, been restored by Aulanius Evander. Bryaxis was renowned chiefly for his statues of Æsculapius and Seleucus. The tender had now taken the place of that sublimity to which Phidias had so nobly aspired; and some relaxation may soon be observed in the severity of sculpture. When Grecian freedom expired under Philip and Alexander, the art lost something of the high idealism it had formerly developed, though it was advanced in all the delicacies of form by Praxitiles and Lysippus. These great artists must, however, be considered hereafter.

The Elgin marbles.

Happily for us, we are not left to gather all our ideas of the freeness, the grace, and the majesty of sculpture in the vestiges of Greece from the statements of historians. If the Zeus Olympius, and the noble statue of Athēnē, in the Parthenon, are totally lost, we have, in our own country, ample vestiges, from which we may form conceptions not altogether inadequate of the grandest of these astonishing works. We allude to the sculptured marbles brought by Lord Elgin from Athens, which were purchased by Parliament, and are now open for public inspection in the British Museum. The chief of these, consisting of a statue of Hēraclēs, or Theseus; of an Ilissus, or river god; of horses' heads; of fourteen metopes, in alto-relievo; and of the friezes representing the grand procession for celebrating the Panathenæan festival, were taken from the ruins of the temple of Parthenon, with a number of less perfect fragments. These pieces have been almost universally regarded by our greatest artists and men of taste to be of the very highest order of art. Nollekens stated in his evidence before the committee of the House of Commons, appointed to consider the expediency of purchasing the collection, that the marbles were "the finest things that ever came to this country;" that the bass-reliefs were "among the first class" of that species of sculpture; and that the Theseus was as fine a sculpture as the Belvidere Apollo. Flaxman regarded the Theseus as somewhat inferior to the Apollo, because the latter statue partook more of ideal beauty; but expressed the most enthusiastic admiration of every part

of the collection. Westmacott considered the Theseus and the river god as "infinitely superior to the Apollo Belvidere," and observed, that "the back of the Theseus was the finest thing in the world, and that the anatomical skill displayed in the front of the Ilissus was not surpassed by any work of art." Chantrey, Rossi, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Day, Wilkins, West, and the Earl of Aberdeen, all spoke of them as among the noblest relics of ancient genius, though differing in some minuter points respecting them. It was also the opinion of these gentlemen, that the works are of the age of Phidias; though how far that great artist himself assisted personally in their execution can only be matter of reasoning and conjecture. Payne Knight, however, expressed, in some respects, a different opinion, both as to their antiquity and their value; he placed "the finest of them in the second rank," and thought that most of them were added by the Emperor Adrian, but considered the best of the metopes as of the first class of high relief, and the frieze of the procession as of the best order of low relief in existence. With respect to the different estimate of the abstract merit of these works, as the matter entirely depends on feeling and taste, we can only state the opinions of those who may certainly be presumed competent judges. But the question of antiquity being a matter of fact, depending, in some measure, on external evidence, may be fairly made the subject of discussion. Now the only reason offered by Payne Knight in support of the hypothesis, that part of the works are of the age of Adrian, is, that "Spon and Wheeler thought one of the heads to be of that emperor, and later travellers having found no symbols of any deity upon it, also for the draped trunks which seem to be of that complicated and stringy kind of work which was then in fashion." But the observations of Spon and Wheeler are admitted to be loose, if not inaccurate; and the conclusions they drew from them are, in some instances, undoubtedly erroneous. Thus these travellers, misled by a false view of the description given of the Parthenon by Pausanias, mistook the subjects of the eastern, for those of the western pediment, and *vice versâ;* and strove, with perverse ingenuity, to discover the birth of Athēnē in the contest for Attica, as has been indisputably shown by the Chevalier Visconti. Little reliance is then to be placed on their opinion, had they really advanced it. In the absence of all proof from history, that the works are of later date than the temple, their style may surely be received as evidence of their ancient origin. They are in the purest and simplest manner of Grecian sculptures; they have nothing of the theatrical art about them which distinguishes the statues of later times; they are grander, indeed, than common nature, but their innate divinity reposes on its own powers, and does not appear to put itself forth for the admiration or reverence of spectators. Canova passed on them the warmest eulogies, and declared that he should have felt "perfectly satisfied had he come to London only to view them." Surely, then, it is no unreasonable supposition that they are part of the original decorations of the temple where they were

The Elgin marbles.

The Elgin marbles.

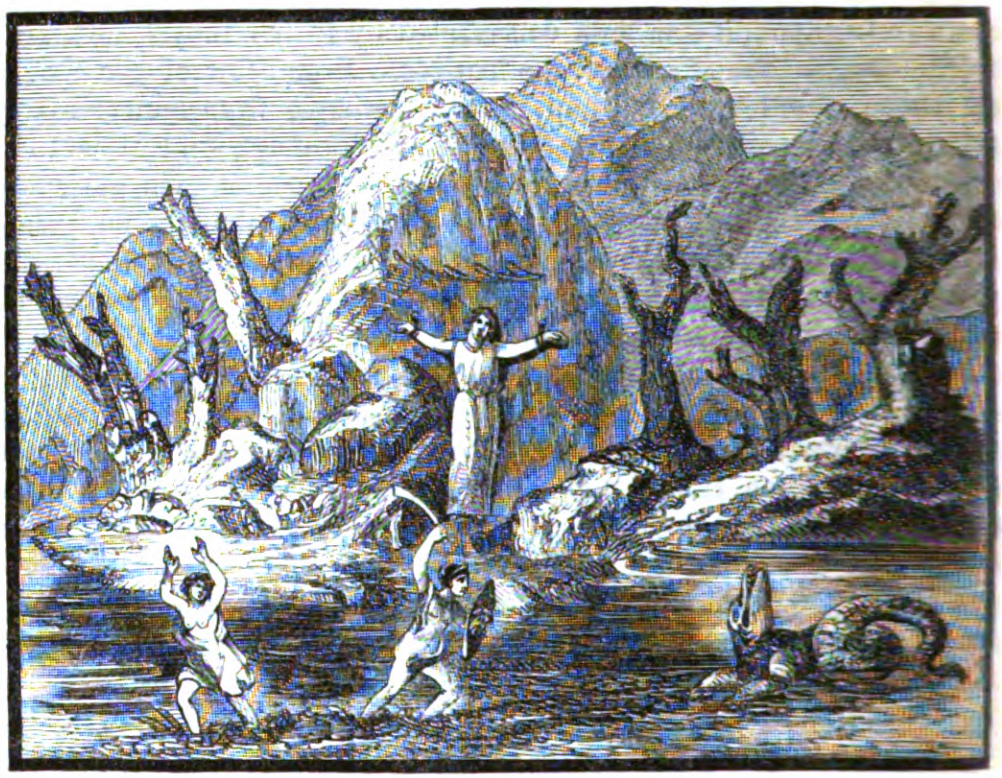
found, over the whole of which Phidias presided, and that they are from his designs, if not touched by his hand!

All the eulogiums, however, which have been passed on these admirable works, and even the belief that the greatest benefit to the arts would arise from their public exhibition in our metropolis, would not reconcile us to their removal from Athens, if the charges brought against Lord Elgin for his conduct in procuring them were well founded. Nothing could justify the measure of attempting to take them from their old positions, but the certainty that they could not remain there without the utmost hazard of sustaining irremediable injuries. They can never be regarded elsewhere with that feeling with which they were surveyed at Athens. They cannot have the same atmosphere of sentiment about them. Nor, while a spark of old enthusiasm continued alive in the breasts of the Athenians for these relics of the glory of their fathers, could they in common justice be deprived of the objects of their reverence, even though, as works of art, they could neither appreciate nor enjoy them. But it appears that the most valuable sculptures in Lord Elgin's collection were not removed from places in which they were open to inspection, but were found, after much toil, amidst neglected ruins. For Spon and Wheeler represent the eastern pediment of the temple as having fallen down, and the figures which were visible as so far distant from any place where they could be distinctly seen, that no drawings were made of them. But the most important fact stated by Lord Elgin is, that when he was preparing to make an excavation in a spot where some of the principal statues had probably fallen, the Turks informed him that they had pounded all the marbles he expected to find there for mortar. Indeed, it appears that the most wanton aggressions on the marble were constantly permitted, or winked at, all travellers being ready to give some recompence for permission to remove relics, in which they frequently committed more injury than they derived advantage. A comparison of the most perfect parts of Lord Elgin's collections, with the accounts and drawings of travellers in various times, will show how rapidly the sculptures have been lessened and defaced. Between the time of Stuart's visit to Athens, and the arrival of Lord Elgin, an old temple on the Ilissus had disappeared: a temple in the neighbourhood of Elis and Olympia had been taken away; and thirteen columns at Corinth had been reduced to five, as pieces were constantly broken off by travellers. According to the evidence of Wilkins, of ninety-two metopes which adorned the temple, two-and-thirty must have been removed, and probably destroyed, before the operations of Lord Elgin. This gentleman also observed, that "at the time that Lord Elgin was at Athens, there existed among the Turks a great desire to deface all the sculpture within their reach;" but adds, that now a disposition is shown to preserve them, in consequence, no doubt, of the profit arising from the sale of the permission to remove them. The testimony of the

Earl of Aberdeen is explicit with respect to the danger of great part of the marbles had they remained at Athens. It does not appear that any unpleasant sensation was created by their removal, but rather the reverse, in the minds of the natives. Some few of the articles, and these the least important, might, perhaps, from their situation and from their position, have been left with safety; and it is to be regretted that these have been taken from their places. On the whole, however, we think it is satisfactorily established, that the far greater part of the glorious works which we now possess would have perished by the hands of the ignorant, had they not been preserved by our ambassador; who, as far as pecuniary considerations are involved, paid highly for them, and who stands, we think, acquitted by the necessity of the case, on the more sentimental grounds of accusation alleged against him. We have, then, we believe, obtained them honestly, and we cannot too highly estimate the value of their possession. Not only must they form an admirable school for our artists, but diffuse among the people at large that sense of high and pure beauty, which will add to their noblest pleasures, and render even their moral feelings more gentle and more exalted.

The Elgin marbles.





CHAPTER XV.

THE EARLY PAINTERS OF GREECE.

PANAENUS	FLOURISHED ABOUT	B. C. 450
POLYGNOTUS		B. C. 420
APOLLODORUS		B. C. 410
ZEUXIS, PARRHASIUS, TIMANTHES, EUPOMPUS, PAMPHILUS		B. C. 400

Invention of the art of painting.

PLINY, in his inquiries into ancient painting, attributes its invention to a period long after that in which sculpture was commonly practised both among the Egyptians and the Greeks; for he asserts that it was unknown until after the destruction of Troy, and that even linear portraying, or the drawing of the mere outline of a figure, was first practised by Ardices of Corinth, and Thelephanes of Sicyon. But this opinion is refuted by the testimonies of other writers, who speak of the ancient practice of the art in Egypt, and by the chests of mummies which are still in existence. Plato speaks of painting as having been practised by the Egyptians for ten thousand years; which assertion, though manifestly extravagant, is sufficient to prove that the art had been known by them for a long period. Probably it was neglected about the æra of the Trojan war, and afterwards

evived in Greece by those who are represented as its inventors. It would be strange if sculpture had, by many ages, preceded the mere pencilling of outlines on a flat surface, in which all testimonies agree that painting originally consisted. In the time of Homer, it is evident that the idea, at least, of representing persons, groups, and events in colours, prevailed; because we find in his works repeated allusions to the working in tapestry the pictures of grand and varied transactions. It is probable, therefore, that lineary painting must have been known in preceding ages. The first painters, indeed, in Greece were mere drawers, and appear not to have practised colouring. This circumstance must be attributed to that simplicity of taste which is so manifest in the ancient sculpture, and that strong bias which existed in the national feeling to singleness of delineation arising from the tendencies of religion. We have already seen how they were led to cast everything into a set and definite form, and to substitute in their poetry beautiful human figures for the objects of inanimate nature. Hence their painting was not only very simple in its beginning, but even in its perfection partook of the qualities of sculpture. Most of their pictures were either single portraits of individuals, or historical groups consisting of a few simple figures, and rarely exhibited any attempts at perspective. Hence the delicacy of shading, which would be found needful for the accurate delineation of a single figure, was carried to a high degree of perfection, while other parts of the art were in their rudest beginnings.

Early painters of Greece.

According to the testimony of Pliny, the first painters of Greece used no other instrument than a coal to mark out their outlines. The first who made use of colour was Cleophantus of Corinth, who had no other colour than red, which he produced by grinding some kind of brick or earth to powder. Eumarus, a painter of Athens, first distinguished the sexes in his pictures, and gave to male and female their proper lineaments. Cimon the Cleonean, who followed Eumarus, first invented the mode of representing faces as looking on one side, and the folds of vestments and inequalities of surfaces. He seems to have excelled in the knowledge of anatomy, representing, with accuracy never before attempted, the knitting of the joints and the branching of the veins in his figures. The time when these artists flourished cannot be ascertained with precision. There are manifest contradictions in the account given by Pliny. While, in one place, he asserts painting to have been totally unknown at the time of the siege of Troy, in another he asserts it to have arrived at perfection in the time of Romulus, because, about that period, Candaules, king of Lydia, bought of a painter, called Bularchus, a picture for as much gold as it weighed, and hence infers, that "evident and apparent it is that the origin and beginning of the art was of much higher antiquity, and those painters who used but one colour lived a long time before, although it is not recorded in what age they flourished." Certain it is that no painter obtained any great renown in Greece

before the age of Phidias. Soon after this, however, it advanced with great rapidity, and several most distinguished artists appeared contending for the highest palm of excellence.

Panaenus. B. C. 450.

Phidias, as we have seen in his life, was himself originally a painter. After he had left this art, for the exercise of that in which he was more renowned, his brother, PANAENUS, continued to excel in picture. One of his most celebrated works represented the battle of Marathon, and contained the figures of Miltiadēs, Callimachus, and Cynegyrus, on the Grecian side, and of Datis and Artaphernēs on that of the Persians. He was employed in decorating the wall which surrounded the statue of Zeus Olympius at Elis, and an account of the subjects of the painting which he executed on that occasion is preserved in the ancient descriptions of the statue. These were, Atlas sustaining the heavens and the earth, with Hēraclēs relieving him of his burthen; figures of Theseus and Pirithous; emblematic figures representing Greece and Salamis; Ajax suffering under the reproach of Cassandra; the strife of Hēraclēs with the Nemæan lion; Hyppodamia, daughter of Œnomaus, with her mother; Prometheus chained, with Hēraclēs advancing to his assistance; Prometheus delivered by Hēraclēs; Achillēs supporting Penthesilea dying; and the two Hesperides bearing golden apples. In the time of this artist, prizes were given at Corinth and Delphi for excellence in painting; for one of which he contended with a painter named Timagoras; but it does not appear which of them obtained the victory.

Polygnotus. B. C. 420.

But POLYGNOTUS, who flourished about 420 years before the Christian æra, just in the dawn of the age of Zeuxis, Parrhasius, and Timanthes, seems to have contributed more largely to the advancement of his art than all preceding painters. Before his time, the countenance was represented as destitute of animation and fire, and a kind of leaden dulness pervaded its features. His triumph it was to kindle up expression in the face, and to throw feeling and intellect into the whole frame. He was the Prometheus of painting. He also first painted the mouth open, so that the teeth were displayed, and occasion given to use that part of the face in the expression of varying emotions. He first clothed his figures in light, airy, and transparent draperies, which he elegantly threw about the light forms of his women. He was, in short, the author both of delicacy and expression in the paintings of Greece; but his style is said to have been hard, and his colouring not equal to his design.

This excellent artist was the son of Aglaophon, himself a painter, and born in Thasos, an island of the Ægean sea. He followed, for some time, the art of sculpture, but soon devoted himself exclusively to that for which his genius was better adapted. His great works consisted of those with which he decorated the Ποικίλη (Pœcilē), a grand gallery and place of exercise at Athens, so denominated from the great

variety of its embellishments. For this place he executed a series of paintings, representing the principal events of the Trojan war. For his labours on these works, he refused to receive any remuneration from the public, while Mycon, a contemporary artist, who was employed in adorning another part of the same building, was liberally paid for the exertions of his genius. Polygnotus, however, was not without his reward. The sacred council of the Amphictyons, the representatives of all the states of Greece, offered him solemn expressions of gratitude on behalf of the whole commonwealth, and decreed that wherever he should travel he should be entertained at the public expense. One of his pictures, on a tablet, was preserved at Rome, in the gallery of Pompey, representing a man on a scaling-ladder, with a target in his hand, so contrived that it was impossible to tell whether he was going upwards or descending. Pliny informs us, that besides the Mycon, who assisted in painting the Ποικίλη, there was another painter of the same name, whose daughter, Timanthe, excelled in the art professed by her father. Polygnotus.

Apollodorus further prepared the way for the best efforts of painting in Greece. He was the first who carried the disposition of light and shade, and chiaro-oscuro, to any degree of perfection. His genius was calculated to astonish and rivet the attention. Pliny informs us, that no painter before him could succeed in holding the spectators of his works in the long contemplation of their excellence: "Neque ante eum tabula ullius ostenditur quæ teneat oculos." One of his most celebrated pictures exhibited a priest at his devotions, "breathless with adoration;" and another, Ajax struck with fire from heaven. The latter was preserved at Pergamos. It may be observed, that the subject is more bold than any recorded to have been previously chosen by a painter. Apollodorus B. C. 410.

Zeuxis, who, with Timanthes and Parrhasius, carried ancient painting nearly to perfection, was born at Heraclea; but whether at the city of that name in Macedon, or that near Crotona, in Italy, does not certainly appear. He studied either under Demophilus or Neseas, artists respecting whom nothing is known, but that one of them was his master. Soon, however, he far outstripped his instructor, as Apollodorus intimated in verses expressive of his indignation that Zeuxis should have moulded to his own use all previous inventions, and stolen the graces of the best masters; thus paying a fine involuntary compliment to his highly-gifted rival. Apollodorus, having first practised chiaro-oscuro, could not endure that his glory should be eclipsed by a younger artist, who availed himself of his improvements to rise to a higher degree of excellence. Zeuxis seems to have rapidly arisen to the highest distinction in Greece, and acquired, by the exercise of his art, not only renown, but riches. Of the latter advantage he was more vain than became a man of exalted genius. He appeared Zeuxis. B. C. 400.

Zeuxis

at the Olympic games attired in a mantle, on which his name was embroidered in letters of gold, a piece of most absurd display in one whose name was deeply impressed on the hearts and imaginations of those by whom he was surrounded. He does not, however, seem to be chargeable with avarice, or, at least, this passion, if it existed, was subservient to his pride; for when he had attained the height of his fame, he refused any longer to receive money for his pictures, but made presents of them, avowing that he regarded them as above all pecuniary value. In the earlier part of his career he was accustomed, however, to exhibit his productions for money, especially his most celebrated painting of Helen, whence the figure was denominated "Helen the courtesan." The truth seems to have been, that the ruling passion of Zeuxis was the love of pomp, an ever-restless vanity, a constant desire and craving after every kind of distinction. So far as money assisted in procuring this, he stooped to obtain it, and refused it when he could most successfully assume dignity by refusing farther recompence.

Little is known respecting the events of the life of this celebrated painter. He was not only successful in securing wealth and the applause of the multitude, but was honoured with the friendship of Archelaus, king of Macedon. For the palace of this monarch he executed numerous pictures. Ælian informs us, that Socratēs, referring to this circumstance, observed, that "Archēlaus had expended large sums of money on his house, but none on himself; whence it was that numbers came from all parts of the world to see the palace, but none its owner, unless such as were allured by his presents, who were not amongst the most virtuous of men." Cicero informs us, that the inhabitants of Crotona prevailed on Zeuxis to visit their city and to paint there a number of pictures, which were intended to adorn the temple of Hērē, for which he was to receive a large and stipulated sum. On his arrival, he informed them that he intended only to paint the picture of Helen, with which they were satisfied, because he was regarded as peculiarly excellent in the delineation of women. He, accordingly, desired to see the most beautiful maidens in the city, and having selected five whom he preferred, copied all that was most beautiful and perfect in the form of each, and thus completed his Helen. Pliny, in his relation of the same circumstance, omits to give the particular subject of the painting, or the terms of the original contract, and states that the whole occurred, not among the people of Crotona, but those of Agrigentum, for whom, he says, the piece was executed, to fulfil a vow made by them to the goddess. This great artist, on several occasions, painted pictures for cities and states. He gave to the Agrigentines his Alcmena, representing Hēraclēs strangling the serpents in his cradle in the sight of his parents, who were looking on affrighted, and a figure of Pan to his patron Archelaus of Macedon. It seems probable that he painted a picture of Helen besides that for the people of Crotona, which was in ex-

istence at Rome in the lifetime of Pliny. Under this he inscribed the beautiful verses of Homer, representing the old counsellors of Priam as softened at the appearance of her beauty, and acknowledging that she was an object for which both Trojans and Greeks might reasonably endure all the calamities of protracted war. Zeuxis.

Οἳ δ' ὡς οὖν ἴδον Ἑλένην ἐπὶ πύργον ἰοῦσαν,
Ἦκα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔπια πτερόεντ' ἀγόρευον·
Οὐ νέμεσις, Τρῶας καὶ ἐυκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς,
Τοιῇδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγια πάσχειν·
Αἰνῶς ἀθανάτῃσι θεῇς ἰς ὦπα ἔοικεν.[1]

Iliad, iii. 154.

The most celebrated of the pictures of Zeuxis, besides the Helens and the Alcmena, were—a Penelopē, in which Pliny assures us, that not only form, but character, was vividly expressed; a representation of Zeus seated on his throne, with all the gods around doing him homage; a Marsyas bound to a tree, which was preserved at Rome; and a wrestler, beneath which he inscribed a verse to the effect that it was easier to envy than to imitate its excellence. Lucian has left us an admirable description of another of his pieces, representing the Centaurs, in which he particularly applauds the delicacy of the drawing, the harmony of the colouring, the softness of the blending shades, and the excellence of the proportions. He left many draughts in a single colour on white. Pliny censures him for the too great size of the heads and joints in comparison with the other parts of his figures. Aristotle complains that he was a painter of forms rather than of manners, which seems contrary to the eulogium passed by Pliny on the representation of Penelopē.

The story respecting the contest between Zeuxis and Parrhasius has been frequently related. It is said that the former painted a cluster of grapes with such perfect skill, that birds came and pecked them as they were exhibited on the table. Elated with so unequivocal a testimony of his excellence, he called to his rival to draw back the curtain which he supposed concealed his work, anticipating a certain triumph. Now, however, he found himself entrapped; for that which he considered as a curtain was only a painting of one by Parrhasius; upon which he ingenuously confessed himself defeated, since he had only deceived birds, but his antagonist had beguiled the senses of an experienced artist. Another story is related, of a similar kind, in which he overcame himself, or rather one part of his work was shown to have excelled at the expense of the other. He painted a boy with a basket of grapes, to which the birds resorted; on which

[1] These, when the Spartan queen approached the tower,
In secret owned resistless beauty's power.
They cried, "No wonder such celestial charms
For nine long years have set the world in arms;
What winning graces! what majestic mien!
She moves a goddess, and she looks a queen!"

Pope.

Xeuxis. he acknowledged that the boy could not be well painted, since, had the similitude been in both cases equal, the birds would have been deterred from approaching. From these stories, if they can be credited, it would appear that Zeuxis excelled more in painting fruit than in depicting the human form. If this were the case, it is strange that all his greater efforts, of which any accounts have reached us, were portraits, or groups of men or deities. The readiness Zeuxis has, in these instances, been represented as manifesting to acknowledge his weakness, is scarcely consistent with the usual tenor of his spirit. At all events, the victory of Parrhasius proved very little respecting the relative merit of the two artists. The man who could represent a curtain to perfection would not necessarily be the greatest painter in Greece. Even were exactness of imitation the sole excellence in the picture, regard must be had to the nature of the objects imitated, in reference to the skill of the artists by whom they were chosen.

Zeuxis is said to have taken a long time to finish his chief productions; observing, when reproached for his slowness, as Euripidēs had done before him, that he was painting for eternity. Quinctilian says of him, "Hæc vero circumscripsit omnia, ut eum legum latorem vocent, quia deorum et heroum effigies, quales ab eo sunt traditæ, cæteri, tamquam ita necesse sit sequuntur."[1] Many testimonies, indeed, are scattered through the works of the best writers of antiquity to his transcendent genius.

Festus, on the sole authority of Verrius Flaccus, relates that Zeuxis died with laughter at the picture of an old woman which he had himself painted. So extraordinary a circumstance would surely have been alluded to by some other writer, had it been true, than him on whose authority it rests. There seems, therefore, good reason to believe it fictitious.

Parrhasius. PARRHASIUS, the rival of Zeuxis, was born at Ephesus, and acquired a knowledge of the art of painting from his father Evenor, who practised it. He is said, by Pliny, to have been the first who observed the rules of accurate symmetry in portraying the human figure, which it seems to have been the practice even of his most celebrated contemporary to disregard. His peculiar excellencies consisted in his designs and his outlines, in the first sketching and exterior lines of his pictures, which Pliny regards as the most difficult part of the art. He excelled also in the expression of character, respecting which Xenophon has preserved a dialogue between him and Socratēs, which the latter turns to moral uses. He also is said first to have delicately painted the hair, and to have disposed it in tresses, so as to add to the beauty, or assist in the general expression of his figures.

[1] "He, indeed, set limits to all these, so much so, as to be called the 'standard of correct taste;' since the other forms of gods and men, followed, as of necessity, those which were bequeathed to art by him."

He painted, also, most inimitably, the lips and mouth, touching them with peculiar elegance, and finishing them with singular grace. But, in general, he was defective in the filling up, in the shading, and the colouring of the masterly outlines which he drew. His sketches and outlines, many of which he left without filling up, both on tablets and parchment, became, in after-times, the studies of youthful painters. Parrhasius.

His greatest work was an allegorical painting of the Genius of the Athenians, in which he endeavoured to embody in a single piece all the wayward and contradictory passions and feelings, the stupendous greatness and the singular weaknesses, the admirable tastes and contemptible jealousies, of that most strange, yet most interesting people. Of this great performance, Pliny says, "Pinxit et Dæmona Atheniensium; argumento quoque ingenioso volebat namque varium, iracundium, injustum, inconstantem; eundem vero exorabilem, clementem, misericordem, excelsum, gloriosum, humilem, ferocem, fugacemque et omnia pariter ostendere."[1] It seems impossible that all these varied characteristics could have been expressed by a single figure; probably a variety of groups were depicted in one large piece, to attain the object of the painter.

Besides this grand piece, Parrhasius painted two celebrated groups on different tablets; the one containing the figures of Æneas, Castor and Pollux; the other, Telephus, Achillēs, Agamemnōn, and Odysseus. He excelled in delineations of childhood and tender youth, as, his nurse with an infant in her arms; a priest, attended by a child with a censor; and two boys, with a peculiar expression of innocence, unconsciousness, and freedom from care in their countenances, abundantly proved. A naval captain, armed with a corslet; Dionysus, with Virtue standing over him; and two excellent figures, one of a man in armour, running, and appearing to labour beneath its weight; and the other, of a person taking off armour, as fatigued with past exertions, were among the most famous of his productions. His picture of Theseus procured for him the freedom of the city of Athens, and was afterwards placed in the Capitol at Rome. Another of his pieces, Archigallus, was in the possession of the Emperor Tiberius, who kept it in his bedchamber, and regarded it as worth sixty thousand sesterces. A grand heroic picture by his hand, representing Meleager, Hēraclēs, and Perseus, was preserved at Rhodes, where it was regarded not only with the admiration due to its excellence, but with superstitious veneration, from a story that the tablet on which it was painted had been three times struck with lightning, but that the colours did not receive the least injury. This tale Pliny calls a miracle, and says it adds greatly to the credit of the picture.

Parrhasius, like his rival, is accused of great ostentation and vanity.

[1] "He embodied, in a witty painting of his own design, the genius of the Athenians, characterised for its various exhibitions of revenge, injustice, and inconstancy; faithfully representing all that was forgiving, generous, compassionate, peaceable, noble, vainglorious, humble, courageous, and cowardly."

Parrhasius. He spoke of himself as the prince of painters, and as having brought his art to perfection. He added new epithets to his name to express his dignity. He even announced himself to be a lineal descendant from Apollo, and affirmed that his picture of Hēraclēs was an actual portrait of that hero, who used to appear to him in visions, in order to give him the opportunity of taking an exact resemblance of his person. In public he appeared dressed in rich and costly garments of purple embroidered with gold. Worse things than these pompous follies are, however, objected to him. Pliny tells us that he was accustomed to relax his mind from his nobler pursuits by framing small pictures of a loose and immoral character. Seneca, the rhetorician, brings an atrocious charge against him. He affirms that Parrhasius, being desirous of representing the tortures of Prometheus, caused an Olynthian captive to be put to a lingering death by torture, while he drew from his agonies the vivid representation of his hero's sufferings. But we are happy to disbelieve this story, as Olynthus was not taken until Parrhasius, if living, must have been very far advanced in years. Our readers will remember a similar tale in the annals of Italian art.

Parrhasius, who conquered Zeuxis, was himself overcome by Timanthes; and in a fairer trial of merit than that in which he obtained the victory. On this occasion, the rival artists painted pieces on the same subject—the indignation of Ajax on the judication of the arms of Achillēs to Odysseus, and that of Timanthes was thought exceedingly superior. Parrhasius consoled himself by affecting to lament the fate of Ajax, a second time overcome by his inferior.

Timanthes. TIMANTHES has not been so much brought forward in the annals of art as Zeuxis and Parrhasius; but, as far as we have means given us of judging, he was, at least, inferior to neither in genius. He seems to have thrown a large share of intellect and thought into his productions. He appears to have been unequalled both in ingenuity and feeling, of which we have some curious examples. One of these was displayed in the picture on the noble subject of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, in which he represented the tender and beautiful virgin standing before the altar awaiting her doom, and surrounded by her afflicted relatives. All these last he depicted as moved by various degrees of sorrow, and grief seemed to have reached its utmost expression in the face of Menelaus; but that of Agamemnōn was left —and the painter, heightening the interest by confessing the inadequacy of his art, covered the head of the father with his mantle, leaving his agony to the imagination, and regarding it as too sacred for the gaze of spectators. Of this piece, Quinctilian says, "Cum in Iphigeniæ immolatione pinxisset tristem Calchantem, tristiorem Ulyssem, addidisset Menelao quem summam poterat ars efficere mœrorem; consumptis affectibus, non reperiens quo digne modo patris vultum posset exprimere, velavit ejus caput, et suo cuique animo dædit æsti-

mandum."[1] On another occasion, having painted a sleeping Cyclop in an exceedingly small compass, yet wishing to convey the idea of his gigantic size, he introduced a group of satyrs, with poles, taking the measure of his thumb. A deep meaning was to be discovered in every work of his pencil; yet the tendency to expression and significant delineation did not detract from the beauty of the forms which he created; for his figure of a prince was so perfect in its proportions, and so majestic in its air, that it appears to have reached the utmost height of the ideal. This picture was preserved in the temple of Peace at Rome. Timanthes.

Of EUPOMPUS, another painter of this time, who acquired considerable reputation, we know even less than of Timanthes. Before he acquired his renown, we are informed that there were only two great styles of painting, or rather distinctive names bestowed on the painting of different regions—the Helladian and Asiatic. But Eupompus, being a native of Sicyon, so exalted the fame of his country for the art, that the Helladian was divided, and the Sicyonian and the Attic became the terms for the two schools of artists in Europe, while that of the cities of Asia was denominated by the general term of Ionian. One of the most celebrated works of this painter was the naked figure of a conqueror in the public games, holding in his hand the branch of a date-tree. Eupompus was the master of Pamphilus, who afterwards had the honour of instructing Apelles. Eupompus.

PAMPHILUS appears to have given the deepest attention to the *principles* of his art. He excelled all his contemporaries in the knowledge of general literature, and was well acquainted with mathematical lore, without which he thought that no one could become a perfect painter. He was, therefore, peculiarly qualified to instruct others in the art of painting, and valued his lessons highly, since he received no pupil for a less sum than ten talents of silver, for which he gave instruction during ten years. On these terms, Melanthus and Apelles became his disciples. He was a native of Amphipolis, a city upon the borders of Macedonia and Thrace, but established his school at Sicyon. There he first procured for painting a rank among the liberal sciences, and caused a law to be passed, whereby all free citizens were to be taught its principles in their youth—a measure which was afterwards adopted throughout Greece. No slave was permitted to practise the art, nor even to become an engraver; a restriction which, while it shows the high esteem in which painting was held, evinces the haughty and exclusive spirit with which the republicans of old strove to debase human nature and human genius, Pamphilus. B. C. 400.

[1] "When, in the sacrifice of Iphigenia, he had represented the grief of Calchas, and the deeper grief of Ulysses, and had invested Menelaus with the most poignant sorrow which art could effect, his ingenuity being exhausted, and failing to discover in what becoming manner he should represent the countenance of the father, he covered his head with a veil, and left to the imagination of each spectator the profound grief of the parent."

Pamphilus.

in order to render themselves the sole depositaries of virtue and of wisdom. The most celebrated of the pictures of Pamphilus were a picture of a family, the battle before Phlius, and the victory of the Athenians, and Odysseus on the seas in a small vessel. He was the last of that cluster of painters who preceded the more decisive and splendid success of Protogenes and Apelles.

Comparison of ancient and modern painting.

We have unfortunately but slender materials which can lead us to form a correct judgment of the degree of excellence which the Grecian painters attained. Their pictures, although painted on solid and durable substances, as larch, box-wood, or fir, the ceilings and walls of buildings, and sometimes even on marble, have perished. This cannot excite wonder, when we remember that the use of oil in painting was probably unknown to the ancients, and that their varnishes, before distillation was invented, were necessarily imperfect, and could not long prevent decay. If the grandest works of Phidias, although statues of colossal size, are entirely lost, it could scarcely be expected that the pictures of Zeuxis would survive. We can entertain, however, very little doubt that there were some excellencies in which the Grecian painters approached perfection. For if we consider the grandeur and the beauty of the works of statuary which, in their time, were placed in every forum and temple, it is impossible to believe that painting could have been held almost in equal esteem with sculpture, unless some of the noblest capabilities of the art had been developed by its followers. The Apollo Belvidere, the Venus de Medicis, and the Laocoon, have for ages been regarded as the highest possible models of excellence, which modern artists have been contented to admire, without hoping to rival. And even of these the two former are probably mere copies, and the latter is certainly the work of an age when the purest severities of earlier times were no longer attained by the sculptor. The Elgin marbles, though the works of the best age of Grecian art, were only the inferior ornaments of that temple, in which the Athēnē of Phidias was revered; and, astonishing as they are in majesty and grandeur, were produced by the hands of artists not, in their own days, comparable with the mighty framer of the principal statue. After the contemplation, therefore, of all these relics of ancient genius which time and the chances of the world have spared, we have doubtless a very inadequate idea of that more than earthly sublimity which the master-pieces of Greek sculpture displayed, of the high divinity with which they were "instinct," or of the sweet graces with which every minuter part was touched, softened, and perfected. Surely, then, the art which shared the admiration of the Athenians with sculpture, must have put forth no common specimens.

Still there is great reason to believe, that if, in some respects, the ancient painters attained the highest excellence, there were others in which they were far inferior to the moderns. According to Pliny,

Apelles himself, who flourished after the artists alluded to in this article had acquired great renown for their profession, used no more than four colours. Hence we may conclude, that the chief excellence of the Greeks lay in the design, and in the strictly grand style of their delineations. It will be observed, that all the pictures enumerated by Pliny consist of a single figure, or of groups of figures representing the human form, though that form is almost always of the grandest or sweetest cast, and is made to shadow forth the valour of heroes or the divinity of gods, or the loveliness of woman and the cherubic beauty of childhood; landscape was rarely, if ever painted; and it may be doubted if the first artists understood, with any degree of accuracy, the first principles of perspective. Painting, indeed, was allied as near as possible to sculpture; its object and its excellencies were the same. This arose, in some degree, from the singular beauty of the forms which artists had constant opportunities of studying, but more from the general taste of the Greeks, which led them, on all occasions, to personify objects of nature, to embody the thoughts of mind, to catch the most airy and fleeting ideas of beauty and grace, and to shape out from them distinct and vivid images. They had no *perspective of mind.* Their poetry was that of satisfaction, not of desire; and, for the same reason, their painting gave no ideas of remoteness. They revelled in the present; or, if they looked backward, they saw only grander and more stately forms in the demi-gods and regal champions of the heroic ages.

Comparison of ancient and modern painting.

The superstitions of Greece were, for the most part, gay and joyous; the images of its gods were models of earthly beauty; its religion was a continued festival. As there was little of solemnity in the most elevated thoughts of its people, there was little of deep-shadowing, or of awe-breathing gloom in its paintings. A different spirit prevailed in those ages in which the Italian masters were formed to excellence. Life had ceased to be a mere course of unthinking gladness; a soberer hue was shed over the colouring of existence. Religion, in its purity, while its light so far penetrated beyond the grave as to reveal the fact of another life, clearly displayed nothing but the mighty outlines of eternal being, leaving its solemnities covered with a sacred gloom. A new and boundless expanse was opened for imagination to soar in, but the mighty objects lifted only their gigantic forms through clouds and mists, in the dimness of which their grandeur was felt rather than seen. Depths also were opened in the human soul, which man himself could not fathom, nor look into without trembling. The feelings which arose from these new worlds of mystery affected all kinds of imaginative productions. Even the human form was represented with a more pensive beauty: its hopes seemed to come from afar; its looks were of angels; its smiles were brought up from joys in the depths of the soul. The mind became accustomed to grasp a larger space, and the painter strove to represent vastness and distance. At the same time the Muses, the Nymphs,

Comparison of ancient and modern painting.

the River-gods, the Cupids—all the personifications of qualities, powers, and the works of the material creation, faded—and Nature in her own free loveliness burst freshly in upon him. The romantic manners, too, and the gloomy superstitions of the middle ages, gave new subjects for the pencil, which were happily adapted to display the effects of the new, deep, and solemn emotions with which the spirit had been awakened from its holiday dreamings. Hence the introduction of perspective, the cultivation of landscape painting, and the mingling together of divine expression with human sweetness in the Madonnas and the Holy Children. Hence the heavenly sweetness of Raphael, the delicious expansion of Claude, and the wild passion and terrible sublimity of Salvator Rosa. It was as impossible, from the texture of the public mind, that the Greek painters should have portrayed the sentiments and the feelings expressed by the Italian masters, as, from the infancy of mechanical discoveries, that they should have forestalled them in variety of colouring. In perfection of outline, purity of style, and grandeur of form, the Ancients were, perhaps, beyond imitation; but they must necessarily have been defective in variety, thought, sentiment; and destitute of the mingled charms of those divine figures in which the Italian masters have appeared to blend the eternal with the earthly—in which the expression has been lighted up from brighter worlds, and the colours have seemed fresh from a brush dipped in the dews of heaven, and directed by the finger of an angel.



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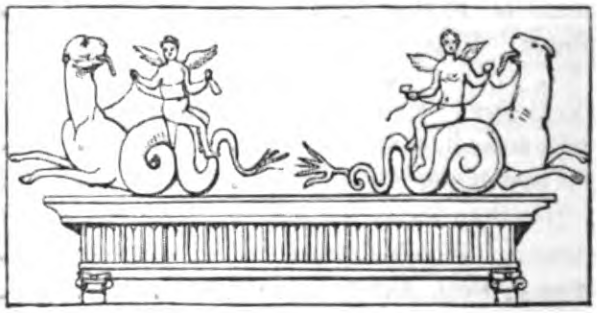
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GREEK CHRONOLOGY.

ON THE EARLY INHABITANTS OF GREECE.

' is admitted by all the Grecian writers that the original inhabitants of Greece were mere ages feeding on acorns, living in caves, and clothing themselves with the skins of beasts. what race or descent these were, it is impossible now to discover."—*Sir John Stoddart.*

'his generally-received opinion is, however, disputed by Mr. Fynes Clinton, who contends t the four immigrations under *Cecrops* (1556), *Cadmus* (1550), *Danaus* (1485), and *Pelops* 83), are "not such as to deserve to be accounted the introduction of a new race of people, h as is produced by force of arms or by large bodies of invaders overwhelming the ient inhabitants." Mr. Clinton adds, "These establishments were made within three turies of the Trojan war, when the country was already in the possession of powerful es, which subsisted after these establishments, and increased so far as to supersede them. these four settlements are examples of a smaller received into a larger number."

The early inhabitants of this classic land cannot be distinguished so much according to ir respective localities, as according to their several tribes, for we find that most, if not of them, migrated, as circumstances required, from one district to another; their general nation may, however, be thus defined:—

The PELASGI principally occupied the Peloponnesus, from which they extended themves into Thessaly, &c. These people were the most powerful of all the tribes; they were nd in all parts of Greece, hence the whole country at one time was called Pelasgia.

The *Leleges* were established in Laconia, in the eastern part of the Peloponnesus, called m them Lelegia, and in Megara.

The *Caucones* dwelt in the western part of the Peloponnesus.

The *Dryopes* had their principal settlement in Mount Œta, from which they extended mselves across the country westward to Ambracia.

The *Aones*, *Hyantes*, and *Temnices* inhabited Bœotia and part of Eubœa. Subsequently y were found in the west of the Peloponnesus.

The *Carians* occupied the islands of the Ægæan Sea. These people were supposed to be leges.

"The early history of the Greeks, as well as the early history of most nations, emanated m tradition, and supplied their bards with subjects of song for several centuries. But it es not follow from hence that early Grecian history was an invention because it was etical. The subjects of history, as presented by tradition and sung by the bards, were only erwoven with fictions; and so modelled as to gratify the national pride, and to adorn the pular religion. It is at the same time true that little credit is to be given to the *details* of ecian history before the era of the Olympiads."—*History of Greek Literature.*

For the better illustration of Grecian affairs, we have added chronological tables of ASIA NOR and of the PERSIAN EMPIRE, down to the same period as that to which our Greek ronology extends, namely, B.C. 404.

'As the fabulous, mythical, and uncertain periods of Greek chronology have occasioned ich discussion among eminent historians and chronographers, and as it would be a hopeis task to attempt a reconciliation of their differences, we have deemed it fair to those inent authorities to give insertion to their respective and opposing dates, leaving it to the igment of the reader to adopt those which best accord with his own views and feelings.]

GREEK CHRONOLOGY.

B.C.

2089 Sicyon founded by Ægialeus. (Lenglet, 1773; others, 1856.)
2042 Arrival of Uranus in Greece.
1856 Argos founded by Inachus.—Euseb. (Phoroneus founded it in 1753, according to others.)
From the time of Inachus to the invasion of Danaus nine (or ten) kings reigned at Argos; they were called Inachidæ, from the name of the founder of the kingdom; but the name of the kingdom itself was not given till the reign of Argus, the fourth of the Inachidæ, in the year B.C. 1711.
? Revolt of the Titans under Atlas.
? War of the giants.
1807 Phoroneus succeeds Inachus.
He introduces a fixed code of laws.
His reign is prolonged to 60 years.
1796 Ogyges, king of Bœotia.
1773 Phoroneus introduces the practice of offering sacrifices to the gods.
1760 Deluge in Attica, in the time of Ogyges (1796 Africanus; 1764 Blair; 1749 Oxford tables).
1747 Apis, the third of the Inachidæ, reigns 35 years (? 1707 according to some).
1711 Argus, son of Niobe, the fourth of the Inachidæ, founds Argos.
1710 Œnotrus leads a colony of Arcadians into Italy.
1700 The Cyclopian walls are built.
1684 Pelasgus I. succeeds his brother Argus.
1652 Criasus, son of Argus, succeeds Pelasgus I. (another date 1641).
1617 Phorbas, of Argos, succeeds Criasus.
1582 Chronology of the Arundelian marbles begins with this date.
1558 Deucalion leads the Hellenes into Phocis, &c. (1433 Blair).
1556 Cecrops, from Sais, in Egypt, comes into Attica, where he founds a kgdm.
He abolishes the practice of offering bloody sacrifices to Zeus.
? Cranaus, the second king in Attica.
1552 A flood compels the Hellenes to retire into Thessaly; see 1558. (? 1503.)
The Hellenes expel the Pelasgi, who emigrate into Italy. (? 1493 or 1313.)
Triopas succeeds Phorbas at Argos.
Polycaon seizes part of the kdom., which he calls after his wife, *Messenia*.
1550 Cadmus, from Phœnicia, comes into Greece; he founds Thebes, in Cadmeis, afterwards Bœotia (1124).
Phœnician letters introd. by Cadmus.
Corn and olives cultivated in Attica.
1534 Dancing to the measure of time invented by the Curetes.
1521 Amphictyon, the third king of Attica.

B. C.

1521 Pelasgus, king of the Arcadians, teach them to adopt acorns instead of her for food; his grateful people rewa him with divine honours.
1520 Ephyra, or Corinth, founded.
1516 Lelex fnds. the Laconian kgdm. (? 149 From him the Leleges were named.
1514 The Lupercalia instituted by Lyca Nyctemus, king of Arcadia.
? Arcas succeeds Nyctemus in Arcadia He gives his name to the country; troduces agriculture, and teaches art of spinning wool. For these i provements he and his mother made a constellation.
? Aleus, king of Arcadia, celebrated a builder of temples.
1506 Institution of the Areopagus.
Crotopus succeeds Triopas at Argos.
1504 Flood of Deucalion.—Euseb. (? 13 and 1529; other dates are also given
1503 Deucalion comes into Attica.
1500 Danaus, an Egyptian, comes into Arg
1498 The Amphictyonic Council establish at Thermopylæ by Amphictyon.
He interprets dreams & observes omen
1495 Institution of the Panathenæan game
1494 Erichthonius the fourth king of Athe He teaches his subjects the art of husbandry, and introduces the Eleusinia mysteries. (See 1356.)
1493 Cadmus founds Thebes—see 1550.
Sthenelus reigns at Argos.
? Pandion the fifth king of Attica.
1490 Lelex first king of Laconia. (? 1516.)
Lacedæmon marries Sparta.
The city of Sparta founded.
? Crockeryware introduced from Egyp
1486 Cars, chariots, and harness, invented by Erichthonius of Athens.
1485 Gelanor, last of the Inachidæ, at Arg Danaus comes into Greece, navigating the first ship ever seen there.
He introduces water pumps, &c.
1475 Danaus deposes Gelanor and succeed him as king of Argos (1460 Blair)
Forty-nine of his daughters destro their husbands on the night of the nuptials, according to his command; Hypermnestra alone refuses to obey —she spares her husband Lynceus
1459 Reign of Hellen—the mythical ancest of all the Greeks (Hellenes).
Polydore reigns at Thebes.
1457 Perseus, from Argos, reigns at Mycen
1453 Institution of the Olympic games Elis by the Idæi Dactyli.—Euseb.
1438 Pandion reigns in Attica.
1433 Deucalion's flood.—Bl.; Clint. (? 1503.)
1430 Labdacus rules at Thebes.
1426 Musæus fl.—Arund. marb. (? 1180.)

425 Lynceus, the son-in-law of Danaus, dethrones him and reigns in his stead.
Institution of the festival of the Flambeau, in honour of Hypermnestra, wife of Lynceus. See 1475.
415 Melampus introduces the Dionysia.
410 The king of Sicyon rebuilds Corinth.
406 Iron discovered by the Idæi Dactyli.
397 Orpheus institutes the Panathenean and Chalcean festivals (? 1495 and 1234).
Sisyphus establishes the kingdom of Corinth (? 1520 or 1410).
390 Crockeryware in general use.
388 Thebes besieged and taken by Amphion and Zethus; Lycus, the regent, and his wife, Dirce, murdered.
? Tyndareus and Leda married; Helen born (probably later ? 1248).
385 Rape of Ganymede.
384 Abas succeeds Lynceus at Argos.
Corinth rebuilt. See 1397, &c.
383 Erechtheus, sixth king of Attica.
Worship of Athene established in Attica by Erechtheus.
Ceres comes into Greece and teaches the method of making bread.
370 Prœtus and Acrisius, sons of Abas, of Argos, invent bucklers.
They quarrel respecting the government of the kingdom (? 1344).
361 Prœtus restored to Tirynth by the aid of Jobates, king of Lycia.
Bellerophon comes to Argos.
376 Sisyphus seizes Ephyra (Corinth), which he exalts into a kingdom (?1397 or1326).
Institution of the Isthmian games.
356 Eumolpus, the first hierophant, introduces the Eleusinian mysteries (? 1494).
Cecrops II., seventh king of Athens.
347 Erechtheus slain in battle with the Eleusinians.
344 Acrisius rebels against his twin-brother Prœtus (? 1370).
? Pandion II., eighth king of Athens.
333 Aphidas, Azan, Elatus, Arcadian chiefs.
326 Sisyphus seizes Ephyra (?1397 and 1376).
The Isthmian and Pythian games instituted (? 1376, 1263).
320 Institution of the Lycæan games.
313 Perseus of Argos founds Mycene (? 1457).
Letters introduced by Cadmus.—Herod., Soph. (? 1550).
302 Electryon succeeds Perseus at Mycene.
300 Birth of Heracles (? 1261).
296 Sthenelus succeeds his brother Electryon at Mycene.
293 Greek colonies settle on the eastern and southern shores of Sicily.
289 Eurysthenes, king of Mycene.
Heracles undertakes daring enterprises at the command of Eurysthenes.
? Banishment of Heracles and his sons.
283 Ægeus invades Attica and seizes upon the throne—the ninth king.

1283 Pelops comes from Lydia into Greece, and gives his name to the southern part of it (? 1313).
1280 Linus, the poet, flourishes.
1276 Laius slain by his son Œdipus.
1266 Atreus and Agamemnon kings of Argos.
Tyndareus, king of Sparta (1388).
Œdipus resolves the enigmas of the Sphinx; is made king of Thebes, marries his mother, &c.
1264 Murder of Phryxus by the k. of Colchis.
1263 Argonautic expedition under Jason, &c. —the first naval expedition on record.
Institution of the Pythian games by Adrastus (? 1326).
Temple of Apollo at Delphi, built by the Amphictyons.
1261 Heracles born at Thebes (? 1300).
1260 Orpheus fl. (some place him later).
1257 Theseus unites the cities of Attica under one government (? 1235).
1250 Eurydice, the wife of Orpheus, redeemed from Hades by the music of his lyre.
The poet Musæus fl. (? later).
1248 Birth of Helen.
1241 War between Heracles and Erginus.
Death of Amphytrion.
1240 Theseus and the Minotaur.
Dædalus of Athens invents several mechanical instruments.
? War of Heracles in Laconia.
1235 Ægeus throws himself into the sea—hence called the Ægean sea.
Theseus, his son, tenth king in Attica.
He gathers his people into one city, which he names *Athens* (? 1257).
The Heraclidæ received at Athens.
1234 Theseus ordains observance of the Panathenæa and Chalcæa every fifth year.
1231 Theseus defeats the Amazons.
1228 Theseus carries off Helen (? 1203).
1227 Olympic games of Heracles at Pelops.
1225 *First Theban war:* the seven captains; women of Thebes (? 1230 or 1213).
Trojan expedition under Heracles.
1224 Dice invented by Palamedes.
1222 Heracles celebrates the Olympic games.
1216 *The second Theban war:* the women of Epigoni; Thebes taken.
Castor and Pollux rescue Helen.
She is married to Menelaus (? 1201).
1215 Wars of Heracles with the Driopes.
1214 Abduction of Helen by Paris (? 1198).
Reign of Thersander in Thebes.
? War in Elis betw. Heracles and Augeas.
? Heracles slays the Molionidæ.
1213 Œdipus and his sons (see 1266).
1212 Murder of Iphitus by Heracles.
Heracles flees to Œneus, k. of Ætolia.
? He comes to Ceyx, king of Trachis.
? Expels the Driopes from northern Greece (see 1215).
? Cycnus slain by Heracles.
? War with Eurytes, king of Œchalia.

1209 Death of Heracles on Mount Œta.
? Expulsion of the Heraclidæ from Tirynthus by Eurystheus, king of Mycene.
? The Heraclidæ settle at Tricorythus.
1207 Eurystheus is slain by Hyllus.
Atreus succeeds him (see 1266).
First Theban war (? 1225).
1205 Menestheus succeeds Theseus at Athens.
1203 The Heraclidæ attempt to gain the Isthmus (see 1180).
Hyllus killed by Echemus, king of Tegea, in single combat.
Abduction of Helen by Theseus (? 1228).
1201 Atreus assassinated by Ægisthus.
? Helen is recovered from Theseus and married to Menelaus of Mycene.
1200 Agamemnon reigns at Mycene; he also becomes king of Sicyon and Corinth.
1198 Paris carries off Helen (? 1214).
Second Theban war (? 1216).
1192 or 1193 *The Trojan war.*
Agamemnon generalissimo of the army; Agapenor heads the Arcadians, &c.
Criminal intercourse of Ægisthus with Clytemnestra, queen of Agamemnon.
1183 End of the Trojan war.
Voyage of Menelaus and Helen commences (see 1176).
Agamemnon murdered by Clytemnestra and Ægisthus.
Ægisthus succeeds Agamemnon.
1182 Demophoon succeeds Menestheus at Athens.
1180 The Heraclidæ, under Hyllus, endeavour to gain the Peloponnesus (? 1203).
Musæus, son of Orpheus, fl. (? 1426).
1179 Court of Ephetes established.
1176 Ægisthus and Clytemnestra killed by Orestes, son of Agamemnon.
Orestes succeeds to the kingdom of Argos.
Menelaus and Helen arrive at Sparta.
1174 Ephitus reigns in Arcadia.
Helen banished from the Peloponnesus.
1170 Neoptolemus, or Pyrrhus, cast on the shore of Ephyra (Corinth).
1169 Orestes comes to Trœzene to be purified from the blood of his mother.
1154 Second exped. of the Heraclidæ to gain the Peloponnesus, led by Cleodæus.
1149 Oxynthes reigns at Athens.
1137 Apidas succeeds Oxynthes at Athens.
1136 Assassination of Aphidas.
? Melanthus, the Pylian, defeats Xuthus in single combat.
1128 Deposition of Thymætes, the last Theseid; Melanthus chosen king.
1124 Aristomachus heads the third expedition of the Heraclidæ into the Peloponnesus.
Thessaly occupied by the Thessali; they expel the Bœoti.
The Bœoti come into Cadmeis and give their name to the country.

1124 Migration of the Æolians.
1106 Death of Orestes from the bite of a serpent.
1104 Expulsion of the Achæans.
Return of the Heraclidæ under Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, grandsons of Hyllus.
They divide their conquests:—Temenus has *Argos*; Melanthus, *Athens*; Aristodemus, *Sparta*; Hippothus, *Corinth*.
? The Ætolians, under Oxylus, take Elis.
The Doric order of architecture.
1102 The women of Arcadia repel the Lacedæmonian invaders.
1100 The *Biarchy* at Sparta commenced. Eurysthenes and Procles reign over jointly.
The Nelidæ, expelled from Messenia, come to Athens, under Alcmæon and Melanthus, the founders of the two branches of the family Alcmæonidæ.
Migration of the Æolians into Asia Minor.
1091 Codrus succeeds Melanthus at Athens.
1088 Clisthenes, king of Sicyon; in whose reign the kingdom is overthrown.
1077 Naval supremacy of the Pelasgi.
1074 Aletes, a descendant of Heracles, expels the Sisyphidæ, and rules at Corinth.
? Migration of Theras.
1069 Self-sacrifice of Codrus (? 1045).
1058 Agis and sons, kings of Sparta.
? Expulsion of the Ionians by the Achæans.
The Ionians take refuge in Corinth.
1045 The Dorians overrun Attica.
Codrus, the last king of Athens, offers himself a voluntary sacrifice to save his country (? 1069).
1044 Emigration of Ionian colonists into Asia Minor under Neleus.
1040 The Amphictyonic Council remodelled or revived (? 1000).
1034 Ixion succeeds Aletes at Corinth.
1033 Cyme founded.
1025 Acastus succeeds Medon, perpetual archon at Athens.
1024 Echastratus and Eurypion, kgs. of Sparta.
1000 Amphictyonic Council (? 1498, 1091).
996 Agelas, king of Corinth, succeeds Ixion.
993 Decline of the naval power of the Pelasgi.
992 Thracian supremacy of the sea.
989 Labotas and Prytanis, kings of Sparta.
Archippus, perpetual archon at Athens.
970 Thersippus, perpetual archon at Athens.
952 Doryssus and Eunomus, kings of Sparta.
947 Phorbas, perpetual archon at Athens.
944 Hesiod fl.—Parian Chron. (? 937).
937 Breast-plates invented by Jason.
Hesiod fl.—Arund. marb. (? 907).
935 Reign of Bacchis at Corinth (? 926).
926 Birth of Lycurgus, son of Eunomus.
Bacchis, a descendant of Aletes (1074), king of Corinth (? 935).

926 His descendants were called Bacchiadæ.
923 Agesilaus and Polydectes, kgs. of Sparta.
916 Megacles, perpetual archon at Athens.
914 Decline of the naval power of Thrace.
? The Ætolian League.
907 Hesiod of Ascra, in Bœotia, flourished. This date is generally deemed correct.
889 Agelas rules at Corinth (? 996).
888 Diognetus, perpetual archon at Athens.
886 Homer's poems brought into Greece by Lycurgus from Asia Minor.
884 Lycurgus establishes the senate and gives laws to the Spartans.—Eratosthenes (? 852, see 817).
Revival of the Olympic games at Elis.
879 Archelaus succeeds Agesilaus in Sparta.
873 Archelaus and Charilaus, kgs. of Sparta. Lycurgus regent for Charilaus.
869 Phidon, king of Argos, coins silver money and introduces scales and measures.
Civil commotions at Sparta, arising from the unequal distribution of property.
860 Pherecles, perpetual Archon at Athens.
859 Eudemus rules at Corinth.
852 Lycurgus's legislation (? 884, see 817).
850 Hesiod flourished.—Bernhardy (? 944).
848 War declared against Polymnestor of Arcadia by Charilaus of Sparta.
841 Ariphron, perpetual archon at Athens.
834 Aristodemus rules at Corinth.
828 Iphitus and Lycurgus revive the Olympian games at Elis (? 884).
821 Thespieus, perpetual archon at Athens.
819 Teleclus succeeds Archelaus in Sparta.
817 Lycurgus delivers his code of laws to the Spartans (? 884 and 852).
The government a mixed monarchy; two kings; a senate of sixty aged men; five Ephori; iron money. The Spartans formed the aristocratic caste, the Laconians were the subject and tax-paying caste. The land divided among 39,000 families; but its cultivation confined to the Helots and forbidden the free citizens, as also handicraft, trading, and manual employments in general. The land could not be sold but might be bequeathed. Public tables; no theatres.
814 Caranus founds the kingdom of Macedon.
813 Alcamenes of Sparta at war with the Messenians.
809 Teleclus and Nicander, kings of Sparta.
799 Agemon, king of Corinth.
794 Agamestor, perpetual archon at Athens.
786 The Corinthians build vessels having three benches of oars (triremes).
This date is generally considered too early, see 703.—Blair, 707.
783 Unsuccessful attempt of Phidon, *tyrant* of Argos, to take Corinth.
783 Silver coined at Ægina by Phidon, king of Argos (? 869).
783 Alexander reigns at Corinth.
779 Alcamenes succeeds Teleclus at Sparta.
778 Æschylus archon of Athens.
776 Victory of Corœbus in the δρόμος, or foot-race of one stadium, at the Olympic games (see 884 and 828).
Commencement of the Chronological *Era of the Olympiads.*
775 Cinæthon, the poet, fl. about this time.
774 Pandosia and Metapontus in Italy fndd.
770 Theopompus succeeds Nicander at Sparta.
765 The poet Eumelus of Corinth flourished.
760 Olymp. 5; Æschines, victor.
Institution of the Spartan Ephori by Theopompus (see 817).
758 Thelestes succeeds Alexander in Corinth.
754 Alcmæon, the last of the perpetual Archons at Athens.
753 A colony from Chalcis founds Catania, near Mount Ætna, in Sicily.
752 Olymp. 7; Daicles, victor—the first who received the Olympic crown.
Charops, the first *decennial archon* at Athens (see 754).
750 The Milesians masters of the sea.
748 Olympiad 8; Auticles, victor.
Phidon, of Argos, celebrates the games.
747 Deposition and murder of Thelestes, king of Corinth.
Automenes succeeds Thelestes.
745 The Corinthian oligarchy of the Bacchiadæ, at the head of which is a *Prytanis*, with supreme power, annually elected.
Automenes elected the first Prytanis.
744 Eumulus fl.—Euseb. (? 760).
The silver and copper coinage and the new weights and measures of Phidon, of Argos, current in the Peloponnesus.
743 *The First Messenian War*—between the Spartans and Messenians.
742 Polydorus succeeds Alcamenes at Sparta.
Esimides, 2nd decen. archon at Athens.
735 Battle between 300 Argives and 300 Spartans; only two Argives and one Spartan are left.
Colony of Ionians under Theucles sent to Naxos in Sicily.
734 Archias leads a colony from Corinth to Sicily; they found Syracuse.
Actæon put to death in Sicily.
733 The Partheniæ, or sons of the virgins, of Sparta.
732 Clidias, third decennl. archon at Athens.
730 Battle of Ithome; Emphaes, king of the Messenians, killed.
Aristodemus chosen to succeed him.
Catania planted by Euarchus (? 753).
729 Perdiccas, king of Macedon.
728 Olymp. 13; Diocles, victor.
Philolaus, of Corinth, who now flourishes, gives laws to the Thebans.

724 Olymp. 14; Dasmon, victor.
The δίαυλος, or foot-race of two stadia, added to the games.
The Spartans defeated by the Messenians.
723 Colony sent to Megara Hyblæa.
Capture of Ithome by the Spartans; Aristodemus kills himself; a heavy tribute levied upon the Messenians.
End of the First Messenian War.
722 Hippomenes, 4th decen. archon at Athens.
720 Olymp. 15; Orsippus, victor.
The δόλιχος—a longer foot-race than the διαύλος—added to the games.
718 Zeuxidamus succeeds Theopompus, king of Sparta.
716 Olymp. 16; Pythagoras, victor.
The Messenians found Mylæ in the Chersonesus.
Gela, in Sicily, founded.
715 Aristocrates I., of Arcadia, violates the priestess of Diana, for which he is put to death.
Byzantium fnded. by Athenians (? 658).
714 Hippomenes, of Athens, execrable for his cruelty, exposes his own daughter to be devoured by horses.
713 Deposition of Hippomenes of Athens.
712 Leocrates, fifth decen. archon at Athens.
710 Myscellus plants Crotona.
709 Eurycrates succeeds Polydorus in Sparta.
708 Olymp. 18; Tellis, victor.
The πάλη, or wrestling, and the πένταθλον, or leaping, throwing the discus, &c., added to the games.
707 Conspiracy of the Partheniæ and the Helots of Sparta frustrated.
Thasos, Corcyra, and Parion founded.
706 Archilocus the poet, inventor of iambics, flourishes at Thasos.
The Athenian navy commanded by Aminocles of Corinth.
703 The Trimeres built at Corinth (? 786).
Corcyra built by the Corinthians (? 707).
702 Apsander, sixth decen. archon at Athens.
700 Flourishing sea-trade of Corinth.
693 Simonides of Amorgus fl.—Bernhardy.
692 Erixias 7th decen. archon at Athens.
690 Gela, in Sicily, fd.—according to some.
688 Olymp. 23. Icarius, victor.
Onomastus adds the πυγμή (πυγμή), or boxing, to the games.
686 Anaxidamus succeeds Zeuxidamus king of Sparta.
685 *The Second Messenian War* (? 679).
The Messenians unite with Argos, Arcadia, and Elis, against Sparta.
684 Olymp. 24; Cleoptolemus, victor.
Death of Erixias the last of the decennial archons at Athens.
683 Creon the first *annual archon* at Athens.
Tyrtæus, the Athenian poet, flourishes at Sparta.
681 Lysias archon at Athens.
681 Aristocrates II. of Arcadia stoned to death for treason against his country.
The *Republic* of Arcadia.
680 Olymp. 25; Thalpis, victor.
Paoron adds the ἵππων, &c., or chariot race, to the games.
679 Second Messenian war (? 685, Pausanias).
Battle of the trenches; the Messenians defeated.—Pausanias.
676 Anaxander succeeds Eurycrates in the government of Sparta.
Terpander begins to flourish.
675 The Carnian festivals of Sparta.
Emigration of the Messenians to Zancle and Sicily (? 668).
674 Polymnastus flourishes from this time.
672 The Lesbians rulers of the sea.
Pantaleon, king of Pisa, in Elis, joins the Messenian war.
? The Pisatæ transfer their alliance from the Eleans to the Messenians.
671 Leostratus, archon at Athens.
Alcman, lyric poet, flourishes at Sparta.
670 Ira captured.
669 Peisistratus archon at Athens.
Battle of Hysiæ; the Lacedæmonians defeated by the Argives.
668 Olymp. 28; Charmus, victor.
Antisthenes, archon at Athens.
End of the second Messenian war; according to Pausanias.
Emigration of the Messenians to Sicily; where they plant Messene (? 675).
665 Celebration of Gymnopædia at Sparta.
Archilochus and Simonides flourish.
664 Acræ, in Sicily, founded.
662 Selymbria, in Thrace, founded.
Aristoxenus, the poet, flourishes.
660 Olymp. 30; Chionis II., victor.
Zaleucus, the Locrian legislator, fl.
659 Miltiades II. archon at Athens.
The Lacedæmonians take Phigalia.
658 Byzantium colonized by Megarians.
655 Expulsion of the Bacchiadæ from Corinth by Cypselus; the office of Prytanis abolished.
Cypselus the first king at Corinth.
654 Acanthus and Stagira in Macedonia fd.
652 The Clazomenians plant Abdera.
648 Olymp. 33; Gylis, victor.
The παγκράτιον, or heavy athletic sports, and the κέλης, or horse race, added to the games.
Chariot race won by Myron of Sicyon.
Archidamus succeeds Anaxidamus, king of Sparta.
Himera, in Sicily, founded by Theron.
646 Terpander introduces his improvements in Spartan music.
644 Olymp. 34; Stomus, victor.
Panteleon, of Pisa, celebrates the games.
Dropilus, archon of Athens.
Casmenæ, in Sicily, founded.

640 Olymp. 35; Sphæron, victor.
Cylon wins in the δίαυλος.
Philip I. king of Macedon.
639 Damasias archon of Athens.
Battus' first colony to Cyrene.
637 Euricratides successor to Anaxander, king of Sparta.
Battus' second colony.
633 The Milesian colonies of Istrus & Tonii.
632 Olymp. 37; Euryclidus, victor.
The πάλη παίσιν and δρόμος, foot race and wrestling for boys, added to the games.
Birth of Stesichorus in Sicily.
631 Battus plants Cyrene (? 639 and 637).
629 Periander rules in Corinth (Blair, 625).
He encourages literature and the arts.
628 The Milesians establish themselves in Egypt.
The Megarians col. Byzantium (? 658).
627 Lipara, in Sicily, colonized (? 579).
626 Proclus, tyrant of Epidaurus.
625 Arion, lyric poet and inventor of the Cyclian chorus, flourishes.
Epidamnus, in Illyria, founded.
624 Procles, tyrant of Epidaurus.
623 *The Milesian wars* begin.
621 Laws of Draco, the Athenian archon, "written in blood" (? 623).
Their severity renders them inoperative.
620 Cylon's rebellion at Athens; suppressed by the aristocrats.
Sacrilege of the archon—Megacles.
Cylon, and his adherents, treacherously put to death (? 612).
612 Stesichorus, the poet, flourishes.
611 Periander, tyrant of Ambracia.
610 Anaximander born.
Escape of the poet Arion from pirates.
608 Panætius, tyrant of Leontium.
War in Bœotia between the Athenians and Mityleneans.
The poet Alcæus engages in the war.
606 Single combat of Pittacus and Phrynon.
Mediation of Periander, king of Corinth, between Athens and Mytilene.
Chersias, of Orchomenus, flourishes.
602 Æropus, of Macedon, conquers Illyria.
600 Pherecydes, the philosopher, born.
Arithmetic brought into Greece from Egypt by Thales about this time.
Flourishing period of the Doric and Ionic orders of architecture.
599 Camarina, in Sicily, colonized.
596 Epimenides visits Athens.
Agesicles successor of Archidamus king of Sparta.
595 The *Sacred* (Cirrhæan) *war* commences.
Chilon, the philosopher, flourishes.
Philombrotus, Athenian archon.
Expulsion of the Alcmæonidæ from Athens; they retire to Phocis.
Sappho, Alcæus, Damophilus and Erinna, poets, flourish.

594 Solon, the Athenian archon, legislates.
The peculiar features of his form of government are as follow:—
Citizens are divided into four classes, one of which is excluded from all state offices; state offices without salaries; an Archon, Basileus, Polemarch, and six Thesmothetes, aided by a senate of 400 annually elected, form the governing body. The power of the court of the Areopagus increased. Trade permitted; home manufactories of earthen & metal wares encouraged.
593 Leon succeeds Eurycratides in Sparta.
Dropides archon at Athens.
592 Anacharsis arrives at Athens.
Eucrates, Athenian archon.
591 The Amphictyons, under Eurolychus, capture Cirrha.
Pythian games at Delphi; the first.
Simonides, Athenian archon.
588 Damophon, son of Pantaleon, k. of Pisa.
587 The seven wise men of Greece:—*Solon*, Athens; *Periander*, Corinth; *Pittacus*, Mitylene; *Chilon*, Sparta; *Thales*, Miletus; *Cleobolus* and *Bias*.
586 The Cirrhæans conquered, and end of the sacred war (see 595).
Celebration of the Isthmian and Pythian games; Sacadas, of Argos, obtains the musical prize, and Echembrotus, Arcadian flute-player, also obtains a prize.
From this year these games are computed.
Damasias I. archon at Athens.
585 Lycophron, son of Periander, slain.
Death of Periander, king of Corinth.
Psammetichus succeeds.
582 The second Pythian games; Clisthenes of Sicyon, victor; Sacadas again takes the musical prize.
Agrigentum, in Sicily, founded.
581 End of the Cypselian dynasty at Corinth: a *republic* established.
580 Olymp. 50; victor, Epitelidas.
Two Hellanodicæ from this time.
578 Sacadas obtains the musical prize at the third Pythia.
577 Archestratides, Athenian archon.
576 Alcetas, king of Macedon.
574 Pythocritus, of Sicyon, victor at the fourth Pythian games.
572 Æsop, the fabulist, fl.—Bernhardy.
The Pisæans conqrd. by the Eliseans.
571 Birth of Pythagoras.
570 Aristomenes archon of Athens.
Phalaris, of Agrigentum, in Sicily.
568 Olymp. 53; victor, Agnon.
Mycenæ overthrown by the Argives.
A school of statuary opened at Athens by Depænus and Scylla.
566 Celebration of the Panathenæan games at Athens.

566 Restoration of the Nemæan games.
They are continued in the first and third years of every Olympiad.
562 Susarion and Dolon perform the *first comedy* at Athens.
Endœus, Athenian statuary, flourishes.
560 Peisistratus, *tyrant* of Athens, usurps the government.
Comias archon at Athens.
Anaxandrides and Ariston succeed Leon and Agesicles, kings of Sparta.
Hegestratus archon at Athens.
Death of Solon, the lawgiver.
556 Olymp. 56; victor, Phædrus.
The "Chorus" introduced by Tisias, surnamed Stesichorus.
Euthydemus archon at Athens.
Chilon, the philosopher, one of the Spartan Ephori.
554 Peisistratus, the tyrant, expelled Athens.
553 Camarina, in Sicily, destroyed.
Death of the poet Stesichorus.
550 Olymp. 57; victor, Ladronius.
The musical canon of Pythagoras.
549 Phalaris, of Agrigentum, dies.
Olymp. 58; victor, Diognetus.
Erxiclides archon at Athens.
548 Second *tyranny* of Peisistratus at Athens.
The temple of Apollo at Delphi burnt by the Peisistratidæ.
Anaximenes and Anaximander, historians, flourish.
547 Peisistratus banished a second time.
Contract of the Amphictyonic Council with the Alcmæonidæ for the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi.
544 Pherecydes, of Syros, philosopher, fl.
542 Theognis, of Megara, poet, flourishes.
540 Simonides, of Amorgus, flourishes.
Amyntas I. king of Macedon.
Corinthian order of architecture invented by Callimachus.
Ibicus, of Rhegium, in Sicily, fl.
539 Pythagoras, the philosopher, flourishes.
537 Third *tyranny* of Peisistratus at Athens.
536 The olive and vine trees carried from Attica into France by the Greek colonists who settle at Marseilles.
535 Thespis, of Sicily, "the father of Comedy," introduces tragedy & comedy into Athens; he performed on his waggon.
533 Thericles archon at Athens.
528 Olymp. 63; victor, Parmenides.
Zamolxis first king of Thrace.
Before this period little was known of this country.
Birth of Æschylus at Eleusis,—according to Talfourd (? 525).
527 Death of Peisistratus, tyrant of Athens.
Hippias and Hipparchus, sons of Peisistratus, succeed to the government.
526 Public library at Athens established by Hippias and Hipparchus.
526 Homer's poems collected.
525 The Spartans and Samians at war.
Simonides and Anacreon at Athens.
Birth of Æschylus.—F. Clinton (? 528)
524 Miltiades archon at Athens.
523 Tragedy introduced by Chœrilus.
522 Greek colonies in Thracian Chersonese. Sestos, Candia, Ægospotamos, founded.
520 Cleomenes II. succeeds Anaxandrides king of Sparta.
Melanippus, the poet, flourishes.
519 Athens takes Platæa under its protection.
The poets Parmenides and Cratinus born.
518 Pindar born at Thebes.—Clint. (? 520).
515 Miltiades succeeds Stesagoras, his brother, in the Chersonese.
Thrace tributary to Persia.
514 Hipparchus assassinated by Harmodius and Aristogiton at the Panathenæa.
Hippias governs at Athens alone.
513 Naval supremacy of the Lacedæmonians.
511 Phrynichus, the tragedian, successful.
510 Amyntas, of Macedon, submits to Persia.
Expulsion of Hippias from Athens by the Alcmæonidæ, aided by Cleomenes, king of Sparta.
Law of ostracism, by which powerful citizens might be banished for ten years.
The ten tribes at Athens instituted.
Athens a democracy.
Telesilla, poetess of Argos, flourishes.
509 Statues of the revolutionary leaders Harmodius and Aristogiton, erected.
508 Olymp. 68; victor, Ischomachus.
The χορὸς ἀνδρῶν instituted.
Isagoras archon at Athens.
Ægina commands the sea.
506 The tyranny of the Peisistratidæ ends at Athens.
505 War between Athens and Sparta.
The aid of the Persians against Cleomenes solicited by the Athenians.
Cleander rules at Gela, in Sicily.
504 Acestorides archon at Athens.
Miltiades takes the isle of Lemnos.
Parmenides, the philosopher of Elea, fl.
The Athenians succour the Ionians.
503 Laius, of Hermione, lyric poet, fl.
502 Pindar, the lyric poet, fl. (F. C. 495.)
The Eretrians masters of the sea.
500 Myrus archon of Athens.
Birth of Anaxagoras, the sculptor.
Epicharmus, the comedian, flourishes.
499 Æschylus, the poet, flourishes; his first appearance this year.
498 Camarina ceded to Hippocrates.
497 *The first Persian war against Greece.*
Alexander I. of Macedon, is compelled to join Persia against Greece.
Commercial relations established between Greece and Carthage.
Aristagoras slain in Thrace.
Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela.

496 Olymp. 71; victor, Tisicrates.
Thrace and Macedonia conquered.
Pindar flourishes.—Clinton.
495 Birth of Sophocles.—Clinton.
494 Pythocritus archon at Athens.
The Athenians and the confederates defeated by the Persians at Lade.
493 Miltiades leaves the Chersonese and comes to Athens (515).
492 Olymp. 72; victor, Tisicrates.
Diognetus archon at Athens.
Macedonia united to Persia.
The fleet of Mardonius lost at Athos.
491 Phœnippus archon at Athens.
The demands of Persia for earth and water rejected by Athens and Sparta.
War between Athens and Ægina.
Deposition of Demaratus, king of Sparta; Leotychides succeeds.
Demaratus escapes to Persia.
490 Second Persian invasion, under Datis & Artaphernes; they take the Ægean Islands; also Eretria in Eubœa.
Under the guidance of Hippias, the Persians land in Attica.
Battle of Marathon; the Persians defeated by Miltiades.
489 Athens mistress of the sea.
488 Miltiades fined for his failure in Naxos; not being able to pay, he is impris.
487 Chiones, the Athenian comic poet, exhibits for the first time.
485 The Gameroi expelled Syracuse.
Gelon becomes master of Syracuse, and restores the Gameroi.
484 Olymp. 74; victor, Astyllus.
Æschylus obtains the prize in tragedy.
Birth of Achæus, tragic poet.
Athens again at war with Ægina.
For the creation of a navy, and other expenses of the war, the produce of the Laurium mines is appropriated.
483 Ostracism of Aristides.
Epicharmus comes to Syracuse.
482 Union of the states against Persia.
481 Themistocles archon at Athens.
Fleet of 200 ships built at Athens, on the suggestion of Themistocles.
480 The Persian invasion, under Xerxes.
Recal of Aristides.
Battle at the pass of Thermopylæ; bravery and heroic death of Leonidas and his 300 companions.
Bœotia and Attica ravaged by Xerxes.
Athens taken and sack. by the Persians.
Themistocles defeats the Persian navy at Artemisium and Salamis.
Xerxes retreats across the Hellespont.
His bridge of boats had been destroyed by a tempest (see Persia).
Mardonius, the Persian general, with 350,000 men, winters in Thrace.
Pherecydes of Athens, hist. flourishes.
480 Birth of Gorgias at Leontium (459).
Anaxagoras comes to Athens (450).
Gelon of Syracuse defeats the Persians and Carthaginians.
479 Mardonius breaks up his camp, marches again into Athens, which he burns, and then passes on to Bœotia.
The Persians defeated at Mycale by sea and land.
Mardonius is routed the same day by Aristides and Pausanias at Platæa.
Aristodemus, called "the coward," falls in the battle of Platæa.
The Persians speedily quit Greece.
Macedon freed from its allegiance to Persia; Thrace also throws off the yoke.
Birth of Antiphon, Athenian orator.
478 Athens rebuilt, embellished, and fortified by Themistocles.
Law for the admission of the poorer citizens to state offices (see 594).
Siege and surrender of Sestos.
This event brings the history of Herodotus to a close.
Hiero I. succeeds Gelon in Syracuse.
477 Adimantus archon at Athens.
The Piræus built; Athens in the ascendant; she is supreme in Greece till the close of the Peloponnesian war.
Pindar, Bacchylides, Epicharmus, and Æschylus flourish.
476 Olymp. 76; Phrynicus victor in tragedy.
Simonides, eighty years old, gains the prize in the ἀνδρῶν χορῷ.
Phædon archon at Athens.
Cimon, son of Miltiades (490), takes Scyros; where the bones of Theseus are discovered.
474 Naval defeat of the Tuscans by Hiero of Syracuse.
472 Death of Theron of Agrigentum.
471 Birth of Thucydides, the historian.
Pausanias, convicted of aspiring to sovereign rule, is starved to death at Sparta.
Banishment of Themistocles from Athens; he retires to Argos.
Empirics instituted by Acron, of Agrigentum, in Sicily.
470 The common Greek treasury for sustaining the war against Persia established at Delos.
Phormis, the comic writer, flourishes.
469 First public appearance of Pericles.
Cimon overruns Thrace.
Kingdom of the Odrysœ in Thrace.
468 Olymp. 78; Sophocles, victor.
Theagenides archon at Athens.
The Argives destroy Mycenæ.
Death of Aristides.
Birth of Socrates, the philosopher.
467 Birth of Andocides, the orator.

467 Cimon, the Athenian general, occupies the Hellespontine Chersonese.
Thrasybulus succeeds Hiero in Syracuse.
466 Cimon defeats the Persians.
Sophocles, tragic victor.
Flight of Themistocles to Persia.
Diagoras of Melos, philosopher, fl.
Thrasybulus expelled Syracuse.
Syracuse a *democracy*.
465 Revolt of Thasos.
Athens greatly embellished; the garden of the Academy planted, &c.
464 *The third Messenian war* (? 465).
Revolt of the Helots at Sparta.
Cimon, with 4,000 Athenians, comes to the aid of the Spartans.
Earthquake at Sparta; 30,000 perish.
Zeno, of Elea, philosopher, flourishes.
463 Cimon brings the revolted Thasians into subjection (465).
462 Naval vict. over the Persians in Egypt.
461 Cimon leads an army a second time to aid the Spartans, who decline receiving the proffered aid.
Cimon banished by ostracism.
Ephialtes reduces the power of the Areopagus at Athens.
The common treasury of the Greeks removed from Delos to Athens.
Camarina in Sicily restored.
Pericles, the Athenian democratic orator, rises to eminence.
460 The Athenians succour the Egyptians.
The poets Euripides and Ecphantides fl.
Birth of the philosopher Democritus at Abdera, in Thrace.
459 Assertion of supremacy over the other states by the Athenians.
Gorgias of Leontium flourishes.
458 Lysias the orator born.
Bion archon at Athens.
Æschylus, after the death of Hiero of Syracuse, comes to Athens.
457 Battles between the Athenians and Corinthians in the Megarid.
Battle of Tanagra; the Spartans victorious over the Athenians.
The long wall of Athens begun.
Æschylus, charged with impiety, quits Athens for Syracuse.
456 Battle of Œnophyta; defeat of the Bœotians by the Athenians.
Cimon recalled from exile.
The long wall of Athens completed.
455 Death of Æschylus.
Euripides gains the tragic prize.
Victories of Tolmides the Athenian.
Surrender of Ithome, and
End of the Messenian wars.
The Messenians are transplanted to Naupactus by Tolmides.
He sails round the Peloponnesus, inflicting much damage on the coast.
454 Expedition of Pericles against Sicyon and campaign in Acarnania.
Perdiccas II., king of Macedon, joins Sparta against Athens.
Cratinus the comic writer flourishes.
451 The Sicels united under Ducetius.
450 Cimon negotiates for a truce of five years with the Peloponnesians.
Anaxagoras withdraws from Athens.
Archelaus teaches philosophy at Athens.
449 Victory of the Athenians by sea and land over the Persians at Cyprus.
Peace with Persia by Cimon.
Death of Cimon.
Crates the comedian fl. at Athens.
448 *The first sacred war:*—concerning the temple at Delphi; Athens an ally of the Phocians; Sparta assists the Delphians.
447 Battle of Coronea; the Bœotians defeat the Athenians; Tolmides the Athenian general slain.
Achæus and Sophocles exhibit tragedy.
445 Eubœa and Megara revolt from Athens. Pericles reduces them to obedience.
The thirty years' truce between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.
Herodotus reads his history in the Athenian assembly.
444 Pericles obtains sole power in Athens.
Ostracism of Thucydides.
Scrutiny of the Athenian citizens; number reduced to 14,240.
Mercenary troops in Athens.
Protagoras, the philosopher, flourishes.
Xenophon born about this time.
Phidias, the sculptor, fl. at Athens.
443 Athenian colony to Thurium under Lampon; the colonists are accompanied by Protagoras and Lysias.
Athenian citizens first paid for attending courts of justice.
441 Euripides, tragic victor.
The battering-ram, invented by Artemones, is first used by Pericles at the siege of Samos.
440 Pericles victorious at Samos.
Samos a dependency of Athens.
Decline of the Areopagus.
Aristophanes the comedian flourishes.
Comedies prohibited at Athens.
437 Colony of Agnon to Amphipolis.
Repeal of the Athenian law against comedies (see 440).
436 The Corinthians and Corcyrians at war for Epidamnus.
The Propylæa at Athens commenced.
Birth of Isocrates the orator.
Cratinus, tragic victor.
435 Naval victories of the Corcyrians, who take possession of Epidamnus.
Anaxagoras's opinion of earthquakes, viz.:—that they are subterraneous clouds which burst forth with violence.

435 Phrynicus, the comedian, first exhibits.
Aristophanes, the "prince of ancient comedy," flourishes.
434 Lysippus, comic writer, flourishes.
433 The Corcyrians send an embassy to Athens; an alliance formed.
Treaty between Athens and Rhegium.
Revolt of Potidæa from the Athenian confederacy.
432 Prosecution of Anaxagoras, Aspasia, and Phidias at Athens; Anaxagoras retires to Lampsacus, Aspasia is acquitted, and Phidias dies in prison.
Naval battles off Corcyra; the Corinthians defeated.
Congress at Lacedæmon.
431 Commencement of *The Peloponnesian War*, which lasts 27 years.
Attempt of the Thebans upon Platæa.
Attica invaded by the Peloponnesians.
Allianc e btwn. Athenians & Thracians.
Hellanicus the poet flourishes.
Herodotus and Thucydides also fl.
Birth of Dionysius the Elder.
430 Plague at Athens.
Attica again invaded.
429 Capitulation of Potidæa to the Athenians.
Phormio, the Athenian, in the Corinthian Gulf.
Eupolis and Phrynicus, poets, exhibit.
Birth of Plato the philosopher.
Pericles dies of the plague, having governed Athens 40 years.
Sitalces king of Macedon.
428 Attica invaded a third time.
Revolt of Lesbos.
Plato, the comic poet, exhibits.
427 Attica is invaded a fourth time.
The Spartans take Platæa.
Sedition in Corcyra.
Cleon rises into importance at Athens.
Aristophanes exhibits, and gains a prize.
Embassy of Gorgias to Athens; assistance sent to the Leontines.
426 Battle at Tanagra; Athens victorious.
Earthquake in Attica.
Lustration of the island of Delos.
A second pestilence in Athens.
425 Fifth invasion of Attica by the Lacedæmonians.
Pylus occupied by the Athenians under the command of Demosthenes.
The Spartans blockade Pylus.
Surrender of Sphacteria to Cleon.
An earthquake in Eubœa which converts the peninsula into an island.
Eruption of Mount Ætna.
424 Siege of Delium; the Athenians defeated by the Thebans.
Athenians, under Nicias, occupy Cythera, and ravage the Laconian coast.
Brasidas in Thrace; fall of Amphipolis; Thucydides defeated.

424 Seuthes succeeds Sitalces in Thrace.
Alliance between Sparta and Macedon.
Banishment of Thucydides.
Solar eclipse noted at Athens.
423 Truce for a year.
Alcibiades begins his public career.
The Thebans destroy Thespiæ.
Temple of Here, at Argos, burnt.
Peace between Athens and Macedon.
422 The war carried on in Thrace.
Fall of Cleon and Brasidas at Amphipolis; the Athenians defeated.
Athenian citizens number 20,000.
Visit of Protagoras to Corinth.
Death of Cratinus the poet, aged 97.
421 A fifty-years' truce between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.
420 Olymp. 90; Hyperbius, victor.
Alcibiades negotiates a treaty between the Athenians and Argives.
419 Alcibiades in the Peloponnesus.
418 The Athenians aid the Argives.
Battle of Mantinea; the Argives and Mantineans defeated by Agis.
Sparta and Argos form an alliance.
417 The Athenians assist the Leontines in their war with Syracuse.
416 Surrender of Melos to the Athenians; their cruelty to the inhabitants.
Agathon, tragic victor.
415 Mutilation of the Hermæ at Athens.
The Athenian expedition to Sicily, under Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus.
The Athenians take Catana.
Recal of Alcibiades on a charge of impiety; he flies to Sparta.
The Spartans form a navy.
Xenocles, tragic victor.
Archippus, comic victor.
Imprisonment of Andocides the phil. for the mutilation of the Hermæ.
Andocides maks his escape; he goes first to Cyprus.
414 *The Decelean War* begins.
Second Athenian campaign in Sicily.
The Spartans aid the Syracusans.
Defeat of the Athenians.
Eurymedon conveys supplies to the Athenians in Sicily.
Ameipsias, comic victor.
413 Attica invaded, and Decelea fortified by the Spartans.
The Athenians send succours to Nicias, under command of Demosthenes.
Defeat of the Athenians, and destruction of their fleet and army.
Nicias and Demosthenes put to death.
Hegemon introduces parody.
Archelaus, king of Macedon.
412 Alcibiades sent on a mission to Asia by the Lacedæmonians.
Sparta forms a second alliance with Persia.

412 The Athenians deposit 1,000 talents for extreme emergencies.
Antipho the philosopher flourishes.
Diocles legislates at Syracuse.
Syracuse a republic.
411 Third alliance of the Spartans with the Persians.
Revolution in Athens; democracy abolished; council of 400, framed by Antipho, &c., is dissolved at the end of four months.
Antipho put to death.
Recal of Alcibiades by the Athenian army at Samos.
Mindarus, commander of the Spartan fleet, defeated at Cynossema.
410 Mindarus and Pharnabazes defeated by Alcibiades at Cyzicus; Mindarus slain.
Thucydides' history ends; Xenophon's history begins.
Ephorus the historian flourishes.
409 The Carthaginians take Himera and Selinus, in Sicily.
408 Alcibiades takes Byzantium.
Reign of Pausanias at Sparta.
Plato, at Athens, hears Socrates.
407 Return of Alcibiades to Athens.
Lysander commands the Spartan fleet.
Battle of Notium; Lysander defeats the Athenians under Antiochus.
Alcibiades is accused of aspiring to sovereign power, and deposed; he quits Athens.
406 The Spartans defeated by Conon, the Athenian, in a sea-fight off Arginusæ; Callicratidas is killed.
The Athenian commanders, charged with neglecting to pick up the bodies of the slain, are condemned and put to death on their return.
Violent death of Euripides near Pella in Macedonia.
Two χορηγοὶ appointed at Athens to defray the expenses of the exhibitions.
The Carthaginians take Agrigentum.
Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse.
405 Battle of Ægospotamos; defeat of the Athenians by Lysander.
Conon, with eight ships, the relics of his fleet, flees to Cyprus.
Lysias condemned to banishment; retires to Megara.
Lysander besieges Athens.
Death of Sophocles.
404 Athens surrenders to the Spartans.
Lysander demolishes its walls.
End of the Peloponnesian war.
Rule of the thirty tyrants.
Spartan supremacy till B. C. 371.
Tragic death of Alcibiades.
Phylæ occupied by Thrasybulus.
Expulsion of the "thirty tyrants," and establishment of the government of the "ten."

CHRONOLOGY OF ASIA MINOR.

B. C.
1588 Atlas, the astronomer (? 1856, Greece).
1580 The cymbal used at the feasts of Cybele.
1546 Scamander founds Troy.
1506 Hyagnis, a Phrygian, invents the flute.
1500 Tmolus, king of Lydia.
1490 Theoclymeus, successor of Tmolus, king of Lydia.
1480 Dardania built by Dardanus, king of Troy (some place him at 1380).
1460 Marsyas succeeds Theoclymeus, king of Lydia.
1449 Erichthonius, king of Troy (he is placed by some at 1350).
Gordius I., king of Phrygia, inventor of the Gordian knot.
1400 Teucer, king of Troy, after whom the Teucrians were named.
Minos, king of Crete (? 1256)
1380 Dardanus, a Pelasgian, son of Electra, the dau. of Atlas, succeeds Teucer.
Flourishing period of Troy, the Palladium, &c.
1350 Erichthonius succeeds Dardanus, and is proverbial for his riches (? 1449).
1320 Tros succeeds Erichthonius, k. of Troy.
He founds the city of Troy (? 1430).

B. C.
1310 Ilus succeeds Tros (? 1314).
He founds Ilium.
1300 Minos, of Crete (? 1400, 1256).
1283 Pelops, a Lydian, removes to Argos.
1280 Midas II. and Gordius II., kings of Phrygia.
1260 Laomedon, king of Troy.
1256 Minos, the Cretan legislator, extends his dominions by means of his naval superiority (? 1300).
1240 Troy captured by the Argonauts.
Hercules comes into Phrygia.
1230 Agron, the first king of Lydia, of the Heracleidæan dynasty.
1225 Atydas, king of Lydia.
1220 Priam, king of Troy.
Abduction of Helen by Paris.
1200 Otreus, king of Phrygia.
1193 *Siege of Troy.*
1189 The Lydians masters of the sea.
1183 Troy taken and sacked by the Greeks.
The Trojans and Heneti depart, some into Macedonia, and some into Italy.
Æneas and his companions emigrate into Italy and settle there.
1176 Salamis founded by Teucer.

1141 Ephesus burnt by the Amazons.
1124 Commencement of the Æolic migrations; the first migration under Penthilus, son of Orestes.
1100 The Æolians colonize the coast from Cyzicus to the Hermus.
1044 The Ionians under Neleus come into Asia Minor, where, with the assistance of some Thebans, and a host of other Greeks, they found Phocæa and Ephesus, and ten other cities on the southern coast of Lydia and the northern coast of Caria.
1044 Meles, king of Lydia (1050, Pococke).
1015 Smyrna founded.
Minos,—according to some (? 1256).
986 The Ionians build Samos.
971 Birth of Homer.
952 Homer flourishes among the Ionians.
Litierses, an effeminate k. of Phrygia.
Several colonies of Dorians settle in the islands of Cos and Rhodes, and on the southern coast of Caria. They had six cities—one in Cos, three in Rhodes, and two in Caria. They established one sanctuary for all, the temple of Apollo Triopius, where their festivals were celebrated.
950 Homer flourishes.—Bernhardy.
916 First laws on navigation at Rhodes.
907 Homeric period begins,—according to the Parian Chronicle.
891 Maritime supremacy of the Phrygians.
865 The Cyprian dominion of the sea; decline of the Phrygian naval power.
831 The maritime supremacy of the Cyprians passes to the Phœnicians.
800 Midas III., king of Phrygia.
? Halicarnassus being excluded from the Ionian confederacy is annexed to the Carian kingdom.
797 Ardys I., king of Lydia.
782 Lydia invaded by the Cimmerians in the reign of Candaules.
775 Arctinus, the poet of Miletus, flourishes.
The Phocæans found the colony of Massilia in Gaul.
? Candaules, the last k. of the Heraclidæ, in Lydia, purchases from Bularchus a picture of the battle of Magnetes.
756 The Milesians found Cyzicus in the Propontis.
753 Antimachos, of Teos, and Asias, of Samos, poets, flourish.
750 Flourishing condition of Miletus, and its numerous colonies in the Palus Mæotis, Black Sea, and Sea of Marmora.
744 Pharnaces founds the kingdom of Cappadocia.
736 Callinus, the poet, flourishes (? 710).
735 Candaules, of Lydia,—according to some (see 782, 775).
730 Leontium, in Achaia, founded.
730 Phocæa flourishes; its inhabitants carry on an extensive western trade.
716 Gyges, the first of the Mermnadæ, murders Candaules, king of Lydia, and reigns in his stead.
The Heraclidæ flee to Greece.
Gyges attacks Miletus and Smyrna.
715 The Milesians found Abydos.
Byzantium (Constantinople), founded by a colony of Athenians.
712 Astacus, in Bithynia, founded by a colony of Megarians.
710 Callinus, of Ephesus, flourishes.
Gyges, of Lydia, reduces Colophon.
He sends presents and offerings to the temple of Delphi.
Midas IV., of Phrygia, also sends offerings to the same temple.
700 Podalinus (a Greek), king of Caria.
The Ionians in Miletus, celebrated for their fleet of 100 ships.
693 Simonides, of Amorgus, fl. (? 556).
690 Phaselis, in Pamphylia, founded.
Glaucus, of Chios, flourishes.—Bernhardy (? 677).
He invents the art of soldering.
Ardys II. succeeds Gyges.
He takes Priene.
677 Glaucus, of Chios, fl.—F. Clinton (? 690.)
675 Cyzicus, in the Propontis, planted by the Megarians.
674 Arcias, from Megara, rebuilds Chalcedon, in Bithynia.
665 Thaletas, lyric poet, of Crete, flourishes.
659 Epimenides born at Crete.—Suidas.
657 Lesches, of Mitylene, flourishes.
654 The Phocæans, under Timesias, found Lampsacus.
Borysthenes, in Pontus, founded.
651 Pittacus, of Mitylene, born.—Suidas.
650 Anacreon, the poet, flourishes.—Talfourd (? 558.)
646 Pisander, poet of Camira, flourishes.
640 Midas V., king of Phrygia.
639 Thales, the Milesian, born.
The globular form of the earth was first suggested by Thales.
635 Sardis taken by the Cimmerians.
631 Cyrene, in Libya, founded by Battus.
629 Sadyattes succeeds Ardys, of Lydia.
Cous and Critines (Milesians) found Sinope, in Paphlagonia.
628 Mimnermus, of Colophon, flourishes.
Pamillus, of Megara Hyblæa, plants Selinus, in Cilicia.
626 Aristoxenus, of Selinus, flourishes (662 Bernhardy).
Prusias fnded.,—according to Eusebius.
624 Lydia invaded by the Scythians.
620 Birth of Æsop, the fabulist.
617 Alyattes, king of Lydia, attacks the Cimmerians, and expels them from Asia Minor; he takes Smyrna.

617 War between Lydia and Miletus.
612 Peace,—by Thrasybulus and Alyattes.
The tyranny of Melanchrus at Mitylene overthrown by Pittacus.
610 Sappho, of Mitylene, poetess, flourishes.
609 Apollonia, on the Euxine, founded by a colony of Milesians.
603 Eclipse of Thales.—Hales (?601); it separated the Lydians & Medes in battle.
Alcæus, of Mitylene, poet, flourishes.
600 The Phocæans, under Protus, found Massilia in Gaul.
597 ? Thales, of Miletus, foretels an eclipse of the sun (? 603, compare 578).
595 Crœsus, king of Lydia, born.
592 Odessus, on the Euxine, planted by a colony of Milesians.
589 Pittacus begins to reign at Mitylene.
Alcæus, the poet, and opponent of Pittacus, banished.
579 Pittacus abdicates the throne of Mitylene.
578 Thales, the philosopher, fl.—Bernhardy.
576 The Phocæans masters of the sea.
569 The Ionians fall under the Persian yoke, but retain their own form of govrnt.
569 Death of Pittacus, of Mitylene.
566 Eugamon, of Cyrene, flourished.
564 Death of Æsop.—Eusebius.
563 Amisus, in Pontus, fndd. by Phocæans.
562 Anaximander, the philosopher, of Miletus, invents sun-dials.
Crœsus, king of Lydia (? 560).
560 Accession of Crœsus, king of Lydia.
He conquers Bithynia.
Cleobulus, of Rhodes, one of the sages.
559 Heraclea, on the Euxine, founded by the Phocæans.
Asia Minor subjected to Crœsus.
558 Anacreon, of Teos, fl.—Bernhardy.
556 Birth of the poet Simonides at Cos.
552 Dipœnus and Scyllus, statuaries, of Crete, flourish.
Anaximenes, of Miletus, philosopher, fl.
543 Bias, of Priene, historian, flourishes.
Rhœcus, of Samos, discovers the mode of casting metals.
Hipponax, the Iambic poet, flourishes.
546 Cyrus takes Sardis; deposition of Crœsus, and end of the Mermnadæan dynasty, and of the kingdom of Lydia.
Lydia becomes a Persian Province.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

B. C.
546 Cyrus besieges and takes Sardis.
He treats Crœsus with great kindness.
Lydia and Asia Minor annexed.
Syria and Arabia overrun by Cyrus.
540 Nabonadius (Labynetus) besieged in Babylon by Cyrus.
Simoniades and Hipponax, poets, fl.
Epicharmus, the poet, born at Cos.
539 Babylon taken by stratagem.
Phœnicia conquered and annexed.
Cyrus restores peace to his dominions.
He repays the war taxes by the spoils obtained in his successful campaigns.
The religion of Zoroaster introduced.
According to Herodotus, Cyrus, having extended his empire from India to the Mediterranean Sea, was seized with a desire to subdue the Massagetæ. Whereupon he invaded their territory; and though at first his arms were successful, yet his army was soon routed and himself slain. Xenophon, however, states that he died in peace (529).
539 Emigration of the Phocæans into Gaul.
538 Xenophanes, of Colophon, poet, fl.
537 Daniel in the lion's den.
532 Polycrates' usurpation at Samos.
Pythagoras, the historian, flourishes.
531 Anacreon a guest in the court of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos.
529 The maritime supremacy of Samos.

B. C.
529 Death of Cyrus, in peace, according to Xenophon (see 539).
Cambyses, or Lohorasp, the eldest son of Cyrus, succeeds.
Smerdis, or Tanaoxares, the king's younger brother, is made satrap or governor of Bactria.
525 Egypt and other parts of Africa conquered by Cambyses.
The western provinces subdued by the general of Cambyses, Gudarz or Reham.
Disastrous expedition of Cambyses against Ammonium and Meroë.
He is jealous of his brother Smerdis, and sends Preaxpes to assassinate him.
Cambyses receives a mortal wound, by accident, when about to proceed against Smerdis Magus.
522 Smerdis, the magian, usurps the sovereignty for seven months, when he is slain by a conspiracy of seven nobles.
Execution of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, by order of Orœtes of Sardis.
521 Darius I., Hystaspes or Gushtap.
Darius was one of the seven conspirators, and descended in the royal line.
The empire is divided into twenty satrapies, and a systematic mode of taxation is introduced.
Darius increases his army; fortifies his kngdm; has *darics* (of gold) coined, &c.

521 Darius sends an army under Otanes against Samos, which he subdues.
Syloson, brother of Polycrates, restored.
Greek refugees and favourites at the court occasion much dissatisfaction.
520 Hecatæus and Dionysius, historians, fl.
518 Babylon revolts; it is besieged.
517 Darius takes Babylon and destroys it.
508 Expedition against the Scythians, fails.
Darius's cruelty to the sons of Oebazus.
Macedon and Thrace tributary to Persia.
Pharaoh Necho's unfinished canal completed (see 610, Egypt).
Scylax, of Caria, sets out on a voyage of discovery; he sails down the Indus and returns by the Red Sea.
508 Expedition into India; by which all the country north of the Indus is subdued.
Aryandes, prefect of Egypt, imitates the *darics* issued by the king; for which Darius puts him to death.
Religious reforms under Zerdusht, or Zoroaster, the younger.
504 Charon, of Lampsacus, historian, fl.
Histæus incites the Ionians to revolt.
The Archeanactidæ rule in Bosporus.
502 Heracleitus, philosopher of Ephesus, fl.
The doctrine of celestial motions taught by Pythagoras about this time.
501 The Naxian war: siege of Naxos and defeat of the Persians.
Hecatæus gives counsel to the Ionians.
Revolt of Anaxagoras.
500 He solicits aid from Sparta.
499 Rebellion of the Ionians; they besiege Sardis, which is accidentally burnt.
The Athenians having assisted the Ionians, leads to the Persian
War against Greece.
The Persian court famed for its magnificence; 15,000 courtiers sit down at the king's table; whole provinces converted into royal parks; splendid palaces, &c.
496 Birth of Hellanicus of Mitylene.
494 Naval victory over the Greeks at Lade.
Miletus falls into the hands of the Persians.
493 Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos reduced by the Persians.
492 Expedition under Mardonius against Greece; defeated by sea and land.
490 Datis and Artaphernes lead a second expedition into Greece; unfortunate.
Darius makes preparations for another invasion of Greece and Egypt.
489 Unsuccessful attempt of Miltiades, the Athenian, upon Naxos.
Panyasis, the poet, flourishes.
487 Artabazes king of Pontus, Asia Minor.
486 Irruption of Scythians into Bactria; the Archimagus slain.
Darius assumes the office of Archimagus.

486 Revolt of Egypt from the Persian yoke.
485 Death of Darius, who appoints Xerxes, his eldest son, to succeed him.
Naval dominion of the Æginetæ.
484 Xerxes reduces Egypt to his sway.
Birth of Herodotus at Halicarnassus.
483 Xerxes commences preparations for invading Greece.
482 Bacchylides, the poet, born at Cos.
480 Xerxes' expedition against Greece.
Herodotus states that his army and camp followers amounted to 5,000,000 men, and that his object was to reduce the whole earth under his sway.
Xerxes departs from Susa at the time of a half eclipse of the sun.
At Celænæ Xerxes and his army are entertained by Pythias, a Lydian.
Cruelty of Xerxes in putting Pythias's eldest son to death.
Xerxes has a bridge of boats laid across the Hellespont; his army (1,700,000 foot and 80,000 horse) are seven days and seven nights in crossing it.
Xerxes' fleet, of 1207 ships, sail to Mount Athos.
Defeat of the Persians in Greece.
Xerxes recrosses the Hellespont from Greece, and comes to Sardis.
The family of Archeanactes from Mitylene settle in Bosporus.
Birth of Euripides at Salamis.
479 Invasion of Greece unsuccessful; Mardonius slain at Platæa..
Chœrilus, of Samos, poet, born.
477 Simonides, of Cos, invents a system of mnemonics; he obtains a prize.
471 Timocreon, of Rhodes, lyric poet, fl.
466 Battles of the Eurymedon; Cimon defeats the Persians by sea and land.
The Hellespontine Chersonese taken by Cimon, the Athenian.
Xerxes spreads devastation in his homeward route. His cruelties render him detestable.
The independence of Ionia restored.
Simonides, the poet, dies, aged 90.
Naxos revolts; it is soon subdued.
465 Assassination of Xerxes by Artabanus and the eunuch Spamitres.
Murder of Darius, Xerxes' eldest son.
Artaxerxes I. (Longimanus) ascends the Persian throne.
Themistocles arrives in Persia, and is protected by Artaxerxes.
The conspirator Artabanus put to death.
Civil war between Artaxerxes and his brother Hystaspes of Bactria.
463 Xanthos, of Lydia, the historian, fl.
462 Artaxerxes' celebrated feast at Susa.
Deposition of Vashti, his queen.
460 Revolt of Inarus, and commencement of war with the revolted Egyptians.

460 Defeat of the Persians under Achæmenes by sea and land.
Birth of Aristophanes, at Rhodes.
Birth of Hippocrates, "the father of medicine," at Cos.
459 Megabyzus, with an army of 30,000, is sent against the Egytians.
458 Esther chosen queen by Artaxerxes.
Commission granted to Ezra to go to Jerusalem, with power to correct abuses.
457 Panyasis put to death by Lygdamus.
455 Egypt brought under subjection; Amyrtæus, however, maintains his independence in the marshes.
451 Ion, of Chios, exhibits tragedy.
450 Cimon, the Athenian, defeats Artabazus, the Persian admiral, and takes from him one hundred ships.
449 Defeat of Megabyzus at Salamis.
Peace with Greece; acknowledgment of the independence of the Asiatic Greeks by Persia.
447 Rebellion of Megabyzus, Syrian satrap, aided by the queen Amytes and the dowager-queen Amestris.
Artaxerxes yields to Megabyzus all his demands.
445 Nehemiah's commission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem.
Melissus, of Samos, philosopher, fl.
440 Siege and capture of Samos by Pericles; Melissus defended it against him.
438 Spartacus drives the Archeanactidæ from Bosporus, and reigns.
431 Hippocrates, the physician, flourishes.
428 Siege of Mitylene by the Athenians.
428 Death of Anaxagoras at Lampsacus.
427 Mitylene captured; Lesbos restored.
425 Xerxes II. succeeds Longimanus.
Sogdianus, the king's natural brother, assassinates Xerxes, after a few months' reign.
Sogdianus is himself assassinated by another natural brother.
424 Darius II. (Nothus or "bastard").
He is represented as a weak-minded prince, and under the influence of his wife Parysatis and her eunuchs.
422 Arsites' revolt, aided by the son of Megabyzus, quelled.
Arsites smothered in ashes.
414 Revolt of Pisuthnes, satrap of Lydia.
The Egyptians regain their independence.
412 Lesbos, Chios, and Eurythræ, make preparations for revolt.
411 League with Sparta against Athens.
Alcibiades visits Tissaphernes.
Death of Hellanicus at Perperene.
409 Thrasyllus invades Lydia.
408 Athenian cruelty at Miletus.
Lycia invaded by the Athenians.
The independence of Rhodes acknowledged by Persia.
407 Cyrus, governor of Asia Minor, assists the Spartans against Athens.
405 Artaxerxes II. (styled "Mnemon" on account of his great memory).
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Democritus visits Persia.
404 Birth of Antiphanes, the comic poet.



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- Electricity.
- Galvanism.
- Heat.
- Light.
- Chemistry.
- Sound.
- Meteorology.

Section III.

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- Architecture.
- Sculpture.
- Painting.
- Heraldry.
- Numismatics.
- Poetry.
- Music.
- Engraving.

Section IV.

THE USEFUL ARTS.
- Agriculture.
- Horticulture.
- Floriculture.
- Arboriculture.
- Carpentry and Joinery.
- Fortification.
- Engineering.
- Naval Architecture.
- Manufactures.
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- Chemical Arts.

Section V.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Inanimate:—
- Crystallography.
- Mineralogy.
- Geology.

Insentient:—
- Botany.

Animate:—
- Zoology.
- Physiology.
- Comparative Anatomy.

Vertebrals:
- Mammalia.
- Birds.
- Reptiles.
- Fishes.

Invertebrals:
- Molluscs.
- Insects.
- Crustaceans.
- Arachnidans.
- Myriapods.
- Spined Skins.
- Sea Nettles.
- Infusories.
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Section VI.

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- Materia Medica:
  - Pharmacy.
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- Surgery.
- Veterinary Art.

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HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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- Chronology.
- Chronological Tables.

ARCHÆOLOGY.

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- Sacred History.
- The Jews.
- Greece.
- Greek Literature.
- Greek Philosophy and Art.
- Ancient Oriental Nations.
- Rome.
- Roman Literature.
- Roman Philosophy.
- Classical Antiquities.
- Heathen Mythology.

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MODERN HISTORY:—
- The Christian Church.
- Greek Empire.
- Ottoman Empire.
- The Crusades.
- Italy.
- Germany.
- France.
- Spain.
- Portugal.
- Netherlands.
- Switzerland.
- Britain.
- America.
- India.

Fourth Division.

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POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY:—
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