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HELLAS.



# HELLAS:

OR,

THE HOME, HISTORY, LITERATURE, AND  
ART OF THE GREEKS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF

FRIEDRICH JACOBS

BY

JOHN OXENFORD.



LONDON:

JOHN W. PARKER AND SON, WEST STRAND.

1855.

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## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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IN 1808, Friedrich Jacobs, the celebrated philologist of Gotha, was requested by Prince (afterwards King) Louis of Bavaria, to deliver in his presence a series of lectures on Greek history and literature. The lectures were commenced and continued till April, 1809, when the Prince was called to the army, and the course of oral instruction was broken off, never to be resumed. The manuscript lectures, however, containing a brief though comprehensive survey of the geography, history, literature, and art of the ancient Greeks, were found among Jacobs' posthumous works. These were revised and edited, in 1853, by Professor E. F. Wüstemann, the editor of Theocritus, with the title of *Hellas*. Of the work so composed the present volume is a translation.

Where a book so completely speaks for itself as this excellent little production, it is needless for the translator to say anything beyond what relates to his own labours. Even the introductory letter to Professor Welcker, with which Professor Wüstemann prefaces the posthumous work of his deceased friend and instructor, has been omitted, since, beyond the facts

stated above, it contains little to interest the general English reader, however valuable it may be to the many of the author's countrymen who have had the advantage of a personal acquaintance with so distinguished a scholar, and dwell upon his memory with affectionate veneration.

With regard to my own share in bringing *Hellas* before the British public, I can only say that I have endeavoured to make my translation as faithful to the original as possible. With the section of the work devoted to Greek literature, my task has been far from easy, on account of the number of German words for which there is no English equivalent, and which can only be rendered by a system of approximation more or less accurate. To the minds of some readers familiar with the original, more felicitous modes of interpreting some of the expressions employed by Jacobs to characterize the Greek poets may possibly occur; but I am confident that those will judge me least severely who are best acquainted with the 'æsthetical' words of the German language, and with the style generally in which the Germans express their appreciation of literary and artistic excellence.

Proper names I have spelled in what may now be called the old-fashioned manner, that is to say, instead of imitating the Greek orthography, I have adopted throughout the Latin or English modifications. I am aware that, on this account, I may be charged with falling back into an exploded error; but I simply

answer that my book is intended for general readers ; that with general readers the Latin (or English) mode of spelling is still current ; and that, whereas the scholar will have no difficulty in converting 'Ajax' (for instance) into 'Aias,' there are probably many well-informed persons who could not perform the converse operation. To the deities, however, I have given the Greek names (still spelt in the Latin mode), on the ground that there is a real, not a mere verbal, distinction between the divinities of Hellas and of Rome.

With notes, I have been most sparing. Any attempt to give authorities, or to offer full explanations, would have greatly enlarged a book, the brevity of which is one of its strongest recommendations. I have only referred to ancient authors in order to indicate where a more circumstantial account of events is to be found than is given in the text, when the conciseness of the German author seems to assume more knowledge than many readers might have at hand. As for explanatory notes, they are so few, and the reason for their insertion will be so obvious, that they need no comment.

J. O.





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## INTRODUCTION.

ON THE EMINENCE ATTAINED BY GREEK CIVILIZATION,  
AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE COURSE OF CIVI-  
LIZATION AMONG ALL OTHER NATIONS.

A KNOWLEDGE of the history of Ancient Greece, in that most extended sense of the word which comprises a knowledge not only of political changes, but also of Greek culture in its various ramifications, of the manners and of the whole life of the people, so far as we can investigate it, is most intimately connected with all the learning and with all the culture of the modern world. Even the dilettanti of fashionable literature cannot dispense with a few scraps of unconnected information from the general stock ; but such fragments afford a knowledge which is at best imperfect—often incorrect. The Hellenic nation cannot be fully appreciated except from a connected knowledge of the whole. Only from a contemplation of the organic connexion of all parts of its culture can we account for that abundant and unmixed admiration which is so justly awarded to it by the ancient and modern world.

The records of Greece and its inhabitants are, in the first place, of absolute historical importance. Although confined in the first instance to the narrow space of about eighteen hundred German miles, this active people soon spread beyond its narrow boundaries, and played a great, often a serviceable, part in

the history of the world. Greek ships frequented all the coasts of the Mediterranean and Black Seas; Greek colonies were extended over all countries in the East and West; Greek armies victoriously penetrated remote regions, and were everywhere dreaded; from the midst of the Greeks arose minds who, as conquerors in regions both earthly and intellectual, changed for centuries the aspect of the earthly and intellectual world. No other nation has earned equal glory by this combination of qualities. It is true that the kind of importance which is measured by the amount of suffering inflicted by a people upon mankind, is shared by the Greeks with many other nations, who, by a still wider diffusion over land and sea, by a more ruthless oppression of others, by bolder conquests, have attained a painful rank in the world's history. But the very records of those nations which in this respect we may bring into comparison—the Egyptians (under Sesostris), the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Persians, and, in more recent times, the Huns, the Arabs, the Tartars, and the Saracens, show that they were far inferior to the Greeks; for the results of all their efforts were for the most part no more than evanescent though fearful meteors in the dark sky of history, which however mighty in their appearance prove but narrow and feeble in their results. The history, too, of these nations is, for the most part, scanty and defective. A few isolated incidents rise like the ruins of a mighty edifice above the floods which have covered it, or appear as single oases scattered about the dead sands of the boundless desert. With a painful feeling, that arises from an invincible uncertainty, does the historical investigator traverse the barren steppes, and he is rejoiced to arrive at the bright shores of Hellas, where he finds himself surrounded by a flourishing and stirring world of states, peoples, glorious deeds, and noble endeavours.

That the history of the Greeks presents to our eyes an aspect so completely different from that of other

celebrated nations is a result, not of mere chance, but of their own superiority.

This superiority consisted chiefly in the fact that the Greeks, in point of cultivation, excelled all the other nations of the ancient world. Of a naturally active temperament, they were planted in a land, which, in the midst of its mountains, contained fertile valleys, but, nevertheless, employed the industry of its inhabitants sufficiently to repel all tendency to indolence—a land which, intersected by numerous rivers, in some cases opening into deep gulfs, seemed to invite its occupants to hold active intercourse with the rest of mankind—a land in which the different peoples and races were separated by natural boundaries without being secluded from each other—a land where a bright serene sky, a warm, but elastic bracing atmosphere, encompassed the earth, endowing the inhabitants with that life and elasticity which was the characteristic of the Greeks. This is not the place to set forth the circumstances which combined to nurture the plant that sprang from such a seed; to recall the mere facts will be quite sufficient. Let the Egyptians boast of the wisdom concealed beneath the veil of mysterious hieroglyphics; their wisdom always remained the exclusive property of a priestly caste, and has never been serviceable to the industrious oppressed people, or enlightened other nations. The astronomical science of the Chaldees, profound as we may believe it to be, was confined to a few persons, and while, by its nature, it could lead to the absurdities of astrology, it could produce no real cultivation of the mind. As for the skill of the Babylonians in other respects it merely enriched the merchants, and finally plunged the state into a condition of enervated luxury, in which it became the prey of a foreign conqueror. Nearly the same may be said of the science of the Phœnicians, which was, however, chiefly confined to articles of trade, and was therefore concealed with commercial jealousy from others. We must except, of course, the use of written



letters, by the invention or diffusion of which the Phœnicians became entitled to the gratitude of mankind. Even if some of their other secrets have, like this, been revealed, without their aid, and perhaps against their will, to others, how insignificant are these fragments compared with the mass of science that was treasured up in Greece as a common property of the human race, whence it flowed by a thousand canals to other nations of the East and West!

That loftier cultivation of the Greeks from which they derived their superiority, is manifested in nearly all the spheres of their activity; and in the first place, in their *political constitution* and *legislation*. The constitution of most nations is a result of chance, or of caprice and violence. Seldom is it freely developed in accordance with the character of the country and its inhabitants; generally it is forced upon the people, or, at any rate, modified by some foreign influence. On the other hand, the constitution of the Hellenic states seems to have formed itself spontaneously, and its changes and progress were ever in conformity with the views and cultivation of the people. The different branches of the great family loved constitutions of different kinds; the boundaries of Greece enclosed monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy; and, at different epochs of cultivation, the Greeks passed over from the paternally patriarchal to the monarchical, and from this to the republican form. The last, with all its disadvantages, which cannot be denied, was the most wholesome and the best fitted for the small, independent, ever active population of the Greeks, and was unquestionably one of the chief sources of their cultivation. In Greece almost every city formed a state in itself, with its own peculiar regulations, and the larger confederacies, which bound several states together, were generally without influence on their internal constitution. The most active spirit of competition arose in this Polynesia of republican cities; whoever felt himself in possession of power, intelli-



gence, and a strong will, entered the lists, and if the best were not always victorious, the strength of every one was increased by the contest. Hence, in this republican world, the art of legislation was brought to the highest pitch. Here Lycurgus discovered the secret of uniting the highest wisdom with the most painful obedience; here Solon, in the mildest laws, gave his people the best means for further cultivation, with liberality though not without danger; here Pythagoras trained in his school wise leaders of states; here Plato set up the Ideal of a perfect republic for the admiration of the contemporary world and posterity.

Nor was the great superiority of the Greek mind less shown in the views and manners of the people. In the republics of Greece no one was more than a simple citizen; but then the citizen in his various capacities, as master of the land, as legislator, as judge, and as free defender of his property, held the rank of a sovereign. He occupied himself with the most important affairs of the state, and the interest he took in them was the more lively the nearer they were brought to him by the narrow limits of his domain. The very evils of the antique mode of life contributed to the elevation of the citizen. All the drudgery for the sake of daily bread was left to slaves, while the citizen enjoyed the most perfect leisure, and could, therefore, devote himself exclusively to liberal occupations that improve both the mind and the body. As his necessities were few, the greater part of his life was free from material exertion. Now, it was impossible that a life which was devoted to the guidance of the state, to the administration of justice, to the defence of the laws and liberty of the country, and, in the intervals between these important avocations, to the paternal superintendence of the household, should be utterly ignoble; and there is no doubt that the majority of the Greeks had an elevation of mind far above that of the masses in modern times, who have

neither the leisure nor the opportunity for an equal development of their noblest powers. With the Greeks dignity was accompanied by moderation, and, in some races, as the Athenians, both were accompanied by the graces. Such an existence rendered possible an universal enthusiasm for the ideas that gave rise to those mighty deeds that still fill the world with joyous astonishment; it rendered possible that fine love of life, associated with a contempt for life, when a higher interest was at stake; it rendered possible that delicate sense to which all that was beautiful seemed divine and holy, and which, therefore, worshipped the national gods in sports, and adorned the most solemn festivals with the gifts of the Muses.

The peculiarity of Hellenic cultivation is further shown in the religion of the Greeks. Even if this was a strange chaos, it was, nevertheless, distinguished above all other religions of antiquity by its poetical character. Often puerile, it has often all the joyousness of childhood, and in its wildest fables it is graceful, delicate, and playful. All that can be done by a religion which is confined to outward ceremonies, and brings down the deity into the region of visible nature, is effected by the religion of the Greeks; and it has so far elevated itself above other religions of the same kind, that its votaries exalted the fetishes, which were the first rude objects of their devotion, into human forms, and, while they made gods of men, raised themselves to gods. Thus they were far above the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, and the Indians, who never ceased to worship upon their altars some form of the brute creation or some mongrel monster, and left to their followers no alternative but to pay homage to ancient absurdity, or to pass over into scoffing unbelief. The Hellenic religion, on the contrary, was susceptible of a progressive elevation; and the gods, together with the morals of Olympus, were improved, as the men, who were akin to them, became greater and nobler.

Further, the Greeks excelled all other nations of the ancient world in their intellectual products. A single word will here be sufficient for this subject. No nation of ancient or modern times has, for so long a series of ages, cultivated the gardens of the Muses with equal success, or, from its own unaided power, produced, in all departments, such a multitude of masterpieces. If only one poet like Sophocles, one historian like Thucydides, one philosopher like Plato, had come down to us, still, what an opinion should we, even then, have formed of the cultivation of the Greeks? But, as it is, we have a long series of intellectual heroes from Homer (who flourished about 950 B.C.) to Longinus (who died A.D. 273;) and, although in latter days the flame of Greek genius became dim, it was never wholly extinguished, and the fine feeling for art, which characterized this nation, endured almost as long as the nation itself.

Lastly, we may perceive by the works of Greek art, the eminence which Greek cultivation attained. The whole of Hellas and all the Hellenic cities were stocked with works of art corresponding to the requisitions of religion, patriotism, and family piety. Since the lives of most persons were passed more in public than at home, and the wants of private individuals were limited to the mearest necessities,—hence, their *dwellings* were neither magnificently built, nor luxuriously decorated,—all their works of art were for some public purpose, that gave them a higher character, and inspired the people with the liveliest interest in art itself. The ruins of their temples and public edifices are still the wonder of the world, and even the fragments of their statues are studies for the judicious artist. No other nation has been more fertile in works of art, in great and elevated forms of every character. The mindless drudgery of a busy population of slaves is amply sufficient to heap up stones into Egyptian Pyramids, to cut out the hieroglyphics of an obelisk, or to build the colossal form of

a sphinx. But before the light and dignified form of Apollo can start forth in marble; before the Homeric son of Kronos, who shakes Olympus with his nod, can become visible to the eyes of man; before the blossom of beauty and soft grace can unfold itself in an Aphrodite, art must climb up to heaven, and snatch from it forms of unearthly growth.

Having thus shown that the Hellenic nation exceeded in cultivation all the other nations of the ancient world, we must now accord to it the high praise that it diffused its cultivation in all directions. On this account the influence of Greece on the culture of the human race has become an important feature in the history of the world.

Even as the eyes of the faithful Mussulman are directed, during his devotions, towards the grave of the Prophet, so are the eyes of every friend of art and humanity directed to the holy land of Greek cultivation. While the Greeks were yet upon the earth they were surrounded with a poetical light, which he who was not a Greek regarded with astonishment,—oftentimes with love. Even now the nation has passed away, and only a few traces of it are yet glimmering, it often appears a poetic picture devised for the delight of the world. A great portion of its history is like a Homeric epic, and the works which it has left behind appear like miracles of the gods, such as the world can never produce again.

In a very different and far higher sense than the Persians, the Tartars, and the Arabs, have the Greeks become the rulers of world. Their dominion has been founded, not on the earth's surface, but in the realms of intellect. Admiration of their deeds stimulated even barbarians to emulation; their language was diffused all over the known earth; their works were read where even a faint desire for cultivation was felt. And when the political strength of the nation was exhausted, and it yielded to a mightier than itself, it subdued its very conqueror by

the superiority of its culture, presented him with its language, and forced from him an admiration of its works of art, which, at last, resulted in zealous imitators. Thus we see how truly the Roman poet sings :

Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes  
Intulit agresti Latio.—(HOR. *Ep.* II. i. 156.)

Many nations have been mightier, but then they have lost their political power; they have only lived in the monuments of history, without influence, and mostly without esteem. The Greeks and their pupils, the Romans, form the sole exception to the general rule. Never has the intelligent power of Hellas been utterly destroyed; there is a *Græcia* as well as a *Roma æterna*. From the ruins and ashes of states it constantly arises with renewed glory, and like Virtue upon the grave of Ajax, so does the Genius of the Hellenic nation sit, in imperishable youth and beauty, upon the ruins of the desolate land.

The mere contemplation of such a phase of humanity as the Hellenic is like that of every excellent work in nature or in art—cheering, elevating, and consoling. The fiery love of country, the proud contempt of danger, the religious veneration for the severest laws, which reigned in the bosom of the Spartan citizen; the enlightenment and moral culture which had their home at Athens; the close combination of the finest feeling for art with the most vigorous sensuality, of dignity with grace, of severity with mildness, of profundity with levity—this unique compound of the finest qualities of man will never cease to rivet the attention so long as a remnant of Greek history floats upon the ocean of time. Always will Sparta and Athens, each as a pole of moral culture, attract the sympathies of mankind. For, though it may be maintained with justice that all the patriotism of Sparta and all the policy of Athens produced quite as much evil as good, we must recollect that the greatness and excellence of principles themselves are not annulled because the weakness of man-



kind, or the impediments arising from unfavourable times and circumstances, will not allow them to be carried into full effect. It is quite enough for mankind that such principles have existed to so great an extent, and that, in individual cases, they were revealed in all their sublimity. No law—not even the Divine Law—has been able so thoroughly to penetrate every individual that its excellences have been manifested in all; and it is no reproach to educational institutions—and among these states must be included—that all the pupils do not attain the highest degree of proficiency. At the names of Lycurgus and Solon, of Miltiades and Leonidas, of Themistocles and Aristides, of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, of Phocion, of Timoleon, of Demosthenes and Cleomenes, every noble soul swells with emotion, and looks with admiring astonishment at the times when such colossal forms of patriotic virtue could rise to view. In the lustre which they spread around them, the specks which adhere to every earthly phenomenon vanish from the gaze, and the evils of the ancient states are forgotten when we regale ourselves with the fine produce of that fruitful soil.

With still more lustre and with more unquestionable excellence does the influence of Greek culture appear in the world of letters. So powerful here was the genius of Greek cultivation, that whithersoever it guided its steps a new light was diffused, and a nobler activity was kindled in elevated souls. For this is the marvel of intellectual culture and genius, that they become renewed and extended by contact, and strike root wherever willing sense and genuine love are ready to receive them. Therefore Greece has not yet sunk; she lives in every susceptible heart, and the works of her genial children, like the eternal lights of heaven, send forth pure beams, which call forth a glimmering light in sympathetic souls, and develop the germ of the beautiful and the noble.

This was the case in Rome. When the Roman power broke down the frail edifice of the Hellenic

states, the arts and sciences of the Greeks were strange to the rough conqueror, or perhaps the thought of them was associated with that universal contempt with which he regarded the degenerate manners of a conquered people. To some, however, the genius of the ancient land appeared in its divine majesty, soaring above the smoking ruins, and it touched the best hearts with a desire and a joy previously unknown. The Scipios, the Lælii, the Æmilii, the Catos, paid homage to it. A more intellectual life now began in a city hitherto inured to war alone; and where no sound had previously been heard save the clang of arms and the dry legal forms of the Forum, the melodious numbers of the Greek Muses now saluted the ear. That which, couched in a foreign language, had awakened joy and admiration, was now imitated in the vernacular, and the rough tones of Latium grew sweeter by her competition with her elder sister. Thus on the wings of the Greek Muse did Rome also attain a more lasting renown than that which she derived from her conquest of the world. For perhaps even the records of Rome, like those of the Persians, would only exist in the compendia of universal history, if the mighty spirit of Roman poetry and eloquence, her legislation, and the practical wisdom which the Roman people connected with the two arts, had not brought the language of the mistress of the world, through a series of dark centuries, down to our own times.

When, in the middle ages, Europe formed itself anew, and the rude strength of the warlike north, after casting down the tottering throne of Roman supremacy, created in its various conflicts fresh mutable kingdoms, covered with heaps of ruin the old idols of religion and science, and, with a rough soldier-like spirit, scoffed at the wisdom of older times now grown childish—in those ages, when all was formed anew, the spirit of antiquity seemed completely sunk in sleep. The Greek language only existed at the court of the

Byzantine emperors, where an appreciation of classical antiquity and its works was still preserved as an unalienable inheritance, although the power of imitation had long passed away. Only in the faintest evening glimmer did the light of cultivation still give some indications of its existence at Constantinople. It no longer darted forth exhilarating beams to penetrate the misty atmosphere which hung over the old country as over a sunken royal city. The blooming regions of Greece were depopulated; the oppressions of despotism and monasticism had crippled the mind, and the pressure of barbarians from all sides rendered more and more manifest the political weakness of the empire. On this exhausted soil the plant of cultivation could strike no new root, but required to be transplanted. And thus it happened, that the very circumstances which threatened to extinguish the small remains of culture in Byzantium caused it to revive anew beneath another sky. The Eastern Empire succumbed to the Ottoman conquerors. The islands of the Archipelago became their prey, and the seat of empire fell into the hands of those to whom the empire had for some time virtually belonged. In those evil days for Greece many of the most educated persons left their homes and sought a refuge in Italy, which, connected with them by ancient ties, seemed to open her arms to receive them. In this beautiful country civilization had already begun a fresh career. Liberty, commerce, and the love of art flourished in the petty states, which had here developed themselves in times of anarchy; and that noble emulation with which all sought distinction gave a more powerful impulse to every better faculty. Thus, too, had the thirst for knowledge been already awakened. The relics of Roman antiquity were sought with eagerness; Cicero and Virgil were imitated and idolized. But by the Romans themselves the student was at once directed to the Greeks, and the more the classicality of the former was appreciated, the more ardent was the desire



for the original source. Hence the opportunity which chance presented of becoming acquainted with the Greek language and literature was embraced with eagerness. The rapidity with which Greek learning was diffused showed how insatiable was the general desire. It was not incorrectly said, that if Greek learning had not come over the sea, people would of themselves have crossed the sea to fetch it.

From that period the influence of Greek culture upon modern civilization has been almost uninterrupted. It has laid the foundation of nearly all our knowledge, and the scientific method discovered by the Greeks in certain branches, such as philosophy and mathematics, has not yet been surpassed. But, above all, the literary and artistic works of Greece have ever preserved their efficacy in awakening a feeling for art, and in cultivating the taste. The fame of the moderns has mounted on that of the ancient classics. The age of Augustus would have been no more than the mouldering grave of Roman virtue, had it not been bestrewn with the blossoms of Græco-Roman art, and had not its poets and historians cast over it a bright gleam of the greatness that had passed away from the state itself. Thus, too, were the age of the Medici, and the by no means despicable times of Louis XIV. adorned with the wreaths of classical antiquity. And if our own age and our own nation surpass others in an intelligent and artistic adoption of so many forms of the beautiful,—in a genial treatment of philosophy,—in a deeper penetration into the secrets of nature,—in a careful investigation of every art and science, and in profound criticism of the efforts of earlier nations and earlier times, shall we not ascribe our excellence to the earnestness and zeal with which the Germans, in the last century, revived and re-animated the study of classical literature?

From these general remarks, the subjects of the following lectures may be readily deduced. They will treat

Of the geography of the country ;

Of the most remarkable events that have contributed to the elevation and depression of the Greeks ;

Of the progress and decline of Greek literature ;  
and

Of Greek art.

## GEOGRAPHY OF GREECE.

GREECE is one of those large promontories which, all over the earth, extend themselves towards the south, thus indicating those violent floods from south to north, by which the great bays were formed, and the valleys of loose soil situated between the mountain-arms that hold the land together were washed away.

Thus a division of the country was effected from without, which was completed within by the mountain chains extending in every direction, and by a number of rivers. This peculiarity of the land, that it presented so many coasts, such hospitable harbours, and such secure bays, while a number of islands, like so many stepping-stones, served to guide the wandering nations from Asia, that cradle of mankind, into the far-projecting Hellas, chiefly caused the influx of inhabitants and of culture from the east and from the south. On the other hand, the internal division of the country was conducive to a heterogeneous civilization, producing, as it did, a variety of soil, and allowing a separation of the different races, such as could be found in no other country of similar compass. This circumstance, and the fact that there was a free, easy circulation throughout the country, have been of great importance to the peculiarity of ancient Greek civilization.

Greece, bounded on the north by the Cambunian mountains, and by them separated from Macedonia, which, together with Thrace, on its eastern side, commands the whole of Hellas, is encompassed on the east and west by the deep gulf of the Ægean (or Archipelago) and Ionian (or Adriatic) seas. It comprises, without the islands, an area of eighteen hundred

(German) square miles, and is therefore about equal to the kingdoms of Bavaria and Würtemberg. Its greatest length from south to north measures about fifty-five German miles; its greatest breadth from east to west measures thirty-five German miles.

Hellas is divided in the middle by the deep Corinthian and Saronic gulfs, between which lies the isthmus, like a slender neck, forming a safe communication from one continent to the other. To the south of the isthmus, the Peloponnesus extends, like a fig-leaf deeply notched by the Messenian gulf, between the promontories of Acritas and Tænarium, and by the Laconic gulf, between Tænarium and the promontory of Malea, infamous for shipwrecks. On the eastern side, Argolis juts out to a considerable distance between the Argolic and Saronic gulfs. Two renowned islands, Ægina, the abode of an active mercantile community, and Salamis, the grave of Persian presumption, lead us to Attica, which, with Eubœa on its eastern coast, forms many straits and creeks. Here the Euripus was formed, the course of which seemed an inexplicable mystery to the ancients. Further up, on the coasts of Thessaly, opens the Thermaic gulf, bounded on the north by the peninsula of Chalcidice, a land famed in Athenian history, with three long projecting points, the most northern and largest of which terminates with Mount Athos, where the isthmus was cut through by Xerxes; the most southern is Pallene, according to the traditions of the poets, the terrible seat of the war of the giants.

Hellas is divided into Northern Greece, Middle Greece, and the Peloponnesus.

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#### NORTHERN GREECE.

NORTHERN GREECE (now Janiah and Jenischeher) comprises the territories of Epirus and Thessaly. From the Cambunian mountains, which bound it on

the north, a southern arm extends towards the sea, the highest summit of which—Mount Olympus—towering above the clouds, was the dwelling place of the ancient gods. Connected with this chain was another, called Cæta, which divided Thessaly on the south from Hellas Proper, without any opening but the narrow mountain pass of Thermopylæ, rendered famous by Spartan heroism. On the western border of Thessaly arose Pindus, another mountain chain with numerous ramifications, and no less celebrated than Olympus in the songs of the poets. Many streams flowed from the heights down into the broad valleys of Thessaly. Of these the most famous was the poetical Peneus, which watered the whole plain from west to east, and, uniting with many other streams, poured its clear waters through the charming Tempe. This valley, opened by an earthquake, between Olympus and Ossa, which thus made an entrance into Macedonia, has retained its name as a general symbol of natural beauty even to modern times. Tall poplars and shady plane-trees rose up the mountains on both sides, watered by the crystal brooks, which flowed in all directions from the rocks, and hastened towards the river, which, bright as a mirror, majestically winds its way beneath the shadow of the trees. Along its banks extended avenues of laurel, in remembrance, as it were, of the transformation of Daphne, and her flight to this spot. All the rocks were clothed with ivy; every bush resounded with the song of birds, while the altars around smoked with the incense of votaries, whose processions and sacrifices animated this charming valley, chosen by the gods for their own abode.

Beautiful and fertile was the whole region of Thessaly, in the bosom of its broad valleys. Here were pastured large herds of the excellent horses which gained such glory for the Thessalian cavalry, and afforded such victorious aid to the hosts of the Macedonian king, Philip. Here arose the fable of

the Centaurs, a population of equestrian mountaineers; here was the cradle of the Hellenic races, who proceeded from these mountains in a southern direction, and everywhere drove before them the ancient inhabitants of the lands; here was the scene of the flood of Deucalion. No land is richer in ancient myths than this. From Thessaly, led by Jason, proceeded the Minyæ, to open the fearful ports of the Euxine Sea, and to seek, in adventurous wanderings, the eastern and western boundaries of the earth; from Thessaly the Myrmidons followed the son of Thetis, whose name alone comprises a whole epopee of traditions. Here did the Colchian Medea scatter her poisonous herbs, and bequeath to the women of Thessaly the arts of magic. Here did Chiron, the immaculate centaur, train the sons of heroes by knightly exercises. Here sang Thamyris the blind bard, and others, before the arts of the Muses had come down across the mountains into the south of Hellas.

Thessaly, in earlier times a theatre of tradition, afterwards became, on account of its plains, a scene of sanguinary war. Here, in the centre of the land, lay Cynocephalæ, famed for the defeat of Philip, a prelude to the battle of Pydna, on the northern boundary, by which Macedonia became a prey to the Romans. Here, in the neighbourhood of Cynocephalæ, extended the plains of Pharsalus, where the fortune of Cæsar at once overthrew the glory of Pompey and the Roman Republic.

The inhabitants of this province were distinguished by a restless spirit of liberty, which did not proceed from any noble source, but from habitual lawlessness; hence the land was unceasingly torn by discord. The Thessalians were looked upon by the other Greeks as uncultivated, utterly regardless of their word, abandoned to sensual indulgence, friends to noisy banquets, loaded tables, rude licentiousness, and that sort of wild pleasure which is the very antithesis to the intellectual hilarity of educated men.



To the west of the chain of Pindus extends Epirus along the Ionian Sea, where the promontory of the Ceraunian rocks rendered landing difficult. This province, inhabited in ancient times by Græci, who spread through Italy a name not recognised by Greeks themselves, was, for the most part, in the possession of a non-Hellenic race, grouped together in small kingdoms. Of these the oldest and most important was the kingdom of the Molossians, governed for nearly nine hundred years by the Æacides, descendants of Neoptolemus. This was the only permanent kingdom in the ancient world where Greek humanity wielded the sceptre, where kings voluntarily set bounds to their own unlimited authority, and associated with themselves a senate, as the representative of those laws, which each sovereign, on his accession to the throne, swore strictly to maintain.

In this land, at the foot of Mount Tomarus, in the oaken groves of Thesprotia, reposed the ancient Dodona, the oldest oracle of Zeus, to which the priests assigned an Egyptian origin. Here the will of the gods and the events of the future were revealed by a louder rustling of the oaks, a stronger murmuring of the brooks, and a more sonorous clang of suspended basins. Even the oaks themselves were endowed with a language by ancient fiction; and when the Minyæ built the Argo, Athena fitted into the ship a portion of the speaking wood, which, in cases of pressing necessity, revealed to the anxious wanderers an escape from destruction.

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MIDDLE GREECE.

WE now come to Middle Greece (Livadia), or Hellas Proper. From Molossis we descend along the Ambracian Gulf to Acarnania, the western province, rich in cities and hamlets, but almost perpetually engaged in war with the neighbouring Ætolians, and therefore

impeded in the path of cultivation. Here the peninsula of Leucadia extends into the Ionian Sea, terminating in a steep rock, from which incurable lovers sprang into the floods below, there to seek an end to their passion or their life. In sight of this rock, which was crowned by an old temple of Apollo, and in the neighbourhood of Actium, the battle was fought for that supremacy which (732 A.U.C., or B.C. 31) fell into the hands of Augustus.

Acarmania was separated from Ætolia by the Ache-löüs. So celebrated was this river in antiquity, that Homer calls it the "royal ;"\* and its name was used to denote water generally. Endowed with the faculty of selecting any form at pleasure, the river god was a suitor of Deianira, daughter of CENEUS, and, in a contest for his beloved with his rival Heracles, lost one of his horns, which, picked up by the nymphs, was converted into a horn of plenty.

Ætolia, which comprises within its boundaries some fertile districts, was inhabited by many populations, some of which were not Greek at all; all, however, were warlike, fierce, and addicted to plunder. Between their different cities was an union—as in many provinces—for common but free deliberation; and the delegates assembled yearly, and with many solemnities and festal sports, at Thermus. In the south of Ætolia was Calydon, famed for boar-hunts, which drew together a throng of heroes; the native land of Meleager, whom Althea slew with the fatal torch, and of Tydeus, who distinguished himself before Thebes, as his nobler son Diomedes before Troy.

The Ætolians played, in the history of the Roman wars, an important, if not always an honourable part. Jealous of the Achæan league, to which an union with Macedonia had given new strength, they combined with Rome against the Macedonian power. Rome used her brave allies for her own advantage, checking Mace-

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\* 'Κρείων' Ἀχελῷος.' *Il.* xxi. 194.—J. O.



donia, but sparing Achaia, whose destruction had been hoped by the Ætoliens. The wound thus given to their pride—for Rome, as they thought, did not appreciate their merits—was the cause of bitter hostility, and of a new coalition, formed by the mediation of the Ætoliens league, and headed by Antiochus, king of Syria. Antiochus was defeated at Thermopylæ and Magnesia; the Ætoliens lost a battle at Naupactus, and after they had broken a truce, remained under the hardest conditions, abandoned to themselves and to their despair.

The continued mountain chains of Pindus, which meet the chain of Cæta, divide Ætolia from Doris and the Ozolian Locri. Doris, one of the smallest provinces of Hellas, was the cradle of valiant men. From the foot of the Cæta issued those, who, led by the Heraclides, descended into the Peloponnesus, expelled the old inhabitants of the southern peninsula, and became rulers of Laconia, Messenia, and Argolis. From this point proceeded the army that oppressed Athens, and caused the self-sacrifice of Codrus; hence proceeded, also, the colonists who founded a new Doris on the coast of Asia. In earlier times they were almost always on the side of their kinsmen, the Spartans; but afterwards they fell a prey to the superior power of the Ætoliens.

The Locrians are but seldom named in the history of Greece. On their eastern border lies Phocis, which extends from the northern extremity of Cæta to the Gulf of Corinth. Through its entire breadth it is watered by the Cephissus, famed for the protection of the Graces, whose ancient temple rose upon its shores. Its valleys abounded in oil and wine, and the mountains that encompassed it on their sides harboured an industrious population, distinguished for valour and the love of liberty.

In the most western region of this province rises the double summit of Parnassus, at the foot of which, protected by its steep cliffs, lay Delphi, with its temples,

the common oracle of the Greeks, and likewise the wealthiest. Here the religious faith of near and distant regions had assembled the most curious works of art, in which the costliness of the material often vied with the beauty of the form, so that the whole of Delphi resembled a treasury of works of art, such as the modern world has never formed, either by purchase or by plunder. The temple itself is famed as a model of architecture. In its internal sanctuary was the hollow over which stood the sacred tripod ascended by the Pythia, when she inhaled the inspiring fumes that ascended from the earth. The god only spoke at certain times. Then from all parts of Greece and Asia came representatives of the cities, who, in solemn procession, performed their pilgrimage to the temple, and, with song, sacrifice, and dance, implored the favour of the god. Here were celebrated the Pythian games, which vied with the Olympian for precedence of rank, and combined poetical contests with bodily exercises. From the rocks in the vicinity of the temple flowed the spring of Castalia, a brook of holy repute, by which the Muses held their solemn dances. The whole mountain region seemed inhabited by gods. In the broad Corycian Grotto rose the altars of Pan and Bacchus, while the nymphs and woodland deities were worshipped in the surrounding groves. With the milder service of the Muses were alternated the boisterous solemnities of the Mænades, who here, on one of the summits of Parnassus, performed their orgies about the temple of Bacchus.

To what an extent the spirit of freedom and independence reigned among the inhabitants of Phocis, is shown by the following narrative (Pausan. x. i.). Phocis was opposed to the attacks of the Thessalians, who were their superiors in strength, and the moment of complete subjugation seemed to be close at hand. The men then resolved on a bold action. They brought together their women and children, the images of the gods, their gold, silver, and other valuables, to one spot;

built up a pile, placed by it a guard of three hundred men, and ordered them, if they received intelligence of another defeat, to put women and children to death, and set fire to the pile, so that all the treasure might be consumed. Thus they would either die themselves, or put the Thessalian cavalry to the rout. These arrangements being made, the army set off, led by Ræus of Ambryssus, and Daïphantes the Hyampolite. When the opposing forces met, the Phocians, bearing in mind their resolution and the peril of their wives and children, felt that there was no peril so great that they would not undertake it, and thus, with the aid of the gods, they gained a most honourable victory. As a memorial of the event, they sent images of their leaders to Delphi, and established festivals to remind posterity of that perilous day.

To the east\* of Phocis lay Bœotia, bounded on the north, west, and a part of the south by the sea, but chiefly on the south by Megaris and Attica. This was the largest territory of Hellas Proper; rugged with mountains in the north; fertile in the south, though encumbered with a heavy atmosphere; intersected by rivers and lakes, and abundantly blessed by nature with earthly rather than with intellectual gifts. Hence, especially among the acute Athenians, it was no recommendation to have been born beneath the *heavy sky of Bœotia*. Perhaps, however, it was less the climate than the almost exclusive occupation with agriculture and grazing, that rendered the Bœotians inferior to the other Greeks. Of the arts, they only cared for music, and after Pindar no great poet arose among them.

Thebes claimed a rank above the other Bœotian cities, which were united by a voluntary league, and would not recognise any supreme authority. Many contentions and acts of oppression were the results of the claim. Ancient traditions were abundant in this

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\* 'Westlich' in the original, by an obvious oversight.—J. O.

land, where, in the earliest times, the Muses dwelt upon the Aonian mountains, and consecrated Hesiod as a poet at the foot of Mount Helicon. Here the lyre of Amphion summoned together the stones for the walls of Thebes, and every neighbouring mountain and spring called to mind the stories of Laius, of Œdipus, of the contending brothers, of the wars of the seven heroes against the city, in which the Cadmea, by its name, preserved the memory of its founder Cadmus, whose nuptials with the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite was honoured by the presence of the gods themselves.

In the historical period, also, an important part was played by Thebes. When the Persians claimed submission, Thebes alone favoured the foreign king, and thus became obnoxious to the other Greeks. In the time of the Peloponnesian war, as a perpetual rival of Athens, she took the side of Sparta, until at last the overbearing insolence of Sparta converted friendship into hatred. On one occasion a Spartan army perfidiously seized upon the citadel of Thebes, introduced an aristocratic tyranny, banished several of the citizens, deprived many of property and life, and harassed all by a system of terror. The magnitude of the evil produced the remedy. Two men, the greatest to whom Thebes ever gave birth, Pelopidas and Epaminondas, came forward, set on foot a conspiracy, slew the tyrants, who were intoxicated with their good fortune, and restored the democratic constitution. Here also, excited by the spirit of Epaminondas, Thebes struck down the pride of Sparta in the battle of Leuctra; took the first position among the Greek states; made several incursions into the Peloponnesus; and terrified the Lacedæmonians in their own country, where they had never before seen the smoke of an enemy's camp.

Among the most remarkable cities of Bœotia were Lebadea, famed for the oracle of Trophonius, to consult which the inquirers descended into a deep, murky

grotto, from which they returned with gloomy countenances; Chæroneæ, the grave of Greek liberty, after the last glorious efforts of the combined spirit of the whole; Plataea, the rival of Thebes, the faithful friend of Athens, and her assistant in the battle of Marathon. The service thus rendered to the cause of freedom was rewarded by fate, inasmuch as, in the second Persian war, the forces of Mardonius were defeated before the walls of Plataea, and she thus acquired renown which lasted long after every trace of her existence had been destroyed by the fanatical jealousy of Thebes.

To the south of Bœotia, between Attica, and the Saronic and Corinthian Gulfs, extended the narrow territory of Megaris, partly enclosed by the Scironic rocks, infested in ancient times by sanguinary robbers, who harassed and maimed travellers on their way through these parts. In this mountainous region, which had previously belonged, or, at any rate, had been subject to Attica, a party of Dorians settled at the time of the migration of the Heraclides, and always remained faithful to their kindred of the same race. Hence, during the Peloponnesian war, we find them always ranged on the side of Sparta, and persecuted with bitter hatred by their neighbour Athens. So bitter was this animosity, that for a long time every Megarian who crossed the borders of Attica was threatened death. This edict, however, had no terrors for Euclid. Clothed in female attire, he went daily to Athens to hear lessons of wisdom from the lips of Socrates, and in the evening returned home similarly disguised. In the earlier ages, Megara sent many colonists to Sicily and the coast of the Northern Seas; but after the Peloponnesian war her dignity declined, and empty pride took the place of ancient glory. Hence, when the Megarians on one occasion asked the oracle which was the first state in Greece, the answer was:—

Pelasgian Argos is the best of lands,  
Sparta excels in women, Thrace in steeds;  
But far above them are the men who dwell



Between Tyrins and the Arcadian plains.  
 The Argives mail'd in linen, strong in war,  
 But you, Megarians, neither third are ye,  
 Nor even twelfth—a race without renown.

To the east of Megaris, from which it is divided by Mount Cerata, the triangular land of Attica extends far down into the Ægæan Sea, ending at its extreme point with the promontory of Sunium, where the temple of Minerva Sunias beamed on all who arrived. It is a mountainous country, divided on the north from Bœotia by Mount Parnassus, from which several branches extend to the promontory of Sunium; the soil, naturally barren, was carefully cultivated by the industry of its inhabitants, but not sufficiently improved to enable them to dispense with the importation of foreign necessaries. The whole length of this province is fifteen German miles, its greatest breadth is six, so that—as it is a tolerably regular triangle—its entire area does not measure more than forty-five. Upon this narrow base the intelligence, industry, and courage of the inhabitants raised a powerful state, that for a long time held absolute command over the Ægæan Sea, visited all the coasts, even to the remotest nooks of the Euxine, and, at the same time, founded a dominion of mind, that, with the mild sceptre of humanity, regulated the course of civilization for thousands of years, and still acts with cheering and fruitful effect in the bosoms of the best and noblest men. No other province has raised itself so high; it is as if all the streams of humanity and science had flowed from the rest of Hellas into this narrow strip of land, and had there combined into a lake, the surface of which is the smoothest mirror, and the depths of which conceal the richest and most varied abundance.

The inhabitants of Attica, unacquainted with the beginning of their history, gave themselves the name of Autochthons, and hence declared their attachment to their native soil. That they belonged to the same race as the Ionians is certain, and hence they were like them

inclined to a democratic form of government, as the Dorians were inclined to an aristocracy. Their land had been early favoured by the gods; Athena and Poseidon contended for its possession, and the former bestowed on the land that was assigned to her the noble gift of the olive. Here Demeter found a hospitable reception during her wanderings, and sent out Triptolemus to confer on man that inestimable blessing, the fruit of the earth, by which he was first indissolubly attached to his native soil, and made acquainted with laws and property. The glorious energy of great men furthered humanity, then in its youth; and above them all was Theseus, who cleared the land of marauders and established in Athens a rallying point for the scattered inhabitants. Then happened what the poet (Schiller in his *Walk*) sings:—

Man with his fellow-man more closely bound,  
 The world without begirts and cramps him round;  
 But in that world within, the wid'ning soul,  
 The unpausing wheels in swifter orbits roll.  
 See how the iron powers of thoughtful skill  
 Are shap'd and quicken'd by the fire of strife; . . .  
 And now the gods descend, benignly greeting  
 With glorious gifts the ring in which they tread;  
 Ceres, the plough—the anchor, Mercury—  
 Bacchus, the grape—the Sovereign of the Sea,  
 The horse;—the olive brings the Blue-eyed maid—  
 Cybele tower-crown'd, yokes her lion car,  
 Entering in peace the hospitable gate—  
 A Goddess Citizen!—All blest ye are,  
 Ye solemn monuments!—from state to state  
 Ye sent the founders of humanity.\*

Thus, from remote times, Athens was the nursery of heroic virtue and patriotism, and was, moreover, through an uninterrupted series of great men, which extended to the latest period of her history, the nursery of legislation, of philosophy, of the highest poetry, of eloquence, of art; in a word, of every thing that makes up the measure of humanity. Here, in early ages, did

\* The above is from Sir E. B. Lytton's elegant version.—J. O.

the last king of Athens voluntarily sacrifice himself to his country; here the billows of Persian power broke on the shore of Marathon; here was kindled the torch which, in a century and a half, destroyed the colossal edifice of the Persian monarchy; here freedom struggled longest against the encroachments of Macedonian power, and fought gloriously, though without success. From the walls of Athens issued the greatest generals and statesmen; here the people was addressed by a Pericles, a Phocion, a Demosthenes; here Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, produced their unsurpassed tragedies, and Aristophanes his comedies; here Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle taught; here Phidias fashioned the forms of the gods for the admiration of the world and of posterity, and raised temples and halls the ruins of which still excite the wonder of all beholders.

To the lover of antiquity Athens is a Holy Palestine, whose name awakens in his soul the most cheering feelings of humanity, kindling within it the idea of the finest, greatest, noblest results, produced by the calm and profound simplicity of the old heroic world. With feelings of devotion he seeks the traces impressed on the soil by its great inhabitants. He finds the hill of the Areopagus, that venerable tribunal, where even the gods sat in judgment, and from which he can contemplate the remains of ancient Athens, interspersed with the cottages of its present inhabitants, and see spread around him the still delightful plain crowned with olive-trees, vineyards, and orchards. Between craggy rocks he ascends to the Acropolis, where, not long ago, the Parthenon, with its forty-four pillars, excited wonder and veneration, until it was destroyed by the wantonness of a barbarian soldier. He treads the long halls of the Pœcile, in which the sages of Athens were wont to linger with their disciples, and traverses the ruins of the theatre, that once echoed with masterpieces of dramatic art, and with the voices of heralds and of orators. Amid scattered stones—the remains of the long walls—he descends to the Piræus, which still



has a broad commanding entrance, and displays relics of the solid masonry, without cement, which protected the port ages ago ; while the harbour of Phalerum is half destroyed, and that of Munychia has almost wholly disappeared.

If the traveller, at this point of the ancient world, which history illumines with a stream of imperishable light, now misses the action and bustle of intelligent exertion, and, in a city which in the flower of its days numbered an hundred thousand inhabitants, now finds but a tenth part yet remaining ; if in these he finds nothing but cunning and a certain urbanity in the place of their ancestral virtues, he nevertheless consoles himself with the common lot of humanity, which does not bestow a permanent and eternal bloom on one point of earth, but gradually conducts the enlightening star of civilization around the whole surface of the globe. Still more is he consoled by the thought that Athens yet lives in her history, and even more in her works, being thus adorned with a blossom which, cherished by the noblest of mankind, is not exposed to the ravages of time.

In a north-westerly direction from Athens, the Sacred Way, along the sea shore and past Salamis, led to Eleusis, and across Eleusis to the Thracian plain, famed for the grain which was first scattered here by the hand of Demeter. No spot in the ancient world is surrounded by so thick a veil of attractive mysteries as this Eleusis, endowed, as it was, with a temple of Demeter that held about 30,000 persons, and was built during the administration of Pericles. Whatever may have been taught by the hierophants, the daduchi, and the hieroceryces, in these mysteries ; however, in course of time, the simple fable may have expanded into allegory and a purer form of wisdom, this much is certain, that these religious ceremonies contributed to the cultivation of the Greeks. Nevertheless, it is absurd to believe that a higher wisdom would have proceeded from them than from the reason of

uninitiated sages—one of whom was Socrates—or to lament the treasures of knowledge that may have perished with them. They were useful and beneficial in their day, but in process of time they degenerated, and as they had nothing new to present to the cultivated and the intelligent, they veiled mere commonplace in strange, imposing shapes, till at last the whole august institution sank into a lifeless and empty formality.

Of all the provinces of Greece, Attica alone had mines. The Laurium, which was situated at its southern extremity, contained a wealth of silver, which was regarded as a common property, and might be used by any one who would undertake the cost of working. Its treasures are not yet exhausted, but the passages are filled up, and the inhabitants of the district take care not to open them, lest this should give their masters a motive for increased exertion. In the neighbourhood of Athens, Mount Pentelicus yielded a fine white marble, but these quarries are also choked up. The once celebrated Hymetta, the first link of the mountain-chain which divides Attica through its whole length, now lies uncultivated; but, being still covered with thyme and aromatic herbs, it is a favourite abode of the bees, and the honey which these make is one of the chief articles of Athenian trade.

However, the gloomy picture above described has acquired a more cheerful aspect since the land has been governed by a German prince.

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### THE PELOPONNESUS.

PASSING through Megaris and over the Isthmus, we come to the Peloponnesus, or Island of Pelops, remarkable in the earliest times for the myths of Pelops and his descendants, the Atrides, of Danaus, of Io, the daughter of Inachus, of the Heraclides, and so on—afterwards for the originality of the Spartan manners and constitution.

The whole Peloponnesus may be compared to a cone,\* the apex of which is Arcadia. From this lofty mountain region proceed several chains, two of which terminate in the promontories Tænarium and Malea, and include Laconia; a third runs eastward as far as the Scyllæum promontory, and forms the far jutting province of Argolis. About Arcadia are situated—to the north, Achaia; to the west, Elis; to the south, Messenia and Laconia.

Corinth, on the isthmus, a small independent state, insignificant in territory and produce, was highly important from its situation between the gulfs, which rendered it the emporium of commerce between two quarters of the globe. The harbour of Lechæum lay open to the western, that of Cenchreæ, to the eastern ships. Thus Corinth was the chief mart of the Asiatic trade, and at all times the source of wealth and the object of desire to merchants. However, the Corinthians also increased their wealth by their own industry. Their ships covered the sea, and their galleys were a principal part of the maritime force of the Greeks. No city was richer than this in works of art of every kind, in majestic temples, statues, aqueducts, gymnasia, and public squares adorned with the most splendid buildings. On the south, rose the Acropolis, called the Acrocorinthus, an inaccessible mountain, which was looked upon as the key to the Peloponnesus, and from the top of which the spectator could behold, to the north and east, Parnassus and Helicon, the Athenian citadel and the promontory of Sunium. After this city, weakened by its own wealth and luxury, had lost its old influence and renown, it became alternately the slave of the Argive and Lacedæmonian powers, and, finally, in the war with the Achæan league, fell a victim to its situation and to Roman barbarism. Mummius gained a battle before the walls of Corinth, then took the city by storm, and

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\* 'Kegel-Durchschnitt' (conic section) is the expression used, by an obvious mistake, in the original.—J. O.

gave it up to the flames. Of the works of art many were taken to Italy, many were given away, many were destroyed. With feelings of pain, Polybius (xl. 8) describes how he saw the greatest master-pieces of painting lying upon the ground, and serving as a table to the Roman soldiers while they played at dice. How ignorant of art Mummius was himself is sufficiently notorious.

To the west of Corinth, from which it was divided by the river Nemea, lay the small state of Sicyon—the oldest in Greece, a fertile land, abundantly blessed with oil, wine, and grain. By its narrow limits and its weakness, it was prevented from taking an independent part, and alternately followed the interests of Athens and Sparta. At the time of the Achæan league, it attained a transient lustre through Aratus, one of its best citizens, who freed his country from tyranny, disdained to accept the supreme power, rescued Corinth and other important towns from the Macedonians, then, partly with the aid of Macedonia, resisted the overbearing power of Sparta, and raised the Achæan league to an importance it had never enjoyed before.

This province boasts of a city illustrious from its enduring courage—Phlius, where, too, it is said, comedy, or the Satyric drama, had its first origin. Phlius was most intimately connected with Sparta when Sparta was in the flower of her greatness; and even when the power of this state had been broken by the battle of Leuctra, and all the other allies, following the course of fortune, had deserted her, Phlius remained faithful, and defied the menaces of the hostile Arcadians and Argives, who wished to seduce it from the side of Sparta. The country was ravaged, the walls of the city were scaled, but the citizens always repelled the superior power of the enemy. By endurance and stratagem, they vanquished even hunger. Xenophon (*Hellen.* vii. 2) narrates in full detail and with well-merited admiration the noble deeds of this little community, justly remarking that, as all the

historians had proclaimed the noble deeds of large cities, it seemed to him but fair, not only to mention, but even to extol the glorious achievements of small towns. And here he was right. For not only those deeds which are rendered illustrious by the scene in which they occur, but also those which give a lustre to an insignificant spot should be preserved by history for the delight and edification of mankind.

To the west extends Achaia (in which Sicyon and Corinth are sometimes included), as far as the Ionian Sea, washed along the whole northern coast by the Gulf of Corinth, at the entrance of which are the promontories of Rhium and Antirrhium. This entire province was inhabited first by the Ionians, but after the migration of the Heraclides by the Achæans, who had previously occupied the southern part of the Peloponnesus. The whole people were divided into twelve cities, who, united into a voluntary league, continued to exist till the time of the first successors of Alexander (about fifty years after Alexander's death) in a state of powerful independence. It was not till then that that celebrated league was formed, which was joined by the whole Peloponnesus, with the exception of Sparta and also by some states of Hellas Proper,—a league, whose history we shall touch upon in the following section.

The entire coast of this province is interspersed with steep mountains ; even the interior of the country is unfruitful, producing wine only in a few districts. The cities are small and insignificant. Several of them, situated near the coast, were destroyed by earthquakes, as, for instance, Helice, shortly before the battle of Leuctra,—also Bura and Agira. The sea flowed over the ruins and rose to the hills, which were crowned by the temple and grove of Poseidon. All the inhabitants perished ; and mariners, in later days, still showed isolated traces of the sunken city.

From Achaia we ascend to the mountains of Arcadia, a poetical land, rich in tradition, as all mountainous



countries are. Here, in the Mænalus, wandered Pan, guardian of the herds and the chase, while innumerable temples, grottos, and groves stood in honour of the old protector of the land. On the Cyllene (on the borders of Achaia) was the cradle of Hermes, also, in the first instance, a rural god, and here the inventor of the lyre,—a circumstance which is not without its meaning, for the Arcadians were a musical race. After they had lived for a long time on acorns, and appeared to be the rudest people in the Peloponnesus, dwelling in caves and clad in skins, music and poetry found entrance among them, and softened their manners, so that their humanity, hospitality, steadfastness, and love of freedom, earned the commendation of later ages. In the Achæan league they are always mentioned among the bravest.

The chief cities of this country, which, in spite of its mountains, is not unfertile, are Mantinea, famed for the defeat of the Spartans and the death of Epaminondas, which was a defeat for his country. By his advice, the Arcadians, to screen themselves more effectively against the irruptions of the Lacedæmonians, had concentrated their small undefended cities into one larger city, Megalopolis, which was strongly guarded, and formed an impenetrable wall against the enemy. However, not being used to the life of a large town, the inhabitants left the new city in less than six years, and it was only by compulsion that the population could be at all maintained. At the time of the Achæan league, Megalopolis fell a sacrifice to Spartan jealousy, being destroyed by Cleomenes; and Strabo found, in its place, an inhospitable desert;—Lycosura, at the foot of the Lycæus, on the other side of the Alpheus (Arethusa), celebrated for the licentious festivals which were here held in honour of Pan, and prefigured the Lupercalia, at which the god Pan himself was beaten;—Tegea, whose citizens, in the battle of Plataea, contested with the Athenians the command of a wing of the army, and by deeds of high

valour proved themselves worthy of the honour. In the earliest times they had likewise given proofs of their bravery. When, after the death of Lyncurgus, as Herodotus (i. 66) relates, the Spartans made war upon Arcadia, and consulted the oracle at Delphi concerning the issue of the war, they received this deceptive answer :—

Thou seek'st Arcadia,—'tis too great a gift ;  
 Many in Arcady on acorns feed,  
 And these will bar thy conquest ; yet I grant,  
 Tegea,—thou may'st dance upon its plains  
 And measure out with chains its verdant fields.

Deceived by this oracle, they marched, taking chains with them, against the citizens of Tegea, hoping to make them all slaves. These, however, fought bravely, the very women displaying such valour in the battle that the name and equipment of one of them, Marpessa, has been preserved to modern times (Pausan. viii. 47). The Spartans were made prisoners, the chains were put upon *them*, and thus they tilled the land, measuring it out for others, and moving about it in an uncomfortable dance. Such were the pleasantries of the ancient gods, and thus did they punish presumption.

To the west of Arcadia, bounding the Peloponnesus, is Elis, a fertile, well-watered land, full of industrious inhabitants, who were so devoted to agriculture that several families had not visited a city for two or three generations. It is said that for a long time they enjoyed profound tranquillity. Respected as the favourites of the first of deities, who had honoured them with his games, they were spared by other nations, who, when they marched to war through the Elean territory, laid down their arms at the border. In later days, however, they could not escape the common destiny of the Greeks. They were often at war with the Arcadians, and were also involved in the Peloponnesian war.

Elis, the chief city, situated in the most northern part of the province, owed its origin to an union of several



villages, which did not take place till after the second Persian war. It had no walls, for it was esteemed a holy place. In the middle of the province, on the Alpheus, was Olympia, close to the ancient Pisa, which, however, had so long disappeared, that many doubted whether it had ever existed. A great part of Olympia was occupied by the edifices used for the games, among which the Temple of Zeus Olympius was the most magnificent. Here architecture had reached its highest perfection, and the ancients said that if Zeus descended from heaven, he would find a second heaven here. The master-piece of Phidias—the colossal statue of Zeus—made out of ivory and gold, in conformity with Homer's ideal, was worthy of the temple in which it was placed. The god sat upon a throne, his head was adorned with an olive branch, in his right hand he held the goddess of Victory, and in his left the highly-wrought sceptre. The throne was adorned with a multitude of carved figures. Some of the ancients say that the statue was sixty feet high, and the fault was found that the god could not be supposed to stand upright without knocking off the roof. Near the temple, where the god himself sat as arbiter of the contests, those celebrated games took place, which raised the victor to the highest summit of felicity, and brought together one of the largest assemblages of the Greeks. More will be said of them in the section devoted to Hellenic manners.

To the east of Arcadia lies Argolis, a large tongue of land between the Saronic and Argolic gulfs, agreeably intersected by mountains and hills, and full of fertile valleys that afforded pasture to excellent horses. Here, in the old legendary times, shone the names of Inachus and Danaus; here Perseus and Heracles were born; here Agamemnon ruled Argos and the wealthy Mycenæ in its neighbourhood—cities which, by their Cyclopean walls, proved the antiquity of their origin. The inhabitants of the country were considered valiant. They took part in all the contests of the Peloponnesians

and the other Greeks, and maintained their independence against the oppressions of their neighbour Sparta, who was opposed to the democratic constitution of Argos. Arts and sciences did not flourish among them. Nevertheless, they produced the sculptors Ageladas and Polyeletus, and the poetess Telesilla, who was still more famed for her bravery. For when Argos had lost the flower of her youth in a great battle against the Spartans, and the enemy was advancing against the city, which was defenceless, she assembled the women around her by her inspiring words, snatched the weapons from the temples, hastened with them to the walls, and scared back the enemy, who thought that either a victory or a defeat would be disgraceful. This deed was immortalized by a festival, at which the women appeared in male attire, and a statue of Telesilla was set up, with a helmet in its hand, which the figure seemed to contemplate with earnestness. No less celebrated were those sons of the Argive priestess, Cleobis and Biton, whose filial piety was the boast of succeeding centuries.

On the southern border of Argolis lay Thyrea, the object of a contest with the Spartans, which, according to the Father of History (Herodot. i. 82), was distinguished by the heroism of Othryades, who killed himself after the trophies had been erected, that he might not survive his three hundred comrades. On the eastern coast, we find Trœzen, the dwelling-place of the son of Pelops, the wise old Pittheus, who educated Theseus and Hippolytus. Further north was Epidaurus, with a temple of Æsculapius, tended by Asclepiades, and frequented by sick persons from all parts of Greece, who here found a cure. On the pillars of the temple were suspended votive tablets, with the names, maladies, and remedies of the patient. A similar collection in the temple of Æsculapius at Cos was used by Hippocrates. An incubation, during which the patients heard the voice of the god as he prescribed remedies, was the most frequent method

employed in this temple, in which ten snakes were regarded as representatives of the deity. One of them was brought by the Romans to the Tiberine Island. Quite in the north, near the Corinthian border, lies Nemea, renowned for its games, which were either established as funeral honours to Archemorus, or were founded by Heracles in honour of Zeus after the defeat of the lion.

The south of the Peloponnesus is occupied by Laconia and Messenia. The latter, which is divided from the former by the mountain chain of Taygetus, embraces the broad Messenian Gulf, and is an excellent country both for grazing and agriculture. Its fertility soon aroused the cupidity of Sparta, who claimed a sort of supremacy over Messenia, on the ground that she had given her the first Dorian kings. From this cause, as well as from mutual injuries and affronts, arose the Messenian wars, the first of which brought the land so completely under Spartan rule that the Messenians were obliged to give up half the produce of their fields to the conquerors. When, after the lapse of eight-and-thirty years, they rose against their oppressors, the attempt proved abortive, after incredible exertions and marvellous deeds, especially on the part of their general Aristomenes, who, a descendant of the ancient kings, but too magnanimous to accept the crown, which was proffered to him, only employed the confidence of the people for their own good. Before the insurrection had broken out, he went clandestinely to Sparta to spread terror among the Spartans; and, for this purpose, hung against the temple of Athena a shield, with the inscription—‘Aristomenes dedicates this shield from the Spartan spoils.’ His armies were always victorious; Sparta was humbled, and only the aid of Tyrtæus could revive her fallen courage. Even when the Messenians, driven from the rest of their possessions, shut themselves up in Ira, Aristomenes did not cease to harass and dispirit the enemy. In one of his sallies he was covered with wounds and made pri-

soner. His enemies were ungenerous enough to cast him, with a number of dead bodies, into a deep cave, from which there seemed to be no outlet ; but a fox, so says the legend, showed him a way of escape, and he soon reappeared in the field, to the astonishment of Sparta. Again captured, he again freed himself by his valour, killing a far superior number of enemies. Even when Ira was at last taken by Spartan stratagem, he forced a passage to Arcadia, and marched with his followers, as if in triumph, through the host of astounded Spartans. He would, perhaps, have taken Sparta itself, had he not been betrayed by the Arcadian king, Aristocrates. A portion of the surviving Messenians migrated to Sicily, where they founded Messene, while Aristomenes remained in Hellas, highly respected, and pronounced by the oracle itself, the worthiest of men. When, twelve years after the battle of Thermopylæ, Sparta was destroyed by an earthquake, the Helots and the oppressed inhabitants of Messenia, availed themselves of the opportunity, and renewing the war—after a bondage of two hundred years—fortified the Mountain Ithome, and defended it for ten years. At last, finding that it was impossible to defend themselves any longer, they were allowed to retire, and settled in Naupactus, under the protection of Athens. In the course of the Peloponnesian war they were driven from this settlement, and dispersed themselves about Italy and Sicily, until Epaminondas called them back from exile, and re-established them in their old country, to the mortification of humbled Sparta.

Laconia, comprised between two mountain arms, and thus separated from the rest of the Peloponnesus, is divided through its whole length by the river Eurotas. The soil, in the mountains, is dry and rocky, but further down in the plain it is not unfruitful. The climate is inclement, being as oppressively hot in summer as it is cold in winter. Several travellers are of opinion that this peculiarity of climate has contributed towards the warlike character of the Lacedæmonians, and point

to the Mainotes, who are living in the same place now, and show a kindred disposition. However, the warlike spirit was natural to the Dorian race, who here, strengthened by the legislation of Lycurgus, acquired a severity and hardness unknown elsewhere. This legislation will occupy us on another occasion. It is sufficient here to call attention to the remarkable, unusual manners, which travellers found in this province. They found warlike, proud, unpolished people, who recognized no superior except the law, but bowed to this with superstitious veneration; who cultivated no art, and, indeed, despised arts in general, as a source of moral corruption and hurtful luxury; but who, nevertheless, with all their uncouthness, made such an impression on the more cultivated Greeks, that several of the noblest minds, as, for instance, Xenophon and Plato, lauded their state as a pattern, and their morals as the best. The position of the women was very different from that in other states. While in those the matrons and virgins of higher rank, shut up as in a convent, seldom left their gynæcia, and, confined to the internal management of the household, took no part in public affairs, the Spartan virgins exercised themselves in the palæstra, and after marriage had many of the rights as well as much of the character of men. By them patriotism and heroic courage were deemed the highest virtues, and they thought that they communicated these virtues to their children at birth. When some one said to the consort of king Leonidas, 'You Spartan women are the only women who rule the men,' she replied, 'Certainly, for we are the only women who give birth to men.' The glorious death of her sons inspired the Spartan mother, not with grief, but with joy. One of them had sent five sons to the war, and waited in the suburb to hear the issue of the contest. When a messenger arrived, and, as the first answer to her inquiry, told her that all her sons had perished, she exclaimed, 'I did not ask you that, slave, but how it fares with our country.' When the



slave said further that victory was on the side of Sparta, she continued, 'Then I receive with joy the news of my sons' death.' Actuated by sentiments like these, the Spartan women despised luxury and external splendour, their whole thoughts being devoted to their country. Once, when an Ionian woman boasted of her fine dress, a Spartan pointed to her four stout sons, and said, 'These are the ornaments of noble women, and of such they have a right to boast.'

This remarkable people, whose whole life was but one continual military exercise, and who regarded war, which to other peoples and states appears only as an extraordinary exception, as the main end of all their energies, was nevertheless more distinguished for individual deeds than for great military enterprises. Although allied with the states of the Peloponnesus, and several states besides, the Lacedæmonians nevertheless fought seven-and-twenty years against Athens, and for a long time without decided success, until, acting on the advice of Alcibiades, supported by Persian gold, and led by a general who undermined the constitution of his country, they attained the victory, and for a short time recovered the possession of the Hegemonia. This, however, they soon lost again; and the genius of a single man sufficed to humble the overbearing insolence with which they treated alike their allies and the conquered. This example teaches us a lesson, that may be also learned from modern history, namely, that courage and exercise are not alone sufficient to give a people military superiority, but that even the art of war demands other and more extensive acquirements.

This land is still inhabited by a people ardently attached to their liberties, and well practised in arms. The vanity of modern Greeks maintains that they are descended from the ancient Spartans. Vain, however, would it be to look for Spartans here: the Spartan kingdom has passed away; it was enough that the world should once see the example of a state which

carried out the purposes of war with such consistency. The consequences of the system are sufficiently shown by history, and never may the wish awaken in us, that the narrow egoistic virtue of the Spartans may again find a home in the modern world. However, in our times, the danger is not very great.

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When we once more survey the multitude of states, cities, and populations, we see that it is to Athens that the whole mass is attracted, as to a common centre. Athens, situated in the middle of the Hellenic world, combined in herself all the rays of culture that at any time arose in the north or in the south, in the east or in the west, ennobled and perfected them all, and produced the old in a renovated form. In a political sense also, she presents the aspect of a similar combination. Not only did she maintain the Hegemonia for a considerable time, but, inasmuch as she held the first rank among the democratic states, she was the protectress and guardian of the other democracies. Hence the enemies of this form of constitution stretched their arms towards Athens; for they knew that if Athens fell, democracy must fall likewise. It is, therefore, not a mere chance that we know the history of Athens better than that of any other Hellenic state, but it is the necessary consequence of her connexion with the whole Hellenic world, and of that superiority of culture which allowed her to have the best historians.

It is not uninteresting to observe the contrasts that arise in the moral and political peculiarities of the Greek states. While we justly regard Attica as the centre of Hellenic civilization, we see that the rays grow fainter and fainter as the distance from this focus increases. In the southern extremity, it has taken the form of a vast, strange, and legalized inhumanity, which, armed with sword and spear, scares away the Muses and the Graces. In the north, that is to say, in Thessaly, appears a lawless inhumanity,



which has a more joyous character than the Laconic; but which, having its origin in levity, wildness, and violence, stands as the most complete antithesis to the earnestness of Sparta. In the east and west we find similar phenomena, if we compare Phrygia and Ætolia as the extreme points of the Hellenic world.

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ISLANDS BELONGING TO GREECE.

WE will add a few words on the Greek islands and colonies.

On the western side lies Cerceira, the Roman Corcyra, the present Corfu, where Homer placed the realm of Alcinoüs, and those jovial Phæacians, whom the Roman poet (Hor. *Epist.* i. 2,) thus describes:

In cute curanda plus æquo operata juvenus,  
Cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies, et  
Ad strepitum citharæ cessatum ducere somnum.

As a fact of the historical period, it may be mentioned that Corcyra became an important maritime power after the second Persian war. Further south lies Cephallenia (Zefalenia), opposite to the Corinthian Gulf, the largest of all these Greek islands, and in its immediate neighbourhood Ithaca, the kingdom of Ulysses. Still farther south, is Zacynthus (Zante) and the Strophades (Strivali) the abode of the Harpies after they had been expelled by Zetes and Calais.\* Opposite to the Laconic gulf is Cythera (Cerigo,) a celebrated emporium for Egyptian and Libyan merchants, still more famed for the worship of Aphrodite Urania, who had here her holiest temple. The imagination of the moderns has converted this somewhat barren island into a paradise—a garden of Armida. All traces of the temple of Aphrodite have disappeared.

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\* The story of the pursuit of the Harpies, by Zetes and Calais, the winged sons of Boreas, is related by Apollodorus, i. 9, sec. 21.—J. O.

Of the islands in the Saronic Gulf, the most renowned is Salamis, the birthplace of Telamon, Ajax, and Teucer, and a perpetual monument of Greek glory. When in early times there had been long and sanguinary contests between the Athenians and the Megarians respecting these islands, a law was passed at Athens prohibiting any proposal for a reconquest. Solon contrived to remove this difficulty. The inspired citizens repealed the law and chose Solon for their leader, who, luring the Megarians to the coast by a new stratagem,\* surrounded them from an ambush, and thus overpowered them. This was Solon's first step to glory.

Nearer the coast of Argolis is Ægina, opposite to Epidaurus — in the earlier times a flourishing commercial state, where gold was first coined, and the art of casting in brass was practised. The people of this island sent thirty ships to the battle of Salamis, and earned the prize of valour. In the course of the Peloponnesian war, Ægina was conquered by the Athenians, the inhabitants were expelled, and although they afterwards returned home, under the protection of Sparta, their prosperity was at an end.

Proceeding eastwards we come to Ceos, opposite Sunium, a populous, wealthy island, famed as the birthplace of Simonides and Bacchylides. While Ceos was yet independent, the capital Iulis was on one occasion besieged by the Athenians, and when it could no longer hold out for want of provisions, the men capable of bearing arms surrounded the oldest citizens, and threatened to kill them if the enemy did not desist. Upon this the Athenians raised the siege; but at a later period the island fell into their hands, and became thenceforth a seat of opulence. The city Iulis was adorned with the most superb edifices, the walls were of blocks of marble, and the streets were magni-

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\* For a complete account of their proceedings, *vide* Plutarch, *Solon*.

ficient. It is said that in the earliest times there was a law at Ceos which obliged men above sixty years of age to put an end to their existence, on the ground that it was disgraceful to survive one's faculties, and be of no further service to the country. The day of death was a joyous festival. The old man, crowned with a wreath, drank hemlock, and died in the society of his friends and kindred.

To the north is Eubœa (Negroponte), extending along Attica, Bœotia, and Locris, as far as Thessaly, and divided from Hellas by the Euripus. A mountainous region, with fertile valleys and abundance of iron and copper, it has several small remarkable points about it: for instance, the promontory of Caphareus, in the neighbourhood of which was Carystus, with its excellent marble quarries; amiantos, too, the material of incombustible linen, was found there. The city of Eretria is celebrated for its misfortunes in the Second Persian War; it was entirely razed to the ground, and all the inhabitants were transferred to the Persian kingdom. The island mostly belonged to Athens, who collected a tribute there; but this was often refused. Sometimes individual cities were under the dominion of tyrants.

The Archipelago is sprinkled over with islands, which seem to be more or less of volcanic origin. Indeed, the promontories of Eubœa often smoke, and are covered with accumulations of lava. The chief group is formed by the Cyclades, which lie in a circle to the south of Eubœa. These, on account of the marble rocks, which look white in the distance, are called by the poets 'shining' (*Nitentes*, Horat. *Od.* i. 14, 19, or *fulgentes*, iii. 28, 14). In the centre of them is the island of Delos, small in extent, but celebrated for ages. Here stood the richest temple of Apollo, after Delos had had the honour of affording a refuge to Latona, when, having previously floated, it struck root in the sea. The Delian oracle was regarded as the most venerated, and as there was a constant influx of persons

who came to consult or to offer thanksgivings, Delos became the seat of active commerce. Indeed, almost throughout Greece trade and religion went hand in hand. In the Mithridatic war, this sanctuary was profaned for the first time, being plundered by Mithridates' general, Menophanes. The prosperity of the island was thenceforth destroyed, and its fate was attributed to the wrath of Hera. Thus Antipater makes the island in person say:—

Would I had roam'd, the sport of ev'ry storm,  
 And had not here been fix'd as Leto's nurse,  
 Then had I not bewail'd this solitude.  
 Alas! the Grecian vessels pass me by,  
 And Delos, once rever'd, is shunn'd by all.  
 Thus late, but surely, Hera show'd her wrath.

*Anthol. Græc.* II. 45.\*

Another poet, Alpheus, invokes Delos thus:—

Thou holy resting-place of Leto, whom  
 Great Cronides fix'd in th' Ægean Sea,  
 I will not, queen of islands, mourn thy fate,  
 After the manner of Antipatros.  
 Bless'd in receiving Phœbus,—sacred home,  
 After Olympus, of great Artemis.

A short time ago Delos was a desert rock, which, however, afforded pasture to a few herdsmen who came to it from the neighbouring islands.

The craggy rocks of Naxos inclosed a fertile country, which, rich in the best wine, fruit, olives, and almond trees, was the scenc of the sufferings of Ariadne, the deserted mistress of Theseus.† Naxos is still the most beautiful island in the Archipelago, although depopulated like the rest. Von Riedesel, who does not generally praise this world of isles, speaks with rapture of the prospect from one of the mountains of Naxos, comprising a view of the large, beautiful island,

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\* Both this and the following Epigram are in Jacob's *Delectus Epigrammatum Græcorum*.—J. O.

† In the original, by an obvious mistake, 'Bacchus.'—J. O.

full of the most charming landscapes, and a large portion of the Archipelago. Here all the mountains are covered with honeysuckle and oleander, and the air is loaded with the odours of thyme and other aromatic herbs. Naxos is the island of the Greek Improvisatori, and the herdsmen are the best slingers. Upon a rock, which was connected with the island by a forest, fragments of a temple of Bacchus may still be seen, and the portal is still usually called the gate of Dionysus.

Paros, divided from Naxos by a narrow strait, is a fertile island, with fine marble quarries, now in a state of ruin. However, some capitals of columns which were worked in the quarries, may be found in them still. Paros is celebrated as the birth-place of Archilochus, who is called by the poet (Theocritus, *Anthol. Græc.* II. 135).

————— Paros' ancient son  
The singer of Iambi, whose high fame  
Extends unperishing from east to west.

In the Persian wars the Parians assisted Xerxes; hence the expedition of Miltiades, which led to his downfall. Opposite Paros lies the small rocky island Oliaros, now Antiparos, famed far above its deserts by some exaggerating Frenchmen on account of a cavern filled with crystallized tufa.

Of the Sporadic islands, along the coast of Asia, the most remarkable is Lesbos (now Meletin or Metaline, a corruption of Mitylene), famed for its excellent wine, and its cities of Mitylene and Mithymna, and also as the place whither the hand and lyre of Orpheus were borne by the sea, to be afterwards preserved in the temple of Apollo,—as the elegiac poet Phanocles (*Anthol. Græc.* II. 123) boasts:—

Since then upon the island lyre and song  
Have reign'd; in music ne'er was land more rich.

And he boasts truly, for Lesbos is renowned for the lyrical poet of freedom Alcæus, and the poetess

Sappho, masculine in her earnestness. Lesbos is also the birth-place of Pittacus, one of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, and of Theophrastus, the intelligent and fascinating disciple of Aristotle.

Chios, opposite to Ionia, is one of the most beautiful islands of that region, and is still celebrated as the garden of the Levant, which almost wholly supplies Constantinople with fruit. It was probably the birth-place of Homer; and, at all events, a school of the Homerides long existed here. A seat, hewn out of a stone, by the sea-side, is still shown as the spot where Homer composed and taught his poems.

Samos, opposite Ephesus, was the principal landing-place to all the merchants who went from Egypt and Syria to the Euxine. The land itself was fertile and exported its produce, while the metropolis gave evidence of its wealth by its magnificent buildings and its abundant works of art. However, of all these only a few relics are left; and of the famous temple of Hera,—one of the largest in Greece,—two white pillars, yet erect, and some others lying about them, are the sole remains. The island, however, has derived immortal renown from Pythagoras, one of the greatest and wisest men of antiquity, although his system, like the temple of Hera, comes to us in the shape of a few fragments.

Last of all the Sporades we mention Cos, opposite to Halicarnassus, a small, fertile island, which, famed for its temple and a school of the Asclepiades, was no less renowned as the birth-place of Hippocrates.

To the south of Cos was Rhodes, whose inhabitants were

Dear unto Zeus, who governs gods and men;  
He shower'd abundant riches on their head.

As Homer sings, (*Iliad*. ii. 670). Nay, when, on this island, Pallas sprang from her father's head, Zeus brought a glittering cloud over the country, and showered down golden rain and snow; while a know-



ledge of all the arts (according to Pindar, *Olymp.* vii.) was diffused among the inhabitants, who, being placed between two quarters of the globe, enjoyed a situation remarkably favourable to commerce, and for a series of centuries saw their trade constantly increasing. Such a phenomenon could only be explained by the assumption of some ancient myths, like that of the Telchinæ, an old race of artificers, who were even accused of magic. Rhodian vessels covered the seas, and the Rhodians were regarded by the ancients as the people best skilled both in building and in managing ships. In the sea-fights of the Hellenic world they played an important part. Their cities were magnificently built; all their temples and public edifices bore a character of wealth and grandeur. One of their last great works was the Colossus of the Sun, which they resolved to set up, after Demetrius Poliorcetes had besieged their city, and then, changing his mind, had made them a present of all the warlike implements employed in the siege, by the sale of which they gained three hundred talents. The Colossus was seventy cubits high, and a single finger was equal to a large column. When it had stood scarcely sixty-five years, it was thrown down by an earthquake. However, Rhodes had a hundred other colossal figures, each of which might have made a place renowned.

We conclude this list with the two largest islands of the eastern part of the Mediterranean, Crete and Cyprus. Crete is two thousand three hundred stadia long, and its greatest breadth is four hundred stadia.\*

It is surrounded by white mountains, of which the tallest is Ida, while the valleys below are fertile. In the earliest times this island flourished under the government of Minos, through the wisdom of its laws and its dominion of the sea. The elder Minos was glorified by tradition as the familiar friend of Zeus,

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\* This measurement is substituted for the German measure of Stunden.—J. O.



who intrusted him, after death, with the office of judging the dead ; the young Minos cleared the sea of pirates, and made several states of Greece, including Athens, pay tribute. The Cretan legislation is regarded as the model of the Spartan, and, like that, trained up the citizens in the civic virtues. We are hence naturally astonished at the subsequent degeneracy of the Cretans, which became proverbial. The severe expression of Callimachus, 'Cretans are always liars' (*Hymn to Zeus*), is well known, having passed even into our Scriptures (Titus i. 12) ; and the Tarentine Leonidas says of them (*Anthol. Græc. II. 141*) :

Robbers and pirates, a vile lawless race,  
Are Crete's inhabitants.

We may mention the circumstance that Zeus had a grotto and a sanctuary in Crete, and that even his grave was shown there.

In the angle formed by Syria and Cilicia lies Cyprus. This island, once famed for its extraordinary fertility, is now a desolate, marshy, unhealthy country. Here, in Paphos and Amathus, flourished the worship of Aphrodite, who landed near the shore in this vicinity, when she was newly born from the foam of the sea. There is here, too, the tradition of an ancient king, Pygmalion, who is said to have fallen in love with the image of a virgin which he himself had made. At his request Aphrodite endowed the image with life, and he married it. The city of Salamis is said to have been founded by Teucer, the son of Telamon. When he returned from the Trojan war without his brother Ajax, his father would not allow him to enter the country. Thus driven from his native land, he founded a new home in Cyprus. Till the time of Alexander the Great the island was under Persian supremacy, though ruled by kings of its own, of whom Evagoras has become famous through the panegyric of Isocrates.

## COLONIES OF THE GREEKS.

No people has sent out more colonies than the active, restless people of Greece. They spread east and west, sometimes as exiles or malcontents, sometimes for the sake of commerce. Many of their colonies became powerful, and the Greek mind returned from them more cultivated into its mother country. Most of them remained faithful to the old laws; ancient institutions prevailed in the new country, and thus the Greek mind could securely extend itself into the distance. Most of the colonial cities remained free; and even when a Persian conqueror gave them a governor, the Greek mind still continued, and the connexion of language and manners was not broken. The different migrations were a natural result of the geographical situation of Greece, and were beneficial to the people, encouraging the free circulation and variety of its culture.

The colonies of the Greeks were confined to the Mediterranean and Euxine Seas; the coasts of the Atlantic were left to the Phœnicians. The oldest migrations of which we know with any certainty were those of the Ætoliæ, Ionians, and Dorians to Asia Minor. The first of these was impelled by the immigration of the Heraclides. The Ætoliæ held Mysia and the islands of Lesbos, Tenedos, and Hecatonnesos, and built twelve cities, of which Cumæ—according to an unauthorized tradition, the birth-place of Hesiod—and Smyrna, which afterwards fell to the Ionians, were the principal. The name of Smyrna exists still, but the city now so called is an ugly, dirty place, surrounded by burnt up fields, in a badly cultivated district; whereas the ancient Smyrna, especially under the Roman emperors, was the seat of Asiatic luxury. Here, from a small grotto, in which Homer is said to have composed his poems, flowed the Meles. Altogether; many traditions respecting Homer were con-

nected with Smyrna, and the citizens had even built him a temple, where they paid him divine honours.

Ionian colonies, under Nileus, the son of Codrus, occupied the coast of Lydia, as well as Samos and Chios, sixty years after the return of the Heraclides. These also built twelve cities, which were all independent, but united in a league, which had for its common sanctuary the Panionium, erected to Poseidon, on the promontory of Mycale. The crown of them all was Miletus, the first and wealthiest commercial city, after Tyre and Carthage. Miletus had about three hundred colonies on all the shores of the Euxine and the Propontis; its trade by land reached the furthest interior of Asia; and it often had from eighty to a hundred ships of war. The revolt of Aristagoras against the Persians, in which the Ionians and Miletus took a most active part, proved the ruin of the city, which was set on fire and destroyed. and, though rebuilt, never recovered its former splendour. Thales and Anaximander were natives of Miletus, which was thus the cradle of the Ionian school, and, consequently, of all Greek philosophy. Phocæa, as the rival of Tyre, carried on a great sea-trade with Western Europe, as far as the Pillars of Hercules. When Cyrus had conquered Lydia, Harpagus laid siege to Phocæa, and demanded a surrender on the mildest terms—namely, that the citizens should throw down a single bulwark, and dedicate a single house.\* They asked a day's deliberation, during which Harpagus was to remove the army. They then sailed off, with all their property and sacred images, having first bound each other, by mutual oaths, never to return.

————— simul imis saxa renârint  
Vadis levata, ne redire sit nefas.—(HOR. *Ep.* xvi. 25.)

Thus the Persians found the city empty. However, after the lapse of some time, half the fugitives, re-

\* This was to be deemed a token of submission.—J. O.

greeting the city they had left and the land to which they were accustomed, went back, regardless of their oath. The rest settled in Corsica, but finding themselves oppressed by the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, migrated to Rhegium, and afterwards to Gaul, where, in the midst of a barbarous people, they founded Massilia (Marseilles), afterwards a rich and flourishing commercial town. The inhabitants of Teos, the birth-place of Anacreon, acted in a similar spirit, for being also pressed by Harpagus to surrender, they sailed over to Thracia, where they founded Abdera. On the same coast, somewhat more to the north, lay Ephesus, the centre of Asiatic trade after the fall of Miletus and Phocæa. It was famed for its temple of Diana, which, having been destroyed by Herostratus, was rebuilt with increased magnificence. The new edifice, towards which the ladies of Ephesus contributed their ornaments, and for which all the Greeks in Asia Minor vied with each other in levying contributions, was undertaken under the direction of Dinocharus, the same architect who had drawn the plan of Alexandria, and would have converted Mount Athos into a statue of Alexander. The scanty remains of the temple, consisting of little more than a few subterranean passages, have now become hiding-places for robbers. Ephesus was the birth-place of Heraclitus, surnamed the Obscure—a profound thinker—and of Parrhasius and Apelles, the heroes of painting.

The Dorian colonies in Caria, Cos, and Rhodes, were afterwards founded by successive migrations. One of the most celebrated is Halicarnassus, the birth-place of Herodotus, the father of history, and Dionysius, who has left us a Roman archæology. Here stood the mausoleum by which Artemisia immortalized both herself and her husband Mausolus. Besides Halicarnassus, we may mention Cnidos, where the worship of Aphrodite flourished, and where the famous statue by Praxiteles caused many strangers to visit the city.

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The shores of the Propontis, the Euxine, and the Palus Mæotis were likewise covered with colonics, all of which, with the exception of Lampsacus, had been sent out from Miletus. All these cities—as Perinthus, Byzantium, Chalcedon, Sinope, Cyzicus, &c., attained great prosperity, and extended their trade deep into Southern Russia and across the Caspian Sea.

The coast of Thrace and Macedonia was chiefly occupied by Corinthian and Athenian colonies. On the Thracian Chersonesus, Sestus and Cardia commanded the navigation of the Hellespont. On the Chalcidian peninsula the Corinthians had built Potidæa, the Eubœans Chalcis; but the Athenians made these cities and also Olynthus tributary to secure the northern trade with Thrace. All these cities, as well as the Athenian colony of Amphipolis, on the Strymonic Gulf, play an important part in the history of the Hellenic wars, especially with Philip of Macedonia.

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Another fine Hellenic land displays itself in the west, where Italy showed her smiling plains to invite the Greeks as they came from the East. Magna Græcia appears like a starry heaven of bright points, which, as they shine forth in history without connexion, rather create a transient pleasure than afford a lasting occupation. The foundation of most of these colonies lies between B.C. 750 and 650, that is to say, in a time when all the Greek states had already constitutions more or less democratic. These states differed from each other in origin, constitution, and culture, like the states in Hellas proper, excepting that here there was less political connexion between them, and that, therefore, the fragmentary history was here even more than in Hellas a history of cities. What we know of their prosperity and legislation often excites wonder, and makes us regret that we are without more perfect information. Here flourished Tarentum, the birth-place of the wise and brave Archytas, founded by the Parthe-



nians during the Messenian wars, strengthened by many fortunate contests with the neighbouring barbarians, and flourishing in great wealth, but at last enervated by luxury. Croton, a powerful city, was conquered and destroyed by the Locrians in a great battle on the Sagra. Here flourished the secret league of Pythagoras, whence proceeded the wisest legislators and political reformers. The Crotoniats were greatly addicted to bodily exercises, and according to a proverb, the worst Crotoniat would be the best among the other Greeks. Croton produced a great number of victors in the Olympian games. Milon, who once supported with his hands a falling auditory of the Pythagoreans, and of whose bodily strength many marvels are related, was a Crotoniat. Sybaris, the seat of luxury, in earlier times renowned for valour and commercial activity, held twenty-five tributary cities. The city itself was conquered by the Crotoniats, who inundated it by turning the course of a river, and utterly destroyed it. Thurium, peopled partly from Attica, rose on the ruins of Sybaris. The Thurians here received a wise constitution from Charondas, and the Epizephyrian Locrians received one from Zaleucus, whose institutions lasted with undiminished force for more than two hundred years.

Sicily also was sprinkled over with Greek colonies, among which Syracuse, a powerful state, was so predominant, that for a considerable time it governed the whole of Sicily, whose entire history is thus closely connected with its own. Gelo laid the foundation of its prosperity. He defeated the Carthaginians, who were united with the Persians, and when Athens and Sparta requested his aid against the Persians, he insisted that the chief command should be entrusted to him. His patriotic beneficent government procured him the love of his subjects, and obtained him, after death, the honours of a hero. He was succeeded by his brother, Hiero I., under whose brilliant reign the power of the state was increased, the court



displayed great lustre, and literature flourished, as Pindar, Simonides, and Æschylus, who stayed at his court, sufficiently prove. His brother Thrasybulus, who succeeded him, was expelled by the people on account of his cruelty, and the democratic constitution was restored. From this time Syracuse held a sort of supremacy among the allied Greek cities of Sicily, and the greatness of its power may be seen from the abortive attempts of Athens. This city was afterwards the scene of remarkable events during the wars with Carthage, under the Dionysii (from the second of whom it was freed by Timoleon) and under Agathocles. At last, under Hiero II., a descendant of the old kings, the city, protected by the Romans, enjoyed a long tranquillity; but, after his death, was punished for a revolt from Rome, being conquered and plundered by Marcellus, after a three years' siege. Innumerable works of art were brought to Rome from the wealthy city, who, even in her last days, had produced an Archimedes. Syracuse was not restored till it was raised from its ashes by Augustus.

I shall merely mention the wealthy and magnificent Agrigentum, next in rank to Syracuse, whose ancient lustre is still shown in the vast remains of its temples. Here are the ruins of the temple of the Olympian Jupiter. The columns are so thick, that a person can easily stand in one of the fluted grooves. Every column measures twenty feet in circumference, a triglyph is six feet high and four feet broad. The wealth and luxury of Agrigentum are alike renowned.

The history of the other cities, Messana, Catana—the birth-place of the noble brothers Anapis and Amphinomus,\* who, at the peril of their own lives, bore their parents through the burning pillars of Ætna—Himera and Selinus, is more or less connected with the history of Syracuse and Agrigentum.

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\* These brothers form the subject of a poem (*De piis fratribus*), by Claudian.—J. O.

## HISTORY OF GREECE.

HAVING wandered through the lands and cities which form the theatre of the mighty deeds of the Greeks, we proceed to the history of the people.

The earliest history of Greece is lost, like that of every other country, in tradition. The various races, often changing the places of their abode, and often without home or property, nevertheless preserved their legendary lore as a sacred treasure, and handed down from one to another the history of their ancestors and of their national gods, whom they connected with them. Their poets at an early period mastered these traditions, and as they clothed the childish themes of an unsophisticated simplicity in nobler forms, a poetical texture of religious and historical myths arose, from which we should in vain endeavour to extract a thread of pure historical truth. Many of the ancients have tried to do so without success. For although in Diodorus we find the ancient myths set forth as veritable history, the notion that anything has been really gained for historical science is quite fallacious; the acquisition that has been actually made resting on nothing more than the untenable ground of arbitrary explanation. Where indeed can we stop if we once begin in this fashion to enrich history from the stores of poetic fiction?

The first inhabitants of the country were Pelasgians and Hellenes, two races differing from each other in both speech and manners. The former were at first the most powerful. Their first home seems to have been the Peloponnesus, whence they spread into the north of Greece as far as Thessaly, where this rude people first cultivated the soil, and remained for 150

years. However, they remained longest in Arcadia, which was their mother country; and here, in ancient, oft-repeated traditions, we can trace the history of a gradual civilization. Having been, in the first instance, eaters of acorns, they became breeders of cattle, and hence Hermes was known among them as the first inventor of all the arts proper to a nation of herdsmen. Their religious worship was in the earliest days sullied by human sacrifice, and king Lycaon served up a boy to Zeus, who came to visit him. The god shrunk with abhorrence from the table, and Lycaon was punished. This legend has evident reference to the abolition of human sacrifice.

The race of the Hellenes dwelt first, under<sup>d</sup> another name, in Phocis, where they were governed by Deucalion, who, in consequence of an inundation, migrated to Thessaly, whence he expelled the Pelasgians. Having been afterwards divided into four branches, they spread themselves, under the name of Hellenes, over the whole of Greece, expelling the Pelasgians in many parts and subjugating them in others, until they became the ruling race of Hellas. The conquered people could only maintain their position in the mountainous region of Arcadia and about Dodona. A portion of them migrated to Crete, or the other islands, or to Italy, taking thither the name of Γραικοὶ—*Græci*.

Ancient traditions, confirmed by many visible traces, mention the immigrations of foreign races, who scattered the seeds of a higher order of civilization in Hellas. All these occurred between the years B.C. 1600 and 1400. Thus we find Cecrops came from Egypt into Attica, and to him are attributed all those institutions, which convert the rough savage into the citizen, as, for instance, the introduction of marriage, a milder form of religion, the burial of the dead, the foundation of cities, and the establishment of the Areopagus. His name denoted a benefactor of man-

kind, to whom a grateful people attribute all the causes of its civilization. Danaus returns from Egypt to his mother country, Argos. Cadmus, from Phœnicia, first taught the use of letters in Bœotia. How far these foreigners contributed to civilization, is not ascertained; but it is certain that the Greeks knew how to appropriate to themselves what they derived from others.

Only a few bright spots start from amid the thick mist of early Greek history, while it wears the form of unconnected tradition. The country was divided into many states, governed by kings, with an assistant council of wealthy landowners and heads of families. No bond connected the entire nation; but, in spite of their separation, they looked upon themselves as one people, and were proud of the Hellenic name. It was as Hellenes that the Minyæ united for the Argonautic expedition, which opened to them the navigation of the Black Sea, and first revealed the tendency of the youthful people to wandering and adventure. We may pass over as merely poetical the war of the seven Argive kings against Thebes, and the deeds of the Epigonians; but the Trojan war deserves special attention as the first instance of a national confederacy, in which the Hellenes, as a nation, set themselves in opposition to the barbarians, and laid the foundation of an ideal union, which was never wholly extinguished. Here a knot was tied that connected the scattered races, each of which found in that common war its old kings and patriarchs, and its own glory associated with the glory of the rest.

So far extends the *poetical* history of Greece. It is sufficient just to mention the lustre of that poetical world, and the fulness of vigour with which it mingled together gods and men, Titans and giants, sons of gods and sons of mortals. While Hercules clears the world of monsters and chastises robbers, and Theseus, vying with the demi-god, also lays the foundation of freedom in Attica, the worship of the Muses is cultivated in the

north of Hellas, and the names of Orpheus, Musæus, and Linus are associated with the names of heroes, just as their songs are associated with their deeds.

When, however, we leave this lustrous age we lose the track of poetry, and history has not begun to conduct us over the long interval between the return of the Greek heroes from Troy and the Persian war. The kings, on reaching home, everywhere find treachery and murder awaiting them. Many are expelled from their homes, and seek new places of abode. About eighty years after the conquest of Troy, the aspect of the Peloponnesus was completely changed by the Dorian migration; many races were driven from their ancient places of abode, and several were at last compelled to seek the coasts of Asia.

This wild period of aggression and roving, together with all the calamities which now befel Greece, was nevertheless preparatory to her future development. It is only among a stationary people, riveted to one spot, that despotism can strike root; while a wandering restless race has a necessary tendency to republicanism. Thus, though we have no accurate information as to motives, we see that nearly all the Greek states became republican. How necessary this was to the Greeks is shown by the whole progress of their civilization. United under a despot, and subjected to his caprice, Hellas would never have learned to use her strength; her political wisdom, her civil virtues, her valour, would have remained undeveloped, and weak and limited as she was, she would easily have become the prey of a powerful neighbour, and sunk into an insignificant province. Only the division into so many republics—for nearly every city was one—could develop civil culture in this brilliant manner.

But, while Greece was divided into so many free cities, which here and there entered into a voluntary confederacy, so that sometimes whole provinces may be looked upon as federal cantons, the whole Hellenic



world was held together by certain national institutions, which reminded the people of their common religion and their common origin. The same oracle was equally revered by all; Delphi was to the Greeks the centre of the world, and this oracle ever uttered anew those principles of a general, national, and natural law by which the Greeks were distinguished above barbarians. Here the different races and states assembled, however disposed towards each other, and confirmed themselves in those Hellenic maxims of justice and virtue, which, with believing hearts, they received from the lips of a god. For the common veneration of another national deity they assembled at the Olympic Games, which, being a strictly national festival, held during an universal peace, brought all the Greeks together, in honourable competition, to take part in free sports; here victory was gained by address, strength, and courage, and social hilarity everywhere prevailed. Many other games of a similar kind were instituted in Greece, all of which were national festivals, ennobled by the influence of religious ideas. Again, the Amphyctyonic league, the origin of which, like that of nearly all the Greek institutions, recedes into the earliest times, united several states as parts of one nation. This league, too, was quite religious in the beginning; for the defence of Delphi and the oracle was its first object—mutual protection was only the second. That differences between the states were settled by this council, and that they subjected their freedom to decisions of the delegates, is not so clearly ascertained. To regard the Hellenic nations as one entire federal state, on account of this league, is altogether erroneous.

In these dark ages dawns the history of the states that are to be regarded as opposite poles of the entire Greek history. Sparta and Athens now begin to detach themselves from the general mass, and to lay the foundation of their future greatness; the former as a military state, the latter as the focus of humanity and civilization.



Let us now proceed to trace the history of these states according to their fundamental characteristics.

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SPARTA.

THE rough, warlike mountaineers of the Dorian race came from the foot of Mount Cæta. Their leaders were the sons of Aristomachus,—Cresphontes, Temenus, and Aristodemus, who were descendants of Hercules. Aristodemus died, slain by the darts of Apollo (Pausan. iii. 1, 5), or struck by lightning (Apollodor. ii. 8, 2), in the course of the expedition; and when the south of the Peloponnesus was conquered, Laconia, the most fertile portion of the whole conquest, was divided by lot between his twin sons, Eurysthenes and Procles. Hence, then, there were always on the throne two joint kings from this double stock. At first they treated with considerate mildness the ancient inhabitants who had remained in Laconia; but scarcely had they established themselves securely than they compelled the cities to pay tribute, and destroyed Helos, which had resisted subjugation. How hard this government was is amply shown by the fate of the Helots, since all the cities were reduced to submission, and the Dorians became the ruling aristocracy of the country. The majority of the people consisted of the original inhabitants, or Lacedæmonians (Περῖοικοι), who, being tributary to the conquerors, bore the burdens of war without having any claim to the rights or dignities of citizens. On a similar footing with these were the foreigners who had settled in the deserted towns.

However, for a long time discord and disorder prevailed, not only among the conquered people, but also in Sparta itself, under its two kings. What Pausanias says of the first pair, that throughout their whole lives they were of one mind on one point alone, but differed on everything else, might be said with more or less truth of their successors. Hence Herodotus tells us that,

before Lycurgus, Lacedæmonia was worst governed of all the states; and Plutarch (in the *Life of Lycurgus*, ii. 3) says, that the greatest anarchy prevailed, because the discord of the kings rendered the people more and more insubordinate, while the kings themselves soon became either hateful from their severity or contemptible from their weakness.

When the evil had become so great as imperatively to demand a remedy, there happened to be a man in the state who, by his birth, the energy of his character, his comprehensive acquirements, and his acknowledged virtues, was marked out as a reformer. But he, who by his weight and his wisdom was destined to rule Sparta for a series of centuries, began his career by a renunciation of earthly power. When the king, his brother, died without issue, he succeeded him in the government, before he knew that his widow was pregnant; however, he was no sooner aware of this fact than he declared that if she gave birth to a son, to that son the kingdom would rightfully belong. The widow privately sent him word that she would destroy the child before birth if he would take her for his wife. Feigning compliance, he answered that she need not expose herself to such danger, as he would take care that the child should be removed as soon as it was born. When the period of her confinement approached he sent men into her house to watch her, with instructions that if she gave birth to a daughter it was to be assigned to the care of the women; but that if the child proved a boy it was to be brought to him at once. Lycurgus (for that was his name) was sitting at table with the magistrates of the country, when a boy was brought in to him from the queen. It is said he took the boy in his arms, and showed him to the persons present, saying, 'Spartans, a king is born unto us!' He then placed him on the throne, and called him Charilaus, or the 'friend of the people.' This act of justice received the admiration it deserved. The importance of Lycurgus increased, and he was

obeyed, not from compulsion, but from respect. However, the mother of the young king (of whom Lycurgus was guardian) and her relatives assailed him with calumny, and spread about various reports to the effect that Lycurgus wished to get rid of the child, and take possession of the throne himself. Vexed by these slanders, and dreading some undefined mischance, he went into voluntary exile, intending to live in foreign countries till his nephew had reached man's estate, and had become father of a successor.

In the course of his travels he stopped at Crete, and there became acquainted with the constitution, which was ascribed to the wisdom of Minos, and was distinguished by its preservation of equality and simplicity of manners. This happy state of things had been especially attained by the care which was bestowed on the education of youth. While in Crete, he induced a poet named Thales to visit Sparta. This man cultivated poetry, but used it like a wise legislator, since his songs were nothing but discourses which, composed in a soft soothing rhythm, inculcated concord and obedience. The Spartans listened, their manners were rendered milder, their zeal for what was good was awakened, and their turbulent disposition was gradually changed. Thus, to a certain extent, did Thales smooth the path for Lycurgus, and make the Spartans susceptible to the benefits they now were to receive from that noble-minded man.

From Crete, Lycurgus proceeded to Ionia, where he is said to have received the songs of Homer from the Homerides, who were descended from Creophylus. It is considered a settled point that he was the first who diffused them through Greece.

Since Lycurgus during his absence was greatly missed in Sparta—for the kings, when he guided the public mind, less feared the insubordination of the people, while the people, on the other hand, loved best to be ruled by his wisdom—he returned, after many solicitations, to his native country, but first visited Delphi,

where, on entering the temple, the Pythia addressed him, 'as a favourite of Zeus and the Olympian gods, uncertain whether she should call him a god or mortal, though, indeed, he seemed to be more of a god.' It is asserted by some that he obtained here a knowledge of the constitution which he brought with him to Sparta, and that when he had entreated the god to give him laws, the god answered that he granted him the most excellent of all constitutions. Fortified with this assurance, united with some of his most intimate friends, and publicly acting in concert with king Archelaus, he founded a constitution, which, for severity, consistency, and boldness, as well as for the length of its duration, may be regarded as a miracle of legislative wisdom. Its rigour and consistency filled the other Greeks with veneration. What in other parts was effected by wealth was here effected by poverty; and the strength, which was fostered by the severest discipline, gave the Spartans that undisputed possession of the Hegemonia, in which we find them at the time of the Persian wars.

A constitution like that of Lycurgus could only take root among a Dorian race, which was warlike, unsoftened, and accustomed to severity. However, Lycurgus was not the originator of everything that bore his name; for, as the laws were not written, everything of unknown origin was indiscriminately attributed to the great legislator. Much was incontestably older than he, being derived from old Dorian usages, which he adopted, and fixed for all times. In the actual constitution of the country he made, perhaps, but trifling alterations. The double sovereignty remained as before; so did the relation of the Spartans to the Lacedæmonians. The introduction of the ephoralty was probably after Lycurgus; at any rate, the establishment of its great power was a work of later date. But peculiar to him was the thought of maintaining the independence of the state and the supremacy of the Spartan nobility over their subjects, by

means of a severely educated and uncorrupted people. Such a power is only secure and irresistible when the ruler exceeds in virtue those whom he rules, and by his contempt of worldly pleasure attests his right of dominion at every moment of his life. The legislation was Spartan, not Lacedæmonian, though it is probable that the Lacedæmonians, to a certain extent, imitated the manners of their rulers. Its highest maxims were these: The Idea of the state must be predominant. To the ends of the state the ends of every citizen are subordinate. All citizens are equal. This equality is not only before the laws, but also extends to property. Hence the equal division of land, which was never alienable by purchase, and only passed by inheritance. From childhood, the Spartan was accustomed to bend his neck to the yoke of legal obedience; his strength was concentrated by restraint, and he was practised in acts of self-denial. Hence ages passed away before the luxury of other countries could find its way among the Spartans. Not only their education, but pride in the nobility of their descent, held them back, and they had no intercourse with foreigners, whom they looked upon as inferiors. Money they did not require, and they despised commerce as a base occupation. Indeed, so powerful was the idea of dignity with which Lycurgus had inspired his people, that their military discipline remained unchanged for about five hundred years, and only gradually ceased, through the influence of foreign wars.

Unquestionably, by this discipline, one of the ends of humanity was attained, and it is well known what an exalted and noble figure the Spartans made among the Greeks. All the rest acknowledged the magnitude of the sacrifices made by the Spartans to the dictates of law and virtue; and even in states which regarded them with hostility, the energy of their character, which was expressed in the terseness of their discourse, found frequent admirers. Their virtue, nevertheless, underwent the destiny of all one-sidedness.



Dignity, softened by none of the graces of a refined moral culture, degenerated into pride, and pride into unfeeling severity, and the time soon arrived when the Spartans appeared in the character of oppressors, who, with tyrannical rigour, tried to force upon every one the form of their own constitution. Through their selfish pride perished the greatness of the Idea, which had exalted them in better times. To make war became a habit, not a duty, and this habit gave rise to rude barbarity, since there was no moral counterpoise, no mental culture, to outweigh or soften the necessary evils of a state of war. Was it the fault of Lycurgus that stopped his fellow-citizens in the path of civilization? or is it to the dull inflexibility of his successors, that we must ascribe this sin against humanity?

When his system of legislation was complete, Lycurgus resolved to give it eternal duration. To this end, he assembled all the citizens together, and declared to them that his task was finished; there was one thing, however, he said, which he could not reveal to them till he had consulted Apollo. He requested them to adhere to the laws till he returned, promising that he would then carry out the counsels of the god. When they had promised to comply with this request, and urged him to hasten his departure, he made them swear that they would abide by the constitution till his return, and then set off. At Delphi he asked Apollo whether the weal of the state and the virtue of the citizens had been sufficiently confirmed by his laws, and was assured by the god that the Spartan state would be the most glorious of all, so long as it preserved this constitution. This answer he sent back to Sparta, but took leave of his son and other friends, resolving to end his honourable life that the citizens might never be released from their oath. In pursuance of this resolution, he died through an abstinence from all food, convinced that even the death of a statesman should be a benefit to his country. Having completed the noblest task, he looked upon death as the perfection



of his happiness, and as serviceable to the citizens for all ages. In this he was not deceived. For nearly five hundred years, Sparta held the first rank in Greece, and it was not till after the end of the Peloponnesian war, when Lysander inspired his country with the lust of wealth, that the constitution of Lycurgus began gradually to lose its force. 'So long as this flourished,' says Plutarch, 'Sparta might be looked upon not as a republic, but as the house of a wise man; and as Heracles, with no other arms than a club and a lion's skin, chastised robbers and tyrants, so did Sparta govern by means of a scytale, and guard the other states, often without stirring a shield, by sending an ambassador, at whose desire order was at once restored.'

After the death of Lycurgus a temple was built to him in Sparta, and sacrifices were offered to him as to a god,—though Aristotle said that he received less honour in Lacedæmonia than was his due. Moreover, his friends and relatives, to preserve his memory, founded a solemn assembly which was held for a considerable time every year, and called the days of the celebration *Lycurgides*.

We will pass over the two Messenian wars, and the heroic deeds of Aristomenes. The conquest of the fertile Messene founded in the Peloponnesus the power of Sparta, which gradually raised itself to the first rank among the Dorian states.

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#### ATHENS.

WE pass over the obscure history of the country; the services of Theseus, the reputed founder of liberty, and of Codrus, the last and also the noblest of the kings. He was succeeded by a series of Archons belonging to his family, who governed for the period of their lives, and followed each other by inheritance, their position being the same as that of the king, except that they

were responsible (ὄτι ἐπέθυνοι ἦσαν.). They were followed by Archons, still of the race of Codrus, whose term of office lasted ten years, till at last the ambitious nobles brought about the election of nine Archons, who were changed annually. The exact cause and nature of this alteration is unknown; but it is obvious enough that the last change was followed by the dominion of an oppressive aristocracy. Archons and Areopagites were selected from the Eupatrides alone.

Many troubles and a fierce contest of factions among the nobility, every family aspiring to the first rank, occupied these times. The disturbances connected with Cylon (Thucyd. i. 126), exercised much influence for a considerable time. Cylon, a victor at the Olympic games, distinguished by ancient family and great wealth, was married to the daughter of Theagenes, a tyrant of Megara, who, being advised by a deceptive oracle to take the citadel, entered the Acropolis, at the time of the Olympic games, with some of Theagenes' troops. The Athenians long besieged him in vain, but when the supply of food was exhausted, he and his brother fled, while the others, as fugitives, sought refuge at the altars of the gods. The besiegers promised them safe conduct, but killed them as they led them from the temple; nay, some were slain on the altar of the Eumenides. The guilt of this murder was incurred by the Alcmaeonides, and a long series of troubles, through the persecution of the profane violators of the temple extended, even to the time of the Peloponnesian war, when Pericles, as a descendant of the impious race, became an object of attack.

Although the city, oppressed by the consciousness of this crime, and alarmed by several tokens of divine wrath, atoned for the offence by solemn offices of purification, so that peace of mind was, in some measure, restored, there soon arose a fearful contest between the nobility and the other classes, on account of the unequal distribution of property and the increased burthen of debt. Many freemen were reduced by ex-

cessive debt to the condition of labourers, while others, who had pledged their bodies, were degraded into slaves, and were obliged either to perform servile offices at home, or to allow themselves to be sold. Many found themselves compelled to sell their children or to leave their country, to escape the severity of their creditors. At last despair made a number of them combine together, and they exhorted each other to endure the yoke no longer; but, under the guidance of a trustworthy man to release the imprisoned debtors, to establish a new division of property, and, by an altered constitution, to prevent the recurrence of such evils in future.

In this state of things the eyes of both parties were fixed upon Solon. For as he was in opulent circumstances, and was of the noble family of Codrus, he belonged to the Eupatrides, while, on the other hand, he was favourably regarded by the poorer classes, inasmuch as he had never oppressed them, but had always acted towards them as an honest man. Hence, with the consent of both parties, he was elected Archon, arbitrator, and legislator; nay, the heads of the parties urged him to take the absolute power into his own hands, promising him their assistance. However, he remained firm to the cause of liberty, and rejected the dazzling gift, content to be the benefactor of a free and noble people. He was well adapted to be the legislator of a vivacious, sensitive Ionian race, that would not have borne the iron laws of Lycurgus, and, indeed, had at once rejected with abhorrence the severity of the Draconic code;—sufficiently impartial, neither to spare the selfishness of the Eupatrides, nor, from a culpable craving after popularity, to disregard the fair claims of the rich, and sufficiently moderate to make no more changes than were needful, while he left nothing unattempted that might be effected by kind persuasion or gentle constraint. When, therefore, he was afterwards asked, whether he had given the Athenians the best laws, he answered, ‘Yes, the best that were suited to them.’

Thus was Solon the wisest, and, at the same time, the most humane of legislators, combining deep earnestness with considerate mildness, and deep understanding with the genial glow of a poetical temperament. The most oppressive evils he removed. The bond of debt was flung from the necks of the people by a rate of valuation, which raised the uncia from seventy-three drachms to one hundred, and thus reduced every debt to the extent of nearly thirty per cent.—a proceeding by which great benefit was conferred on the debtors, while no loss was incurred by the creditors.\* A debtor was forbidden to pledge his person, and imprisonment for debt was likewise prohibited. Many debtors were now released, or returned into their own country, having already, as Solon observed (*Plut. Solon*, 15), unlearned the Attic dialect. By this arrangement, many persons were disposed in his favour, and in spite of the opposition which he had at first to endure, the wholesomeness of his plans was soon felt, and all, without exception, placed confidence in their originator.

The reforms of Solon proceeded gradually and without violence. Since, at Athens, the object was not as at Sparta, to secure the dominion of a smaller over a greater number, but to give a constitution to the occupants of a country, the constitution was naturally democratic. However, to lessen the dangers of republican equality, Solon divided the citizens, according to their wealth, into classes, of whom only the first three, comprising the persons of opulence, were capable of holding the state-offices, though all alike took part in the popular assemblies. The whole people decided on peace or war, laws, alliances, and taxes. To guide the decisions of the assembly, a senate of four hundred persons was selected from the four tribes of the citizens, and by these all affairs of state were discussed in the first instance. The members convened the assemblies and presided over them, and no measure could ever be

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\* The doctrine conveyed in this assertion is not very intelligible.—J. O.

brought before the people without a previous decree of the senate (*προβούλευμα*).

The nine Archons remained as the chief magistrates and presidents of the tribunals, subject to annual elections. They were bound to consult the senate on state affairs. When their term of office was expired, and they had given a strict account of their administration, they entered the Areopagus, the highest tribunal, which may be considered one of the main pillars of Solon's constitution. This tribunal, rendered sacred by the ancient traditions of its first establishment, and by the dignity and moral character of its members, took cognizance of the greatest crimes, watched the morals of the country, and from time to time tested the fitness of the existing laws. Its weight may be looked upon as the ballast added to the light bark of democracy; for, when Pericles, that he might more easily carry out his own views, lessened the importance of the Areopagus, the vessel of the state became the sport of waves, in which it finally sank. So great was the confidence in the justice and wisdom of this tribunal, that even foreign nations made it the arbiter of their disputes; and it was said that even if a man of bad morals was received into its body, he would amend his life at once, and thus become a participator in the virtue as well as in the rank of his colleagues.

In this manner the constitution of Solon was formed by the most perfect combination of aristocracy and democracy,—the Areopagus, as the 'Upper House,' being the permanent depository of the laws, with which the magistrates were connected, as representatives of the opulent classes. Thus the durable was united with the variable, and the mobility of the democracy, which was only perfectly free in the popular assemblies, was kept within bounds.

The private laws of Solon were also marked by wisdom and humanity. Whoever spoke ill of the dead, or uttered anything against a living person,



either in the temples, in courts of justice, before the magistrates, or at the public games, was subject to a pecuniary fine. Violent expressions of grief at funerals, such as the laceration of the face, and the howls of hired mourners, were prohibited. To prevent idleness, he made a law that a man should not be bound to support his father, if his father had not taught him a trade. But one of his most remarkable laws, which, moreover, has given rise to the most discussion, was this: that, in case of an insurrection, a man who joined neither party was declared dishonourable, as a person who had shown himself indifferent to the welfare of the state, and had not, to the best of his power, and even at his own peril, tried to carry out what he considered right.

These and all his other laws were, by his order, to be valid for an hundred years, or, according to some accounts, only for ten. The senate swore to keep them, and they were inscribed on wooden tables, which turned upon an axis, and were thus set up first in the Acropolis,—afterwards in the Prytaneum. Plutarch saw some of them still remaining.

When the laws had been established, persons came every day to Solon to make different suggestions or to ask him for information. As he could neither accommodate them nor get rid of them, he retired from Athens for ten years, to give the people time to grow used to his laws, and visited Egypt, Cyprus, and the court of Croesus, where that conversation took place which is so beautifully characteristic of the Greek mind.\*

While Solon was absent on his travels, the old factions began to raise their heads anew. The Alcæonides attempted to repeat their ancient usurpation; but the people resisted them with greater firmness than ever, supported by Peisistratus, who at last attained the supreme power. How this happened is circumstantially told by Herodotus,† in an amusing

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\* Vide Herodot. Book I. 30-33.—J. O. † Ibid. 59-64.—J. O.



narrative. Pisistratus was endowed with all the talents of a demagogue. He combined a resolution capable of the boldest undertakings with a mild and affable demeanour,—a handsome person with fascinating manners. Bountiful to the poor, affable with the humblest citizens, moderate in his demands even with foreigners, he gained such an ascendancy over the people, whose enjoyment of equal rights he seemed to desire, that it placed itself entirely in his hands. However, never did a tyrant less abuse his power; indeed, it may be asserted, that amid the war of factions, that yet continued, the constitution of Solon would have been completely overthrown had it not received the protection of Pisistratus. For not only did he himself observe the laws of Solon, but he compelled his friends to observe them likewise. Nay, when he was once accused of murder, he modestly appeared before the Areopagus to defend himself, though, as the accuser did not make his appearance, the matter dropped.

Thus the wise old man saw his work preserved amid the most perilous storms. He had done all in his power to ward off a tyrant, and when the people in its blindness had given up everything to Pisistratus, he hastened, though far advanced in years, to the market-place, where he censured his fellow-citizens in unmeasured terms, and urged them to vindicate their liberties. Finding, however, that no one had courage enough to listen to him, he went home and kept himself quiet, deeming that flight, though counselled by his friends, would be unworthy of his age and dignity. It is doubtful whether his courage or the magnanimity of Pisistratus most deserves admiration. Although the latter heard that Solon wrote poems, filled with bitter reproaches against the people, he, nevertheless, treated him with great respect, and often consulted him, thus gaining over the enemies of the tyranny. Some say that Solon lived for a considerable time under the rule of Pisistratus.

Three-and-thirty years elapsed from the time of this revolution ; but Pisistratus was not at the head of the states for more than seventeen. Twice he was exiled through the return and influence of the Alcmaeonides ; but when, by force of arms, he returned to Athens the third time, the Alcmaeonides retired to Macedonia, where they assembled the malcontents around them. Pisistratus died in quiet possession of his power, which he bequeathed to his two sons, Hipparchus and Hippias. Their government was also mild and of a paternal kind, until Harmodius and Aristogiton, who were tenderly attached to each other, and had been insulted by Hipparchus (Thucyd. vi. 54), resolved to extirpate the tyranny, and assassinated Hipparchus at the Panathenæa. They both fell victims to their attempt, and the tyranny became more oppressive ; for Hippias, tormented by fear, slew many citizens whom he regarded with suspicion.

The Alcmaeonides, who, with other exiles, had remained in the country about Delphi, and by various services had secured the favour of the oracle, so that it recommended the liberation of Athens to the Spartans, either individually or as members of the state, took advantage of this opportunity (Herodot. v. 63). Sparta sent an army to Athens to attack the Pisistratides ; but these, supported by some auxiliary Thessalian troops, repelled the attack, and drove the Spartans from the country. A second army, commanded by Cleomenes, was more fortunate ; for it defeated the Thessalian troops, marched into Athens, and besieged the tyrant in the citadel. As his children had been accidentally captured outside the fortress, he proposed terms, and within five days left Athens for Sigeum, accompanied by his adherents. This event became afterwards a cause of the Persian war, which first brought Greece to the brink of destruction, but afterwards raised it to the summit of power and glory. Hippias left Athens three years after his brother's death.

The new feeling of delight at the establishment of

liberty at Athens was expressed in various ways. Statues were erected to Harmodius and Aristogiton, and it was decreed that their names should receive annual honours in the Panathenæa, and that their images should never be carried by a slave. Extraordinary privileges were secured to their descendants, and festal songs immortalized the deed at the social banquet. Clisthenes, who stood at the head of the Alcmaeonides, increased the number of tribes from four to ten, and thus gave greater influence to the people. But the newly-attained liberty could only be secured by a struggle. Isagoras contested with Clisthenes for the favour of the people, and finding that he was no match for his adversary, called in the assistance of Cleomenes, king of Sparta, who was bound to him by ties of hospitality, and who succeeded in exiling Clisthenes and the other Alcmaeonides, on the pretext that they were polluted by the murder of Cylon. He then banished seven hundred other Athenian families, dissolved the council, and transferred the power to three hundred adherents of Isagoras. A combat now began, which resulted in the retreat of the Spartans and the recall of Clisthenes and the other exiles. Thus democratic freedom was once more established.

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#### WARS WITH THE PERSIANS.

AMONG the mass of individual Greek states, which, during the previous period, had adopted the republican form of government, each had maintained its own peculiar rank; none had become essentially pre-eminent above the rest, except that the Dorian race was considered the most warlike, and Sparta as the highest and worthiest branch of it. There was no close union among the individual states; and that something great might proceed from Athens, an outward occasion for union was required.

Such an occasion was presented by the Persian wars. These wars, in which the greatest people were subdued

by the smallest, the most powerful by the weakest, in a most unequal contest, make an epoch in the history, not only of Greece and Persia, but of the whole world. They teach us how infinitely moral force is above physical and numerical superiority, and how fallacious it is merely to balance figures against figures—to measure and not to weigh. They teach us, moreover, that poverty can triumph over riches, and that increase of wealth is a dangerous boon, often leading to the loss of freedom. Shortly before the commencement of this period, the Persians, a poor race of mountaineers, under the command of a wise and valiant conqueror, had overthrown the government of the wealthy Medes, and had subjected, at a single blow, the Lydians, who were masters of Asia Minor. Babylon and Assyria suffered a similar lot; and on the southern coasts of the Mediterranean, the Phœnicians, who were the richest commercial people of antiquity, yielded to the Persians. When the victors became rich, victory abandoned them. A people without wealth, and far from numerous, drove back these countless forces with ignominy, and now so deeply humbled the pride of the Persian monarch, that he was not only forced to receive laws at their hands, and to abandon the Mediterranean entirely to their rule, but dared not venture any more to bring his armies to the coast of Asia Minor.

But a similar destiny was also in store for Greece! After she had grown rich, powerful, and domineering, she became the prey of a still poorer mountain race, the Macedonians, who, in their turn, underwent a similar lot.

This is the course of destiny with most nations. When they have succeeded in some great undertaking, and the valour exercised privately has proved itself by victory, they are led astray by a desire for greatness and renown. When once their thoughts are directed outward, they forget the advantages of internal strength, and seek their happiness in the oppression of others, in

the enlargement of their territories, in the extension of their trade, in the increase of their wealth, without being scrupulous as to the means by which those ends are attained. The enjoyment of wealth is seductive; luxury increases till mere superfluities become necessities, while these supposed necessities are only attainable by violence. Thus tyranny arises even among noble-minded nations. They gather together riches and hatred, until at last, spreading wider and wider, they fall a prey to the fresh courage, and the still more impetuous desires of a race not yet degenerate. This is the epitome of the world's history. The same follies and errors ever recur anew, and that power of self-control which is the perfection of individual wisdom, can never, by mere human means, be attained by a whole people, however patriotically it may be desired.

The Persian monarchy, founded by a sudden irruption,—as the Mongol was founded afterwards—reached its highest point under Darius Hystaspis, a fortunate conqueror, who had overcome almost as many nations as Cyrus himself. From west to east his kingdom extended over a length of four hundred German miles, and from north to south over one hundred and fifty. It comprised the finest and most flourishing lands under the kindest sky; it was watered by large rivers, and adorned with majestic cities. This kingdom, which, united under one monarch, could concentrate all its strength at a single point, seemed easily able to crush a people which occupied a territory scarcely equal to an hundred and fiftieth part of its own, which was divided into several races and cities, which had no central point, and which had no protectors and allies beyond its own virtues, its courage, and its gods.

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After the conquest of the Lydians, the Greek colonies on the coast of Asia had fallen into the hands of the Persians. Some had maintained that love of free-



dom, which was their inheritance, and had left their country, but the greater number had bowed their heads under the yoke. Thus did the Persians first make acquaintance with the Greeks.

Darius, after many prosperous campaigns, marched against the Scythians. This enterprise proved a failure, but on his return, he subjugated Thrace, forced the king of Macedonia to make him presents as an acknowledgment of his supremacy, and took the islands of Imbros and Lemnos. Naxos was also threatened by a Persian fleet, and the conquest of all the Cyclades, nay, of Eubœa itself (Herodot. v. 31) was to have followed that of Naxos. Thus did the kingdom of the Persians, as it extended towards the west, grow nearer and nearer to the Greeks.

When the enterprise against Naxos, which Aristagoras, a Greek governor of Miletus, had conducted, promising to bring it to a successful issue, had proved a failure, he excited an insurrection in Miletus, to escape his responsibility to the king, and introduced equality into the city, which was now in his power. The other Ionian cities followed his example, expelling, and, in some cases, slaying their tyrants. Aristagoras hastened to Hellas to create sympathy, and came first to Sparta, where he showed to king Cleomenes a large tablet, upon which the whole world with its seas and rivers was delineated. While he pointed out to him the different peoples and described their countries, he urged him to assert the cause of Ionian freedom, calling his attention at the same time to the wealth of the territories that then paid tribute to the king of Persia. 'If you Spartans take Susa,' he proceeded, 'you may vie with Zeus himself in wealth. But while you fight for a small and less valuable country with the Messenians, the Arcadians, and the Argives, you lose the opportunity of a more profitable war. For the nations I have mentioned, have neither gold nor silver—treasures which lure many to risk their lives in battle. As it is now in your power to make an easy



conquest of all Asia, why do you aim at anything else? Thus said Aristagoras; but when Cleomenes asked him how far it was from the Ionians to the Persian king's residence, and he replied 'Three months' journey,' Cleomenes ordered him to quit Sparta before sunset, saying, 'that a proposition to travel a three months' distance from the sea-coast would seem intolerable to the Spartans.' He then returned home, but was followed by Aristagoras, who, with the olive-branch of the suppliant in his hand, implored him to hear further. Cleomenes now ordered him to speak in the presence of his daughter Gorgo, a little girl eight years of age. Aristagoras offered him ten talents, and on his refusal, increased them to fifty. The little girl then cried out, 'Father, the stranger will bribe you if you do not leave him.' Pleased with this warning, Cleomenes retired into another room, and Aristagoras, not having performed his mission, proceeded from Sparta to Athens.

Hippias, weary of the many endeavours he had made elsewhere to recover his former power, had retired to Sigeum, in Asia, and had ever since made every possible effort to render the Athenians obnoxious to the Persian governors, and to subject them to Darius. When his attempts became known to the Athenians, they sent ambassadors to Sardes to warn the king against the insinuations of the exiles. But Artaphernes, brother to the king, and governor of the sea-coast, commanded them to recal Hippias, if they had any regard for their own safety. However, so far were they from complying with this request, that they resolved rather to declare openly against Persia.

During this state of public feeling, Aristagoras came to Athens, where he made large promises, and consistently with his purpose, represented the whole undertaking as very easy, pointing out, at the same time, how honourable it would be to assist in the liberation of the Milesians, who were of the same race with the Athenians. With reasons like these, he found it easier to prevail upon a whole people than upon

Cleomenes singly, and the Athenians determined to send twenty ships to the assistance of the Ionians. This fleet, says Herodotus, was the cause of great evils to both Greeks and Barbarians. However, it did not originate, but only, perhaps, accelerated the evil, and it might even appear judicious to seize on the present occasion, since the new birth of liberty might perhaps have the effect of keeping the Persians at a distance from the coast, and consequently, from Greece. The whole enterprise led to nothing beyond the taking of Sardes, which was defenceless, and was set on fire by accident; but although the Athenians returned after taking the city, the insurrection of the Ionians spread along the entire coast. It was then, for the first time, that Darius heard the name of the Athenians. He was incensed at their audacity, and vowed vengeance against them. First, however, he ordered a vigorous attack upon the Ionians. The first victory gained by the king's troops disheartened Aristagoras, who left Miletus to seek an asylum in Thrace, and was killed while besieging a place which he hoped to gain over.

The Ionians were defeated in a great sea-fight, in which the Chians alone did their duty; Miletus was taken, the inhabitants were made slaves, many were killed, and the women and children were transported into the interior of the empire. This calamity was a severe shock to the Athenians. In various ways they exhibited their grief; and when Phrynichus brought the *Taking of Miletus* upon the stage, the audience burst into tears and lamentations. These tears were but the prelude to the evils which were yet to come. However, far from giving way to effeminate grief, they punished the poet for making them weep at their own misfortunes, and forbade the repetition of the piece. This took place six years after the insurrection of Aristagoras. All Ionia now fell once more a prey to the Persians. Many cities were burned, the boys were mutilated, and the virgins were sent to the king's harem.

Mardonius, son-in-law to Darius, was the commander of a great sea and land force, with which he advanced towards the Hellespont, directing his movements first against Eretria (for the Eretrians had sent three ships of their own with the Athenian fleet) and Athens, but really intending to attack all the great cities. The portion of Macedonia which yet remained free was subjugated. The fleet was wrecked on Mount Athos, with a loss of above three hundred ships, and about twenty thousand men. Many were cast on the rocks, others were drowned, and others again became a prey to sea-monsters. The land-force also suffered severe damage, though it proved victorious in the end, and Mardonius, with the remains of his army, returned to Persia.

The enterprise was merely delayed. Darius sent ambassadors to Greece to claim earth and water, and almost all the states and islands—even Ægina, the neighbour of Athens—submitted. Sparta and Athens alone resisted, and maltreated the Persian ambassadors. Darius gave to Datis, an experienced man, and to Artaphernes, his own grandson, the command of a new force, with orders to take Athens and Eretria, to make all the inhabitants slaves, and to bring them to Persia. The fleet avoided the dangerous Athos, and offered sacrifice at Delos, when, after its departure, an earthquake seemed to predict the evils which were impending over Hellas. Wherever the Persians landed, they seized the children of the inhabitants as hostages, laid waste some of the islands that had offered resistance, and took Eretria, after a gallant defence, through the treachery of some of the principal citizens. The temples were plundered and burned, and all the inhabitants were made slaves.

Hippias was with the Persian army, and by his knowledge of the locality conducted its movements. An unexpected attack was made upon Marathon. The Athenians hastened to the spot, under the command of Miltiades, the son of Cimon, whose family governed

the Chersonesus, and defeated the Persians. They were not assisted by any other people, except the Plataeans, who came with their entire force, for the Spartans were forbidden by law to leave their country before the full of the moon. The opposing force consisted of one hundred thousand infantry and ten thousand horse, while the Greeks were only eleven thousand altogether. Many feared a decisive contest, and wished to await the arrival of the Spartans; but Miltiades saw that every delay would lessen the courage of his men and increase respect for the enemy, and his influence with the Polemarch prevailed in favour of a battle. The Athenians rushed on to the attack, and appeared to the enemy mere madmen, who sought a certain death. The contest was long and obstinate. The centre of the Greek army was thrown into confusion, but the wings proving victorious, not only hastened to the assistance of the rest, but threw the enemy into disorder, and forced them to return to their ships, some of which they captured. Cynægirus, the brother of Æschylus, and Æschylus himself performed prodigies of valour. The Barbarians left six thousand four hundred men on the field, the Greeks less than two hundred. The Spartans arrived after the battle, having consumed three days in marching. However, the Persian fleet hastened round Sunium to Athens to attack the deserted city. This stratagem did not avail, for the Athenian army hurried back, and arrived before the enemy. The Persian fleet lay at anchor off Phalereus, but after remaining a short time, returned to Asia.

This victory first aroused the proud confidence of the Athenians. Miltiades easily induced them to undertake an expedition against Paros, in order to chastise that island for the part it had taken in favour of Persia, and though the enterprise proved unfortunate for himself, and fruitless to Athens, it first awakened that idea of a dominion of the seas, which Themistocles turned to such good account, and which

Cimon, the son of Miltiades, carried out to the highest perfection.

The history of Athens, which now began to shine forth as the bright central point of Hellas, became from this time more and more linked with the mind and fortunes of distinguished individuals, who, as the offspring of their time, controlled and guided the spirit of their countrymen by their own superior strength. Brightly and distinctly is the political character of Athens reflected in her Themistocles and Aristides, who appear as the two opposite poles of moral culture in a people just emerging from primitive rudeness; afterwards in Cimon, in whom a beautiful equipoise of glorious qualities announces the perfection of civilization; later still in Pericles, in whom dignity and severity are tempered by grace; then in Alcibiades, in whom grace has a mischievous effect, while it is accompanied with power, which is abused. Next, as might be imagined, follows a period of confusion, in which Theramenes and Critias, men of moderate talent combined with still less energy, rise to the surface; until at last the lives of a Demosthenes and a Phocion clearly show the rupture that has taken place between sentiments and actions, between intellect and circumstances.

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The ambition of Athens was excited, and the record of the marvellous victory was entrusted not only to tradition but to enduring monuments. Trophies were raised on the field of battle, and small columns were erected inscribed with the names of the killed. In the Pœcile the battle itself was represented, with Miltiades at the head of the Greeks, urging his forces to the contest.

The fame of Miltiades, which was not obscured by his ill fortune, kindled the excitable soul of Themistocles, who, even in his boyhood, had shown a decided predilection for things of import and political affairs.



All that belonged to a merely elegant education he despised, regarding only those pursuits that might lead to glory. When at a banquet a lyre was offered him, he rejected it, and in answer to the derision of some of the guests said, 'I do not understand how to tune a lyre, but I know how to make a small insignificant state great and important.' The assertion of some that he so completely abandoned himself to the dictates of an unbridled nature that his father disinherited him, and his mother killed herself from despair, has been emphatically contradicted by others, who say, on the contrary, that his father, to dissuade him from interference in politics, showed him the broken and neglected triremes on the shore, and told him that these were a symbol of deserving and neglected statesmen.

The victory at Marathon and the trophies of Miltiades made a powerful impression upon the youth, who did not, like the others, see here the end of a war, but the beginning of more important contests. By the divination of this fact, and by acting in conformity with it, Themistocles became the saviour of his country, and founded the greatness of Athens.

It was to him that Athens was indebted for her gradual increase of nautical experience. The people of Ægina were, at that time, masters of the sea: against these he stimulated the ill-feeling and jealousy of the Athenians, while he employed the revenues of the silver-mines, which had hitherto been divided, in building a fleet that distinguished itself in a war with Ægina. Themistocles gained such weight by this victory, that his party succeeded in banishing his adversary Aristides. Between these two there was the contest of powerful genius with strong understanding unaccompanied by genius. The mind of Themistocles led him to adopt the boldest measures; to him nothing seemed difficult, nothing impossible, while his judgment was equal to his resolution. Aristides only desired security by the paths of rectitude and equity. The latter was the more excellent citizen, the former the greater states-



man. When the war broke out anew with the Persians, it was a hard matter for an Athenian to persuade the people to leave the city, and seek safety in the ships. The readiness with which Themistocles rendered passions subordinate to political expediency is shown by the popular decree, which was passed at his instigation, and by which Aristides and all the exiles, for an appointed period, had liberty to return, that by their speeches and their actions they might advance the interests of Greece. A still stronger instance of his political wisdom is afforded by his conduct towards Eurybiades, the Lacedæmonian general, to whom he not only voluntarily resigned the command of the fleet, in order to stifle a growing discord in the bud, but whose insulting menaces he heard with a calmness that completely disarmed him.

After the glorious victory of Salamis he rebuilt the city, which had fallen a prey to the flames and the fury of war, and contrary to the will of Sparta, whom he deluded by an artifice, surrounded it with walls. He formed the Piræus, the excellent site of which had been turned to no account, connected the port with the city, and by this and many other expedients confirmed the dominion of the sea: according to the opinion of the ancients, the democracy thus acquired a new support. For the people, who manned the ships and ruled the sea with their sturdy force, gained great superiority over the nobility, and the Piræus might be regarded as the focus of Attic democracy, whence it again issued forth after the Peloponnesian war, and put an end to the government of the Ten, established by Sparta. One of the most glorious deeds of Themistocles, by which he deserved the thanks of all Hellas, was this: The Spartans proposed, at the Amphictyonic Council, that all who had not joined in the war against the Persians should be excluded from that institution. As this measure would have applied to Thessaly and Thebes besides many small states, and thus have given a decided

preponderance to Sparta, it was resolutely opposed by Themistocles, who thus incurred the hatred of Lacedæmonia.

But the greatest merit of Themistocles was the maintenance of the political independence of the whole of Greece. By a happy combination of strength, pliability, cunning, and prudence, he held together a league which was in itself weak, and which, through mutual jealousy and fear, was always on the point of dissolution. Thus, after a battle had been fought, with doubtful issue, off the promontory of Artemisium, most of the allied Greeks were of opinion that the Isthmus must be shut up by a wall, and the fleet drawn up in its vicinity. Themistocles saw, that with this arrangement the Greeks would separate on the first attack, that every one would hasten to his own home, and that Greece would be conquered in detail. He therefore outwitted the Persian king, and persuaded him to come to an engagement in the incommodious straits of Salamis. Themistocles chose the luckiest moment for battle, not drawing up the Greek fleet against the Persians before the time when the wind generally rises, and there is a strong current towards the strait. The wind did no damage to the flat low-built vessels of the Greeks, while, on the other hand, it turned the Persian ships, which, being built very high, both fore and aft, were hard to steer, and exposed their sides to an attack of the Greeks. Thus did a fleet of about three hundred and eighty (Æschylus says only three hundred and ten) ships gain a victory over one of twelve hundred. The Athenian ships, which numbered about two hundred, were manned by Athenian citizens.

This glorious victory was first rendered decisive by the timidity of Xerxes, which Themistocles turned to account at the proper moment. When Xerxes seemed to be making preparation to transport a part of his land-force to Salamis, he privately sent to him

one of the Persian prisoners with the message that the Greek fleet was now sailing to the Hellespont to throw down the bridge, but that, if the king would make haste to avail himself of that path, while it yet lay open, he would endeavour by various pretexts to delay the allies. By this stratagem of Themistocles, Greece was suddenly relieved from the burden of a hostile force, and Mardonius merely stayed behind to cover the retreat of the troops that accompanied the king. However, the army that remained numbered about three hundred thousand, and being reinforced by many Greek deserters, was still strong enough to keep Hellas in a state of disquiet for a long time. But the Persians, who, throughout the war, had been altogether in a false position, were now utterly confounded by the unexpected turn which affairs had taken. Mardonius was irresolute, as if in despair of the issue, and negotiated when he ought to have struck hard; while the Spartan Pausanias, ever watchful, active, and dauntless, at the head of his force did not fear to make the attack himself. He at last compelled the enemy to give battle in a disadvantageous position near Plataea. Mardonius was killed, and only forty thousand Persians escaped. These, under the command of Artabazus, returned to Asia.

On the same day, the most fortunate and glorious in the Greek annals, the Persian fleet was defeated at Mycale, a promontory of Ionia, where Tigranes, with a sense of his own weakness, had drawn the ships ashore, and surrounded them with a deep trench. The force that should have defended them was beaten by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, the intrenchments were stormed and the whole fleet was destroyed. Xerxes heard of this additional misfortune at Sardes, where he had remained during the winter, and he retired into the interior of his empire, forgetful of all his plans of conquest, and even without the will to efface the remembrance of his calamities by wise and vigorous government. The pride of Persia was broken, and she began henceforth to sink in the scale

of nations, while Greece, with the strength of a youth, who had succeeded in his first noble efforts, rose with incredible speed to the highest eminence.

We deprive the Greeks of the glory which is their due if we regard the soldiers under Darius and Xerxes as wholly unfitted for war, and rather women than men. Fifty years had not elapsed since Cyrus had overrun all Asia with his conquering hosts, and the Persian warriors who were then clad in skins and were satisfied with water and the simplest food, could not have so utterly lost their pristine strength. Under Cambyses, although his actions were not under the guidance of reason, the Persians were still victorious, and Darius had often led them to victory to nearly every boundary of his empire. What was it then that gave such a decided preponderance to a people like the Greeks, who were divided and at variance with each other, and who, even if there had been no discord among them, would still have seemed insignificant? It was the superiority of moral force—the feeling that the battle was for wives and children, for native soil, for the tombs of ancestors, and for the gods, against Barbarians, who had already shown, in the case of the captives of Eretria, what sort of destiny awaited the vanquished. There was another cause in the incapacity of the generals and the haughty presumption of the Persian grandees, who regarded defeat as impossible, and a victory over the Greeks as a mere pastime. On this account the measures taken by the Greeks were effective, and the confusion of the Persians at the unexpected defeat was to the highest degree destructive.

When presumption and levity are on one side, circumspection, bold resolution, and confidence in a good cause on the other, victory cannot long remain uncertain.

While the Persians, like a raging torrent, were overflowing Greece, covering the sea with bridges, turning land into sea, burning temples, driving the people together like flocks of sheep, to be sent off to Persia, the Athenians, for the sake of liberty, resolved to quit

the city, preferring a death upon the sea to a life in bondage. The city was confided to the protection of Athena; all persons capable of bearing arms were compelled to embark; every head of a family provided for the care of his children, his wife, and his slaves. The unarmed multitude was sent to Trœzen and Salamis, and the admiration which the Athenians felt for their own valour checked the emotions which the parting tears of the women and children might have excited. For the people, raised above themselves by the inspiring cause, clearly saw that victory could only be obtained by such a sacrifice; and if the hearts of some failed, their courage was restored by their nobler comrades. The young Cimon might be seen hastening with his friends through the city to dedicate a horse's bridle to Athena on the Acropolis, thus denoting that the city at the present juncture was in need not of horses, but of brave seamen. When he had dedicated the bridle, he took one of the shields that were suspended in the temple, and went down to the sea praying,—thus strengthening many in courage and confidence. For the eyes of the citizens were fixed on the son of Miltiades, who appeared as the saviour of the city from a danger similar to that which his father had averted, and whose noble descent was stamped on his noble form.

It was not without astonishment that the Persians found Athens deserted. Only a few persons remained on the Acropolis, trusting to the defence of palisadoes, for thus they interpreted the oracle, which had promised them safe protection behind *wooden walls*. Fighting bravely, they were hard pressed by the enemy, but so stout was their resistance that it seemed impossible to subdue them by force. However, some of the Persians climbed the citadel by a steep path, and as they were followed by many others, and a longer defence seemed impossible, part of the garrison flung themselves from the walls down the precipice. The rest were slaughtered by the Persians in the temples and on the altars. The sanctuary was plundered and the whole



Acropolis set on fire. Thus the conquerors were covered with disgrace—the conquered with glory.

The Greeks displayed similar courage, and the Barbarians similar irresolution, when the latter forced their way through the narrow passes of Thermopylæ. Here, to guard the entrance into Hellas, stood three hundred Spartan hoplites, supported by some thousand armed auxiliaries, in the hope of defending such a position against a superior force. For the entrance was so narrow as to afford room for only a single wagon, while the pass was guarded naturally by the lofty Mount Ceta and the marshes on the sea-coast,—artificially by a wall. The king's scouts, surveying the Spartan guard, saw some engaged in bodily exercises, while others were quietly arranging their hair. When Xerxes heard this, he could not comprehend how the Greeks could so calmly prepare themselves against a struggle for life or death. He therefore sent for Damaretus, who had once been a king of Sparta, but who, having fled to Persia, had joined the ranks of his country's foe, and having related what he had heard, questioned him on the subject. 'O king!' replied the Spartan, 'already, on our march into Greece, you have heard from my lips that these men would resist you, even if all the other Greeks went over to your side; and that if only a thousand sallied forth, they would fight against you without inquiring the number of your mercenaries; but then you laughed at me. (Herodot. vii. 102.) Therefore, hear me now. These men have come to contest the passage with you, and are making preparations for that purpose; for when they advance to meet death, it is their custom to adorn their heads. But know, O king, that if you conquer these, and the others who are left in Sparta, there is no other people that will lift its hands against you!'

Xerxes still delayed the attack for four days, hoping that the enemy, from the scantiness of their numbers, would betake themselves to flight. When, however, he found them persisting in their madness, he was



enraged, and sent some Medes and Assyrians against them, with orders to take them alive, and bring them before him. The Greeks were victorious in every attack; the Persians fell in throngs, and the pass remained unconquered. At last, Ephialtes, a Median, showed a path over the mountain, and some of the Persians succeeded in placing themselves above the heads of those who defended the pass. There was now no alternative but death or flight, and sentiments were divided. At this juncture, Leonidas resolved to defend the post with his own men and those who chose to remain, while he allowed the rest to depart. On the morning of the battle Leonidas said to his brethren in arms, 'Eat your meal with a good heart; this evening we shall sup in Hades.' Xerxes, covered by his army, advanced to the heights. The conflict was long and sanguinary, till at last Leonidas fell, still unconquered, with his three hundred Spartans around him. On the place of their interment were inscribed the simple and sublime words of Simonides :

Trav'ler, the news to Lacedæmon bear,  
That here we fell, obedient to her laws.

*Anthol. Græc. II. 186.*

Herodotus mentions two Spartans, who were absent from the battle on account of illness. One of them, when he heard that his countrymen were surrounded by the enemy, called for his arms, put them on, and made a Helot take him to the battle, where he perished, whilst the Helot escaped. The other returned to Sparta, where he lived universally despised; for no Spartan would speak with him or give him fire.\* A third, who had been sent as a messenger to Thessaly, put an end to his own existence, seeing he would only be disgraced at home. Such were the sentiments of the Spartans with regard to life and honour.

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The expulsion of the Persians completely altered

\* The refusal of fire was an indubitable mark of infamy.—J. O.

the position of the Greeks, who from the invaded now became the aggressive party. Not content with the attainment of their own freedom, they now sought to liberate their Asiatic kinsmen, and thus carried on a war for which they had a most plausible pretext, and which promised a rich reward. Now began the noblest period of Greece, especially for Athens, which was under the guidance of Cimon, the most perfect of all Athenian statesmen. It was the period of manly maturity and dignity, which nobly developed themselves in political wisdom and in all the arts; while the more rugged Sparta cherished within herself a mischievous overbearing spirit that soon turned to her own misfortune. Sparta desired that the unpatriotic Greeks, who had joined the Persians, should be punished by the forfeit of a tenth part of their goods, and excluded from the Amphictyonic Council. Athens opposed a plan which would inevitably have led to internal wars, and punished not the people, but the magistrates. Moreover, when Pausanias, quite forgetting his previous moderation, treated all the allies with offensive insolence, making them in every respect inferior to Sparta, and seldom granting an audience even to the generals who had served with him, all hearts were alienated from Sparta, and turned to the Athenians, who had already rendered themselves popular by the justice of Aristides and the magnanimity of Cimon. The confederates, with the single exception of the Peloponnesus, separated themselves from Sparta, and placed themselves under the Athenian general, so that from this time Athens held the first rank among the states of Greece.

This change of the Hegemonia—an event attended with the most important consequences—must have taken place, though somewhat later, even without these circumstances. When the project of freeing the colonies, and making them an outpost of Greece against the Persians, had once been adopted, a maritime force became requisite to keep the multitude of

small nations together. Sparta had no fleet, and the Dorian mind had no great inclination to sea-service. Thus the influence of Sparta visibly declined, and Athens virtually held the Hegemonia, while apparently it still belonged to Sparta. Hence a jealousy was soon kindled between the two states. The fortification of Athens against the will of Sparta offended the latter, who was still more displeased at the influence gained by Aristides and Cimon, when they stood at the head of a fleet, which at any given moment could effect a landing in the Peloponnesus. Nevertheless, the old esteem for the head of the Dorian race still prevailed, and Cimon especially, who united Attic urbanity with Spartan moderation, did everything to stifle the germ of evil. Thus, when, on the occasion of an earthquake, the Messenians and Helots were in rebellion, he caused a decree to be passed, for giving speedy assistance to the Spartans, while other orators fanned the flame of jealousy, and advised their hearers to abandon the Spartans to destruction. Such, in the good old times, was the conduct of one state towards another which it rivalled in power and dignity.

Athens used her present eminence among the Hellenic states with great tact and circumspection. A plan of co-operation for the continuance of the war was drawn up; the contributions of the different states were regulated, and all entrusted their interests into the hands of Cimon. So general was the acknowledgment of his intelligence and fairness, that all regarded him as a benefactor. Delos was the general treasury, and Aristides stood at the head of the administration. While, through his exertions in this high employ, Athens acquired her most extended influence, and saw her maritime power daily increase, Aristides remained ever faithful to poverty, and his administration was more virtuous than brilliant. He died at an advanced age so poor that the state was obliged to bury him. His daughters were endowed at the expense of the Prytaneum, and his son Lysimachus

received from the state a donation of money and land.

The end of Themistocles, who was the first victim of Spartan jealousy, was less fortunate. The stratagem by which he had increased the power of Athens had not been forgotten by the Spartans. Many a private plan for humiliating Sparta had come to light, and the partisans of that state encouraged at Athens the discontent of the citizens, who had not only grown insolent through prosperity, but had also become more democratic, by several new regulations—especially the repeal of the law which excluded the poorer citizens from the offices of state. They were tired of receiving benefits so often from the same man, and of being reminded of all the good he had done them. He was at last ostracized—and this was the first triumph of Sparta.

While, during the time of his exile, he was residing at Argos, the condemnation of Pausanias took place at Sparta, and papers of Themistocles were found—or said to have been found—which proved that he had been a partner in the treason. He was, therefore, accused at Athens, and persons were despatched to bring him thither, that his cause might be tried by a body of judges chosen from the confederated nations. Warned in time, he fled first to Corcyra, a state to which he had rendered some service, and finding that the Athenians and Spartans continued to persecute him even here, threw himself into the arms of Admetus, king of the Molossians, whom he had deeply offended, in the days of his greatest influence. Following the counsel of his wife he seated himself with Admetus' boy on the hearth, and appealed to the magnanimity of the king, who could not in honour punish a man driven from his home, or revenge a smaller injury by death. Admetus ordered him to rise, and took him under his protection; but though he refused to give him up to the ambassadors, he sent him off to Pydna. The persecuted man intended to go

from thence to Ionia, but a storm drove him toward Naxos, which was just then besieged by the Athenians. In this dangerous position, he discovered himself to the master of the ship, and threatening him, in case of betrayal, compelled him to remain at sea till the storm was over. Thus he reached Ephesus, and then proceeded further up the country, sending before him a letter to Artaxerxes, king of Persia, in which he reminded him of the benefits he had conferred upon his father. 'He was now,' he added, 'an exile, on account of his friendship for the Persians; he therefore craved admittance into the kingdom, and begged that to learn the language of the country a year might be allowed him, saying, that at the end of that time he would communicate his plans to the king.' Artaxerxes admired his resolution, and ordered him to do as he had said. Within the time allowed, Themistocles\* acquired the Persian language and manners, and went to the king, who esteemed him as a wise man, and also on account of his promises. After a lapse of several years, which he passed in great opulence at Magnesia, he put an end to his own existence, proving his patriotism by a voluntary death. For now that Egypt, supported by the Greeks, had revolted from Persia, the Athenian triremes advanced to the coasts of Syria, and as Cimon rendered more and more secure the maritime dominion of Athens, the king resolved to check their encroachments, and reminded Themistocles of his promises. Themistocles, however, had ceased to feel any rancour against his countrymen, and it seemed to him unworthy to sully his trophies by an attack on his native land. He therefore resolved to end his life in a noble manner. He offered a sacrifice to the gods, took leave of the friends he had invited, and swallowed poison. In this way he died at Magnesia, aged sixty-five years. It is said that the king, on hearing the cause and manner

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\* In the original, by an obvious mistake, 'Aristides.'—J. O.



of his death admired him more than ever, and always showed kindness to his relatives and friends. In the market-place at Magnesia a magnificent monument was raised, which was shown to strangers even in the time of Plutarch.

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The loss of Themistocles was supplied by Cimon, who, being the son of Miltiades and of the daughter of a Thracian king, belonged to the aristocratic party by his descent, but to the democratic party by the moderation of his character, combining in his own person Lacedæmonian severity with Attic urbanity. As long as he remained at the head of affairs, Athens rose unenvied to an enviable eminence, and the good understanding with Sparta was preserved by this mediator, who was no sooner removed than both parties forgot their moderation, in order to advance their several pretensions. Cimon combined a handsome form with graceful manners, an exalted simplicity of mind with tact and prudence, a noble frankness with convincing eloquence. Brave as his father Miltiades, skilful as Themistocles, moderate in prosperity, frugal in the midst of abundance, liberal without ostentation, he was the model of a Greek of his time, and, as it were, the representative of the greatest and most flourishing age of the Athenian republic.

After the burden of misfortune which had pressed him down in early youth\* had been removed, he gained by the frankness and mildness of his character the favour of the people, while Aristides, by whom his great qualities were not unperceived, elevated him to the best of his power, to oppose him to Themistocles. After the flight of the Persians, he commanded the Athenian fleet under Pausanias, and, being then united with Aristides, took the Hegemonia from the Spartans. For all who had been offended by the pride of Pau-

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\* When his father, Miltiades, died in prison, without paying the fine imposed upon him, Cimon took his place.—J. O.



sanias met with a kind and amiable reception from Cimon, who thus, by gentle means, drew away from the Spartans what could never have been snatched from them by force of arms. From this time, remaining still at the head of the fleet, he increased the power of Athens, driving the Persians from all the advantageous sea-stations, conquering the Thracian Chersonesus, and thus securing the navigation of the Hellespont, and, by vigorous measures, reducing to obedience the allies in the islands, when they dared to violate their engagements, like Naxos and Carystus in Eubœa. Eïon on the Strymon was taken by him from the Persians, and attached to Athens, who shortly afterwards founded the city of Amphipolis in the immediate neighbourhood, thus opening a ready intercourse with the northern nations. In one day he defeated the Persian fleet at the mouth of the Eurymedon in Pamphylia and the army by land, and no sooner had he gained this victory, (not without obstinate resistance,) than he again embarked in the fleet to attack about eighty Phœnician ships, which had not taken part in the engagement, and being suddenly surprised, were put to confusion and lost. By these and similar deeds the pride of Persia was deeply humbled, and the foundation was laid for that ignominious peace, by which, if, indeed, we may trust the accounts of rhetoricians of no high authority, the armies of the king were removed from the coast of Asia, and his ships from the Mediterranean.

While he extended the power of Athens abroad, Cimon confirmed the Hegemonia in Hellas itself, by the lustre of his deeds and by his sagacity. For when the allies, weary of taking part in a war which now seemed to them superfluous, desired to live in peace, and cultivate the fields, and refused to furnish their contingent of ships and men, he turned their remissness to his own purposes, and instead of establishing judicial inquiries and levying penalties, as others had done, thus rendering the supremacy of Athens unpopular, he allowed the allies to send the ships unmanned, with

contributions of money, that while he permitted them to enjoy repose and attend to their domestic affairs, they might degenerate from hardy warriors into timid agriculturists and traders. On the other hand, he unceasingly exercised his fellow-citizens in both sea and land service, and made them more and more the masters of those who supplied them with money. For as the Athenians were always armed, the allies gradually became accustomed to fear them and to flatter them; and thus, before they were aware of it, they sank from allies, properly so called, into mere tributary slaves.

Thus, at Athens, valour was encouraged, while industry and commerce were fostered, and political science was advanced; thus did Athens combine the advantages of a military republic with those of a commercial state. Thus was the people guarded from the danger either of becoming a mere nation of soldiers, or of sinking into mercantile cupidity. Education bore a varied character; agriculture was respected, and the arts flourished among a people who had been trained in so many directions.

By the side of Cimon arose his rival Pericles, who, instructed by the faults and the mischances of his predecessors, struck out a safe path for securing popular favour. Never did a man with greater consistency combine greater talents as an orator, a statesman, and a general. He had only one end,—to be the idol of the people; and to the attainment of that end he devoted his whole life. It was exclusively the favour of the Athenians that he coveted, though not in an ignoble manner. While Cimon, by the most liberal expenditure of his own fortune, made the people forget his aristocratic descent, Pericles, on the other hand, flattered them by his outlay of the public money. The treasury of the allies was removed from Delos to Athens, and considered as a tribute, of which no account need be given so long as the Greeks were protected against the Persians; and the moneys thus obtained was, on the proposition of Pericles, applied to

the embellishment of the city and the support of the citizens. Moderate and disinterested in the highest degree; laborious; ever regardful of the common weal; vigilant; indifferent as to his own peril, he appeared to have nothing in view but the glory and greatness of the people. To procure leisure days for the people, the distribution of the theatre-money\* and the payment of the judges was introduced; while, to flatter them with the visible aspect of their own greatness, all the public places were adorned with halls and temples. The people only saw the hand which gave, and regarded not the source from whence it drew. And thus did this demagogue, emulous of Pisistratus, whom he resembled in figure and in eloquence, succeed in guiding the state, as the chief of the popular party, for nearly forty years. Under his administration the last fetters that curbed the unruly spirit of democracy were broken. The aristocratic Areopagus, which had the care of the public morals, was lowered in importance by a serious diminution of its jurisdiction; and when Cimon, in whose absence these changes had taken place, endeavoured, after his return, to repeal the new measures, and to restore the old democracy of Clisthenes, his adversaries raised so loud a cry against him, and so greatly excited the people, that he was at last subjected to the ostracism. Thus the popular party triumphed over the aristocrats, at whose head was Cimon, favoured by Sparta; and the jealousy between the two states began to be more and more serious. When at last democracy alone was in the ascendant, and concord and moderation were no longer inculcated, the dam was thrown down which had hitherto resisted every aggression, and the flames of internal discord repeatedly burst forth.

Before this outbreak had actually taken place, it had been very common in Hellas to see Sparta and Athens

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\* That is to say, an allowance to the poorer citizens of the price of admission to the theatre, paid from the public treasury.—J. O.

in rivalry to each other. When the Thasians, on account of certain commercial disputes, had freed themselves from Athenian rule, and, after the commencement of hostilities, had frequently been defeated, they requested the Lacedæmonians to aid them by an irruption into Athens. This assistance was actually promised, and would have been afforded if a violent earthquake, which overthrew Sparta, had not caused a war with the Messenians and Helots. During this ten years' war the Lacedæmonians sought the assistance of Athens; troops were sent under the command of Cimon, but were sent back again without alleged cause. This affront bitterly incensed the Athenians, and the democratic orators availed themselves of the state of public feeling to bring about an alliance with the Argives, who were the old enemies of Sparta: and when at last the war with Messene was at an end, and the garrison of Ithome had been banished from the Peloponnesus, the Athenians, out of hatred to Sparta, received the exiles, and allowed them to settle in Naupactus, which they had recently taken from the Ozolian Locrians.

However, hostilities did not actually break out till the time of Cimon's banishment, when the Lacedæmonians marched to the aid of the Dorians, who were at war with the Phocians. When the Spartans were returning home victorious, the Athenians intercepted their passage, and a battle took place at Tanagra, in Bœotia. When the armies were drawn out against each other, Cimon appeared among the Athenians, resolved to fight on the side of his countrymen against the Lacedæmonians. But his enemies were active even here. They accused him of treasonable designs, sent word to Athens that he was about to lead the enemy against the city, and compelled the senate to pass a decree forbidding Cimon to be with the army. Cimon retired; but he entreated his friends, most of whom were accused of Laconism, to fight gallantly against the enemy, and to vindicate themselves by their deeds from the reproaches cast upon him and his party.

These men armed themselves accordingly, and placing themselves in the midst of the conflict, fell, every one, to the number of an hundred, after a courageous struggle; thus causing the Athenians to feel deep repentance on account of their unjust accusations.

As the Athenians had lost the battle, and the breach with Sparta seemed entirely to have crushed the aristocratic party, Pericles no longer hesitated to recal Cimon, who seemed to have formed an indissoluble alliance with victory. His return was the occasion of a speedy peace. However, that the restless spirit of his fellow-citizens might be diverted from internal contests, he once more directed their thoughts to the Persian war, and caused them to undertake an expedition to Egypt, which was then in a state of insurrection against the king of Persia, and had already been supported by the Athenians. The beginning of the enterprize was fortunate. Cimon defeated the king's fleet, conquered most of the cities of Cyprus, and was about to proceed to Egypt, when he was overtaken by death.

Plutarch concludes the biography of Cimon with the remark that, after his decease, no other general of the Greeks did anything remarkable against the Barbarians. The Greeks allowed themselves to be incited against each other by demagogues, and as no mediator was at hand, became involved in a tedious war, by which they allowed the Persian king to repose and reinvigorate himself, causing incalculable injury to the Greek power. Long afterwards Agesilaus marched with an army into Asia, and for a short time carried on a war with the king's governors on the coast; but before he could effect anything really great and glorious, he was recalled by the discords which had again arisen among the Greeks, and as he departed he had the mortification of seeing the acts of violence that were committed in collecting the Persian tribute from the very cities he had come to liberate and protect.

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After the death of Cimon, Pericles was incontestably the first man in the state ; but that he might not altogether have his own way, the aristocratic party set up against him Thucydides, the son of Milesius, a near relation of Cimon, and an intelligent man, who maintained an unceasing contest of oratory with Pericles, upheld the dignity of the nobles, and for some time restored the balance of power. Such a state of things was intolerable to the ambition of Pericles, who increased his endeavours to please the people ; he extended still further the limits of their power ; he more than ever delighted the lovers of show with splendid spectacles, while he embellished the city with magnificent edifices ; at the same time he increased the fleet, and sent out colonies in all directions, which freed the city from a number of malcontents, and served to hold the allies in subjection. By these means he succeeded in thwarting the efforts of his opponents ; and as these still continued their endeavours, the struggle was at last brought to a violent end by the banishment of Thucydides.

Henceforth Pericles might consider Athens and all that belonged to it, including revenues, armies, ships of war, islands, sea, and the whole widely extended power over Barbarians and Greeks as a property left to his disposal. But his affability towards the people diminished in proportion as he found himself secure in the possession of uncontrolled power, and his tone, which had hitherto been too mild and lax, became more severe. His influence seemed firmly established, for he chiefly owed it to his personal dignity, his acknowledged disinterestedness, and the wisdom of his administration. Even when he adapted himself to the popular wish, he maintained his dignity, and when he opposed the people, and chastised its insolence, he did not lose his popularity, for no one better understood the use of eloquence, or the art of curbing the stiff-necked and exalting the dejected. He always held the reins with a firm hand, and never was directed in a course of



action by the popular voice. This independence was the result not only of his powerful eloquence, but also of his unimpeached integrity of character. For although he raised a state already rich and great to the highest pitch of riches and of greatness, he never added so much as a drachma to his own patrimony.

While his internal administration tended to give unlimited freedom to the people, and by means of the public wealth to introduce all the amenities of a luxurious life, his external policy was directed to the increase of resources, and the security of what had been already obtained. One of the chief portions of the revenue consisted of the contributions of the allies. These were made a fourth higher, while no account was given of their application. To keep the allies in a state of subjection, it was necessary to maintain the dominion of the seas. Hence all disobedience on the part of the allies was punished by force of arms, and their right to inquire into the disposal of the money was contested, so long as they were protected against the Persians. Eubœa and Megara were forced to succumb; and Samos, who had desired to share the dominion of the sea with Athens, was conquered, after a long resistance, and compelled to exchange her oligarchy for a democracy; for the plan was begun of arbitrarily settling the constitution of states, either to encourage adherence or to weaken the influence of an adverse party. This policy was the first and most decided step towards anarchy in Greece, and the oppression by which it was followed.

The violent and usually successful steps taken by Athens for her own aggrandizement, and for the establishment of her own absolute dominion, could not always proceed without a check. From the very nature of things, the parties who had been attacked and offended desired an alteration in their condition; those who had as yet been spared sought to anticipate similar calamities; and rival states felt themselves called

upon, at the very first opportunity, to resist further progress. Hence in Greece a struggle was preparing, the result of which would necessarily be either to establish the Hegemonia of Athens, by a thorough defeat of her powerful adversaries, or to transfer it into other hands. All the malcontents had long cast their eyes on Sparta, as the only state which could protect them against a commercial despotism, and so long as this could be abolished, little thought was bestowed on the evils of another kind which might arise from a military despotism. Sparta hung back, as many believed, because Pericles, at a heavy price, had bought over a party constantly to keep down the rising spirit of dissatisfaction; but, perhaps also, because, being weakened by a ten years' war, she dreaded her scarcely subdued neighbours, and thought that she could scarcely contend against the numerous resources of Athens.

At last the long-smothered flame broke out, when Athens interfered in the contests between Corinth and Corcyra, hoping by the support of the latter, which was no insignificant maritime power, to weaken the influence and diminish the flourishing trade of Corinth. The Corinthians urged Sparta to take part in the contest; while, to increase their strength, they combined with the Megarians and Æginetes. Since the nearest neighbours of Athens now appeared ready for the attack, and Athens would not alleviate the grievances that were alleged against her,—Pericles, it appears, now deeming himself strong enough to engage in an open contest,—war broke out, without anyone being able exactly to assign the immediate cause of hostilities. There is no occasion, as is sometimes done, to seek for private motives in the personal position of Pericles, for it is clear that Athens could not consent to lighten the yoke of the allies without completely resigning her supremacy over them, and thus shortly finding herself bereft of her maritime dominion. For it is one of the worst evils to which

unjust power is subject that no retrograde step is possible, but that new acts of injustice must always be committed for the sake of security ;—indeed herein lies the germ of its destruction.

On the breaking out of the war, there stood on the aggressive side Sparta and the whole Peloponnesus, (with the exception of Argos, which remained neutral,) Bœotia, Phocis, Locris, Megara, and several cities of Western Greece ; on the other side was Athens, supported only by Acarnanians and Plateæans, on the continent of Hellas, but having for allies without, the inhabitants of the Asiatic coast, and of all the islands (with few exceptions), as well as the sea-towns of Thrace and the Hellespont. The position of Athens, although she was surrounded by enemies, was not altogether unfavourable. The combination of so many people, some of whom were ill-disposed towards each other, or, at any rate, were parted by distance, seemed to want consistency, and their momentary hostility to Athens promised to be but of short duration, inasmuch as the confederates were swayed by very diverse interests. On the other hand, however, the confederates entered into the war of their own free will, while the allies of Athens were unwillingly forced into the contest. All these circumstances were maturely weighed by Pericles, and he therefore, as soon as hostilities broke forth, determined to weary out his adversaries. ‘ They will invade Attica,’ he said to the Athenians, ‘ but our fleets will ravage their coasts ; they will not be able to repair their losses, while we shall be indemnified by our possessions in the islands. The dominion of the sea gives you such a preponderance, that, if Athens were situated on an island, no power would venture to attack you. Henceforth look upon Athens as a military post, and let your soldiers defend it ; but regard the sea and the ships as your country. Do not feel any compunction in leaving the city as a prey to your enemies. Let not a love of fighting tempt you to engage with superior numbers. A victory would

only bring a larger force against you ; while a defeat would kindle a spirit of insurrection among your allies, whom we hold together by main force. You must value the loss not of your property, but of your fellow-soldiers, whom you would sacrifice by a battle. Nay, I would advise you at once to lay waste your fields, and burn the houses upon them with your own hands. For the Lacedæmonians would then cease to regard these things as pledges for your submissiveness.'

In conformity with this plan, the Athenians were for the most part passive during the first incursions of the Peloponnesians. The country was laid waste ; the army encamped close to the city ; but all the indignation of the inhabitants, the cries and murmurs of the citizens, even violent threats and jeers, were insufficient to make Pericles desist from his plan. He bore every reproach with perfect calmness, sending a fleet to the Peloponnesus, which ravaged their coast ; but remained at home himself, restraining the citizens, until the Peloponnesians had retired. A few enterprises were thus carried out in the immediate neighbourhood. Megara was ravaged, Ægina was taken, and the whole territory of the island divided among Athenian citizens. The same plan was observed in the following year. The stay of the invading army in Attica was always short ; for provisions were soon exhausted, and supplies were cut off by the activity of the Athenian fleet. It is possible that by this delay Pericles would have carried out his intentions, had not the crowding together of so many persons in Athens caused in the second year a plague, which swept away a great part of the inhabitants, and at last Pericles himself, who, in his latter days, had suffered many afflictions, some of a domestic kind.

When his end approached, the most distinguished citizens, and some of the friends who yet remained faithful, were sitting round his bed, talking of the greatness of his virtues and his power, and enumerating all his deeds and the number of trophies which,

as a victorious general, he had set up to the honour of the state. They thought that he could no longer comprehend their discourse. But, on the contrary, he was listening with great attention, and suddenly entering into the conversation, said that he marvelled to hear them commending those things in which fortune had the greatest share, and of which other generals could boast as well as he, while they had passed over what was most glorious and important. 'For,' he added, 'no Athenian citizen ever put on mourning on my account.'

With Pericles ended the series of the higher order of Athenian statesmen, and the state, deprived of a great leader, became a prey to violent demagogues, who made the unbridled democracy still more licentious, and maintained their influence by sheer audacity and shameless flattery of the populace. The duration of the pestilence, and the ravages it occasioned, led to a frightful corruption of morals. Selfishness rose above every other feeling; the holiest ties were disregarded; the dying found themselves deserted by their nearest kindred; the dead were left unburied; and the violation of several laws, hitherto deemed sacred, led to contempt for others, and disturbed the wholesome respect for public opinion. The uncertainty of life produced a desire for immediate enjoyment, and this unruly desire was further increased by the rapid changes of fortune's gifts, which passed from one hand to another. The power of the laws seemed to be extinct, and the vengeance of the gods to be forgotten.

This state of circumstances enables us easily to understand how a Cleon, sprung from the dregs of the people, could now put himself at its head, and with no talent but impudence, could guide a multitude, whom he flattered with descriptions of its greatness and power, while he depreciated Sparta in every possible way. His success was an encouragement to other mean souls, and calumny, falsehood, and the most abject flattery became the ordinary means of gaining public favour, and the most usual expedients to which eloquence resorted.



The spirit of wild, reckless democracy which developed itself in the first year of a war that lasted eleven years, may be best understood from the events that followed. In the seventh year of the war, the general Demosthenes had occupied Pylos, in Messenia, as he was passing by; and having remarked its favourable situation, had provided it with fortification. From this point he caused great annoyance to the Spartans, who vainly endeavoured to secure the place;—nay an hundred of them were shut up in the Isle of Sphacteria, without hope of delivery. The Spartans sent to Athens to negotiate a peace, and liberate their countrymen. Although this peace had been desired by most of the citizens, the negotiations were frustrated through the impudence of Cleon, and the ambassadors, having effected nothing, were sent home. However, the conquest of the island, which had been regarded as an easy matter, was not to be soon accomplished; the Athenian garrison itself was placed in a critical situation, and the Athenians, regretting their tenacity in rejecting the peace, now vented their wrath on Cleon, as its cause. Cleon, on his side, inveighed against the cowardice and sluggishness of the other generals, and boasted of what he would have done in their place. When the generals, who were present, took him at his word, and the citizens scornfully challenged him to perform his promises at once, becoming more and more urgent the more he appeared confused by their demand, he at last, with the most audacious asseverations, undertook, within twenty days, either to kill the Spartan garrison or to bring them prisoners to Athens. The people could not help laughing at his audacity, for it had become a matter of custom to treat his recklessness as a jest. Nevertheless, fortune favoured him; the whole Spartan garrison fell into his hands, and was by him brought captive to Athens.

Another sign of the wild and reckless democracy of the time, was the treatment of Mitylene, which had revolted from the Athenians to the Peloponnesians,



and was reconquered by Paches, in the fifth year of the war. The people at once decreed that all the men of Mitylene, capable of bearing arms, should be put to death, and that the women and children should be made slaves. A galley was sent out, and Paches received orders to put this decree into execution without delay. But the very next day they repented of their cruelty. Some kindly disposed persons took up the cause of the unfortunate Mitylenæans, brought the matter once more before the people, and, although Cleon still expressly declared himself for the maintenance of the decree, and the most violent discussions arose, the better party was triumphant, with, however, a small majority. A second trireme was sent out, and sailed with such speed as to arrive just as Paches was about to carry out the first decree: a few moments thus decided the fate of so many Greeks!

The first ten years of the war thus passed away without any important result. Single enterprises, whatever intelligence and skill they displayed, did not supply the want of a general comprehensive plan. Neither of the two states took a decisive step; but each waited for the plans of the other, that they might serve to guide its own. The seat of war was often changed, and strength was weakened by the attempt to carry out too many projects at once. Success on one side was counterbalanced by disaster on the other, and hatred alone was fostered by the impotent efforts of both parties.

At last, in the tenth year of the war, died two men, who, from very different motives, had both been opposed to peace;—Brasidas, the Spartan general, a young hero of the noblest mind, and Cleon, the base creature of the Athenian populace. Both had an interest in the continuance of the war; the latter because it aided him as a cloak to his malignity, the former because it allowed his valour to shine forth in all its lustre. The war furnished an opportunity to one for great crimes, to the other for great deeds. When both

had perished, on the same day, in the battle of Amphipolis, Nicias, the son of Niceratus, who had hitherto stood in opposition to Cleon, at the head of the aristocracy, availed himself of the moment to secure the peace which was desired on both sides; for the position of both parties was unfavourable. Athens had lost a portion of her allies, while the others threatened insurrection; and the defeat at Amphipolis had weakened every hope. Sparta, on the other hand, was in no better situation; the slaves, of whom a great part of her army consisted, had taken to flight; her importance in the sight of the allies was diminished, and in Brasidas she had lost her bravest general. At Athens the upright, disinterested mind of Nicias began to be respected; he soon inspired with confidence all the landowners and persons of opulence; and even the Spartans were well disposed towards him, on account of the kindly manner in which he had espoused the cause of the prisoners in Sphacteria. A peace was actually concluded for fifty years, each party restoring its conquests and prisoners. But at its very commencement this peace was insecure, inasmuch as it displeased many of the allies, for instance, the Corinthians and Bœotians, who did all in their power to kindle the flame of war anew. Even the defensive alliance, which the Athenians and Lacedæmonians concluded with each other, did not prevent the ferment from once more gaining the ascendancy.

Three years after the conclusion of this peace, war broke out anew. Of those who endeavoured to stir up the flame at Athens, Alcibiades, who at this time first displayed his brilliant qualities, was the chief.

Alcibiades, son of Clinias, of the noble family of the Alcemæonides, was the handsomest man of his time, being distinguished for personal beauty at every period of his life; he was also endowed with the highest talents and the most perfect elegance. He had the intellect of a great man, irresistible eloquence, clear penetration, vigour in action. He possessed, when he

pleased, every virtue, but also every vice, to an eminent degree. His sensuality was unbounded, but it was not equal to his vanity. His soul was not great. No high principle of virtue directed his powers, but they were frittered away in efforts prescribed by his vanity. Only at isolated moments did his soul rise to grandeur, and he did great things without being great himself. The gracefulness of his manner made his vices fascinating. His example was seductive to youth, and the recklessness with which he took the administration of the state into his own hands infected other citizens who did not equal him in talent. The people began more and more to act according to the dictates of caprice, to follow an empty show of greatness, to pay slight respect to the claims of equity, and to wear themselves out in destructive undertakings.

Not many men have acted so long and so mischievously on their age as Alcibiades. His personal appearance, his descent, his relationship to Pericles, shed an early lustre around him, which he increased by his courage in battle and the fascination of his eloquence. The feeling of his own superiority never abandoned him. With unvarying audacity he despised the misfortunes that befel him, and extricated himself from them all by that peculiar versatility which enabled him to please men of the most different character. In Sparta he was a pattern of temperance; in Thrace he was a drunkard; in Bœotia he excelled every one in bodily exercises; in Ionia he was the most effeminate of mankind. Thus did he change his nature, like a Proteus, as often as he pleased, and into what shape he pleased; but always with the intent of excelling every competitor, and of filling all with astonishment. When real earnestness was required, he combined freedom with activity; his ordinary pleasures seemed to be forgotten, and the state, the war, and glory, alone occupied the soul of the ambitious youth.

While, by these means, Alcibiades fascinated the people, and no one openly opposed him but Nicias, an

upright but timid man, and, on that account, unequal to a struggle with the most audacious of his species—it was in vain that honest men deplored the infatuation of their fellow-citizens, who were drawn into destruction by the outward appearance, the noble steeds, the sumptuous table, and, indeed, the whole life of Alcibiades. One day, when he had addressed the assembly with great applause, and a large multitude had followed him home, he was met by Timon the misanthrope, who, though he generally avoided everybody, walked straight up to him, and said: “Go on, and prosper, my son; rise higher still; for your growth will bring destruction on them all.” These words were heard by some with indignation; but on many they made a deep impression, as an inauspicious omen.

During the peace, Alcibiades continually blew up the embers of war, and by all sorts of devices fed the hatred between Athens and Sparta. But before circumstances allowed a new rupture, and while the two states were occupied with trivial isolated matters, one of the boldest undertakings, the conquest of Sicily, was set on foot at his suggestion.

The idea of extending the maritime dominion of Athens over the western seas by the conquest of Sicily, had been entertained even in the time of Pericles. That statesman, however, had, in his wisdom, always dissuaded his countrymen from the dangerous scheme; and it was not till after his death that the Athenians availed themselves of every opportunity of assisting the Sicilian cities, who felt themselves oppressed by Syracuse. Alcibiades fancied that he had here found a field worthy of his talents; and when the citizens of Segesta, who were old allies of Athens, craved assistance against the oppressions of Syracuse and Selinus, he set before his citizens the most dazzling picture of the advantages that they might expect from such an expedition. He represented to them that they would humble the pride of the Peloponnesians, by showing them that, despising a near enemy, they sought a distant one, and

told them, at the same time, that with the strength acquired in Sicily they could easily render more secure their possession of the Hegemonia in Greece. At last he made them believe, that if they did not speedily set bounds to the power of Syracuse, that state would combine with Sparta. The prudent admonitions of Nicias, in answer to these assertions, proved of no effect: ambassadors were sent to Sicily, who, being partly deceived themselves, confirmed the people in its projects by deceitful representations. The notion of greatness acquired by protecting remote allies, and the dream of conquests in Italy and on the coasts of Africa, with which Alcibiades filled the minds of those by whom he was immediately surrounded, inspired all with the scheme. Everywhere in the gymnasia might be seen men and youths who scratched upon the sand outlines of Sicily, Africa, and Carthage, and discoursed about the enterprize.

At the same time, presumptuous vanity decked itself with the appearance of greatness, and this was further increased by the veil of ignorance, which dazzled men's eyes with respect to even the most absurd measures. The strength of Syracuse and its allies was not accurately known; a single campaign, it was thought, would terminate the whole affair, and such was the certainty as to the result, that before the departure of the fleet, a decree was published to the effect that, after the conquest of Syracuse and Silenus, the inhabitants should be sold as slaves, and a tribute imposed on all the cities. Thus even the Greeks, who had hitherto been favourable to the design, were rendered averse to Athens at the very onset. Moreover the choice of generals was injudicious. Alcibiades and Nicias were intrusted with the command of the whole force in addition to Lamachus, from the notion that the audacity of the one would be tempered by the circumspection of the other. But it was unwise to place at the head of the army a general who viewed the whole affair with disapproval, and when Alcibiades,



immediately after a landing had been effected at Syracuse, was compelled by a cabal among his adversaries to leave the army, the enterprise lost its life and soul, and from that moment might be regarded as hopeless.

The preparations were on the grandest scale. The whole fleet consisted of more than three hundred sail, and carried above five thousand hoplites, with a proportionate number of light troops. It was the middle of summer. Nearly all the residents in Athens, whether citizens or foreigners, went down to the Piræus, accompanied by their parents, friends, and children. All were balanced between hope and fear, and the danger of the enterprise stood now more visibly before their eyes than when they had resolved upon it. But the grandeur of the spectacle inspired their doubtful hearts with new courage. Never had one single great city sent such a multitude of ships and warriors across the sea; never were ships better equipped or more beautifully decorated. The trierarchs had vied with each other in making their ships light and adorning them, and the warriors had vied with each other in obtaining the handsomest arms. It seemed as if all wished to display in the eyes of Greece the wealth and power of Athens. When all had embarked, a signal for silence was given, and prayers were performed in every ship throughout the whole fleet. Wine was mixed in the goblets; every one poured libations from gold and silver cups; and the multitude who covered the shore mingled their prayers with the prayers of those who were departing for the war. After the pæan had been sung, they weighed anchor, and the whole fleet sailed in a line, the rowers endeavouring to outstrip each other as far as Ægina.

Neither this army, which had excited so much deserved admiration, nor this fleet, ever saw their country again, and the unfortunate omens which had attended their departure were all fulfilled.

The army had no sooner arrived than it found that it had been deceived in many of the representations

which had been made to them by the allies ; and summer and winter were passed in mere delay. Nicias was sick ; Lamachus was killed in a skirmish with the Syracusans. Nevertheless, the siege of Syracuse was zealously carried on during the second summer. Now everything promised a happy result, and even Nicias was full of hope ; for many cities, weary of the tyranny of Syracuse, came over to him, and, from all sides, his camp was supplied with provisions. The Syracusans despaired of rescuing their city, and were thinking of a surrender ; indeed, the belief everywhere prevailed that the Athenians would conquer, having for their general a man who was as invincible from his good fortune as from his superior intelligence. But Syracuse was saved nevertheless, and the Athenian army was destroyed ; the change was sudden, and came from a side whence it was least expected.

Alcibiades having been condemned to death during his absence for mutilation of the Hermæ and desecration of the mysteries, subjected to the public curse, and deprived of the whole of his property, sought a refuge in Sparta. After he had here fascinated the whole people by his discourses and his private life, and had gained the general esteem by appearing to all as a suitable son of Lycurgus, he persuaded the Spartans to assist the Syracusans. Gylippus was sent to Sicily as commander of the auxiliary troops. He landed unobserved by the Athenians ;—for Nicias, confiding in the helpless state of the city, had abandoned himself to security,—rapidly assembled a superior force, defeated the Athenians, and soon so completely changed the aspect of affairs, that, in spite of considerable reinforcements which had been sent from Athens, the army abandoned the siege of Syracuse, and the whole fleet, after an unsuccessful engagement, was destroyed in the harbour of the city. The retreating army was reduced by want and sickness to the most deplorable condition. With groans and lamentations, it left the camp, where its dead lay unburied, together with

many sick and wounded, who, in terms of despair, entreating their comrades not to leave them behind, clung to their garments, and followed them as far as their strength permitted. The army burst into tears, looking upon the present evils as forerunners of still greater calamities, and its situation became almost unendurable, when the soldiers thought of the greatness of former hopes, and the pomp and magnificence with which they had first gone forth. Nicias, though weakened by indisposition, did and endured what was even beyond the endurance of the healthy; he sought to revive the spirits of the army, and by the tone of his voice, and his affability towards every one, seemed to be raised superior to calamity. Indeed, during a week's march, harassed by ceaseless conflicts with the enemy, he had kept his own division unconquered. But now Demosthenes was defeated at the head of the division which he commanded, and killed himself in the midst of the enemy, while his soldiers, six thousand in number, were made prisoners. Nicias proceeded a day's march further to the river Asinarus, into which his thirsty soldiers plunged. The enemy overtook them, and began a frightful massacre among them, as they endeavoured to quench their thirst with their weapons in their hands. The army sustained a thorough defeat. Heaps of dead lay in the river, and the fugitives were pursued by the Sicilian cavalry. Nicias surrendered to Gylippus. A countless multitude of single captives were dispersed about Sicily; those who came to Syracuse, as the property of the state, were sent to the stone quarries, where most of them fell victims to their wounds, contagious disorders, or starvation. Thus more than seven thousand perished. Nicias, and the generals under him were executed. Nay, when Hermocrates, who belonged to one of the noblest families in Sparta, endeavoured to restrain the vindictiveness of his fellow-citizens, by telling them that a noble use of victory was more glorious than victory itself, they raised a violent tumult against him, and

even insulted Gylippus when he ventured to oppose them.

As for those prisoners, who became the slaves of private persons, some of them obtained their liberty as a reward for their good conduct; but most remained in slavery, though they were treated with respect by their masters. Some even owed their deliverance to the esteem in which the tragedies of Euripides were held by the Sicilians,—and it is said that those of the captives who knew by heart and could sing verses from his plays received better treatment. Several who returned home came to the poet and explained to him, with gratitude, how an acquaintance with his works had brought them food and shelter, when, after the battle, they had wandered hungry and helpless about.

Athens thus saw herself suddenly hurled down from the summit of her hopes. She had lost the flower of her people, her fleet, and her leaders; her wharves were destitute of shipping, her treasury of money. Helpless and abandoned, she lived in anxious expectation of a renewed attack by the enemy. An unexampled activity was now manifest in all the states of Greece. Most of the allies of Athens were ripe for revolt; even the states that had hitherto remained neutral were inclined to take up weapons for Sparta, because all were convinced that Athens, if fortune had been on her side, would have attacked and disarmed them. All these circumstances inspired the Spartans with new courage; and most of all (this was one of the worst consequences of the abortive enterprise) the offer of the Sicilian confederates to support them with a fleet, for with this they thought they could cope with Athens, even as a maritime power. Alcibiades unceasingly urged war, and by his advice Decelea, on the boundary of Attica and Bœotia, was occupied by Spartans and fortified, thus affording a strong position, from which they could make constant incursions into Attica.

At the same time Alcibiades despatched his agents into Ionia, and thus not only roused nearly the whole

population of that coast to revolt, but, being always with Lacedæmonian generals, constantly did great damage to the Athenians in other respects. Soon, however, his successes in Sparta were a cause of jealousy. His ruin was resolved ; but as he was informed of the secret machinations against him, he sought and obtained the favour of the Satrap Tissaphernes, who soon followed all his counsels. And now, either to make the ungrateful Spartans feel his vengeance, or because the wounds of his own country afflicted him, he sought to draw over Tissaphernes—who had hitherto supported Sparta—to the side of Athens. For to such a point had Greece been brought by internal discord and the spite against immediate neighbours, that the states vied with each other in soliciting the favour of the king of Persia, who supported them as caprice dictated, and was pleased to see them wear out their strength in contests with each other.

Things were now in such a condition, that, although Athens, with her maritime force, still made a tolerable resistance against the enemy, one single unfortunate battle would have been sufficient to bring her to absolute ruin, and the Spartans expected a great accession of force to their fleet, if Tissaphernes kept his promise. The satrap, however, suddenly deceived their expectations. The Athenian army assembled at Samos, invited Alcibiades to join it, and appointed him general of its own authority. The example of the army was followed by the people, his recall was decreed at Athens, and the election was confirmed. However, before he returned home, he wished to perform some great deed. He therefore defeated the Spartan fleet at Abydos, destroyed a great part of it, bore away the conquered vessels, then engaged in another successful battle at Cyzicus, drove the Spartans from the Hellespont, and almost from the entire Archipelago, conquered many important towns, compelled the faithless Persian satraps to swear to an advantageous treaty with Athens, and pressed the Spartans so hard,



that they sent to Athens proposals for peace, which were, however, rejected.

Now, at last, Alcibiades, covered with laurels, returned back to Athens. All his ships were hung round with shields and other spoils; these were followed by many captured vessels, and the ornaments and streamers of others that had been destroyed, amounting to two hundred. When he landed, the multitude who flocked to the place, seeming totally regardless of the other generals, welcomed him alone with loud acclamations of joy, flung to him wreaths and ribbons, clambered up the roofs of the houses to see him even at a distance, and lifted up their children to show them the saviour of the city. Men spoke of nothing but his deeds, and thought, with tears, of their previous calamities, which they ascribed solely to the absence of this hero, remarking, that since he had been on their side, he had, in a short time, recovered for them the dominion over land and sea, and raised their power from the ruin into which it had sunk. The people gave him golden diadems, restored to him his confiscated property, and appointed him chief commander by land and sea. Before he returned to the army, the time arrived for the celebration of the mysteries. Since the enemy had fortified Decelea and were masters of all the roads leading to Eleusis, the procession which accompanied the mystical Iacchus had been carried to the holy place by sea, without the usual pomp. Alcibiades restored the festival to its ancient splendour; he occupied the streets, took the priests, the mystagogues, and the initiated under his protection, and quietly conducted them to Eleusis, so that the enemy did not attempt to interrupt the solemnities. This conduct on the part of the enemy inspired the fellow-citizens of Alcibiades with new confidence in his invincibility, and many wished to entrust him with absolute power. This unprecedented mark of favour was the forerunner of new storms, occasioned by a capricious change of the public feeling;

and within a few months Alcibiades, no longer an object of regard, fell a victim to his own renown. As everything did not turn out so as to fully answer the sanguine hopes of the Athenians, and as, during his absence the army suffered some losses through carelessness, his adversaries availed themselves of the opportunity, and caused other generals to be elected. Upon this he went a voluntary exile to Thrace.

Henceforth everything turned out to the disadvantage of Athens, and her folly, levity, and inconstancy were soon punished by a severe retribution. Lysander, a man of great talent and boundless ambition, which, combined with a subtilty rare among Spartans, enabled him to do and to suffer whatever he pleased, was now placed at the head of the Spartan army. He was indifferent about right and wrong, and it was his maxim that children are amused with dice and men with oaths. However, even he was famed for disinterestedness; and though he filled his country with wealth, and thus destroyed the old frugality of the citizens, he never kept a single drachma to himself, but always remained faithful to poverty; so that after his death, his daughter, when her circumstances were made known, was abandoned by her suitors. Lysander, whom the Spartans had placed at the head of their fleet to check the progress of Alcibiades, first gained the favour of Cyrus, son of Darius Ochus, and younger brother of Artaxerxes Mnemo. Cyrus had been governor of Sardes, and was an honourable man, unfriendly to the faithless Tissaphernes. From him Lysander received ample supplies of money, which he employed in raising the pay of the sailors, thus weakening the enemy's force, and producing discontent among their crews. In the cities he formed a number of connexions, and always had plenty of dazzling promises for his friends—even gaining adherents by various acts of injustice. After Callieratides, who had been sent as his successor, had lost the battle of Arginusæ, and his life besides, his importance was so

greatly increased, that when he again took the chief command his power to act was unlimited. With a superior force he defeated the Athenian fleet at Ægospotamos, near Sestus, where Alcibiades offered his counsel, but was slighted. The whole fleet fell into the hands of the conquerors, with the exception of eight triremes, with which Conon effected his escape. Three thousand Athenian prisoners were condemned to death. When Lysander asked Philocles, their general, what punishment he merited, he answered, with dauntless courage, 'Do not accuse me on account of matters that do not belong to a judge; but as a conqueror inflict that which you would have suffered if conquered.' He then bathed and adorned himself, and went in front of his army, as the first to suffer death.

This defeat ended the tedious and complicated war, since by the tact and energy of a single man the Hegemonia by land and sea was gained for Sparta. Lysander now sailed along the coast, sent all the Athenians whom he found, with heavy menaces, to Athens, abolished in every city the democratic and every other native form of government, and appointed a Lacedæmonian Harmest (Governor), with a committee under him of ten men, selected from the oligarchic clubs (*ἐταίρειαι*). The heads of the democratic party were executed or banished, and the beginning of a new Spartan supremacy was thus marked by the most signal acts of violence. This was the case in Greece, Asia, and the islands.

During this time Athens was enclosed by the enemy, and the inhabitants were suffering from famine, which at last—after they had made a long resistance, and had rejected ignominious terms of peace—compelled them to comply with the demand to give up their ships, to destroy the long walls and the Piræus, to abandon all the cities which had previously been subject to them, and to confine themselves to their own soil. Nay, some of the allies, especially the Bœotians, desired that all

the Athenians should be made slaves, and that the city should be levelled with the ground. Just then, however, it is said, a certain Phocian, at a banquet, where the generals were assembled, began to sing the chorus of the *Electra* of Euripides, which opens thus :

Electra, mighty Agamemnon's child  
Am I, who now come to thy rustic cot,

and describes, in a striking manner, the splendour of the royal house and the poverty of its descendants. All were at once struck with compassion, and it seemed to them a barbarous act to destroy such a noble city, the mother of such great men. The walls, however, on the anniversary of the victory at Salamis, were pulled down to the music of flutes; the ships were burned, the democracy was abolished, thirty oligarchs were set over Athens, and ten over the Piræus. The power of these was supported by a Spartan garrison.

The office of the Thirty was, in the first instance, to introduce a new oligarchic constitution, and to found new laws. They disarmed the people, condemned first only the generally obnoxious and notoriously bad, but afterwards all who were opulent or suspected of democracy. Many of the citizens fled. The ancient orators were inexhaustible in their description of this melancholy period. Isocrates says: 'The Thirty, in a few months, have put to death more citizens without a hearing than the state has judged during the whole period of its rule. The punishments, the perversions of law, the ill-treatment of women and children, are past description.' In another place he says: 'The most lawless were the most faithful friends in the eyes of the new magistrates;—traitors, and, above all, the murderers of their fellow-citizens, they regarded as benefactors. They so hardened the hearts of all throughout Athens, that whereas, in the days when the state prospered, the trivial misfortunes of individuals would excite much sympathy, there was now no compassion whatever for the general misery.'

Among the numerous victims of this ruthless government must be named Alcibiades and Theramenes. The former of these had gone to Phrygia, the province of Pharnabazus, where he lived with his mistress, Timandra. As Lysandra and the Athenian oligarchs feared that he might devise means for the liberation of Athens, and as the Spartans, even with their present good fortune, were anxious lest some reverse should be occasioned by his enterprising spirit, they began to think how they should get rid of him. Persons were commissioned to kill him, and Pharnabazus, who, for many reasons, dreaded him as a neighbour, lent his hand to the undertaking. The persons deputed surrounded his house, and set it on fire outside, not daring to enter. When Alcibiades perceived this, he gathered together clothes and carpets, and flung them on the flames to extinguish them. While he made this vain attempt, he wound his cloak round his left hand, took his sword in his right, and rushed out through the flames. The Barbarians dispersed at the sight of him; no one ventured to detain or to attack him, but they assembled in the distance, and aimed at him with arrows and javelins. Thus he fell. When the enemy had retired, Timandra raised his corpse, covered it with her own clothes, and buried it as well as circumstances permitted. Thus perished this remarkable man, in the fortieth year of his age, after he had performed the most wonderful exploits, but by his boundless ambition had done more harm than good to his country.

The death of Theramenes is worth citing as an example of the tyranny which is a result of revolutions. This man, who was not destitute of talent, though he was devoid of principle, had played an important part in several political changes; always showing a predilection for oligarchy, which, by his negotiations with Lysandra, he strenuously laboured to introduce after the battle of Ægospotamos. He himself was one of the Thirty, and as long as they con-



ducted themselves with moderation, took part in their measures ; but when they became rabid with tyranny, he censured their proceedings with great bitterness, either from a natural fickleness of disposition, or because he really felt for the fate of his country. When his associates saw that he was an impediment in their way, Critias, the most violent of them all, denounced him to the council, which was completely devoted to the oligarchs, and had the armed force at its disposal. However, after Theramenes had made an impressive speech, the council seemed favourably disposed towards him. Upon this the soldiers approached, and showed the daggers which they had hitherto concealed under their arms, while Critias boldly declared that a man so ill-disposed towards the oligarchy must not be suffered to escape ; adding, that since, according to their laws, none of their number could be judged, he struck the name of Theramenes from the list. On hearing this speech, Theramenes sprang to the altar, which stood in the place of assembly, and said, ‘ I implore you, do not give Critias the power of striking any one out of the list of your associates at his good will and pleasure ; but follow the law which you yourselves have passed. I know,’ he added, ‘ that these supplications and this altar will avail me nothing, but I will publicly show that these men are not only unjust to mortals, but regardless of the gods. I shall, however, be astonished,’ he added, ‘ if you others do not see that your own names can be struck out as easily as mine.’ The Harmost now entered with his Ten, and to these Critias consigned Theramenes, who had been dragged from the altar, invoking gods and men as witnesses of the impiety. The council preserved silence through a dread of the multitude who pressed to the doors of the assembly, and showed their drawn daggers. Theramenes was then conducted across the agora by the ruffians to whose charge he was committed, loudly exclaiming against the insolence with which he had been treated. That very day he drank hemlock with

perfect calmness—nay, he even accompanied his draught with jests, for he poured out the last drops as at the game of the cottabos,\* saying, ‘I dedicate this to my beloved Critias.’ From this time the tyranny became more and more unbridled, and all the neighbouring cities were filled with fugitives and exiles, in spite of the injunctions from Sparta that no city should receive them.

The glory of delivering his country from this painful situation was reserved for Thrasybulus, who had already distinguished himself as an excellent general. He, too, was in exile. With the assistance of seventy other exiles from Thebes, he seized upon the border-fortress of Phylæ, repulsed an army sent out against him, and then with a number of exiles, that continually increased, occupied the Piræus. The Thirty Tyrants sent to Sparta for aid; Lysander came, and would probably have taken Athens a second time, if Pausanias, king of Sparta, had efficiently supported him. But the latter carried on the war against the fugitives with so little earnestness, that after they had gained a few advantages, he concluded a treaty with them, by which they were allowed to enter Athens. Their return was marked by moderation. They proclaimed a general amnesty, from which none but the Thirty—some of whom had fallen in battle—were excluded. The democracy was restored, but the wounds of the country were not healed for a long time. The old hatred was not forgotten, and the people had been rendered more unruly in its demands, and more violent and convulsive in its movements by the oppression it had endured under its tormentors.

Most of the cities placed under Spartan government probably fared the same as Athens. Everywhere did the Spartans fan the flame of internal war, and render

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\* This game, in its simplest form consisting in flinging a quantity of wine from a goblet into a metal basin, so as not to spill the wine. At the same time, the person throwing pronounced the name of his mistress.—J. O.

their rule hateful by violence and severity. Assuredly the Spartan Hegemonia would have come to an end sooner than it did if it had not found a support in the great talents of Agesilaus, who, for a series of years, maintained the lustre of the Spartan arms in both Greece and Asia.

One of the most remarkable events of that time was the revival of the Persian wars in the territories of the Persian monarchy. After the death of Agis, the throne was occupied by Agesilaus, to the exclusion of the (perhaps spurious) son of Agis, generally considered the son of Alcibiades. Scarcely had this taken place, when news arrived that the king of Persia was fitting out a fleet to deprive the Lacedæmonians of their dominion of the sea. Lysander heard with indignation that his friends, whom he had left at the head of affairs in the Asiatic cities, had been either put to death or banished on account of their violent proceedings, and counselled Agesilaus, with whom he was on friendly terms, to hasten to Asia, and anticipate the Barbarians. He himself accompanied him, but the bond of concord between them was soon destroyed. The extraordinary respect which the people showed to Lysander, flocking always to his door, and following him about, as if he alone were the commander, and Agesilaus a mere pageant set up in conformity to the law, so much excited the jealousy of the latter, that he began to slight all Lysander's counsels, to reject the persons whom he recommended, and, in short, to oppose him in everything, till Lysander felt himself so deeply humiliated, that he left the army.

The progress of the Spartans was rapid and bold—the natural result of a feeling of their own superiority, and of a knowledge of the enemy's weakness. The impotence of the Persian monarch was not now revealed for the first time, but had been already shown by the enterprise of the younger Cyrus, who, supported by Greek mercenaries and a Spartan general, had penetrated to the interior of Persia, and if he had

not fallen a premature sacrifice to his own imprudence, would have seized on the throne—and also by the immortal retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks, which, as Isocrates says, for ever closed the mouths of those who extolled and admired the Persian power. This army, which did not consist of picked warriors, but of mere ordinary mercenaries, unacquainted with the country, and betrayed by their own allies, seemed nevertheless to the king of Persia important enough to be deprived, by a shameful artifice, of its leaders, who came to him under a safe-conduct, and were not allowed to return to their troops. Notwithstanding this loss, the deserted army effected its retreat from the interior of the kingdom. Without leaders, and constantly pursued by the Persians, it passed through wild and hostile populations and inhospitable regions, thus performing a journey of four hundred German miles without suffering material loss.

Terror preceded the army of Agesilaus. He defeated the Persians by the Pactolus; Pharnabazus was driven from his province; and as the whole coast of Asia was in revolt against Persia, Agesilaus entertained the project of penetrating into the interior of the empire, and overthrowing the tottering throne of the Persian monarch. It was only the crafty policy of the Persians that now saved the empire. Persian gold tempted Argos, Corinth, and Thebes—already indignant at Spartan insolence—to a war, for which an incursion of Sparta into the Holy Land of Elis afforded a pretext. War accordingly broke out. Ly-sander entered Bœotia, took some cities, but was attacked at Haliartus, defeated and killed. Now all rose against Sparta; and the league was joined by Athens and Thessaly. Agesilaus was at once called back from his career of glory. He hastened to Bœotia, and defeated the allies at Coronea,—a victory which gave new strength to the land force of Sparta. But, at the same time, the Spartans suffered a severe loss at sea, which deprived them of the maritime supremacy

they had preserved for scarcely ten years;—a short time, it is true, but, nevertheless, long enough to render Sparta hateful to the whole of Greece. Conon had fled after the battle of Ægospotamos, and, after many attempts to save his country, had taken the command of a Persian fleet. At the head of this he defeated the Spartans in a decisive battle at Cnidos, and thus destroyed, at a blow, the unnatural state of things, which arose from the attempts of Lacedæmonia to maintain a superiority by sea as well as by land. Conon now hastened to Athens, once more built up the destroyed walls with Persian money, and privately exerted himself to recover for Athens her ancient possessions. Thrasybulus actually succeeded in conquering the Hellespont and Lesbos; and at Corinth the Spartans were severely defeated by Iphicrates; while the Persian fleet and Conon incessantly plundered and laid waste Laconia and the rest of the Peloponnesus.

All these events so much terrified the Spartans, that they at once abandoned the policy they had hitherto pursued, and renouncing all further conquest in Asia, rather sought to gain over the king to their own side; recollecting how useful his assistance had formerly been in procuring for them the Hegemonia. But now vindictiveness and love of rule carried them beyond the limits of self-respect. They sent Antalcidas, a degenerate Spartan, to conclude peace with Persia at any price. Conon, who followed, as an Athenian ambassador, was taken prisoner and put to death. All the Greek cities in Asia, for the liberation of which Agesilaus had fought so bravely, as well as Cyprus, were to be placed once more under Persian rule; Athens was merely to retain Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, while all the other cities of Hellas were to be independent. Whoever would not willingly accept this peace was to be forced into compliance by the united arms of Sparta and the Persian king. The chief design of this disgraceful peace was to weaken Thebes,



by making it concede the independence of the other Bœotian cities. However, the measure was not unwise. The Spartans gave up nothing but what they could not keep. Their supremacy in Greece was secured by the circumstance that the office of carrying the peace into execution was left in their hands; and the independence of all the Greek states was for *them*, not a loss, but a gain. They derived, however, the greatest advantage from the circumstance, that after the surrender of the Asiatic colonies to Persia, the preponderance in Greece had to be settled by land and not by sea.

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From this new turn of affairs the insolence of the Spartans received a fresh impulse, and, by repeated acts of violence, they prepared the way for the terrible overthrow that afterwards befel them. On the pretext of chastising all who had previously fought against them, or even had not fought for them, they attacked several cities, destroyed Mantinea, and compelled others to adopt an aristocratic constitution. As at Thebes, also, there was a sharp contest between the two political parties, Phœbidas surprised this city in his way to Olynthus, occupied the Cadmea, banished or put to death the heads of the democracy, and gave the government into the hands of an oligarchie committee. This atrocity, which, though not ordered, was approved by Sparta, had more important consequences than had been supposed, inasmuch as it raised the hitherto inglorious Thebes to the head of the Greek states, and caused deep humiliation to Sparta.

At this very time there happened to be in Thebes two men of the greatest talent and the most exalted sentiments, Pelopidas and Epaminondas. The former was of a distinguished and wealthy family, and lived with becoming splendour,—a liberal supporter of the poor. Epaminondas, on the other hand, possessed but scanty means. They were closely united in friendship, and both had the same disposition for every virtue, though

Pelopidas took more pleasure in bodily exercises, while Epaminondas rather delighted in literature. Among all the noble peculiarities that redounded to their honour, none was greater than this—that their intimate friendship remained inviolate and enduring amid the severest struggles and the most critical state-affairs. The cause is to be sought in the virtue of these two men, whose actions were not accompanied by that cupidity after power and riches which usually has envy for its concomitant, but who, from the first, were inspired with a holy zeal to raise their country to power and greatness. Hence each could regard the other's progress as his own. By such sentiments in these two men, Thebes was rescued and raised to the head of the Greek states.

During the oligarchic tyranny, when Thebes was completely kept under the yoke by Archias and Leontidas, Pelopidas was banished as a friend of the people, while Epaminondas was overlooked as a poor insignificant man, whom a fondness for study rendered incapable of any great undertaking. Most of the exiles had sought refuge in Athens, and there found protection and subsistence, notwithstanding the Lacedæmonians insisted on their expulsion. Among these, Pelopidas, though the youngest, was the most active. He unceasingly represented to his companions in misfortune how base it was for them to see their country oppressed, while they themselves, satisfied with preserving their lives, remained in a state of dependence on the caprice and fickleness of the Athenians, compelled to flatter their orators and demagogues. It was their duty, he said, to venture something for the greatest and most glorious of causes, and to take for their pattern the boldness of Thrasybulus. These views soon found their way, as he had desired, among those of similar sentiments.

In the meanwhile, Epaminondas, on his side, had endeavoured to inspire the young Thebans with courage. He made them wrestle with the Lacedæmonians

in the Gymnasia; and when they were proud of their superiority, blamed their cowardice in serving people who were far their inferiors in physical strength.

Thus, at last, a scheme was concerted. All the exiles were to assemble on the Bœotian border, but only a few were to enter the city for the purpose of reconnoitring. Twelve men, of whom Pelopidas was the chief, took this duty upon themselves. They all belonged to the principal houses, and were united by the truest friendship, while they vied with each other in valour and renown. Disguised as hunters and rustics, these men entered the city on different sides, by day-time, and stole, unperceived, into the house of a fellow-conspirator, named Charon. While they were assembled here—their number had increased to eight-and-forty—a knock was heard at the door; a messenger entered, and brought from the tyrants an order for Charon to come to them. They were all terrified, thinking that their enterprise had been betrayed, but deemed it expedient that Charon should go. As he feared that he might be considered a traitor if so many excellent men perished, he brought his son, a boy of remarkable beauty, to the conspirators, and placed him in the hands of Pelopidas, declaring that if any treason was found in him, they might, without scruple, treat the boy as an enemy. All, however, crowded round Charon, declaring that none of them were so base as to suspect so honourable a man. At the same time they entreated him to take his son from their company, that if they fell victims to their patriotism he might grow up as the avenger of his father and his friends. Charon, on the other hand, declared that he would not remove the boy, saying that he could not find anywhere a life that would be more glorious than a death in company with his father and so many friends. He then prayed to the gods, took leave of them all, and went to the tyrants, who were assembled at a sumptuous banquet. They told him that they had been informed that some of the exiles

were in the city, and were supported by the citizens. At this he was, at first, confused; but when he saw that they knew nothing definite he promised to make inquiries, although, he said, he thought the affair was nothing beyond a mere rumour. Scarcely was this danger past, than the conspirators were menaced by a second. A messenger from Athens brought from a friend in that city a letter for Archias, which, as afterwards appeared, contained the most circumstantial information respecting the whole plan. While handing the letter to the drunken tyrant, the bearer delivered also the verbal message that the writer requested him to read the letter without delay, as it contained matters of the utmost importance. 'Important matters to-morrow!' replied Archias, with a smile, and he laid the letter aside without opening it. Everything now depended upon haste, since every moment might bring destruction to the conspirators. On this account they at once left Charon's house, in two divisions. A portion of them had thrown female attire over their armour, and put on dense wreaths of pine-leaves, that shaded the face. When, in this disguise, they entered the banquet-room of Archias, they were admitted with delight, as Archias had expected women all the evening. Scarcely had they entered than, selecting the persons who had already been indicated, they rushed upon them with weapons in their hands, and slew the tyrants, with all the guests who offered resistance.

The other division, of which Pelopidas was one, proceeded to the house of Leontidas, threw down the slaves who guarded the doorway, and overpowered Leontidas himself after a severe struggle. Both parties then united, exhorted the citizens to freedom, and provided those who joined them with weapons, which they took from the temples. Epaminondas, who had been collecting together a number of young, active men, came up to them, and there was a general rush to the Cadmea. The Athenians now arrived with an auxiliary force; but all the neighbouring cities had already revolted, and thus

the garrison was compelled to retire before other troops sent by Sparta had been able to cross the borders of Bœotia.

This deed of Pelopidas was rightly called sister to that of Thrasybulus. It is not easy to find an instance where so few men, by mere personal courage, have vanquished so strong an enemy, and procured such great advantages for their country. However, according to Plutarch's observation, this enterprise, which seemed so small at its commencement, became still more glorious by the great changes which were produced by its results on the condition of Greece. For the war, which humbled the pride of Sparta, and terminated her dominion by land and sea, took its origin from the night when Pelopidas rent asunder the fetters of Sparta in his native city.

Now began the period of the greatest lustre for Thebes; but it was by degrees that she reached the pinnacle of greatness. For the power of Lacedæmon was not yet broken, and Pelopidas, to secure the Theban supremacy in Bœotia, had to carry on a war of defence, which was even more admirable than a battle gained. He succeeded by stratagem in forming, for a time, a close union between Athens and Thebes, and Sparta undertook several campaigns in Bœotia without success. Chalcias defeated the Lacedæmonian fleet at Naxos, and confirmed anew the maritime dominion of Athens, for which Timotheus, the victorious son of Conon, also successfully struggled. However, the zeal of Athens against Sparta had already cooled through the wiles of the Persians, and the union with Thebes had been slackened by the too obvious exaltation of that city, when a Spartan army, under Cleombrotus, entered Bœotia, and was defeated at Leuctra by a small Theban force, which owed its brilliant victory to the newly-invented tactics of Epaminondas. The Peloponnesians, especially the Arcadians, rose in arms against Sparta, and, in the following year, Pelopidas and Epaminondas entered the Peloponnesus, ravaged the country as far as



the immediate neighbourhood of Sparta, where the smoke of an enemy's camp had never been seen, rebuilt Messene, and peopled it with the remains of the Messenian exiles. Shortly afterwards Pelopidas prevailed on the Arcadians to assemble in one city, Megalopolis, which he intended to use as a bulwark against Laconia.

Even amid these calamities, the Spartans were not unfaithful to their ancient spirit. In the battle of Leuctra a thousand Spartan citizens fell around their king. Among them was the beautiful Cleonymus, who fell three times exhausted at the king's feet, rose again three times, and continued the fight till he died. In Sparta a feast was celebrated when the unhappy news of the defeat arrived. Although the ephori saw the critical position of the state, they nevertheless allowed the festival to continue; and far from disturbing the solemnities, merely sent the names of the deceased to their relatives at home. On the following morning, when all exactly knew who had been killed, and who was saved, the fathers and friends of the former went to the market-place, and saluted each other with faces of pride and joy. On the other hand, the relations of those who had escaped, remained at home with the women, as for a mourning; and if any one of them was forced to stir out of doors, he showed by his demeanour how deeply humiliated he felt. Still more apparent was a similar sentiment among the women, since those who expected their sons would return alive were silent and mournful, while the others at once made their appearance in the temple, and saluted each other with a cheerful mien.

The great progress which the power of Thebes now seemed to make, was checked by the jealousy of Athens, who united with Sparta on the condition that they should alternately take the lead of Greek affairs. Even Dionysius the younger sent the Spartans assistance from Sicily, so that the Thebans (though this could scarcely have belonged to their original

plan) saw themselves compelled to enter into negotiations for an alliance with Persia. At the instance of Pelopidas, Artaxerxes required of the Greeks that Messenia should be independent, that Athens should resign the dominion of the sea, that all the Greek cities should be governed by their own laws, and that Persia, Thebes, and their allies should watch over the maintenance of the peace. The terms were not accepted by Athens and Sparta, and the results which the Thebans had expected from the peace were frustrated by the early death of the two leaders.

During the short period of her greatness, Thebes had also attempted to play a part in the north. She aided the Thessalians against their tyrant Alexander of Pheræ, and was umpire in the contests which arose in Macedonia respecting the succession to the crown. On this occasion young Philip was brought as a hostage to Thebes to be educated in the house of Epaminondas. When Alexander of Pheræ wished once more to deprive the Thessalians of their liberty, the latter asked the assistance of Pelopidas. Although evil omens seemed to warn him against the expedition, he, nevertheless, hastened to chastise a tyrant who had deceived him in various ways. At Cynoscephalæ, where Flaminius afterwards defeated the last Philip, the two armies met, and while the enemy was already in disorder, Pelopidas, perceiving the tyrant, rushed towards him, and with a loud voice, challenged him to single combat. As, however, Alexander kept himself concealed behind his satellites, Pelopidas, throwing himself into the midst of these, slew many, but was killed at last. His death was followed by a general overthrow of the Pheræans; never was the death of a man so avenged. The Thebans mourned him as their father and instructor, who had led them to the most glorious deeds, while the allies manifested their gratitude by many expressions of grief. Those who were present at the battle, allowed themselves, it is said, no time to take off their armour, to saddle their

horses, or to have their wounds dressed, but hastened to the corpse, placed around it the weapons they had taken, and cut off their own hair and the manes of their steeds. Many retired to their tents without lighting a fire or preparing food, and in the whole camp there was silence and dejection, as if they had not conquered, but had been subdued by the tyrant. On receiving intelligence of the fatal event, the magistrates came from the cities with youths, boys, and priests, bearing wreaths, trophies of victory, and golden armour to receive the corpse.

Glorious as the funeral solemnities were, which terminated a noble and successful career, the death of Pelopidas was equally glorious in its consequences. For the Thebans at once seeking revenge, dispatched a considerable force, and compelled Alexander, who was already much weakened, to restore to the Thessalians the towns he had taken from them, to remove all his garrisons out of their country, and to submit to the orders of the Thebans. Shortly afterwards, Alexander was murdered by his brothers-in-law, at the instigation of his wife Thebe, who had learned from Pelopidas not to dread the pomp and glitter of tyranny. His corpse was horribly maltreated by the Pheræans.

In the south of Greece the war by land had been meanwhile carried on, with no great efficiency, until, on an occasion given by the Arcadians, who wished to be masters in the Peloponnesus, Epaminondas undertook a new campaign there, in which he was not attended by his usual good fortune. He encamped at Nemea to prevent the union of the Spartans and the Athenians, but the latter came in ships to Laconia. He then led his army straight against Sparta, which he almost took by surprise, but Agesilaus, warned in time, displayed a valour beyond his years, and saved the city from Epaminondas. During this struggle in the streets of the city, Isadas presented an extraordinary spectacle to the enemy. He was well-made, of a commanding stature, and in the bloom of youth. He had

just anointed himself with oil, when, hearing of the enemy's entrance, he rushed into the midst of them, naked as he was, without a shield, with a lance in one hand and a sword in the other, cutting down all who came in his way. The enemy looked upon him as a being of a superior order, and he escaped without a wound. For this deed the ephori rewarded him with a mantle, but, at the same time, imposed upon him a fine of one thousand drachmæ, because he had exposed himself to danger without a weapon of defence.

Epaminondas now advanced against Mantinea for the purpose of taking it; but the Athenians had anticipated him. A battle ensued. The Lacedæmonians consisted of more than twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse; the Thebans, with their allies, amounted to about thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse. Epaminondas put forth all his strength, and applied the principles which had already gained him the battle of Leuctra. He attacked the Spartan phalanx in person, and put it to flight, but during his pursuit was surrounded by the enemy and overpowered with missiles. A javelin entered his breast. After a long and sanguinary contest he was rescued by his soldiers, and carried to his tent. He still breathed, but it was evident that he would die as soon as the weapon was extracted. He endured the pain of the wound till his shield was brought, which he kissed, and till the news arrived that the Thebans were victorious, when he said, with courage and firmness, 'I have lived long enough, for I die unconquered.' He next sent for two generals, whom he deemed fit to take his place, and when he heard that these had perished likewise, he said, 'Then counsel the Thebans to make peace.' He then ordered the arrow to be extracted from his breast. While this operation was performed, one of his friends lamented that he left no children behind him, but he replied that he left two immortal daughters,—his victories at Leuctra and Mantinea.

The halo of glory which surrounded Thebes had

scarcely lasted twelve years. The loss which she had suffered within two years, in the persons of her best leaders, terminated the greatness for which she was wholly indebted to these two men, and which, for want of moral weight in Greece, she was unable to maintain. The Persians now endeavoured to establish a new peace among the larger states; but Sparta would not accept the conditions, as the first was the renunciation of Messenia. But the strength of the three principal states was so exhausted that neither of them could maintain the Hegemonia. They all wasted their energies in vain and trifling efforts, during which their ancient dignity declined more and more. So essentially was the position of Greece altered, that no state now stood at the head of affairs. The lack of important events has had an influence even on the history of those times, which is only preserved to us in fragments, and appears to be, like Greece itself, destitute of internal connexion.

Just at this period of a total dissolution of the Hellenic union, Macedonia rose suddenly from her insignificance, with the mission of collecting the scattered forces once more for a great undertaking.

Macedonia was a kingdom planted by an Argive colony, at the head of which was Caranus, a descendant of Heracles. The barbarian inhabitants of the country were soon overpowered by the Greek colonists, and hence the kings claimed to be considered Greeks,—a claim which was not without its influence at the period at which we have arrived. We should remark, however, that the Macedonians were still generally deemed barbarians.

Trained by frequent wars with barbarian neighbours, the colony gradually extended its boundaries. The Doric form of government prevailed,—that is to say, there was an hereditary kingdom, in which, however, the eldest son was not always heir; a council to assist the king; a free people, who had a voice in affairs of importance. The mode of life was extremely simple: valour was looked upon as the greatest virtue; war and the chase were the noblest occupations.

Scarcely had the Macedonian war begun to increase



in extent, than the storms of the Persian war set in. Darius Hystaspes compelled Macedonia to pay a tribute, from which she was freed by the victories of the Greeks. However, she could not rise to any great importance, being narrowly confined through the spread of Athenian colonies in her neighbourhood, the increase of the Olynthian league on the peninsula of the Chalcidice, and by the vicinity of several powerful Thracian kingdoms. The first king who laid the foundation for the civilization of the country and cultivation of the soil was Archelaus, who, while he honoured literature and assembled round him the most accomplished men of Greece, constructed roads and established fortresses. His reign was followed, however, by a period of confusion, during which several claimants to the throne appeared, and, supported by the neighbouring barbarians, made war upon each other. Indeed, on the death of Amyntas II., the troubles were so serious, and the superiority of the surrounding barbarians was so decided, that the very existence of the Macedonian kingdom became problematical. During this time, Philip, the youngest son of Amyntas, was a hostage at Thebes in the house of Epaminondas, and was thus a witness to the virtues of that excellent man. Perdiccas, his eldest brother, perished in a battle against the Illyrians, leaving behind him a son of tender years. New wars arose; the neighbouring barbarians became more encroaching than ever, when Philip escaped from his Theban prison, and returned to Macedonia to take the government in his own hands.

The condition of the kingdom was now desperate. All the neighbouring peoples had risen against it. A child sat on the throne, opposed by two powerful rivals, —Pausanias, who was supported by the Thracians, and Argæus, who was supported by the Athenians and Illyrians. A great part of the territory had fallen into foreign hands; the resources seemed exhausted; the army was weakened and dispirited to the last

degree. Philip undertook the regency, and in a short time the kingdom was entirely remodelled. Some of the enemies were bought off with money, others were amused with hopes, and others, again, were conquered. A better spirit was implanted in the army, and Theban tactics were transferred to Macedonia.

While this young, bold, clever, and accomplished prince, who might almost be said to have risen from private life to a throne—for he soon from a regent became a king—by restless energy and the prudent calculation of every step, increased his power on every side, took possession of the gold coasts of Thrace, brought himself into contact with the sea, and attacked the Greek colonies—while thus, we say, there was formed in the north of Hellas a power, which already possessed great superiority through its geographical situation, the states continued to exhaust their strength in senseless conflicts. No one suspected that the Macedonians were destined to seize upon the Hegemonia, and to play one of the most important parts in the history of nations.

Philip had early harboured this thought—perhaps even while in the house of Epaminondas. However, his desire for glory was always under the control of prudence. He did nothing in a hurry, overlooked no means of increasing his strength, of lessening that of the Greek states, and of extending his influence. On the pretext that the pecuniary resources of the country were exhausted, and that it was necessary to embellish his cities and palaces to an important extent, he borrowed from most of the cities large sums at a high rate of interest, in order to get the property of the principal citizens into his own hands. At the same time, he flattered the pride of the republics, gained over many by the prospect of brilliant advantages, and others by real benefits. He protected the Thessalians against their tyrants, and while he kindled the flame of discord in the cities he intended to possess, he caused one or other of the contending parties to apply

to him for assistance. Never did a prince better understand the art of altering his apparent conduct, without giving up his principles, and of wrapping himself round with a veil of impenetrable mystery. He had every quality requisite for his purpose—a pleasing exterior, eloquence, the power of flattering and threatening, versatility, a profound insight into men and circumstances ; and, at the same time, a firm mind, that always kept the grand object in view.

For his plans with respect to Greece, nothing could be more opportune than the Sacred War. This war was occasioned by the ambition of the Thebans, as well as by their hatred of their nearest neighbours the Phocians, and their desire to embroil themselves once more with Sparta. At their instance, the Amphictyons had condemned both nations to pay a pecuniary fine,—the Phocians for making use of some territories belonging to the Delphic temple, the Spartans for taking the Cadmea. Neither of these two nations submitted. The Thebans took up arms to carry the sentence into execution, while the Athenians, Spartans, and some cities of the Peloponnesus, actuated by hatred against Thebes, espoused the cause of the Phocians, who perhaps flattered themselves with the hope that even they might take the first rank among the Greeks. Philomelus, a man of great boldness, placed himself at their head, seized on a portion of the treasure at Delphi, thus enabling himself to hire mercenary soldiers, and gained several advantages. At last, however, he was attacked in a mountainous region by the Bœotians, and driven, covered with wounds, to a rock, whence there was no escape. He accordingly killed himself by leaping down the precipice.

Under the command of the brothers of Philomelus, the Phocians continued the war for a considerable time with such good success, that they were able to assist the Thessalian tyrant against Philip, who had hitherto preserved a wise neutrality. Philip, however, defeated them, and resolved to use this opportunity of invading

Greece. As yet it was too early. The Athenians, warned of his design, occupied Thermopylæ, and compelled him to relinquish his plans. Nevertheless, from this moment, Greece was more than ever the object of his ambition, and here everything soon paved the way for his future conquests. All who abhorred the Phocians as despoilers of the temple—all the adherents of the Thebans—extolled the king to the skies. Even in the cities allied with the Phocians opinions were divided. Many voices were in favour of Philip, and in Athens itself, it was not till the king had taken the most decided steps, that those who had been bought or gained over to his side could be put to silence.

Athens had previously been incensed against Philip, who in the most crafty manner had deprived her of Amphipolis and extended his power in the north to the injury of Athenian trade. Nevertheless, he had lulled the greater part of the people to sleep, while those who saw into the future were treated with scorn or outvoted. The promises of the king, which he never kept, were believed, and hopes of advantage without effort were readily encouraged. It was not until his advance upon Thermopylæ more plainly showed his intentions, that the measures to be taken against him became a subject of general deliberation. And even now there were many, who, resigning themselves to the agreeable illusion, and pleased to escape the thought of danger and exertion, preferred to give the king credit for a degree of moderation which no conqueror ever possessed. This easy party was joined by the politicians in Philip's pay, who intentionally thickened the veil woven by heedlessness or indolence. A small party counselled watchfulness and increased energy while there was yet time.

At the head of this party was Demosthenes, the greatest orator of Athens, who, with his high, undaunted spirit, appeared, in an age of sunken courage and inglorious ease, like a hero of the early world. Fortified by the severest exercises, and trained in the an-

tique mode of thought, he had ever before his mind the image of that old state, whose heroic courage had penetrated all lands and all manner of men, and had everywhere set up eternal monuments of glory. He not only desired to remove the perils of the present moment, but he wished to make the glorious days of Athens return once more. Inspired with this wish, and filled with a noble belief in hereditary virtue, he encouraged his fellow-citizens to undertake the most difficult tasks, and while other orators sought their favour, and only recommended what suited their convenience, he combated their dearest inclinations, and impelled them towards what was great and excellent. His efforts lasted as long as his life. Even when a boy, a noble desire for fame had led him to the dangerous path in which he found his death, and thus, also, through the whole course of his life, fame was his first and highest goal, for the attainment of which he unceasingly strove with the purest patriotism and with every kind of sacrifice and exertion. This loftiness of purpose is ascribed to him by all antiquity, and his actions furnish a testimony against which the unproved accusations of a few hostile and envious persons, cannot be balanced for a moment. For those who were bought with Philip's money, won by his friendship, or dazzled by the lustre of the Macedonian kingdom, not only renounced their liberty and subjected themselves to a servitude of their own choice, but they also, with the baseness of renegades, persecuted the faithful adherents of the ancient system. This was also the case with those who, with honest intentions, either looked upon the maintenance of peace as the only means of securing the prosperity of the country, or, out of hatred against the evils of degenerate democracy, would not unwillingly have seen the Hegemonia in the hands of a king.

As Philip still continued his secret plans of aggrandizement, and at last attacked the city of Olynthus, the most powerful of the neighbouring Hellenic



states. The patriotic orator succeeded in causing a body of auxiliary troops to be sent out. These, however, were too weak to check the enterprise, which was, moreover, favoured by traitors in Olynthus itself. The gates were opened to Philip, the city was destroyed, and all capable of bearing arms were sold as slaves. This event may properly be regarded as the beginning of that great tragedy which ended with the ruin of Greek liberty.

Philip enraged, and having a pretext for hostilities, now attacked Athens by sea, defeated her fleet and occupied Eubœa, whose strong forts he placed in the hands of tyrants of his own party. At the same time, he always expressed a strong desire to be at peace with Athens, and at last succeeded so far that an embassy was sent to him to settle the terms. Negotiations were protracted, and Philip, in the meanwhile, took one city after another. Nevertheless, he continued so skilfully to deceive the Athenians with dissimulation and promises, that they concluded peace with him, in spite of all the representations of Demosthenes.

The Sacred War had now raged for ten years with varying success, and the Thebans found themselves so weakened, that they not only abandoned all thoughts of satisfying their revenge, but were themselves hardly pressed by the bold incursions of Phocian hordes. Accustomed to sacrifice every other consideration to their own wishes, they invited the assistance of Philip, who assured them of his aid, while, on the other hand, he promised the Athenians that he would chastise the Thebans. He accordingly marched through Thermopylæ into Hellas, excluded the Phocians from the Amphictyonic Council, occupied their place, and caused himself to be declared an avenger of sacrilege. Athens was helpless and confounded. Weapons were taken up and again laid down, and the deluded people could now do nothing more than give a hospitable reception to the Phocians, who had saved themselves by flight.

From this time forward, Philip regarded himself as a Hellenic power, and by guiding the Amphictyonic Council carried into execution whatever he pleased. To chastise the Spartans he entered the Peloponnesus, then marched in triumph through the whole of Greece, sought to extend his conquests in the north, and when some of his enterprises there, as, for instance, the siege of Byzantium, had failed through the activity of the Athenians, with whom several of the Greek states were united, he kindled anew the flames of the Sacred War, suddenly advanced into Hellas, took Elatea on the borders of Bœotia, and caused the greatest alarm at Athens, from which he was only distant by a two days' march. The news reached Athens in the middle of the night. The Archons had it proclaimed at once; the whole city was in motion; and the citizens, without being convened, assembled in the market-place, where, at first, a dull silence prevailed. No orator ventured to speak; till Demosthenes ascended the tribune, raised in the minds of the citizens the spark of hope, and made the bold proposition to send an embassy to Thebes. The measure was approved, and Demosthenes himself hastened to Thebes as ambassador. Although the Thebans were still smarting with the wounds they had received in the Phocian war, their courage was so much excited by his powerful eloquence, that, in their noble enthusiasm, they forgot all their apprehensions and all their old dislike of Athens, and followed, without hesitation, the directions of Demosthenes. At Eleusis, the forces of the Thebans and Athenians combined, and on the plain of Chæronea, a battle ensued, in which both parties fought with a courage worthy of the ancient times. The Macedonian phalanx was forced to give way to the attack of the Athenians, but as the latter had fallen into disorder during the pursuit, Philip collected his forces, and the Athenians, while on the point of gaining a victory, were thoroughly defeated.

This day terminated the independence of Greece,

which, thenceforward, became subject to the Hegemonia of Macedon.

Even to the conqueror himself the event came unexpected. As if intoxicated with victory, he indulged in all manner of excesses, and sang the beginning of the decrees of Demosthenes: *Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους ὁ Παιανιεύς γράφει*, beating the measure\* with his feet. However when he was once more sober, he began to feel uneasy at the influence and power of the orator, who, in a few hours, had compelled him to risk his dominion and life on one venture. At Athens, on the other hand, which was treated with great clemency by Philip, the orators of the opposition attacked Demosthenes, and demanded an inquiry into his conduct. However, the people, nobler than the orators, not only acquitted him, but declared him to be a well-disposed citizen; and called upon him once more to take part in public affairs. Nay, when the bones of those who had fallen at Chæronea were brought to Athens, he had the office of delivering the funeral oration.

Philip, in the meanwhile, occupied the most important posts in Greece; and to bring the nation into a state of utter dependence, made all the states appoint him general against Persia, thus averting the possibility of an alliance between that country and Greece. The preparations for this campaign were already complete; indeed, some of his generals had already set off for Asia, when, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra with Alexander king of Epirus, Philip was killed, during the festivities, by Pausanias, a young Macedonian of noble birth, while he was engaged in a procession, in which the images of the twelve great gods followed his own. It is supposed that Philip's repudiated wife Olympia had incited Pausanias to this deed. It is, at any rate, certain that Olympia gave a solemn burial to the corpse of the

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\* The words cited form a comic Iambic verse.—J. O.

murderer, which was decorated with a golden crown, and dedicated his dagger to Apollo.

Thus perished Philip, the wisest and most subtle monarch of the ancient world, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his government. To him Macedonia was indebted for her elevation; but, in spite of his brilliant successes, we cannot but lament that, to extend his dominions, he debased Greece and liberty, and sent abroad the dangerous spark which set the world on fire, and during a long series of years, brought misery and confusion among nations.

The news of Philip's death caused the most extravagant joy in Greece. At Athens, festivals of thanksgiving were appointed, and it was resolved that Pausanias should be honoured with a golden crown. Demosthenes, although his daughter had died only a few days previously, appeared before the people in festive attire, with a wreath upon his head, and encouraged them to make another effort for the recovery of their freedom. The Athenians took up arms, and were joined by the Thebans, who, furnished with weapons by Demosthenes, attacked the Macedonian garrison, and slew many of the soldiers. Demosthenes was now unceasingly on the bema,\* and wrote letter after letter to the Persian generals in Asia, in order to incite them to an enterprise against Alexander, whom he called a mere boy.

But this boy of twenty years—formed by the instructions of Aristotle, and trained in his father's school of war, resolutely suppressed all the troubles that had disturbed the kingdom on the occasion of his father's death. Several of his councillors advised him to abandon Greece altogether, and to reduce the neighbouring barbarians to obedience by the way of mildness. But Alexander, bolder than his father, and far

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\* The stone platform raised for the orator in the place of assembly.—J. O.

more greedy of renown, had resolved to proceed in the path indicated by Philip, and to obscure his father's actions by his own. Mildness would be an acknowledgment of weakness, and he saw, correctly enough, that he must distinguish the commencement of his reign by acts of great daring. He therefore advanced against the barbarians with an army. After he had defeated the king of the Triballi in a sanguinary battle, he pressed forward through Thermopylæ, and required the Thebans to deliver up their generals. The Thebans insolently replied by demanding that *his* generals should be given up, and, by public proclamation, invited all who desired the liberation of Greece to join them. In the battle that ensued, the Thebans were defeated, after great exertions; the city was taken, sacked, and at last levelled with the ground, to the music of flutes. With the exception of the priests, the guests (*ξενιοι*) of the Macedonians, and the descendants of Pindar, whose house alone was spared, the inhabitants, to the number of thirty thousand, were sold as slaves. The number of the slain amounted to six thousand.

Amid all this fury of conquest, greatness of mind and noble pride were still revered. Some soldiers had attacked and plundered the house of a virtuous lady of rank, named Timoclea, and had shamefully ill-treated her. The miscreants then asked her if she had concealed any treasures. She answered in the affirmative, and conducted the leader of the band, who had been the cause of all their excesses, to a well in her garden, into which she said her treasures had been cast. When he stooped down to ascertain the fact, she pushed him into the well, and flung stones upon him. She was now brought in chains to Alexander, who asked her if she had committed the deed. She answered, 'Yes.' And when, surprised at her noble mien, her proud gait, and her dauntless spirit, he further asked who she was, she replied, 'I am the sister of Theagenes, who fought against your father for the liberty of Greece,



and fell as a general at Chæronea.' Alexander, struck with admiration at this courageous reply, ordered that her chains should be taken off, and that she and her children should be set at liberty.

As Alexander thought that the example of the revenge he had taken on Thebes would sufficiently awe the other cities, he easily reconciled himself with Athens, displaying magnanimity and mildness in his treatment of that city. He not only remitted all the debt due from the Athenians, but exhorted them to keep a watchful eye on events during his absence, saying that, in case of his death, the Hegemonia should revert to them. It is even said that he afterwards frequently regretted the misfortunes of the Thebans, and that, on this account, all who had escaped death obtained from him whatever they desired. However, twenty years from the time of its destruction elapsed before the unfortunate city was rebuilt by Cassander.

Alexander, now confirmed in his father's position, resolved to march into Persia without delay. About the same time Darius Codomannus ascended the throne—a king personally courageous and just, but too weak to defy an Alexander. The evils of the Persian monarchy had struck deep root; and to an enemy greedy of fame and spoil Darius could only oppose an undisciplined force, already accustomed to fly before the Greeks. He was, moreover, surrounded by courtiers, who only thought of profiting by their master's weakness, and of satisfying their own avarice and petty jealousy in the general ruin;—in a word, by men without a country, and destitute of noble feeling.

Against such a state the success of the Macedonian arms was not long doubtful. Strong in the principles laid down by his father—being, under an honourable name, the master and leader of Greece, which was flattered by the notion of a national war—counselled by generals who had been trained in the excellent school of Philip, and supported by an army which chiefly consisted of veterans, Alexander proceeded to

Asia without resistance, and after a victory on the Granicus, which was followed by the submission of the coast, penetrated into the interior of the Persian monarchy. A second battle at Issus, first, it seems, decided Alexander in his project of rendering himself master of the whole Persian empire : he now rejected the offers of peace made to him by Darius, and secured the out-ports of the Persian monarchy, subjugating Phœnicia, by the capture of Tyre, after a seven months' siege, and by the conquest of Egypt becoming master of the Mediterranean, and obtaining a new outlet for commerce. He now penetrated into the interior of Asia, and on the plains of Assyria, near Arbela, defeated the enormous army of Darius. Darius himself was murdered by a traitor.

The gigantic projects embraced by Alexander, when he saw himself in possession of the kingdom ; his commercial plans, which led him to India, the ancient fabulous region of universal trade, the geographical discoveries which he made or occasioned, the moderation which he displayed in his government of the conquered, whose internal constitution he altered as little as possible, his superiority to the prejudices of his nation, which his own people found the least excusable of his qualities ;—all this shows his fitness for the task which he had proposed to himself, of becoming the ruler of the known world. But to show this in fuller detail would carry us beyond our limits. We need only bear in mind that the extensive conquests of Alexander, by connecting Asia with Europe, at once opened a new world to the Greeks, increased their knowledge, animated among them a spirit of inquiry, and thus widened the sphere of their activity. These advantages were some compensation for the dissolution of those civic boundaries within which such great and mighty effects had hitherto been produced by a concentration of force.

In the eleventh year from the time when he began his conquest of the world, in the thirteenth of his

government, and in the three and thirtieth of his age, this great man, so wonderfully compounded of singular virtues and striking vices, died of a fever (probably the result of excesses), at Babylon, which he had chosen for the capital of his universal monarchy, without leaving any heir to the throne but the weak Archidæus, son of Philip and a dancer named Philinna; for it was not till three months after his death, that his consort Roxana gave birth to a son named Alexander. Immediately after his decease, so violent a contest for the chief command arose among his generals that his corpse lay unburied and neglected for seven, or, as some say, thirty days.

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While Alexander was yet occupied in Asia, the Spartans, and their friends in the Peloponnesus, had made an attempt to revive their independence. The moment seemed favourable. Alexander was at a distance; Antipater, the governor of Macedonia, was occupied in Thrace. The latter, however, quieted the Thracian troubles as well as he could, hastened to Greece, and defeated the Spartans at Megalopolis. King Agis was killed. This attempt, although unsuccessful, nevertheless attracted the attention of Alexander; the efforts of the Hellenic states to recover their independence made him uneasy; and he therefore ordered all the cities to take back their fugitives, who were, for the most part, oligarchs, and men of Macedonian views. Several states refused; and, while the notion was entertained of a league, with Athens at its head, Alexander died.

The different parts of the Macedonian monarchy were mainly held together by the terror which Alexander's name spread in every direction: a revolt was inevitable. All the late monarch's generals were inflamed with ambition; and, it must be admitted, his camp had been no school for moderation and humility. The generals, indeed, were all of opinion that Macedonia should remain the chief country in the monarchy,

and that all the governors of provinces should be subject to the guardians imposed on the imbecile Archidæus ; but, nevertheless, every one soon played the master in his own province, and the Macedonian monarchy was divided even while it preserved the appearance of a whole.

The Athenians thought they ought to take advantage of this state of weakness and disorder. The decree for the recal of the exiles had not yet been withdrawn ; many active preparations had already been made by the league, for whose cause the Greek mercenaries, who returned from the campaign in Asia, were gained over ; and shortly after Alexander's death a force of more than thirty thousand men stood ready for action. Joy at the fortunate event had filled every mind. On all sides the Athenians invited the cities to join in the movement, and in most cases found a ready hearing. Only Sparta, too much humbled by her recent defeat, and Corinth, kept down by a Macedonian garrison, abstained from taking any part in the affair.

The first successes of the army, which was commanded by Leosthenes, were brilliant. He constantly anticipated Antipater,\* who did not expect such rapidity, defeated him at Thermopylæ, and compelled him to shut himself up in Lamia, a fortified city of Thessaly. The town was vigorously besieged ; Antipater made proposals for peace, but the besiegers insisted upon an unconditional surrender. The siege was continued, but the valiant, experienced Leosthenes, the soul of the whole enterprise, was killed by a stone during a sally on the part of the besieged. With him fell the fortune of the league ; for he was succeeded by inexperienced men in whom the army placed no confidence. Nevertheless, a presumptuous contempt for the enemy was growing up in the Greek camp ; several of the allied troops returned home on various pretexts ; Antipater received a reinforcement, and declared to the

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\* The regent of Macedonia.—J. O.



Greeks, after the successful, though not quite decisive battle of Cranon, that he would not treat with the whole league, but make a separate peace with each individual state. This condition settled the affair. Every state hastened to conclude peace for itself as well as it could, without paying any regard to its allies. They nearly all obtained peace, generally on the condition of receiving a Macedonian garrison, and changing the democratic into an oligarchic constitution, which placed Antipater's adherents at the head of affairs. None were left out but the Athenians and Ætolians, whom, as the originators of the war, a harder punishment awaited.

The Macedonian army, led by Antipater and Craterus, marched without delay towards Athens. When it was in Bœotia, an Athenian deputation came to it, and prevailed on Antipater not to proceed further, though peace was only concluded on condition of total subjection. However, as the Athenians now complied with the requisitions of Antipater, he moderated his anger, and merely insisted that the city should receive a Macedonian garrison, defray the expenses of the war, besides paying a sum by way of penalty, and deliver up Demosthenes and Hyperides. At the same time, out of thirty thousand citizens about twenty-one thousand (some say only twelve thousand) lost their civil rights on account of poverty, and were sent to Thrace as colonists.

On the first intelligence of the approach of the Macedonian army, Demosthenes and the orators of his party retired from Athens, but the people, on the proposition of Demades, condemned them to death. As they were dispersed in various directions, Antipater sent out soldiers, and among them the actor Archias, who, on account of his zeal in pursuits of the kind, had obtained the name of 'Phygadotheras,' or 'hunter of fugitives.' This man dragged Hyperides and some other orators from the sanctuary of Æacus, in Ægina, and sent them to Antipater at Cleonæ, a place near



Nemea, who had them executed; it is even said Hype-rides' tongue was cut out before death. Demosthenes had taken refuge in a temple of Posidon, on the island Calauria, opposite Trœzen. Archias, who proceeded thither, sought to persuade him to go with him to Antipater, who, he said, would not hurt him; but the orator, without rising, looked on the crafty knave with contempt, and said: 'Archias, you never moved me as an actor, and your promises will not change me now.' When Archias began to utter angry menaces, Demosthenes said: 'Now you talk like the Pythian on the Macedonian tripod, but before you were only a stage-hero. I merely ask of you a few moments' patience, as I have still something to write to my friends.' With these words he sat down by the altar of the god, took a leaf, and held the reed against his mouth, as if he was reflecting. He then covered up his head, which dropped on one side. The Macedonian soldiers, regarding this movement as a sign of timidity, laughed at him; but when Archias approached him, repeated his former promises, and once more urged him to follow, Demosthenes, who already began to feel the effect of the poison he had sucked from the reed, unveiled his face, and, looking fixedly at Archias, said: 'Now you can play the part of Creon, and cast out this corpse unburied. I, O Posidon! quit thy temple while yet alive, and call thee to witness that Antipater the Macedonian has not left even thy temple unsullied!' These words were followed by a shudder; and as he attempted to step further, he once more sank down against the altar, and expired with a sigh.

Shortly after his death, which occurred on the most mournful day of the Thesmophoriæ, when the women fasted by the temple of Demeter, the people raised to him a brazen statue, and decreed that the eldest of his family should be boarded for ever, free of expense, in the Prytaneum.

Demades did not long enjoy the fruits of his treachery. 'Divine justice,' says Plutarch, 'intending to

avenge the blood of his opponents, conducted him to Macedonia, that he might die at the hands of those whom he had so basely flattered.' When Demades arrived, Antipater was confined to his bed by sickness; and Cassander, who now held the power in his own hands, had found a letter written by Demades to Perdiccas, in Asia, summoning the latter to come immediately to Macedonia and secure the monarchy, which only hung on a narrow thread. Cassander had Demades brought before him immediately after his arrival, and first had his son executed, so near him that his clothes were sprinkled all over with the blood. To Demades himself he uttered the bitterest reproaches on account of his ingratitude, and had him likewise executed, amid all sorts of insults.

By the power of Antipater, Phocion then stood at the head of affairs at Athens. He was a man endowed with an inflexible love of justice, for whom this circumstance alone is an honourable testimony, that in these troubled and corrupt times he so greatly distinguished himself, without aiming at pomp or importance by any sophistical art. As a disciple of Plato he vied with Xenocrates in the austerity of his morals and the simplicity of his life; and his voluntary poverty, and mildness, even towards his enemies, could only proceed from a truly philosophical mind. Being, however, rather a man of good sense than a demagogue of genius, he chiefly sought his glory in the prudence with which he always selected the safest means. The success of most of his undertakings—five-and-forty times he commanded the troops as a victorious general—induced him rigidly to adhere to the path he had chosen. It was therefore quite natural that he should be the adversary of a man of genius like Demosthenes, whose aim was not security but greatness, and that, clearly perceiving the evils of democracy, he inclined with honest earnestness to the cause of Macedonia.

When Athens fell into the hands of Antipater, no one was more favoured than Phocion. One of his

relatives, named Menyllus, was the commander of the Macedonian garrison, which, though it conducted itself with order and moderation, was nevertheless detested by the Athenians, as a visible token of their servitude. Besides his relationship to Menyllus, there was also this fact against Phocion, that he had too readily consented to the change in the constitution, and had not sufficiently exerted himself to save Demosthenes and the other orators. It is, however, difficult to form a judgment on these matters, since the connexion of the events of the time is by no means perfectly clear.

Antipater died, and his death was the signal for new troubles in Greece. He had, perhaps from magnanimity, passed over his own son, Cassander, and transferred the government to Polysperchon, a man of talent and experience, whose mind, however, was by no means elevated, and who, moreover, had been greatly weakened by age. Cassander was to hold the second place under him. The latter, discontented with this subordinate position, conceived a plan of rebellion. A great part of the Macedonians were zealously devoted to him; and he thought he could reckon upon the garrisons in the great towns, which consisted of his father's troops, and honoured the father in the son. Even before Antipater's death was known, he sent Nicanor to Athens, to take the place of Menyllus, in whom he had no confidence. This plan was actually carried out; and when the Athenians heard of Antipater's death, a few days afterwards, they all suspected that Phocion had been already informed of the event, but had kept it secret from a desire to oblige Cassander.

Immediately afterwards, Polysperchon, to frustrate Cassander's design, and to crush Phocion, with all Antipater's adherents, addressed a letter to Athens, in which he stated that the king, whose guardian he was, restored to the city its old democratic constitution, and had done the same for the other Greek states. As the greatest excitement was at once pro-

duced, Phocion suffered Nicanor, in whom he placed unlimited confidence, to escape at once, and thus subjected himself to the reproof that he had risked the welfare of his country from mere obstinate partiality. Cassander was, at this time, in Asia, to obtain aid from Antigonus. Polysperchon's son Alexander advanced against Athens, on the pretext of defending the city against Nicanor, who, with his garrison, had occupied the Piræus. With Alexander's army returned the exiles, who at once entered the city, and held a tumultuous assembly of the people, at which Phocion was deprived of his generalship, and other generals were elected in his place. He was also attacked by the orators of the popular party. Under these circumstances, Phocion, with what hopes is not well known, went to the camp of Polysperchon, who, in the meanwhile, had entered Phocis, and whom he had to fear as his worst enemy. At the same time, a deputation arrived from his adversaries to make a formal accusation against him. Polysperchon had a golden throne set up in the open air, and placed the king upon it. He then ordered that one of the friends of Phocion, who had accompanied him, because he thought he stood in favour with Polysperchon, should be seized as soon as he came forward to plead his cause, stretched on the rack and executed; while, on the other hand, he allowed the opposite party of the Athenians to make their complaints. Phocion was about to reply, but Polysperchon interrupted him several times, turned his back upon him, and at last had him put in chains. Several of those who accompanied him were treated in the same manner; the others saved themselves by flight. The prisoners were taken to Athens, nominally to receive their sentence, but really to meet certain death. Neither slaves, foreigners, nor dishonoured persons (*ἀτιμοί*) were excluded from the assembly held for this purpose; nay, even women were admitted. A letter from the king was now read to the effect that he had already found

these men guilty of treason, but that he would leave the sentence to the Athenians, as a free people. When the prisoners were brought forward, the best of the citizens veiled their faces at the sight of Phocion, looked down on the ground, and wept. Only one had the courage to say that, as the king had left so important a sentence to the people, it would be proper for the slaves and foreigners to retire from the assembly. Upon this, however, the rabble raised a violent tumult, and shouted aloud, that the aristocrats, the enemies of the people, ought to be stoned, so that no one ventured to say any more for Phocion.

When he at last began to speak, but was constantly interrupted, he said, 'I will confess that I have done wrong, and you may put me to death; but what have these men done that you wish to kill them also?' 'They are your friends,' was the answer. Phocion now stepped back, and said nothing further. The sentence of death was pronounced; nay, some desired that Phocion should be racked before his death, and called for the wheel and the executioner. When Agnonides, who had drawn up the popular decree, saw that even Clitus, who was present as an ambassador from the Macedonian king, heard this with disgust, he said, 'We put rogues to the rack, citizens, but I cannot approve of such a proceeding with Phocion.' 'Quite right,' answered one of the better disposed, 'for if we racked Phocion, what should we do with you?'

After the dissolution of the assembly, the condemned persons were conducted to prison. The others, after embracing their friends, retired weeping and lamenting, but Phocion showed the same calm aspect as when he had left the popular assemblies on other occasions. Much as this equanimity was worthy of admiration, his enemies ran along by his side, reviling him and ill-treating him. When he was in prison, one of his friends asked him if he had any commands for his son. 'Certainly,' he replied, 'I command him to



harbour no resentment against his fellow-citizens.' Thus died Phocion, in the sentiments in which he had lived.

Not content with his death, his enemies caused a decree to be passed that his body should be cast over the borders, and that no Athenian should supply fire for his funeral. None of his friends ventured to touch him. At last, however, a slave performed this last duty by fetching fire from the territory of Megara. A woman of Megara, who assisted him with her servants, moreover, erected a monument to Phocion, collected his bones, took them home with her at night, and burned them by the hearth. Not long afterwards the people were convinced of their error. A brazen statue was erected to him, and his bones, which were now brought to Athens, were solemnly interred, while his accuser Agnonides was condemned to death.

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For a series of years Greece was now a mere plaything of Macedonian factions. A few months after the introduction of that wild democracy into Athens, Cassander came from Asia and occupied the city, while Polysperchon, in the Peloponnesus, published his decrees for liberty, and created universal tumult and confusion. The constitution of Athens was now remodelled, Demetrius Phalereus, a rich and virtuous man, was placed at the head of the government, and the Macedonian garrison remained at Munychia. Demetrius Phalereus acted with a wisdom and self-denial worthy of the old times; for he only used his position for the benefit of his country, increased the revenue, adorned the city with new edifices, and repaired those that had fallen into decay. The grateful people erected three hundred statues to him. When, however, on a new change in affairs, Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus, promised the city entire freedom and the restoration of the democracy, the

people, intoxicated with joy, destroyed all the statues, idolized their liberator, and even condemned Phalereus to death. The latter, escaping from assassins, went to Ptolemæus, in Egypt, who received him in the most friendly manner, and entrusted him with the superintendence of the Museum and Library.

More than once Demetrius Poliorcetes disturbed the tranquillity of Greece. He first expelled Cassander from all his possessions, and at last, by his boundless good fortune, caused a league to be formed against his own father Antigonus, who held Asia in his power, and likewise aimed at the possession of Macedonia, as the centre of the monarchy. The battle of Ipsus (a small place in Phrygia), at last, settled the succession to Alexander's rule. Antigonus was slain, his whole kingdom was broken up, and Demetrius escaped with only a small relic of his army. Cassander became king of Macedonia, and thus obtained dominion over Greece. He did not, however, long enjoy repose. Demetrius had lost everything but his confidence and courage. He once more entered Greece, and, favoured by fortune, ascended, after Cassander's death, the throne of Macedonia, which he held for seven years. One war was now followed by another; Hellas was more distracted than ever, and as parties changed the constitutions of the cities changed likewise. Driven out of Macedonia, Demetrius went to Asia, to conquer a new kingdom, leaving Antigonus Gonatas in Greece. The latter established tyrants in the cities, and declared himself the patron of all who wished to hold supreme dominion in their country. With the assistance of these allies he became powerful enough to conquer Macedonia; there he established himself securely and bequeathed the kingdom to his descendants, the last of whom was Perseus.

During this state of internal distraction a new calamity from without found its way into Greece. Hosts of Gauls poured in by the way of Thrace and Thessaly for no other purpose than to live on plunder.

Brennus was at the head of this wild people, which, as it rushed along, increased like an avalanche from its contact with other barbarians. The common danger caused the Greek states to unite, but though they put forth their utmost strength they could not bring together more than twenty thousand men, who, however, by their military skill and experience defeated the rude hordes at Heraclea, in Thessaly. In spite of this defeat, Brennus forced his way through Thermopylæ and came to the walls of Delphi. Here the country was saved by the priests, who raised the courage of the Delphians by promising the assistance of the god. A violent storm, followed by frost and snow, and earthquakes besides, seemed to indicate the fulfilment of the promise. In the morning twilight the Ætolians and Phocians attacked the astounded Gauls; Brennus was wounded, his soldiers fled, and struck with a panic fear, fell upon and slew each other in the darkness. Suffering from cold and hunger, in their flight they were again defeated by the Greeks; Brennus poisoned himself, and the rest of the army was gradually consumed in the hostile country. Another party, who had taken a more eastern road, settled in Thrace, which then became lost, in a great measure, to Macedonia; a third party crossed the sea and took possession of Galatia.

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If the Ætolians had not been entirely destitute of cultivation, they might, at this juncture, when crowned with glory through the expulsion of the Gauls, have exercised the most beneficial influence over Greece. The spirit of freedom was by no means extinct in Hellas; the present rulers in Macedonia were not so formidable as Philip and Alexander; the spirit of jealousy influenced them to a less degree than heretofore, and the battle of Ipsus had lessened the violence of their exertions. Those who had divided Asia

among them were now more occupied in enjoying their good fortune than in increasing their power—Macedonia itself, reduced to its ancient boundaries, and exhausted by various calamities, had more than once changed masters, at the caprice of the army (which in a great measure consisted of mercenaries), and though Greece was still the object of its ambition and its efforts, these efforts were far from vigorous. The tyrants, who had established themselves in most of the cities, had no important protection from without, and were constantly paralysed by fear of their fellow-citizens. It might have been thought that the defeat of the Gauls would have revived the confidence of the Greeks, and that a people who had freed Hellas might have used its position as the basis of a league. But the character of the Ætolians was so wild that no one could place confidence in them or look upon them as the guardians of liberty. The greater their deeds, the more were they dreaded by their neighbours. Indeed, they were hated almost as much as the Gauls.

However, this very dread of the Ætolians was useful to Greece, inasmuch as it occasioned a revival of the Achæan league, which in early times consisted of twelve cities, whose delegates met twice a year at Ægium, a town of Achaia. The army was commanded by two generals, who were nominated annually. The quiet manner in which this league conducted itself had preserved its existence under Philip and Alexander; it had retained its constitution—almost its freedom; but it did not escape the misfortunes that befel Greece under Alexander's successors. The frequent revolutions in Macedonia also influenced Achaia. Some of the cities received garrisons from Polysperchon, Demetrius, Cassander, and Antigonus; others saw tyrants rise from their own bosoms. The difference of their position often gave a separate direction to their interests; often their masters were actuated by directly opposite aims, and the ancient ties seemed broken altogether.

However, some of the cities availed themselves of a favourable opportunity of external repose to throw off the yoke; and, to oppose the insolence of the Ætolians, renewed the old league, which was joined by other cities, when Antigonus Gonatas, after the liberation of the Macedonian throne, was occupied elsewhere. However, the operations of the league were unimportant, and its existence was obscure, until Aratus of Sicyon, who, though a youth of only twenty years, had freed his native city from the tyrants, joined it to the Achæan league, of which he was then elected general; and in this capacity expelled the Macedonian garrison together with the tyrants from many of the cities, and extended the league on every side.

This growing power awakened the jealousy of Athens and Sparta, and it was doubtless highly injurious to the league that Sparta had taken no part in it. Both the cities, in spite of their degradation, still retained their ancient pride, and an idea of dignity was connected with their names. The Ætolians fed the flame of jealousy, and occasioned a war between the Spartans and Achæans, in which the latter were frequently defeated and lost several of their possessions. If Aratus had transferred the Hegemonia to Cleomenes, king of Sparta, these evils might have been anticipated; but, having a natural dislike to his neighbour, and being too much used to govern, he adopted the dangerous expedient of inviting Macedonia to protect the league, thus making the old enemy of Greek independence its guardian. It may however be urged in his defence, that Sparta had also solicited the favour of Macedonia, by which the Achæan league would have been brought into still greater perplexity. The first condition named by Macedonia was a surrender of Acrocorinthus, the key of the Peloponnesus, which actually received a Macedonian garrison.

Macedonia (Antigonus Doseon was its king) now stood alone at the head of the league; its orders alone had weight; for on it alone all the military arrange-



ments depended. Thus powerfully assisted, the league was victorious. The Spartans again lost their conquests; Antigonus entered Laconia; Cleomenes was defeated in a great battle near Sellasia and compelled to fly. Sparta received a Macedonian garrison, and again lost the constitution which the magnanimity of her last kings had granted her. The efforts of these kings deserve to be mentioned as the last struggles of a noble love of liberty.

After, and through Lysander, Spartan manners had undergone a great change. A large portion of the spoil that had been gained had been brought to Sparta, and as this state combined the Hegemonia by land with the dominion of the seas, it could not exist without wealth. Contrary to the laws of Lycurgus, it was decreed that Sparta should have a treasury, and the citizens soon allowed themselves a privilege similar to that which had been granted to the whole state. The rapacity of the new rulers was great in proportion to their former rudeness and poverty. Avarice and cupidity prevailed; the former equality of goods was abolished; a love of pomp and debauchery was introduced. After the reign of Agesilaus corruption reached its greatest height. Even his son Archidamus was accused of having while abroad led a debauched life, after the foreign fashion, and such complaints of the conduct of the Spartan kings increased as time progressed. The public meals were either wholly deserted or the tables were covered with choice dishes, while the couches were spread with the most costly tapestry. The example of the kings was followed by private individuals. In the gymnasia the ancient discipline was extinct; and, as in the other Greek armies, mercenaries were employed for the support of the state, now scantily peopled. Of real Spartans not more than seven hundred were left, and of these scarcely one hundred were masters of the soil. The remainder of the people went about the city poor and despised.

In this state of distraction, and exposed to the danger

of utter dissolution, did Agis III.\* find his degenerate country, when, during the time of Antigonus Gonatas, he came to the throne. Agis so far exceeded all his predecessors since Agesilaus in the elevation of his mind that, although brought up amid the abundance of his mother and grandmother, who were the wealthiest of the Spartan women, he, nevertheless, professed himself an enemy of all luxury, shunned every kind of splendour, wore a plain cloak, and declared aloud that he did not value the royal dignity unless he could use it to restore the laws and ancient institutions of Lycurgus. The younger portion of the community soon listened to his suggestions, and altered their mode of life; but the old, effeminate, and degenerate fled from the name of Lycurgus like runaway slaves from the name of their master. The noble example of Agis had a wholesome influence even upon the women of his kindred, and this further operated upon many others. Even the indigent people desired a change. Agis therefore made the proposition, through one of the ephori, that all debts should be cancelled, and that the land should be partitioned out anew; the Phaciditiat and other ancient customs were also to be restored. At the same time he declared that he himself was ready to make the greatest sacrifice to the constitution he now introduced. He would give up his whole property, which consisted of a great deal of arable land, and six hundred talents in hard money; his mother and grandmother, who were the wealthiest among the Spartans, and all his friends and relatives, would do the same.

Much as the people admired this magnanimity, the rich made a strong resistance, especially the second king Leonidas, who clearly saw that if the proposed measure were carried into effect, Agis alone would be thanked for it. The result was that the proposition

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\* This was Agis IV., unless the first Agis be excluded from history, as belonging to a mythical period.—J. O.

† A later name given to the 'Syssitia,' or public meals.

was rejected in the Gerusia\* by the majority of a single vote.

Many troubles ensued; personal hostilities intervened, and Agis and his friends, being menaced themselves, had recourse to violent and illegal measures. They surrounded themselves with the young men, and the prisoners whom they had liberated, drove the ephori from their seats, burned all the securities for debt, and were even on the point of commencing a division of the lands, when Agis was forced to leave the country on account of the war, which had been undertaken to defend the Achæans against the Ætoliens. During this campaign, in which he excited universal admiration by the excellent order and discipline of his troops and by his own noble and modest demeanour, his enemies in Sparta availed themselves of the opportunity to completely remodel the newly formed constitution, and Agis, on his return, found everything so much changed that he was forced to seek shelter in the temple of Athena, where he was taken by stratagem. His enemies tried him in prison. When one of his judges, with a show of moderation, as if he would furnish him with means of escape, asked if he had not been forced into his undertakings, he replied, that without compulsion, and following the example of Lycurgus, he had wished to restore the ancient constitution. When the same person further asked whether he repented of his attempt, he replied that he could feel no repentance at so glorious an enterprise, although he might suffer the severest punishment. He was then sentenced to be strangled; but none of the servants would lay hands upon the king, and many persons, including his mother and his grandmother, had already assembled before the prison, and tumultuously demanded that the king should be allowed a regular trial before the people. With much difficulty and full of

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\* The 'Assembly of Elders,' which was the aristocratic element in the Spartan constitution.

apprehension that the prisoner might be snatched away from them, his adversaries succeeded in executing the sentence. When Agis saw one of the servants piteously weeping, he said, 'Do not weep; since I am so unjustly put to death, I am far happier than my executioners.' He then suffered himself to be strangled without opposition.

When this had been done, one of the judges went into the street and invited the women to come in, assuring them that no harm should be done to Agis. On the entrance of the grandmother, he handed her over to the executioner, who hung her up at once. After this execution he admitted the mother, who seeing, on her entrance, her son stretched out on the ground and her mother hanging, took down the latter, with the aid of the servants, and laid the corpse, carefully veiled, by that of Agis. She then threw herself upon her son, bedewed him with her tears, and said: 'Your too great gentleness and humanity have brought you to ruin.' At this Amphares,\* who had watched her from the door, sprang in, and said, in a violent rage, 'As you approve your son's proceedings, you shall suffer the same punishment.' 'May it be for the good of Sparta!' exclaimed Agesistrata, as she presented her neck to the cord.

When the news of these horrible proceedings were spread about the city, the citizens were not restrained by any fear from expressing their grief for what had happened, and their abhorrence of the murderers. Indeed, all were convinced that, from the time Peloponnesus had been inhabited by the Dorians, a crime more detestable had not been committed in Sparta. For even enemies scarcely laid hands on a king of Sparta, from respect to his dignity; and in the memory of man, Cleombrotus was the only one who had been killed in battle (at Leuctra) by an enemy.

After this act, Leonidas, the originator of the atro-

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\* One of the ephori.—J. O.

cities, reigned for seven years in Sparta, and was succeeded in the kingdom by his son Cleomenes, an excellent man, who had completely adopted the views of Agis, detested the inactivity and corruption of his fellow-citizens, and with his somewhat impetuous temperament, deemed it right to reform them against their will. When he found that the citizens were utterly enervated, that the rich had lost all regard for the public weal, while the poor were sunk into sluggishness, and that he himself was only a king in name, while the real power was held by the ephori, he undertook to effect a thorough revolution in the state. But he was taught by the fate of Agis, that he could not rely upon the support of his fellow-citizens.

After conducting several successful campaigns against the Achæan league, he left his army, already fatigued with marching about, in Arcadia, and with a chosen body of mercenaries, to some of whom he revealed his intentions, suddenly marched against Sparta, fell upon the ephori, who were sitting at table, killed four of them and some of their defenders, proscribed about eighty citizens, who were ordered to leave the city, then assembled the people, proclaimed the abolition of the ephorate, and divided the lands, awarding a portion even to those who were at that time in exile, but were to be recalled after the pacification of the city. He then increased the number of the citizens with the bravest inhabitants of the other Laconian cities, and restored the old gymnastic exercises and public meals, to which the young returned with pleasure. He himself, at the same time, set an example to all by the simplicity of his mode of life, which did not, in any respect, differ from that of an ordinary individual. Thus he gained the esteem, not only of his countrymen, but of strangers, to whom he appeared a legitimate descendant of Heracles.

In order to promote internal tranquillity after this revolution, he continued the war against the Achæans. Favoured by fortune, he entered their territory, and



at last compelled Aratus to seek a refuge with Antigonus Dason. This alliance changed the fortune of Cleomenes, who, on his side, applied for assistance to Ptolemæus, who deceived him. Although he now found means to diminish the extent of his misfortune, and even to inflict considerable injury on his enemies, he at last saw all his hopes destroyed by the decisive battle of Sellasia, in which he fought with the greatest courage, and in the beginning with good success. Having advised his fellow-citizens to submit to the conqueror, he set sail for Egypt, declaring that, whether he lived or died, he would always act for the good of Sparta.

Antigonus now occupied Sparta, but treated the inhabitants with great clemency, doing nothing to wound their pride, and allowing them to be governed by their own laws. A few days after his entrance into the city, he was compelled to leave the Peloponnesus, and retire to Macedonia, where there had been an irruption of the barbarians. His contest with them came to a glorious result, so that a short time decided the fate of Sparta and the whole Peloponnesus.

Cleomenes now proceeded to Alexandria, where king Ptolemæus, surnamed Evergetes, at first received him coolly. But as he gave proofs of his intelligence, and displayed an union of Laconian simplicity with refined cultivation, he subsequently inspired Ptolemæus with great esteem, and the latter deeply regretted that he had slighted so well-disposed a man, and by disregarding him, had increased the Macedonian power. He, therefore, made every attempt to raise him again, and gave him hopes of future support. Moreover, he allowed Cleomenes an income, on which he and his followers frugally subsisted, expending a great part of it in presents to those who had been driven from Greece to Egypt.

However, Ptolemæus died shortly afterwards, before he could fulfil his promises, and his successor, Ptolemæus, surnamed Philopator, sank into a state of inglorious debauchery and female rule. Nevertheless, it was im-

possible to dispense altogether with Cleomenes, for the king did not deem his throne secure, and the mercenary troops, which were chiefly Peloponnesian, were completely devoted to Cleomenes. But even this very importance soon rendered Cleomenes an object of suspicion to the courtiers, and when, on hearing of the great confusion that had arisen in the Peloponnesus on the occasion of Antigonus' death, he requested that he might be allowed to depart with his friends, it was thought that his departure and his stay would be both dangerous, inasmuch as he had become acquainted with the weak points of the kingdom. By means of calumnies and surreptitious letters, the king was even induced to give orders that Cleomenes should be confined in a spacious lodging, where he allowed him his usual income, but prohibited him from all intercourse with strangers.

As Cleomenes saw, from many signs, that the ruin of himself and his friends had been resolved upon, and that he must renounce all his previous hopes, he exhorted the others not to wait till they were slain like beasts of sacrifice, but to die, like Spartans, in a noble manner. They made the guards drunk, broke from their place of confinement sword in hand, and summoned the people in the streets to liberty. These people, however, had only sufficient energy to admire the boldness of Cleomenes; no one had courage enough to follow and assist him.

Cleomenes wandered for a time about the city as chance directed him, and when he saw that he gained no adherents, but that all timidly fled, he exhorted his friends to die an honourable death, worthy of their deeds. They therefore mutually killed each other in cold blood, till Panteus was left, a handsome youth, who had distinguished himself more than any one in the battle, and was the favourite of Cleomenes. He had received directions not to kill himself till he had ascertained that the king and his companions were all dead. When they were all stretched on the ground, Panteus stabbed every one of them with the point of

his sword, to ascertain if he were still alive. Cleomenes he stabbed in the heel, and when he saw that his face was convulsed, he kissed him, and seated himself by his side, till he was quite dead. He then embraced the corpse and stabbed himself over it.

When the report of these events had reached the city, Cratesiclea, the wife\* of Cleomenes, although a noble-minded woman, lost at once her proud spirit, and catching up her little ones in her arms, wept aloud. The eldest boy sprang from her arms, and flung himself down from the roof of the house. When he was picked up, he screamed and cried, because he was not allowed to die.

Ptolemæus now issued orders that the corpse of Cleomenes should be wrapped in the skin of a beast and crucified, and that his children and wife should be executed with the whole of their retinue. Among these was the wife of Panteus, an uncommonly beautiful and accomplished woman who had escaped from her parents to follow her husband, and had supported without murmuring a life in a foreign land. She accompanied Cratesiclea on her way to execution, and inspired her with courage. Cratesiclea did not fear death on her own account, but only desired to be executed before her children. Nevertheless, the executioners first put the children to death before their mother's eyes. The wife of Panteus, who was a tall, strong woman, tucked up her robe, attended in silence on each of the dying ladies, and laid out the corpses as well as circumstances permitted. When her turn came, she let her dress fall, prepared herself, and suffered death with the greatest fortitude. Even in these latter days did Sparta, by a tragedy in which the women vied with the men in their contempt for death, give a proof that virtue, even in calamity, cannot be dishonoured.

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\* According to Plutarch, from whom this account is taken, Cratesiclea was the *mother* of Cleomenes, and, consequently, *grand-mother* of the children here mentioned.—J. O.

After the death of Antigonus, the government passed into the hands of his ward, Philip, the son of Demetrius, a child of seven years, under whose wearisome government internal troubles and factions raged through the whole Peloponnesus, especially Sparta, and brought the latter still nearer to its dissolution. The city was divided between those who were disposed in favour of Achaia and Macedonia, and those who were on the side of Ætolia. The Ætoliens, despising the Achæan league, as deprived of its liberty, and not standing in any awe of young Philip, played the masters in the Peloponnesus, defeated Aratus, and compelled him once more to seek the friendship and protection of Macedonia. For so much was the league already weakened by its connexion with its powerful allies, that the Achæans had ceased to bear arms, or even to levy troops, and paid money to the Macedonian king for his protection. Philip began the war against the Ætoliens with success; but when he had continued it for two years, he was persuaded—after that battle of Cannæ, which had proved so unfortunate for the Romans—to direct his thoughts towards Italy. He suddenly made peace with the Ætoliens, without so much as consulting the Achæans, who—as each party was to retain what it already possessed—had only loss and injury, in addition to the insults they had already endured.

The following considerations lay at the foundation of the policy, which Philip, by the advice of his counsellors, pursued.

When the great battle for the dominion of the world was fought in Italy, the wiser friends of the king suspected that the conquerors would not be satisfied with the possession of Italy and Sicily, and that Greece might expect a storm. Others, however, instead of encouraging him to adopt measures of safety, flattered his vanity, and represented to him that, after the defeat of the Romans, the conquest of Italy would be an easy matter. The first step which he made towards the accomplishment of this purpose was a

reconciliation with the Ætolians, whom he ought to have kept down, whereby he incurred the hatred of all Greece without making friends of the Ætolians themselves. He sent ambassadors to Hannibal, and offered an alliance, to which the latter appeared favourably disposed. The Romans were thus unexpectedly and very inopportunately entangled in the affairs of Greece. In the situation in which they were then placed they could do nothing beyond frustrating Philip's attempts to land, and giving him occupation in his own territory. The first object was effected by a fleet of observation, which almost unceasingly cruized along the Ionian coast,—the second, by means of the Ætolians, with whom the Romans concluded an alliance, and who did not cease to disturb Greece, and also by means of Machanidas, the tyrant of Sparta, who was the terror of all who favoured Macedonia in the Peloponnesus, the whole of which he was preparing to conquer.

After Aratus had been dispatched by slow poison at the court of Philip (who more and more displayed his evil propensities) because he opposed some of his violent measures, and often became embarrassing to him on account of his importance, the Achæans chose for their general the brave Philopœmen of Megalopolis, who had performed many valiant deeds, and, in the battle of Sellasia, had brought the victory to the side of Antigonus. They were not deceived in their choice. With great energy he sought to remove the evils that had crept into the league. He constantly exercised the Achæans in arms, improved their tactics, and employed his whole activity in the general good. The results were manifest in an enterprise against the Spartans, who were defeated at Mantinea. Machanidas was killed, and Nabis, another tyrant, took his place.

About this time, the second Punic war was brought to a successful termination, and the Romans availed themselves of the opportunity to take revenge upon Philip. The latter, convinced that a rupture with Rome was inevitable, had, in order to weaken her



allies, begun with Attalus, king of Pergamus, and the Rhodians, both allies of Rome; and as Athens had united with the latter, he attacked that city, which now applied to the Romans, and was for a short time liberated by a Roman fleet that had arrived at the Peloponnesus. The Ætolians, and several other states, whom Philip in his rage had maltreated and menaced, now joined the Romans, and the might of Rome, supported by Greece, proved victorious. Quintus Flaminus defeated the king at Cynoscephalæ in Thessaly, and Philip was compelled to sue for peace. The conditions were that all the Greek cities in Europe and Asia should be declared free, and might govern themselves according to their own laws. Philip withdrew his garrisons from all the Greek cities, gave his son Demetrius as a hostage to the Romans, and defrayed the expenses of the war.

As the Greeks were not acquainted with the terms of the peace, Quintus resolved to delay the publication of them till the celebration of the Isthmian games. When these took place, and a great number of spectators had assembled together from all parts of Greece, a herald came forward and made this proclamation: 'The Roman senate and people, and Titus Quintus the general, having defeated king Philip and the Macedonians, hereby liberate the Greek cities from all garrisons and impositions, and declare them to be free states, subject to their own laws alone.' All the peoples who had been under the dominion of Philip were then mentioned by name. On hearing this proclamation, the joy was so great that all persons present looked at each other with astonishment, as if the whole was a dream, and every one, fearing to trust his own ears, questioned his neighbour. The herald was summoned to repeat the proclamation; and then there arose such shouts of applause, and such clapping of hands, that it might easily be seen that of all blessings the Greeks prized liberty the most. The games were brought to a speedy termination, without receiving

much attention. When they were ended, all hastened to the Roman general; every one pressed forward to kiss his hand; wreaths and fillets were flung to him, not without peril to the stout young Roman, whom, however, youth, joy, and glory enabled to endure the storm of enthusiasm. This extravagant delight lasted several days. Every one extolled the Romans. 'There was still a people on the earth,' it was said, 'which, at its cost and its own peril, would wage war for the freedom of others: it would not even confine itself to its neighbours or the inhabitants of the same soil, but cross the seas to make right and law everywhere prevail.'

However, these hopes were soon disappointed. The Romans carried out their old policy in Greece, introduced troops into Hellas on various pretexts, always feigning to act for the benefit and liberty of the country; and, taking advantage of a moment of confidence and enthusiasm, made every arrangement for the establishment and extension of their power. On the pretext of securing the independence of the single states they forbade all alliances, and rendered union among the Greeks a matter of impossibility. Those who were unbounded in their devotion to the Romans were loaded with benefits, and there was a considerable number of persons who would recognise no other law in Hellas than the Roman will. During all the contests that arose the Romans offered their mediation, to accustom the Greeks to their exercise of the judicial office; always spoke of peace, to insure for themselves the privileges of war; generally confined themselves to advice; and only issued orders under favourable circumstances, with an appearance of zeal for the general good.

The Ætolians, who had had the greatest part in humbling Macedonia, expected the greatest reward from Roman gratitude, but soon found themselves slighted, being, moreover, disturbed in their habitual practice of marauding. To them peace was the most

oppressive tyranny, and to give vent to their indignation they applied to Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, whom Flaminius had subdued, but had left in quiet enjoyment of his rights. Incited by the Ætolians, Nabis broke the peace, but, at the instigation of that treacherous people, who wished to be masters of Sparta, was put to death by stratagem in his own city. The Ætolians did not reap the fruits of their crime. On receiving intelligence of the disorders in Sparta, the Achæans—the irreconcilable enemies of the Ætolians—marched in; Philopœmen occupied the city, assembled the Spartans, and induced them to join the Achæan league. From this act, and his general disinterestedness, Philopœmen acquired great renown; for when the Spartans sent him a present of a hundred and twenty talents, which they had raised from the property of Nabis, he sent the money back.

At the same time the Ætolians had also induced Antiochus to come to Greece. When, however, Antiochus was defeated, first at Thermopylæ and afterwards at Magnesia, and lost all his possessions in Asia Minor, the Greeks saw themselves encompassed on every side by the Roman power. The Ætolians obtained peace on the hardest conditions. Part of their territory was transferred to the faithful Acarnanians; and the Ætolians, prevented from injuring others, turned their rage against themselves, so that all Ætolia was filled with murder and confusion. The Ætolian league may be looked upon as dissolved from this time.

The Achæans, who still thought to be an independent state, were now objects of suspicion to the Romans, or rather, the latter began to humble this only free power of Greece. They suffered a great, nay, an irreparable loss in Philopœmen, who was taken in an expedition against Messene, thrown into prison, and put to death by poison. His death was violently revenged, for the Achæans compelled the Messenians to implore for peace in the most humili-

liating manner, and stoned to death, around Philopœmen's grave, all who had had a share in the murder. At the funeral procession, which took place in his honour, Polybius, then a youth of two-and-twenty, carried the urn.

Three of the greatest generals died in the same year, — Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio. The death of the first is recorded above ; the second died at the court of Prusias, in Bithynia, escaping by poison from the snares of the Romans ; Scipio, the third, died on his estate at Liternum, at variance with his countrymen, and embittered by their injustice.

With grief and vexation the Greek states now perceived into what slavery they had sunk, and what a fault they had committed in imploring the protection of Rome against Philip. They looked, therefore, with delight on the revolt of Perseus, who being, from his youth upwards, an enemy of the Romans, had distinguished the beginning of his reign by an appearance of magnanimity and mildness, to win the favour of the Greeks. In this design he succeeded ; a great part of the Greeks were inclined to take the part of Macedonia, and when Perseus, thinking himself sufficiently strong, changed his language towards Rome, a war broke out, into which the Macedonians entered with audacity, but showed less firmness in carrying it out. His victories were rendered fruitless by delay, and while he threw away the advantages which he had in his hands, he opened needless negotiations for peace, which the Romans haughtily rejected. His rash and foolish measures at last threw him into the hands of P. Æmilius, who defeated him at Pydna. The whole royal family was captured in its flight ; Macedonia was converted into a Roman province ; and Perseus, after he had been confined for a length of time in a Roman prison, was led in triumph with all his friends and the Macedonian nobility. Some years afterwards he died, having been greatly maltreated during his captivity.

Thus ended the Macedonian monarchy, two hundred years after Philip's ascent of the throne.

Greece now saw what she had to expect from her liberators, who contrived to keep up a state of internal discord, and with increasing confidence to summon the cities, which were at variance, before their tribunal. The Achæan league alone ventured to speak of its rights, though without often making them prevail. To put an end to such pretensions, the Romans sent delegates to judge those who had sided with the adherents of Macedonia; and the mere fact of neutrality was sufficient to excite suspicion. At one blow all the suspected persons in the league were overthrown. Callicrates, a man wholly devoted to the Romans, gave them a list of all the Achæans who, as he suspected, had favoured the king's cause. On his allegations, above one thousand of the principal Achæans were summoned to give an account of their conduct at Rome, where, without daring to vindicate themselves, they were dispersed among the cities of Italy. Notwithstanding all the representations of the league, they were kept for seventeen years in this ignominious condition, and even, at last, only three hundred returned to Greece. During this time the traitor Callicrates stood as general at the head of the league,—a man who could listen patiently, when the boys in the street called him a traitor. Greece, from obvious reasons, was thus in a state of tranquillity.

The exiles who returned had brought with them a deep hatred against Rome, which they communicated to their countrymen. To make, as it were, an experiment, whether they could obtain some degree of independence, they invaded Laconia and ravaged the country. The Romans, to settle the dispute, sent deputies who behaved with great moderation. The Achæans, taking this moderation for fear, treated the ambassadors with contempt. Critolaus, now the general of the league, hastened from city to city, incited all against the Romans, while he exerted him-



self to prevent any arrangement with the Lacedæmonians, and boasted that he himself would defy the whole Roman power. Several states declared themselves on his side. Metellus now once more sent deputies from Macedonia to Corinth, warning the Achæans to avoid incurring the vengeance of Rome. Their speeches caused a violent tumult in the assembly; the Roman deputies were, with difficulty, protected from ill-treatment, and the Lacedæmonians, and persons of Lacedæmonian views, were attacked at Corinth, and partly put to death, partly flung into prison. The Romans, now occupied with plans against Carthage, thought they must adopt measures of clemency. A new deputation spoke with great mildness on the events that had recently occurred, and it seemed easy to effect a reconciliation with Rome; but the guilty parties would not trust these promises; violent altercations again frequently arose, and at last Metellus came down into Greece. He several times defeated the army of the league, and was on the point of bringing the war to a conclusion by a successful peace, when he was replaced by Lucius Mummius, who at once gave battle on the Isthmus, and defeated the enemy. The general Diæus, who had been one of the chief originators of the war, so completely lost his presence of mind, that, instead of assembling the fugitives at Corinth, he fled in despair to his home at Megalopolis, set his house on fire; murdered his wife, flung her corpse into the flames, that she might not fall into the hands of the enemy, and then terminated his own existence by poison.

The Achæans had now no more leaders. Critolaus was missing after the battle against Metellus, and probably perished in a marsh. In the night after the conflict most of those who had thrown themselves into Corinth took to flight. The city was defenceless. On the third day, when all fear of an ambush had ceased, Mummius entered; all persons capable of bearing arms were put to death, the city was plundered

and then set on fire, and the monstrous conflagration destroyed a great quantity of treasure ; the women and children were sold for slaves. Even the walls were pulled down and the stones broken to pieces. The Romans thought they were bound to make this example of a city that had sinned against the majesty of Rome. In the same year Carthage, and thirteen years afterwards Numantia, were destroyed with the same severity.

Greek liberty was buried beneath the ruins of Corinth. The other insurgent cities were also severely chastised ; their walls were pulled down, and their citizens disarmed, while in all of them the democratic constitution was abolished. Magistrates were first nominated by the Romans ; afterwards all Greece, under the name of Achaia, was transformed into a Roman province. Athens, however, which had, in its weakness, since it had been delivered from the hands of Philip, always remained faithful to the Romans, was treated with marked distinction, and left in the enjoyment of many privileges. The fame of the old glorious times still hovered over this city ; and although the period of greatness, in every respect, had long past, the light of science still shone here, and the people retained their refined cultivation. Hence the young Romans frequently visited Athens to study philosophy and to exercise themselves in eloquence.

Greece remained in a state of dependence on Rome till the time of Mithridates ; but the war, which this bold conqueror excited, at first with distinguished success against Rome, cast its billows upon Greece, after the whole of Asia Minor, and most of the islands of the *Ægean* Sea, had fallen into his hands. His general, Archelaus, passed over into Hellas with a large force, and gained several cities. Athens, among others, was induced to revolt by one of her citizens, an Epicurean philosopher named Aristio, or Athenio, and by this worthless man, who had seized upon the tyranny, was brought to a condition of the most abject slavery.\*

When Sulla came to Greece, all the cities at once joined him, with the exception of Athens, which was compelled by Aristio to adhere to the party of the king. The city was besieged with the greatest vigour, and as the garrison made a stout defence, the whole country round was laid waste; and the ancient venerable groves of the Academy and the Lyceum were hewn down to make warlike implements. The city was reduced to fearful straits: a bushel of wheat was sold for a thousand drachmæ; many persons lived on roots or even on old leather, which was boiled down; but Aristio gave luxurious banquets, had farces acted, and set the enemy at defiance. A deputation of the Bule and the priests, who wished to supplicate for mercy to the city, he dispersed with a shower of arrows. At last, the city—in consequence, Plutarch\* says, of imprudent discourses—was taken, and at midnight Sulla unexpectedly entered through the breach to the sound of trumpets and horns and the shouts of the soldiery. The city was plundered, and many of the inhabitants were murdered. The blood flowed along the whole Ceramicus, through the gate, into the suburb. But though many perished in this manner, the number of those was no less who, deeming their country lost, killed themselves from grief. Indeed, most of the citizens were in despair, when they saw that neither humanity nor moderation was to be expected from Sulla. When he had, at last, satiated his revenge, and the chief magistrates had fallen humbly at his feet, he said that he would pardon the few for the sake of the many, and the living for the sake of the dead. However, Athens never wholly recovered her liberty.

After this war Hellas sank lower and lower. The most thriving and populous regions were laid waste under Roman dominion, so that Pompey brought a

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\* The persons sent by Aristio offended Sulla by talking in a lofty manner of the ancient glories of Athens.—*Vide* PLUT. *Sulla*.—J.O.

colony of pirates into a desert region of the Peloponnesus.

Under the emperors the fate of Greece was subject to vicissitudes, and her liberties were increased or diminished according to the varying dispositions of her governors. Athens was respected by most of them; and, even under the emperors, it was reckoned an honour to be made one of her citizens.

After Greece lost her independence, she ceased to have a history of her own: as a Roman province she shared the destinies of the Roman empire, a more minute consideration of which belongs to the writer of Roman history. However, we have this to add respecting the fall of Greece:

In the times of the great migrations Greece was laid completely waste, being plundered and depopulated by the irruptions of the Goths, especially Alaric. In the year A.D. 396 this conqueror, proceeding from Macedonia, spread over all Hellas, killed the youth capable of bearing arms, and drove before him the women with the flocks and spoils of the consumed cities. The road which he took was marked for many years by utter desolation. Athens saved herself by the payment of a large sum; but the whole province of Attica was ravaged and plundered: a number of the cities in the Peloponnesus became a prey to the flames; and the works of art were divided, with other spoils, according to the value of the material.

In this unhappy time the finest productions of the human mind—temples, statues, works of art of every kind, were destroyed, and a number of the highest literary works perished in the general wreck. The greater part that remained was preserved in Constantinople and the islands. But an account of these works belongs to the history of literature.

## HISTORY OF LITERATURE.

HAVING already, in the political history of the Greek nation, made ourselves acquainted with the peculiarities of the people on the stage of the world's events,—with its susceptibility for everything great and good—with the brilliant displays of its love of liberty,—with the wondrous mixture of power and grace, of dignity and beauty, which at the highest point of its development raised it above all other nations,—with its infinite activity, and many-sidedness;—we now turn to the history of that intellectual and literary culture by which it has attained a dominion over the world, and the best men of all ages,—a dominion that will not cease so long as the Beautiful is looked upon as beautiful, the Great as great—so long as a relic is left of that marvellous language, which, more than any other, combines melody and fulness, strength and grace, power and sweetness, which adapts itself to every subject, like a wet garment, and which through a series of centuries was formed by the most intellectual of nations, for every species of intellectual communication. For that which gives so high an interest to the history of literature among the Greeks, and so lasting an influence to their productions is this :—that the Grecks did not, like most nations of modern times, shine in only one or two departments, or produce a few transient meteors in each, but—following the necessary law of a free development of mind—went through the whole cycle of science and art, and brought all that is the work, not of time, but of power, to perfection. At the same time, the progress of this development—for the very reason that it was natural, unimpeded, and free from foreign influence—was so continuous, that the less was always succeeded by the more perfect, and that the higher



did not appear till the lower was completed. Inasmuch as every stage of development and cultivation in every department of art belonged to that time and to that epoch in which the artist lived, so in every epoch did a number of great masters flourish, and the firmament of Greek art displayed in everyone of its phases a host of glittering constellations, which, even if their beams have been extinguished by time, still shine in the annals of history.

With all nations whose development has followed the course of nature, poetry has preceded every other art. As childhood is the bud of mature humanity, in which the latter displays itself in unconscious innocence, and closely concentrates the whole mass of its powers, striving towards expansion, so also does poetry comprise within itself all the powers of human nature, and represent them in their entirety, as the child in the first years of his spiritual awakening represents the man. Again, as the child, by a mysterious process of nature, is produced and framed in its mother's womb, so also does poetry produce itself in the most interior laboratory of human nature, which communicates to it its own peculiar essence, that thus it may more youthfully, more clearly, more mysteriously, more delicately, and more powerfully reveal itself. Among the Greeks, as among others, the childlike intellect first stirred itself in poetry, which with them, more than elsewhere, was a daughter of nature,—a mystery of that inspiration, which, it was thought, descended from the dwellings of the gods into such human hearts as the divine nature deigned to inspire. Poetry it was which first powerfully incited the mind of the nation, awakened its nobler powers, and by accompanying life through all its epochs, raised it to an elevation which makes the whole activity of this people appear to us like a wondrous poem. For, as the whole culture of the Greeks proceeded from poetry, and as poetry itself, at the different periods of Hellenic development, rose higher and higher till it

attained manly maturity and perfection, so did the lustre which surrounded it penetrate into the whole life of the people, embellishing, inspiring, and animating by its contact every occupation of this intellectual race. Hence it was, that even where—in compliance with an inevitable law of cultivation—the tendencies of mind took different directions that singly they might attain greatness in separate departments;—hence it was, that there never arose that thorough isolation of faculties, or that hostile antagonism of head and heart, of imagination and reason, which we find in modern civilization, but every faculty, even when it seemed to work singly, still refrained from breaking that mysterious bond which united them all. As in the universe, the various particles of matter, while they seem to proceed from the centre, are, nevertheless, constantly tending towards that centre, so in Greece did all the elements of culture constantly revert to that poetical inspiration, which, like the holy fire of Vesta in the midst of towns, glowed brightly in the midst of art and of practical life;—hence it was, that philosophy, while she bestowed on poetry the treasures she had found in the deep, borrowed from her in return her ethereal wings, and crowned herself with the flowers of a poetical world;—hence it was, that history made her way among mankind with an almost ideal dignity, and that even legislation and law put off their gloomy appearance, and adorned themselves with the pleasing forms of a genial and inspired eloquence.

This lasting and widely extended influence of poetry upon the internal and external life of the people, at the different epochs of their development, with which it always kept pace, would be utterly incomprehensible if poetry did not originally derive its birth from the innermost nature of humanity, by means of innate power and deep inspiration. For wherever art has been accepted, like an exotic plant from foreign lands, as a graceful ornament of life, it has seldom produced

more than an indolent gratification, which, like all pleasures dependent on fashion, must be constantly incited and enlivened by a variation of form. As art is in such cases a child of chance, it seldom harmonizes with the other pursuits of the people who adopt it, and hence its voice dies away, without awaking new life in susceptible hearts, and its artificial blossoms fade without bearing fruit. With no modern nation has poetry become a centre of cultivation. It has remained, what it was on its introduction, an article of foreign produce, an ornament for the few, a recreation for the idle, and an object of desire to juvenile vanity.

Hence, if we would become acquainted with the internal essence of poetry, and its natural progress in a free development, we must always return to the Greeks. Only among them can we see the organic unfolding of the entire plant, and although much has sunk into the broad grave of ages, the ruins of this great and marvellous temple are still amply sufficient to let us plainly see the form and measure of the whole. At the same time the nature of the details is frequently enigmatical. Hence, as the amateur of plastic art despises no fragment of an entire work, inasmuch as the justest conclusions may often be drawn from the smallest premises, so also is nothing too insignificant for the investigator into the history of man. Many probable conjectures have been based on slight indications, and a perfect history of Greek literature and art can only be obtained from a multitude of fragments, which acuteness and a certain talent for divination\* know how to complete, arrange, and connect.

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If we go back to the earliest times of Greece, as they have been revealed to the oldest historians and poets through the medium of ancient tradition, we

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\* 'Ahnungsvermögen.'—J. O.

find that here, as elsewhere, humanity has emerged from barbarism, and that the brute-like inhabitants of the mountains and the cave gradually advanced into the position of the hunter, the herdsman, and the tiller of the ground. When that last step was attained, upon which property, law, and justice were more securely reared, is utterly unknown. However, even before it was reached, ancient traditions record the influence of inspired seers, who assembled the rude race around them by animated strains. Still all that is told of an Orpheus, and the influence of his mysteries, is vague and uncertain, probably taken on trust for the most part from inspired hierophants, who loved to deduce the origin of their sacred ceremonies from the obscurity of the earliest ages. It was not till the heroic time of the Greeks began, and marvellous deeds were performed through an union of different races, that actions gave rise to words and the lisping poetry of earlier ages,—the stammerings of childish lips formed themselves into a clear stream of song. This arose from the very nature of things. External incitements are required to awaken the slumbering life of the intellect; a world full of significance must unseal the eyes, which, like all the other organs of man, are steeped in darkness, until a favourable beam disperses the mist. The childlike soul is then lost in the external world that has awakened it, and willingly lends an ear to marvellous heroic traditions, to the tales of perilous adventures and strange wanderings in unknown lands and seas; and thus arises the narrative and the epic poem.

Long before the commencement of the heroic age, Greece had emerged from pristine barbarism. All Hellas was sprinkled over with cities, and in all directions shone forth the courts of kings and princes, at whose side sat the best of the nation. The government they exercised was paternal, and they were raised rather by birth than power above those whom they governed. They sat at council with the elders of the

people when any important matter affected the state; led their troops to battle; superintended the cultivation of the land in times of peace, and in days of rest occupied a pleasant leisure by their hearths in friendly converse and in stories of old times. The Greeks were always social, loquacious, ready to receive impressions, and fond of sports and festivals; hence their religion soon acquired a joyous character, and Olympus was adorned like a cheerful royal palace, where feast followed feast, each accompanied by dance, song, and sport, and where, in the enjoyment of a genial pleasure, every care and even the government of the world was forgotten. Hence too the houses of kings were always embellished by the presence of divinely inspired singers, and their halls resounded with the history of their ancestors or themselves, or, generally, with the glory of the sons of the gods, which had been handed down from earlier times. Such singers there were long before Homer, for the Homeric poem mentions them as familiar phenomena,—nay, as a necessary adornment of festive days. In the time of Alcinoüs, among the listening Phæacians, Demodochus, who has a seat of his own, in a particular place (*Odys.* viii. 65, 473), sings the adventures of Ulysses in the presence of that prince; and, among the suitors in Penelope's house, Phemius, who 'knew many deeds of gods and men' (*Odys.* i. 325), being forcibly compelled by the suitors, sings to them—the 'sad return from Troy, which Pallas Athena destined for the Achæans.' When Agamemnon set out for Troy he confided his wife to a singer, and as long as this man was near her she resisted the seduction of Ægisthus, who, therefore, to carry out his designs, took him to a desert island. Achilles, also struck the lyre and sang the glory of the gods and heroes; and it was an old tradition that in the school of Chiron music and heroic song were taught in addition to martial exercises. Hence there is no doubt whatever that there were epic poets before Homer, especially as he



introduces so many heroic traditions that were borrowed from earlier poetry, while in his works, the singer's art appears as a peculiar profession exercised at the expense of public hospitality. Moreover, this art was regularly learned, and those who made poems of their own, were distinguished above those who merely repeated the inventions of others (*Odyss.* xxii. 347). It is, however, very characteristic and thoroughly Hellenic that even the earliest poetry was only intended for leisure, and as a cheerful recreation. The lyre only sounded to cheer the hearts of the reposing heroes, and to inspire them with old glorious tales,—not to incite them to any practical occupation, or even to encourage them to war. Achilles himself sings only in the intervals of leisure, and then, not to stir up his warlike heart, but to rock it to repose, and soothe his indignation. So from the first did Art comprehend her lofty mission,—namely, that of snatching the soul from stern reality and leading it into those quiet cheerful regions where the storms of life are softened by a poetical lustre.

Thus it was not by an incomprehensible miracle—unique in the history of Greek poetry—not by a single poet that epic poetry was at once originated and raised to its highest perfection; but its growth in Greece was gradual, and its development was slow and continuous, till it put forth its finest blossom in the Homeric age. Doubtless this development had been assisted by the great and influential times of the Trojan war. Perhaps the long intercourse of the Greeks with each other might of itself have increased their love of song and heroic tradition; it is at any rate certain, that the marvellous occurrences in this war, and the strange adventures of the Hellenic chiefs, scattered about Greece seeds of poetical narrative, which, as the age itself was epic, necessarily sprang up in rich abundance. That these traditions formed the ordinary theme of the epic muse, is proved by the fact, that the minstrels, who appear to us in the

Homeric poems prefer to take their subjects from this copious material.

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Some of the ancients doubted whether there ever were a Troy and a Trojan war; though perhaps only in jest, intending an exercise for ingenuity, like those who imposed upon declaiming youth the task of praising a Phaleris and a Busiris, of defending injustice, and so on. Moderns also have taken up the theme, and that in earnest. However, if the disappearance of all trace of the ancient cities gives some plausibility of the earlier doubts, the question whether Homer himself ever existed seems, at the first glance, to be the mere offspring of a heated imagination, seeing that his existence is proclaimed aloud by so many works that have been admired from the days of the remotest antiquity. Nevertheless, this opinion is not at variance with truth; and it is more than probable that as Heracles was not a single hero, but an abstract ideal of strength and courage, so also 'Homer' was not the name of one person, but the denomination of a whole class of poets, and the Homeric poems were not the productions of one mind, but owed their origin to various sources. Like Greek poetry generally, so do these marvels of epic poetry seem to have been of gradual growth, and to have been continued by many kindred spirits, until, at last, after the completion of the epic period, the various parts were collected into one whole, arranged, polished, and put into their present form for the admiration of the contemporary world and of posterity.

In vain, therefore, do we look for traces of the life of the *one* Homer—these were a riddle even to the ancients; we can find here, not the history of a single bard, but that of the epic period generally. This began about one thousand years before the Christian era, after the migration to Asia of the Ionians, who there founded a league of twelve cities, and in a fertile

country, under a mild and serene sky, began a new and rapid career towards the highest point of civilization. Here, where the wealth of Asia lay behind them, where a coast, abounding in harbours, invited foreigners to land, and every requisite for commerce was to be found, all the germs of cultivation that existed in a people naturally cheerful, joyous, and mobile, were rapidly developed. The joyous, poetical, festive life that had already been cherished at the royal courts in the mother country, received a still richer and more luxuriant development in the cities of Asia, which could derive from the natives of the country a more festive mode of life, without losing that independent Greek spirit which, on the contrary, was strengthened and confirmed by the republican constitution, which, it seems, freely struck root in those regions. It is highly probable that in this opulent country, sprinkled over with cities that competed with each other, the number of festivals was increased, and that thus the solemn inspiring occasions for the advancement of the arts, especially of music and poetry, were multiplied likewise. Here, therefore, it was that the muse of epic poetry first entered the lists, and, filled with the youthful feeling of the time, sang the wondrous deeds of the early heroic age, to the astonishment of her hearers and the delight of posterity.

In this region, therefore, and among these men, it seems that Homer, whoever he was, saw the light of the world; a son rather of the Muses than of earthly parents, whose origin and whole life are involved in such mythical obscurity; that the ancients found in it a sign of a more august descent. Hence, in many schools, it was a settled point that Homer had received a divine nature, and by its aid had composed his wondrous songs; for it was impossible that poetry of such dignity and sweetness could otherwise have been produced. Hence alone can the fact be explained that the poems of Homer not only enchained the ears and souls of the Greeks for so long a time, but that

even many of the barbarians, who knew nothing of other Greek writers, were nevertheless familiar with these poems. For Homer's poetry was even sung among the Indians, who translated it into their own language, and this people, who had never seen the stars of a Greek sky, knew of the wars of Priam, the lamentations of Hecuba and Andromache, the virtues of Achilles and Hector. Such power had the music of a man inspired by the deity, and gifted with a demonic nature!

Seven cities contended for the honour of his birth, but, in all probability, this honour belongs to the part of Ionia, in the vicinity of Smyrna. The ancients have devised many fables respecting the person of Homer, his travels in all parts of the world,—because the lively painter of nature seemed to have witnessed everything himself,—and his poverty, which sent him begging from one princely residence to another. The tradition of his blindness is significant, as if the highest internal poetical life could only thrive when the actual world is veiled from the bodily eye. In the same sense, the ancients exhibit to us their excellent poets either when their lips are closed after the end of their song, or when, before they have begun, they are silent and absorbed in themselves, sunk into a fairer world, which rises from their inmost soul as from the depths of a calm sea.

Of a considerable number of epic poems which are cited as Homeric by various persons, there were only two, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, to which antiquity, with an almost unanimous voice, attached the name of Homer, not, it appears, for historical reasons, but on account of their higher excellence. However, the ancients did not fail to recognise a distinction to be drawn with respect to the spirit, plan, and execution of these two poems. Thus many critics denied that the author of the *Iliad* could have written the *Odyssey*, while others endeavoured to find in the different styles only a difference of age and cultivation.

in the author. Longinus, for instance, while, in point of force, he considered the *Odyssey* far superior to the *Iliad*, looked upon the latter as the product of the poet's early youthful vigour, which shone like the sun at noonday, while the *Odyssey*, he said, was marked by the loquacity of old age, and might be compared to the sinking sun, which, though still great and majestic, casts but feeble rays.

These poems, delivered orally by the author, though by no means scattered forth, as was supposed, in improvisations, but, with deep deliberation, conceived in the inmost recesses of the soul, and artistically elaborated—these poems were handed by tradition from one person to another, and for ages fulfilled their destiny of stirring the heart through the ear. Sung by rhapsodists, they were preserved in the courts of Asia, and in the neighbouring islands, where Lycurgus became acquainted with them in a school of Homerides, and brought them as a grateful boon to his native country. However, the knowledge of them does not seem to have been generally diffused through Greece, until Pisistratus and Solon connected the scattered parts, and presented the whole wonderful edifice in the fulness of its glory. For whereas the rhapsodies\* of these poems were generally sung singly, so that a number of isolated episodes about the Trojan events and the wanderings of Ulysses were in circulation, it was arranged by Solon that the rhapsodists of the Panathenæa should sing these pieces one after another, in a connected order, that a work which seemed to be one from its contents, might also be one in its delivery. Whether Solon thus introduced into his own country a custom already prevalent in Asia, or whether, being himself a poet, he first infused into the fragments the idea of an epic whole, is unknown; but at any rate his endeavours to connect the scattered work may first have induced Pisistratus, who came

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\* Commonly called 'books.'—J. O.



after him, and whose mind was not unsusceptible of the beautiful, to set down in writing what had hitherto been entrusted to the memory alone. After this first attempt the improvement of the poems seems to have made still further progress, until, gradually elaborated by criticism down to the minutest details, they acquired the form in which they now afford us so much delight.

However, even after the poems had been written down, the practice of oral delivery did not cease, and to the time of Socrates it was a common custom to recite the Homeric poems. Great and generally diffused was their fame throughout Greece. They formed the foundation of the instruction of youth, were regarded as the sources of all kinds of knowledge, as a compendium of ancient history and geography, of religion and philosophy, and were interpreted in the most various ways. The seeds of all science and wisdom were found in Homer; his testimony was everywhere sought and honoured as the utterance of a higher nature. And as many philosophical sects considered that poetry was the highest philosophy, Homer's words seemed to them always full of deep import, and they sought, in his imaginative poems, a higher sense and a veiled expression of sublime truths. No less was the influence of these works on the cultivation of poetry itself. The Homeric language so richly fertilized the whole field of poetry, that the lyric and tragic language could take their rise from it, and even in its perfect state of culture, poetic art loved to adorn itself with the flowers of the old Homeric world. Tragedy drew her subjects from the Homeric poems. *Æschylus*, with laudable modesty, called his tragedies crumbs from the rich banquet of Homer, and *Sophocles* styled himself the pupil of the heroic bard of Ionia.

We may see from this how different was the effect which Homer produced on the Greeks from that which he produces among ourselves. But even now, when the living tones of his musical language have died away—when all personal interest of the families whose ancestry,

fame, and actions, he sang, is extinct, and even the glory of the nation to whom he sang during the first vigorous budding forth of its heroism, is a matter of indifference—when we have ceased to believe in the existence of his gods, and his various fables only appear to us, what they really are, the graceful effusions of a childlike mind;—even now we feel delight at his works, torn as they are from the soil which endowed them with perpetual youth; and Homer perhaps inspires us with an admiration more genuine than that which he enjoyed among the Greeks.

That which distinguishes Greek poetry in general from modern art, and gives it, such a high rank, as art, —viz., the combination of liveliness of form\* with depth of import, lofty tranquillity, and wise circumspection, is also the characteristic of the Homeric poetry in an eminent degree. Inexhaustible is the wealth of the world which Homer brings before our eyes, with all its various conditions and modes of life. The works of peace and war, the occupations of the rustic and the artist, the feasts of the gods and of kings, the poverty of the humblest and the lustre of the high and wealthy,—all are here depicted with equal liveliness, with the most definite outline, and with the simplest, though strongest colours. But although in both the Homeric poems the greatest activity and the most lively stirring sensuousness (*sinnlichkeit*) prevail, the poet himself appears in calm tranquillity, like a contemplative god floating over a stirred and stormy world. As if from an ethereal immovable throne, he regards everything with equal love, takes into himself every form in its clearness and purity, and reproduces all from his inmost soul with equal truth and clearness, but clothed in a higher lustre. Like a

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\* Or rather 'formful liveliness,' if such an expression could be used. The words of the original, which cannot be followed closely, are these: 'die gestaltvolle Lebendigkeit mit gehaltreicher Tiefe, hohen Ruhe und weisen Besonnenheit vereinigt.'—J. O..

broad, deep, tranquil river, his work flows along, and from the glassy plain the varied nature of the abundant shore is reflected to our eyes. Nowhere do we see his mind occupied in the labour of creation ; the war of contending elements has subsided, the chaos is formed into a world, the creator reposes, delighted with the success of his work and its great perfection. And as nature embraces all her children with equal love, forming each after its kind, as adapted to its place, so is this wonderful poet absorbed into his work, with such impartial and universal love, that he affectionately develops every part according to its own worth, with forgetfulness of all the rest, and clothes what is humblest as well as what is highest with its suitable expression. From that childlike contemplation of the real world, and from that affectionate elaboration of the world within, which has freely formed itself from the material given from without, proceeded that beautiful and justly admired oblivion of self which is as unique as it is characteristic in the works of Homer. We see the created work, but the creator himself evades our search ; and so much are we occupied with the poetical world, that we forget the power that called it into existence,—and this very forgetfulness is its highest triumph. The ancients regarded it as a sign of noble modesty that the Homeric epos did not contain so much as a trace of its author. They were mistaken ; it was not modesty, but a love of his work, the creation of his better part, in which was merged all thought of himself. And as, on the one hand, it is a very equivocal commendation of a poetical work, that it always kindles in us anew an admiration for its author, so, on the other hand, it is the highest praise of the Homeric epos, that the creator is forgotten in his work.

From the same source arises that admired simplicity of the Homeric poetry, which in point of fact is solely derived from the absence of pretension with which this abundant life unfolds itself before our eyes,

as though it were something real. Everything happens just as if it were obliged to happen, and, without any preparation or announcement, without any strained expectation or surprise; the most marvellous things occur in the most natural manner, and engage the belief of the reader,—a belief which is especially confirmed by the truth and plastic roundness of the world represented. Every one of the figures which appears before our eyes to fill the scene with important action, or merely passes by us as a transient accessory, has its own determined and peculiar stamp, so that it has been remarked, not incorrectly, that every personage can be recognised by his discourse, without his name being mentioned. This abundance of ‘character’ is the more remarkable from the similarity in the fundamental principle in all the personages, for they are nearly all raised upon a basis of heroic courage, with a various admixture, sometimes of modesty, sometimes of magnanimity, sometimes of wisdom and experience, sometimes of cunning, sometimes of rude presumption. No less rich in peculiar forms is the Olympus of Homer—that most beautiful reflex of his terrestrial world, and it is not improbable that the sharply defined forms of the ancient gods, as they were represented in the days of perfected art, were taken from the idea of the Homeric descriptions. However, not only the human and the divine, but every other object of Homer’s world is treated in like manner. Every single member of the whole is like a full blossom which has freely developed itself, and seems to have concentrated itself into an unity. Every simile is a picture, and at the same time strictly epic, that is to say, progressive and animated. Even in depicting large and complicated scenes, Homer is a wonderful painter; ever proceeding from the whole to the details, and again from the latter to the former, occupying all the senses, and by a constant alternation of extended scenes and limited figures, bringing the most immediate reality before our eyes.

But as the most perfect art in pictures and statues is but dead and inanimate to the soul of the spectator, when it is penetrated by no moral life, so does the Homeric poetry derive its highest interest from the mild moral spirit which lies at its foundation—and which may be compared to a clear ether, upon which a rich and beautiful nature is reflected. Quite erroneously have some regarded Homer as the poet of a half-savage state of humanity—Homer, who never approving of the rude, only exhibits it in Cyclopes and other monsters of the kind. It is true that he has neither attempted nor been able to represent his heroes as faultless models of perfection; their strength often expresses itself in impetuous passion and uncurbed violence, which disregards and breaks through lawful boundaries;—still the reckless acts which they perform through impulse are never held up as right, but are always represented as evil, and mentioned with disapproval. Thus the whole purport of the *Iliad* is moral, inasmuch as all the sufferings of the Greeks are deduced from the reckless insolence of one man, to which the pride of Achilles is justly opposed. All censure the conduct of the king, and at last he censures himself more violently than the rest, when the misfortunes of the army and his own disgrace have filled him with bitter repentance and prepared him to make any atonement. In most of Homer's other heroes the greatest physical is combined with the greatest moral strength, and the characteristic mark of the Greek temperament, the *ne quid nimis*, the union of force with temperance, is impressed even upon these heroic souls. Achilles himself, although in him the fire of youth rages with greater impetuosity, and casts more violent billows—how does he control his own feelings after receiving bitter offence—even after Briseis has been taken from him? Only by retiring from the man who has so harshly and imprudently insulted the bravest hero in his army. Even he, when he has rejected every satisfaction that is offered, and being con-



tent with the compensation which the gods themselves have given him, looks forward to Phthia, where a longer and a harmless life awaits him—even he forgets his wrath and the hope of lengthened days, when his heart is stirred by the death of his friend, reconciles himself with his adversary, and gives free vent to the flame that has been so long confined. When his friend is to be revenged, he knows not moderation ; but when his vengeance is satiated by the blood of the enemy, and grief for the loss of his friend is the only emotion in his heart, then does Priam approach him in the dead of night, and clasping the hands and knees of the terrible avenger, offer a ransom for the dead body of his son. Then, at the sight of the hoary monarch, the hero is overcome by a lingering remembrance of his own father ; he takes Priam gently by the hand, thrusts him back, and weeps aloud, partly on account of his father, whom he is never to see again, partly for the loss of his friend ; then filled with compassion, he raises the old man and pities his destiny that has brought him to the feet of one who has slain so many of his valiant sons. And when he has given back the corpse of Hector, he turns with tender anxiety to his lifeless friend, fearful that in the lower world he may feel indignant when he hears that the corpse of Hector has been returned. He then hospitably entertains the king, offers him a couch in his own tent, and promises to leave the city at peace till Hector's corpse is buried. Such is the mildness and tender-heartedness of this terrible man, and so is he distinguished above all the rest not only by heroic virtues, but by his fine spirit of humanity.

Homer's language—on which we may just say a word—is the most perfectly suited to epic poetry ; rich in pregnant and significant words, full of grace and delicacy, lightly-winged, sonorous, and like the poetry of the time generally, not yet subjected to severe laws. With its frequent contractions and expansions, it moves easily along within its prescribed limits, palpably setting forth, in its own way, the very

nature of the epos, even as the hexameter, which is the peculiar measure of the epic poem. For this measure can be longest sustained, while it has the most perfect symmetry and the mightiest *swing*.\* Its movement allows the greatest variety, for it has a liberty of adopting every gradation, from the swiftest rapidity to the heaviest slowness. The hexameter also, like epic poetry itself, can adapt itself to every object; and as it allows the most various cæsurae and periodical combinations, so does it represent epos itself in its harmonious growth from a number of single members, of varied form, length, and elaboration.

The might and intellectual life of the Homeric poetry occupied the Hellenic world for several centuries; and through all times the Homeric-Ionic style of epic remained as a lasting possession. So long as the Greeks were in their infancy, so long, it seems, was the epic the only kind of poetry which they cultivated, and everything that poetically moved their souls was assimilated to the epos. Thus the Hymns to the gods were epic, both in form and subject—quite different from those of a later lyrical time, and from those products of the Mysteries, which, like the hymns, falsely ascribed to the ancient Orpheus, were made up of adjectives, and were therefore not so much poetry as religious aspirations reduced to metre.

Gradually, however, even the epic style degenerated. What had originally been a living national song, gradually became a mere exercise, capable of being taught; and in the place of deep poetical inspiration came the insipid interest of historical tradition. The epic versifiers took possession of nearly all the remarkable legends of the old fabulous time; and there arose Heracleids, Thebais, Argonautics, and Trojan poems, which exhausted the whole treasure of ancient tradi-

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\* The original German is as follows:—‘Denn dieses Sylbenmass hat die grösste Beharrlichkeit, die vollkommenste Gleichmässigkeit, und den stärksten Schwung.’—J. O.

tional lore. These were generally huge, unwieldy, prolix works (mostly by several authors), which, under the name of Cyclic poems, were rather of historical than of poetical importance. In them the forms and turns of the Homeric language were used *usque ad nauseam*, but no living spirit animated the forms, and genius perished beneath the mass of acquired learning. They were, however, frequently consulted by the tragedians, mythologists, and grammarians, and became a source of erudition for a later age, partly on their own account, partly on account of the old traditions from which they were taken, and partly on account of the elaboration of allusions in the Homeric poems.

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In Greece Proper, poetry took a form different from that which it wore in the courts of Asia. Here it seems, humanity was less easily and happily developed. Here, within narrow limits, amid a less luxuriant nature, and often amid struggles with an unfruitful soil, a wild, restless life was the result of the long-continued migrations of races, and the consequent dissolution of political ties—an existence which did not allow the poet (if, indeed, a poet chanced to be born) to seek a wholesome recreation in the cheerful world of the heroic age, but impelled him rather into practical life, and bade him employ the gifts which the gods had bestowed in the instruction, warning, and reproof of his contemporaries.

The character of this period, respecting which history is silent, can only be learned from the Hesiodic poems. Here the cheerful serenity of the heroic world and the genial repose which pervaded the Homeric creation have disappeared. Often wild, generally gloomy and grotesque, the imagination here delights in the hideous and the monstrous. The mind of the poet is unceasingly roused to indignation by

the confusion and perverseness of human society; and just as the earth is a scene of distraction and social discord, so also are heaven and the life of the gods, originally designed for the enjoyment of blissful repose, filled with strife and disorder—a realm tottering with rebellion and the object of sharp contention.

Hesiod, who is the sole representative of this entire period, came by descent from an Æolian city on the coast of Asia; but his father, Dios, left Cumæ to dwell at the foot of the Helicon, in Ascra, where the chorus of Muses appeared to the boy, as he tended his father's flocks, and presenting him with the laurel crown, consecrated him a poet. The age of Hesiod, like the lifetime of Homer, is uncertain, and some have fancied that he is the older of the two—founding their opinion on the incorrect supposition that he was the originator of the belief in the gods, which appears in Homer to be firmly established, and universally recognised. Far more conclusive than all these uncertain conjectures of ancient authors is the very nature of his poetry in favour of the assumption of a later age, as well as the degeneracy of the epic style, which already inclines to the lyric, and the mythology, which, no longer freshly springing up, seems in Hesiod to be completed and discriminating. Hence we must not be misled by the vaunting traditions of the Bœotians, who boasted that their Hesiod was victor over Homer in a poetical contest held by the grave of Amphidamas, in Chalcis, and were even accustomed to show a tripod on the Helicon, alleged to have been the victor's prize as a monument of that event.

The Hesiodic character is plainly distinguished from the Homeric by its tendency to the wonderful, the violent, and the instructive. However, a distinction is to be drawn between the two kinds of Hesiodic poetry: the genealogic and the œconomic, although they breathe the same spirit, and have several points of contact. For while the genealogic kind seeks occasion to lament the corruption of mankind, the œco-

onic takes delight in mythologic subjects. Most probably, however, all that was composed in the Hesiodic style did not proceed from Hesiod himself, any more than everything Homeric proceeded from Homer. This style, on the contrary, rather seems to fill an entire age, the products of which were ascribed by uncritical antiquity to the same individual, who, either because he was its first originator, or because he was best endowed with poetical talent, was pre-eminent above the rest.

From the mass of Hesiodic poems, the Bœotians separated the *Works and Days* as the only genuine production of Hesiod, and even showed a small tablet upon which they said traces of it might be found in almost obliterated characters. A domestic quarrel gave occasion to this poem. Unjust judges had awarded the greater part of Hesiod's estate to his brother Perses, who had received an equal inheritance with himself; but the small portion that remained throve in the hands of Hesiod; while Perses, a sorry husbandman of his larger property, was soon reduced to poverty. The honest brother now warns Perses not to have recourse again to injustice, in a poem, which, while it applies in the first instance to Perses and the unjust judges, at the same time censures the bad morals of the age, and points out the evil consequences of wrong. Various fables are interspersed with the doctrine, which at last completely digresses into a series of œconomic maxims, and ends with a list of lucky and unlucky days.

This poem is unquestionably old, and, indeed, of all the Hesiodic the oldest. This is proved by the picture it gives of a life within narrow limits, and a mind still childlike amid the wildest confusion—qualities which, setting aside the poetical worth of these poems, cannot fail to make a deep impression even on a modern reader. Nevertheless, they appeal to us in a manner quite different from the Homeric poems. There is much beauty and much power; but the beauties stand isolated, and there is no connecting



chain to lead us through the whole, the parts of which generally follow abruptly upon each other; nay (partly, no doubt, on account of violent alterations made even in ancient times), are sometimes brought together without any connexion at all. The ancients, nevertheless, praised the smoothness of the language in this poem, and extolled it as a model of the middle style, which, they said, was marked by equality, truth, and peculiarity of expression.

The authenticity of the second Hesiodic poem, the *Theogony*, in its present form, was very doubtful even with the ancients; certainly many heterogeneous additions were made to it. The whole looks like an extract from earlier poems, being sometimes a dry genealogy—sometimes a circumstantial narrative of the actions of the gods. Its elements are dissimilar, and its only purpose seems to be the heaping together of bold and terrible fictions, and an exhibition of the uncurbed force of the demoniac nature in the battles of the gods and the wild assaults of the giants. Later poets continued the work, probably, in the same style and spirit; and to the propagation of the gods was added the propagation of heroes, in whom the divine was mingled with mortal blood, together with a list of heroic women, a part of whom bore the name of the great *Hoïai*. A fragment of some such work may have been the *Shield of Heracles*, a tame imitation of the Homeric Shield, but written in the Hesiodic style, and combining genealogy with the history of art.

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When, in later times, the republican form of government developed itself out of a long ferment, and certainly not without much furious contest, poetry also received a new impulse. In the struggle after liberty and individual rights, the individual himself became more prominent; the youthful\* strength of the people

\* 'Jünglingskraft,' as distinguished from the infantine.—J. O.

was awakened, and another world was revealed. The first fresh desire for the marvellous had been satisfied in the period of infancy, and poetry, which, in the epos, being merely directed outwards, had taken a wide scope, now descended into the depths of humanity, whence it arose again in a more delicate shape, as a wondrous copy of the internal nature of men, and as an harmonious organ of his deepest and holiest sympathies. If, at the first stage of poetic development, the poet was lost in the object he represented, he now, being more strongly excited within, turned back upon himself to make the wonders of his own nature and the spiritual life of humanity, the object of his revelation. Thus art pursued here also the natural course of its development, and as the fresh and healthy sense of the child first embraces the external world with lively interest, then forgets itself in the splendour of external phenomena, while the youth, through the transformation of his own nature, is absorbed into himself, and wakens from the dream of the external world, so does lyrical poetry pass from that which affects the senses as a form or an occurrence to the higher nature of the mind, and leaving the epic regions, reveals the wonders of the divine nature, that stirs in man, with deeper significance, with more concentrated force, and with a higher degree of melody,

Thus, at this time, nearly seven hundred years before our era, the epoch of lyric poetry began upon the coasts of Asia and the neighbouring islands. Life stepped forward in a higher style, and combined itself more vigorously with art, which now first became its living organ. Every human faculty was now actively unfolded in the youthful, states and from the fruitful soil sprang the most various flowers of lyric poetry, which appropriated to itself the different emotions and infinite tones of the heart, and dedicated them to the Muses in every variety of form. Wherever poetic art had hitherto been occupied with action only, it was now employed on feelings, and the sentiments of bold

herosim, the inspiration of love, reverence for the gods, patriotism, zeal for liberty, and hatred of tyrants now resounded in songs full of soul to the most varied instruments of music, which were constantly increased and perfected by the excited spirit of invention.

With what enthusiasm this new species of poetry was received, and how great its influence was upon the excitable and susceptible people, appears from the esteem in which the lyric poets were held by their contemporaries; from the zeal with which the heads of states and whole nations solicited their praise; and, lastly, from the attention which the legislatures bestowed on lyric poetry. Glory and wealth crowned these poets, the cities adopted them as guests, and the laws determined the musical *modes* they were to use in public. Even the gods were elevated by their praises, and the oracles spoke of them as the servants and interpreters of the divinities, as the enunciators of their glory, and as the sources of the highest glory at the games and festivals.

The oldest of these poets was Archilochus, the Parian (a contemporary of Romulus), famed for his terrible Iambics, and admired as the Homer of lyric poetry. The power of his verses was shown by their effect, and hence the ancients said, that Archilochus was the first to arm the Muses, and to stain Helicon with blood. He himself was killed, and when his murderer consulted the oracle at Delphi, the god repelled him from the temple, on the ground that he had slain his servant. Archilochus was the earliest poet who combined the shorter with the longer lines, the pentameter with the hexameter,—certainly for elegiac purposes. The pentameter subsequently became peculiar to elegy, which originally breathed an impetuous and warlike spirit, but afterwards was devoted to the melancholy or tranquil contemplation of life and its various phenomena. Nothing can be more suitable to this character of poem than a measure which rocks like a boat on gently moved

waters, alternately raising the feelings and lulling them to repose. All the sentiments that result from reflection, and are maintained by constantly renewed contemplation, such as longing and satisfied love, tranquil joy, deep but moderated sorrow, gentle melancholy, find in this measure their most perfect and lively expression. The invention of this class of poetry is ascribed by the ancients to Mimnermus of Colophon (about 630 B.C.), who devoted it to complaints of love, and the lamentations over the transient nature of the joys of this life, whereas, at an earlier period (about 680 B.C.), Tyrtæus had employed the elegiac metre to awaken warlike delight.

Many of the most renowned lyric poets flourished at Lesbos. To this spot the head of Orpheus, after he had been torn to pieces by the Thracian Mænads, floated down the Hebrus, together with his lyre, and landed, still singing, on the coast of the island, which thus became a garden and a sanctuary of poetry. Here, too, flourished Arion, famed for his marvellous escape, and his dithyrambics—unquestionably the most perfect form of lyric poetry, combining the most powerful and varied rhythm with the deepest inspiration. Here sang Alcæus, who in manly strains chastised the tyrants of his country, and the inspired Sappho, the tenth Muse, in whose songs the ancients admire the fulness of the deepest passion, and of a marvellously powerful, tender, and expressive language.

The end of the lyric period was adorned with the famous names of an Anacreon, a Simonides, and a Pindar. The first, a contemporary of Hipparchus (about 530 B.C.), celebrated for his hilarious old age, which he embellished with the roses of love and poetry, has left us only a few fragments full of joyousness and artless softness, and not without depth of feeling;—he is, however, not to be judged by the poems which are handed down to us under his name, as these belong to a much later date. Simonides, the friend of Hiero and of the first men of his age, the inventor of the art of memory,

famed no less for his wit and his wisdom than for the gifts of the Muses, chiefly devoted poetry to public life, to the immortalization of noble deeds, to victories in the sacred games, and to the praise of the gods. The depth of feeling and the perfection of language which appear in his threnic poems are highly extolled by the ancients.

The evil destiny which has befallen the works of the lyric period and has deprived us of everything, with the exception of a few fragments, has nevertheless spared to some extent the last and perhaps the worthiest of them all. Pindar, the pride of Thebes, and, more than any other poet, a pious servant of the Muses, must, even in the comparatively few relics of his productions which we possess, console us for that which the billows of time have washed away into the sea of oblivion. His life like his works was pious and extraordinary. His birthplace was Cynoscephelæ, in Bœotia. Since he had first seen the light of the world, during the Pythian games, he regarded this—when he afterwards felt his vocation to poetry—as an omen, and dedicated his songs to the service of the Pythian Apollo. For the same reason he always attended the games of the god when they took place, and a seat was prepared for him on the temple, on which he sat and sang his Pæans. This seat was shown to travellers at a later period with respect and religious veneration. The god, in gratitude, sent him a portion of the first-fruits, which were offered to him at his festival, and these, when he did not attend himself, were sent to him at Thebes. It is said that even when he was a boy infallible omens announced his future distinction. For once while he was slumbering on the roadside a swarm of bees settled on his lips, thus prefiguring the sweetness of his future songs. He was instructed by the most eminent flute-players and poets, including the celebrated Corinna, who defeated her pupil at a public contest, but art taught him to conquer all the rest by a judicious employment of his powers. States and kings desired his



triumphal songs, and there was not one of the higher deities whom the pious poet had not celebrated. This religious spirit is conspicuous both in his works and in his life, and he often fancied, in a state of happy delusion, that he heard the voice of Pan, whom, together with Rhea, he worshipped in a temple attached to his house, and who, on the lonely mountains, repeated the hymns which his pious charge had sung to him. He was honoured by the wise Hiero, king of Syracuse, and Alexander, son of Augustus, king of Macedonia, who, distinguished by the appellation of the 'Friend of the Greeks,' sent his chariots to the Olympic circus, and saw them return adorned with the palms of victory. Hence, when Alexander the Great, in his merciless rage, destroyed Thebes, he ordered that the house of Pindar should remain uninjured, because by his hymns he had (about one hundred and seventy years before) immortalized the victory of his ancestor. When Pindar honoured Athens with the surname of the 'rich,' and, after her victories over the Persian fleets, extolled her as the support of Greece, his jealous countrymen—who, as Polybius says, had been induced, by its apparent greatness, to take the side of Persia—were enraged against him, and sentenced him to pay a fine. The Athenians, however, compensated him twofold, and raised to him a brazen image, which represented the poet seated with a lyre, a scroll, and a fillet about his head.

The life of Pindar faded away as a mild star sinks into the shades of night. Shortly before his death, the ancients say that Persephone appeared to him in a dream, reproaching him, that of all the deities she alone had not been sung by him, adding, that he would sing of her when he was with her. A few days afterwards he fell a-sleep in a public gymnasium, in the arms of a boy named Theoxenus, to whom he was tenderly attached; and when the superintendents of the gymnasium wished to close it, the boy in vain attempted to wake him. His dream had been fulfilled. Shortly

afterwards, however, it is said, his shade appeared to an aged female relation, who was in the habit of singing his songs, and sung before her a hymn to Persephone, which she wrote down when she woke, and thus preserved for posterity. It is said that his death was also predicted by an oracle of Apollo; for when the Thebans sent messengers to Delphi, Pindar charged them to ask the god what was the highest and greatest blessing for man? The Pythia answered, that he knew it himself, if indeed he was the author of the song of Agamedes and Trophonius. These persons, the builders of the temple, had, according to Pindar's poem, when their work was completed, asked the god to bestow upon them the best gift possible for man to receive, and the god promised to fulfil their wish in seven days. At the end of this time they died. The Pythia then added, that he would shortly receive the same blessing himself; and hence he concluded that the end of his life was at hand.

Pindar was the author of many poems—highly extolled dithyrambi, hymns to the gods, *Epinicia* (or triumphal songs) and threni; his inspired muse even descended to songs of love. But time has deprived us of nearly all these, sparing only those songs in which he adorned the victors at the games with a wreath more imperishable than that which was bestowed upon them by the judges of the contest. If the lustre and majesty of these games, the strenuous efforts to obtain the prizes, and the high dignity acquired by the conquerors, seem to us almost enigmatical, still more marvellous is it that a victory gained by the chariot, the horse, the foot-race, or the wrestling-match, could become a theme for the lyric muse, and evoke such sublime thoughts from the bosom of the most thoughtful and earnest of the poets. However, one of these riddles is solved by the other. It is only when we see that the glory attached to these victories was based upon the religion of the Hellenic race, and the whole peculiarity of its mode of thought, that the inspired sympathy

of the poet becomes intelligible,—that we can see how from such subjects he derived such copious materials for lyrical edifices often of such incredible grandeur. Above all, it must be borne in mind that the games even from the high antiquity of their origin, which generally belonged to the fabulous times of the earliest heroic age, inspired all minds with religious devotion; that they were regarded not as a recreation for man, but as a homage to the gods; that the gods themselves honoured them by their presence and adorned the conquerors with the wreath of victory; that the beauty and personal strength of the combatants, their consummate address, and even the wealth, which, on these occasions, they displayed before the eyes of assembled Greece, were regarded rather as gifts of heaven, than as redounding to the honour of their owner, and that these very endowments strongly incited the refined sensual feelings of the Greeks, and kindled them to the highest enthusiasm. Such games, so instituted, celebrated with such solemnity, and at which the sympathies were excited by the concourse of so many spectators, who only attended on account of the festival and with an elevated and religious feeling, paid homage to the efforts for glory displayed to their eyes, could easily become an object of the highest enthusiasm, while every victory that was gained shed an imperishable lustre on the country and the whole family of the victor. The glory of the contests and their ancient history, the country of the victor, his family, and the history of his city—these were the objects which in all their fulness presented themselves to his panegyrist. Most of the cities referred the history of their origin to the earliest ages, all of them with jealous care preserved the traditions of their founders (generally sons of the gods), their chiefs, and their heroes; and it was their pride to hear these traditions ennobled in songs. Moreover, the history of many families was connected with antiquity and the gods; indeed, in a land so renowned for great deeds,

the old families of which nothing glorious could be related must have been but few. So copious was the poet's material when he sang the victories at the great games!

The character of the Pindaric hymns is a solemn and tranquil dignity that arises from mild devotion. The depths of his soul are stirred by gods and divine things, but the ruling spirit soars gently over the rolling sea with calm and noble circumspection; like the creator of the universe, he arranges, unfolds, and forms the elements which he has evoked in his inspiration. His hymns resemble sublime temples of the gods, the lofty style of which corresponds to the dignity of the inhabitants. The voice of the inspired hierophant sounds from the inmost space, delighting the ears of the listener with the narration of glorious deeds and with wise doctrines full of deep meaning. In conformity with the subject and occasion of this class of poetry, the language is rich, stately, natural, and full of images, which are often intertwined like luxurious wreaths of flowers. There is also a majestic march of syllables in the metre, which appears as free as if it only sought space sufficient for the infinite fulness of the internal impulse, and at the same time as completely subject to law as if its sole purpose was to hold that impulse in check.

Pindar frequently appears obscure, like every poet of great depth and originality, chiefly through the crowd of his ideas, which often press upon each other, without blending or transition. Thus, too, his sentences, like old utterances of the gods, are often dark and difficult to unriddle. Moreover, the number of ancient traditions and histories to which he alludes, and which are as unknown to us as they were familiar to his hearers, tend to increase his obscurity.

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Before we leave this period, which may be called the youthful age of the Hellenic nation, our attention

is claimed for a few moments by old Æsop and his *Fables*. He was a contemporary of Sappho and the Seven Wise Men. The history of his life is filled with a mass of absurd tales, the invention of later days. All that we know of him is that he was a slave of Iadmon in Samos, and became the victim of shameful calumnies at Delphi. He is not to be regarded as the inventor of that instructive class of fiction which goes by his name. Hesiod and Archilochus invented fables before Æsop, and oriental antiquity is full of them; however, the question to which nation belongs the honour of the invention is but idle. Who would ask after the inventor of song or of allegory and metaphor? Wherever there are men, there is also the play of the imagination. Nature becomes animated before the mind's eye, the murmuring of the brook and the rustling of the leaves become a distinguishable language, which brutes can understand, and make themselves intelligible in return. At the moment when man recognises, even in inanimate nature, the eternal laws of his own moral being, the invention of the Æsopian fable takes place.

Among the ancients the fable never became poetical, but it must be regarded as the first beginning of eloquence, trying to enliven dry demonstration, simple warnings and instruction, by images and fictitious narratives. Thus Æsop and all who have availed themselves of his (or their own) invention, have employed fable only as an embellishment of discourse; not as a source of independent gratification, but as a pleasant mode of persuasion on definite occasions. This rhetorical usage limited the poetical element to what was absolutely essential, so that ancient fable was like those dry outlines belonging to the infancy of painting, which, though sufficient to indicate the subject, are not raised into solid bodies by light and shade and an artistic combination of colours.

The numerous fictions of Æsop have been handed down by means of tradition and various opportune



applications, through which, however, we have lost the history of their earliest and proper origin, since every fable, whose author was left unnamed, had a sort of claim to the name of Æsop. Hence it is impossible to decide how many of the fables contained in our collection really belong to him; only thus much is certain, that in the confused medley much that is modern, and among it much that is bad and objectionable, has been ascribed to the old Phrygian.

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The Hellenic nation, which had passed the stages of childhood and youth on the coasts of Asia and the islands of the Archipelago, first attained its manly maturity in Athens.

If the political influence of Athens, with her limited territory and the small favour bestowed on her by nature, appears during the short period that she flourished, almost like a miracle, the force of her moral influence, which struck root during the same period, is still more wonderful. The political force soon yielded to physical necessity. The colossus of power was overthrown by a power still greater; other ships than those of Athens covered the sea; her trade ceased, and her wealth, the source of which was her power abroad and her commerce, became a prey to foreign conquerors. This was not the case with her intellectual conquests. The monuments of the Attic mind still stand immovable, and the seeds which Athens scattered about with a liberal hand, like the grain which her own Triptolemus cast down upon the lands from the winged chariot of Demeter, multiplied a thousand-fold, and have diffused a mild humanity through regions which in the times of Pericles and Plato were still loaded with the obscure mists of utter wildness and ignorance.

Even as Hellas itself, the promontory of Europe, was destined by Providence as a nursery of human culture, so in the smallest of all the promontories of

Greece, in that narrow corner, Attica, was concentrated the most perfect fulness of intellectual life. All the finer qualities of the Hellenic world were here destined to interpenetrate and purify each other—Doric dignity and Ionic vivacity, profundity and grace, jest and earnest, power and moderation—and from this combination an age of perfection, both in humanity and in art, was to be produced and flourish. The products of other regions were either like the infantine epos, an undeveloped blossom of beautiful nature, or like lyric poetry, a one-sided expression of humanity awakened in its interior—the former being devoted wholly to the world without, the latter wholly to the world within—but the flower of Attic poetry combined nature with art, and as poetry attained its perfection in the drama, freedom with law, the outer with the inner world. so in Attica everything that had merely budded in other climates was brought to its fullest blossom. As if from a radiant focus the brightness of literature diffused itself over the whole world, and the works of the artists, poets, and orators of Athens were, like the canon of Polycletus, looked upon as a standard of taste, and even under the most disadvantageous circumstances preserved the delicate sense of the Greeks for beauty and symmetry.

The causes which may have conduced to raise Attic cultivation to this flourishing condition, have been already touched upon in the political history of Greece. The legislation of Solon, which, after violent storms, nearly terminated the old struggle between aristocracy and democracy, deserves, on account of its lasting influence, to be placed at the head of these causes, inasmuch as, being itself a work of fine humanity, it felicitously promoted the cultivation of the people whose innermost peculiarities it had so thoroughly comprehended. Even the rule of Pisistratus, although from a political point of view it might be regarded as a retrograde movement, was a fortunate event for the higher purposes of cultivation. In a mild spirit this

noble demagogue employed his power for the benefit of his country, the maintenance of order, the advancement of art, and the embellishment of Athens. His sons also trod in the same path, till private hatred deprived one of life, the other of his free mind and his benevolence. When indignation at unjust oppression had driven him from Athens, and a more lively spirit of freedom was kindled, political regeneration was first advanced by the failure of the endeavour of Sparta to force a master upon Athens, but still more by the Persian wars, which excited every higher faculty, and like a dangerous but happily surmounted fever, rapidly brought the nation to its maturity. Victory was on the side of the boldest, and Athens rose from her ashes more beautiful, more powerful, and more noble than ever. Henceforth the nation took a higher character. A deeper love of country, a more glowing enthusiasm for a freedom that had been obtained by such great sacrifices, and a well-founded self-confidence now swelled every bosom. And even subsequently, when the dignity of Athens had declined, when her hereditary virtues were nearly all extinct, these feelings, nevertheless, sometimes caused a momentary recovery. To the later descendants of the elder citizens, the names of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, seemed like a song of praise which they had themselves deserved, and when a Phocion or a Demosthenes raised himself with antique force above the ruins of his degenerate country, it was because the old glorious days inspired them, and they wished to bring them back by their eloquence or their example.

The victories over Persia brought Athens into her peculiar element, and procured for her the dominion of the seas, by which she loaded herself with wealth. The people now reaped the fruits of their exertions in the noblest enjoyment of the most beautiful arts; festival followed festival; every department of art flourished and was matured. But it is a very characteristic circumstance that, in the best days of Athens,

it was public life exclusively that opened the sources of enjoyment to the individual citizen, whence life and art themselves derived a grand, public character. For a long time a high degree of simplicity and frugality was maintained in the private life of the Athenians; but the city itself became more and more endowed with temples, halls, public places, and works of art of every description. The popular festivals were multiplied and embellished. Everything, in short, assumed a higher character.

As in the flourishing period of Athens, three political gradations may be remarked, so also were there three gradations in poetry and art. Themistocles and Aristides governed the state in the ancient grand style, in which grace was exceeded by dignity; Cimon in the purest style, in which grace and dignity were symmetrically combined; Pericles in the most affable style. In a similar manner the bold and grand style predominates in the poetry of Æschylus, the graceful in that of Euripides, and perfect beauty in Sophocles.

Although the age of Attic culture was distinguished by the development of every intellectual blossom, it was dramatic poetry, which, by its perfection, gave the principal lustre to this epoch. Here the epic and the lyric were united; but events were brought from the past into the present; action took the place of narrative, and in this form could combine with the lyric element, which is always a lively expression of a present state. What was merely contingent in the epic, became a necessity in the drama; and while the epic poet seems to pursue his path without effort, and with a childlike love of subject, and by connecting incident with incident, episode with episode, twines a graceful garland, the dramatic poet, with wise selection, weaves from the elements of action an artificial wreath, so that in this union the highest necessity is shown under the appearance of the most perfect freedom. The old drama combines within itself the abundant action of the

epic poem, and the depth of lyrical feeling with the severest regularity (*Gesetzmässigkeit*) of form. In this combination the unity is completed. In point of importance, too, the drama surpasses every other kind of poetry, inasmuch as tragedy leads us into the region of infinite power, comedy into that of unlimited freedom.

When and where the drama first originated is yet undetermined ; for, besides Athens, Sicyon and Sicily laid claim to the invention. Hence it is highly credible that the seed of this art, as a merely natural poetry, sprang up in different parts of Greece, but only attained maturity at Athens. As the ancients maintained that tragedy arose out of the dithyramb, we may assume that the Bacchic chorus itself improvised a sort of action, in which jest and earnest, the tragic and the comic were united, like undivided embryos. For while, on the one hand, the incidents taken from the world of gods were adorned with higher dignity, the chorus, who imagined themselves the joyous followers of the honoured Bacchus, mingled merriment with seriousness, thus conforming to the character of the satyrs and of the god himself in whose train they followed. The chorus at first played alone, but Thespis, a contemporary of Solon, introduced an actor, whose acting, it appears, was supported by that of the chorus. Under this arrangement the chorus was so decidedly the principal affair, that the action was looked upon as a mere episode. Indeed, it probably consisted, for the most part, rather of narrative than of a lively representation of passing events.

The first person who properly severed the serious tragedy from the amusing sport, and endowed it with tragic action, was Phrynichus. When, in the sixth year of the insurrection of Aristagoras, the Persians took Miletus, slew all the men capable of bearing arms, and transported the women and children to Persia, Phrynichus introduced this incident upon the stage, and all the spectators were moved to tears, on being



thus reminded of the sad fate of the allies. But the archons subjected the poet to a fine, and forbade him to produce his tragedies again, because he had shown the people their own misfortunes, and had thus caused an emotion totally different from that which was the proper end of art. Art should not fetter but should free the mind ; should not immerse it in reality, but raise it above reality ; should not weaken native strength by melting emotions, but increase it by the contemplation of great struggles, and of all that is mighty and majestic in nature and in man. Phrynichus, it may be added, was the first to introduce female characters. Æschylus, who succeeded him, first brought upon the stage a second actor, to whom Sophocles added a third.

Thus tragedy grew out of the chorus, which in the performance always remained the focus of the whole. It was a sacred and civic duty of the tribes of Attica to embellish the festivals of Bacchus with choruses ; and the adornment of these choruses with all kinds of magnificence, their instruction in dance and song, and in earlier times the number of persons employed in them were points of competition. In many pieces the chorus consisted of fifty persons, and the expenses which an individual citizen would often incur for this object approach the incredible. The contributions of the state were on a scale equally large ; and Plutarch tells us that Athens expended more upon her plays than upon her wars. Under these circumstances the chorus, in the earlier times, had, consistently with its original dignity, the largest share in the action ; and even in the tragedies of Æschylus it is often a principal agent. Gradually, however, it returned wholly to the orchestra ; its songs were shortened ; and from a participator in the action it became, quite properly, a mere sympathizing spectator.

Thus chorus and dramatic action, first united by chance, were combined by art into an indissoluble whole. It was not the mere extrinsic advantage which

the drama derived from the chorus—the beautiful variety, the increased splendour, the occupation of vacant moments—that rendered it so popular and recommended its preservation; but still more, the intrinsic advantages which it afforded, and through which it blended with the action. As in a well-devised and well-arranged picture, the principal figure is accompanied by others, who gracefully border the group, constantly bringing back the wandering glances to the principal subject, and, by the moral and physical sympathy which in various ways they evince for the chief action, render this more intelligible and more eloquent, so that the effect is more easily and definitely conveyed to the spectator;—in the same manner does the chorus surround the action of the heroes, apprehend it with impartial sympathy, and in earnest and profound contemplation, with high and sonorous words, reflect it back, like a mirror, upon the mind of the spectator. Thus, with the golden rein of persuasion, as a truly poetical expedient, it guides the moral judgment and stands as the representative of justice, truth, and religion, between the acting personages and the people who witness them. It curbs the over-haste of curiosity, which carries along the impatient spectator to final results, and forces him, instead of always looking forwards, to direct his glances to the road that has been already travelled, and once more with eye and heart to weigh the parts of the action that are completed. Thus it was only by the chorus that the action attained its full force and significance. By the chorus tragedy was rendered a school of morals, and the impression which the action was intended to make upon the mind was by the chorus rendered deeper, firmer, and more definite.

Æschylus, the offspring of a great period, who was alike endued with the gifts of the Muses and of Ares, must be regarded as the father of tragedy. In the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, where his valour shone forth with that of his brothers Cynægirus and

Amyntas, he paid the tribute due to his country, and the Medes felt the force of an arm that could wield the sword as well as the style. While he was yet a boy, his poetical vocation was revealed to him in a dream, for when he had gone to sleep in his father's vineyard Dionysus stood before him, and ordered him to adorn his festivals with his art—an order which, as soon as he awoke, he endeavoured to obey. He was often victorious in the tragic contests, and seemed to be sole ruler of the stage, when the palm was snatched from him by a younger poet—Sophocles. Already advanced in years, he quitted Athens, either through vexation at the victory of his younger rival, or on account of the charge that in one of his tragedies he had brought before the eyes of the people the mysteries of Eleusis, into which he had not been initiated, and retired to Sicily, where the friendship of Hiero consoled him for his exile from his native country. Here, as some relate, he was killed by a tortoise, which an eagle, soaring through the air, let fall upon his bald head, and his bones were interred near Gela. He himself composed the following inscription for his own grave:—

Gela's rich plain here covers Æschylus,  
 Born an Athenian, and Euphorion's son.  
 Marathon, and the long-haired race of Medes  
 Who felt his arm, bear witness to his worth.

*Anthol. Græc. I. 1571.*

The poetical character of the tragedies of Æschylus is, like that of the author and his age, heroic and war-like. A bold heroic grandeur addresses us from all the elements of his works—from the incidents as well as from the persons—from the foundation of the action as well as from the language and the expression. The milder graces\* are here excluded, and his muse never condescends to address herself to the softer emotions of humanity. Here prevails a greatness

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\* 'Die Grazien der Anmuth.'

which often with giant force rises against heaven, and an audacity which often borders on impiety—here, in short, is the whole undiluted force of nature, which in this age first began to acquire dignity.

The plan of the action is as simple as might be expected from a time when dramatic art had just outgrown its infancy; consisting of little more than the main purpose,\* and the execution of it, without any of that artistical complexity which gradually fills the mind with anxiety, and, by the guiding power of art, leads it towards the dreaded goal. Æschylus seems to go to the goal at once, with haughty steps and unaverted eyes. His heroes are like himself; and this sublime fearlessness is imparted to the spectator likewise. Hence in his tragedies the tragic effect is chiefly produced by the force of the theme and the grandeur of the personages engaged in the action, not by the art which brings them into play. That art was only gradually discovered, and the comparison between the treatment of the same subject in a tragedy by Æschylus, and another by Sophocles, as, *e. g.*, in the *Chæphori* of the former and the *Electra* of the latter, shows how it progressed from the utmost simplicity to the highest perfection.

This simplicity is shown even in the scanty employment of the principal personages, which, according to our views, contrasted strangely with the multitude of witnesses—that is to say, the chorus. In the *Seven against Thebes*, Eteocles is the only acting person. His resolutions are regulated by the information of a messenger, who announces the movements of the hostile army, while, on the other hand, he is influenced by the anxiety of the Theban women, who form the chorus. Even when many personages appear, as in the *Prometheus*, they do not form theatrical groups, but follow one another, detached as the figures in the oldest

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\* 'Entschluss,' literally 'resolution.' The expression, in itself somewhat obscure, is explained in the context.—J. O.

bas-reliefs. This lofty simplicity was, however, only rendered possible by the chorus, which wound the wreath of its songs and meditations through the whole, and united the single figures, as in a well-arranged arabesque. Often it takes a part itself in the action, as in the *Eumenides*, the *Suppliants*, and *Persians*. Here, therefore, its songs are not yet what they should be, and subsequently became—pure reflections of an impartial contemplative mind, which is morally swayed, without selfish interest. However, even with Æschylus the personal interfered but little with the moral interest, and that which, in every action, should most stir the feelings of the spectators, is brought out even in the choral songs with the deepest fulness and with the most commanding energy.

The means employed by this poet to produce tragic emotion were worthy the boldness of his mind. Often, at the very commencement of the action, he sets off in the loftiest tone, confident in his own superiority, and without prejudice to the interest. Thus, in the *Prometheus*, it is certainly no common degree of boldness to begin the action with the dreadful punishment of the Titan riveted to the Caucasus. But at the very moment when the physical strength of Prometheus succumbs to superior power, the victory of his divine and higher nature takes its commencement. His pride endures every trial; nothing can induce him to humble himself, in any manner, before the tyrant; neither the hope of release nor the threat of severer punishments can tear from his heart a secret the knowledge of which is so important to the king of the gods. Thus the interest of the action rises notwithstanding the boldness of the beginning, and it ends with severer punishments and a brilliant victory. Æschylus loves to lose himself in the world of gods, and mingles the celestial with the human that he may snatch us away from reality, and render more probable that giant greatness to which he loves to elevate his heroes. Like a higher order of nobility among men, the heroes of



Æschylus press close upon the gods, so that the feeling of their strength is often heightened to an impious contempt of the divine power. Still, high as the terrestrial may stand, the celestial always rises above it; and all the incidents of our poet's tragedies lead immediately to the omnipotence of destiny, to which every power but the moral must yield. For this is the very end and aim of tragedy—to show the vanity of all earthly things in order that the greatness and dignity of the moral power may be revealed. Thus, while, on the one hand, it depresses the mind by the contemplation of a terribly preponderating power, it revives and encourages it, on the other, by the recognition of a moral victory.

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The rapid progress of Attic culture, which was perfected in a short time, naturally raised the expectation that, after the great, bold works of Æschylus, which were only deficient in the softer graces, a Sophocles would arise in whose works tragedy would reach its highest perfection. According to the most probable accounts, he was only seventeen years younger than Æschylus, and about as many (according to others four-and-twenty) years older than Euripides. He was the contemporary of the excellent Cimon—whose harmonious nature corresponds to the character of his works—of Pericles, and of Thucydides; a witness of the greatest events; flourishing in that most glorious period when Athens, crowned with fame, and exalted by a consciousness of her high deeds, possessed all the sources of wealth, and all the means of employing it nobly. As in after years his works served to raise the renown of Athens, so did his lyre, in early youth, accompany the glorious victory at Salamis, when, distinguished by his beauty, he led the chorus which danced round the trophies of Athens. His manners, like his person, were gracefully moulded, and the ancients recount the easy playfulness of his conversa-

tion. When Cimôn brought the bones of Theseus to Athens, and solemnities were instituted on that occasion, Sophocles, then twenty-eight years of age, first came forward with a tragedy, in opposition to Æschylus, whose glory had for a long time exclusively occupied the stage of Athens. Opinions were divided; and while the judges were yet afraid to give their decision, Cimon and the other generals came forward and decided in favour of the younger poet. From this time his fame rose with every feast of Bacchus. He triumphed more than twenty times over his competitors, and composed more than a hundred tragedies. The old custom that the poet himself stood at the head of the chorus, fell into disuse through him, as the weakness of his voice rendered the performance of that duty impossible. When he was very old, his sons—according to tradition—alleged against him that his faculties were weakened by years, and that, being wholly occupied with his art, he could no longer attend to his domestic affairs;—they therefore begged that he should be put under the care of a keeper. In answer to this allegation, he read to the judges the tragedy which he had in his hands, and which was the *Œdipus in Colonus*, and asked if this was the work of an old man in his dotage; whereupon the judges dismissed his sons with a reprimand. Respecting his death there are different accounts. According to some it happened while Lysander was besieging Athens, so that he could not be buried in the grave of his fathers. Upon this, it is said, Bacchus appeared to Lysander in a dream, and commanded him to bury his favourite. When this dream had appeared twice, Lysander asked the ambassadors who had died, and learned that it was Sophocles. He then sent a herald to Athens, and allowed the burial to take place. On the grave of the poet the figure of a Syren was set up as the symbol of his magical poetry.

That which in Athens characterized the age of Cimon—the union of grandeur and dignity with grace—manifests itself in the works of Sophocles. Here

everything has obtained perfection; art has penetrated the subject matter in all its elements, and not only the poet's intellect, but his whole perfected soul,\* comes nobly forth in his creations. It is true, that in the characters which he creates, grandeur—as indeed tragedy requires—always takes the first rank; but it is associated with delicate grace and mildness, and even when the personages approach the boldness of Æschylus, their violence and hardness are justified† by all those motives that must necessarily rouse and embitter even the gentlest hearts. When Electra, to appease the manes of her murdered father, stimulates her brother against her unnatural mother, and seems to harbour no thought but that of revenge, she is fulfilling a pious duty by which even the vehemence of her hatred against her mother is ennobled. Then how much are these feelings of the neglected daughter justified by all the circumstances of her life? In the home where the sanguinary deed has been performed, where she constantly sees before her mind's eye the death of the returned hero, and where the traces of the murder have not yet been washed away, Ægisthus still triumphs, and Clytæmnestra daily renews her shame. While Electra herself every day bathes the ashes of her father with tears, which are a perpetual reproof to their crimes, she is treated like a slave by her enemies, and menaced with increasing humiliation. However, while circumstances like these feed her hate and steel her heart to a bold, haughty defiance, her womanly tenderness is not yet lost. For as soon as the moment of defiance is past, her haughty tone is moderated, and we see the tears of the affectionate sister and pious daughter. The same heart, which seemed to breathe nothing but hatred and revenge, now outpours itself with touching emo-

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\* This is but an approximation to 'Sein cignes vollendetes Gemüth.'—J. O.

† I have ventured to interpret 'gemildert' by this word, as more suited to the context than 'mitigated.'—J. O.

tion in gentle tears over the supposed urn of the beloved brother.

Even with Philoctetes, one of the boldest characters of Sophocles, that beautiful moderation, which is the leading peculiarity of this poet, is still maintained. Although weary solitude and the torments of a raging malady have given a savage character to the hero, the feelings of a mild humanity are not extinguished. He is still a Greek. After a long interval, he once more hears with delighted astonishment the language of his own country; the fate of the noble warriors who fell before Troy touches his heart with deep sympathy; with delicate timidity he implores the son of Achilles to compassionate and save him. No less beautiful is his gratitude to him who soon afterwards betrays him. With especial predilection does the poet treat the characters of women:—Antigone, who from filial piety accompanies her blind father as he begs his way through Hellas,—the same Antigone who devotes herself to death that she may perform the duties of sisterly affection; Tecmessa, the noble wife of the maddened Ajax; lastly, Deïaneira, a pattern of lovely womanhood, to which there is no parallel in ancient tragedy. Never has a poet combined jealousy with so much nobleness of soul, or based it so completely upon disinterested affection.

As in the characters, so also in the passions, is the law of beauty and moderation constantly observed. Never does passion become wild and unbridled, nor is pain, with this poet, ever wholly annihilating. Even when an unutterable calamity for a moment levels man with the dust, still, as in the case of the dying Heracles, the god at once raises himself anew, and his innate moral force again mounts up victorious in greater glory.

In the art of producing the highest tragic emotions, and of elevating the soul by means of pain, Sophocles has surpassed all the other poets of antiquity. He does not, like Æschylus, merely shock us by exhibiting

the audacious struggle of moral freedom against physical force, but he cheers us with the solution of the contest, which is only carried on by his heroes till they plainly recognise the will of the gods. Then, like Œdipus and Heracles, they bow with the deepest resignation before the omnipotence of heaven. Thus, with him, tragedy has throughout this religious tendency, that man acknowledges his blindness, when, like Œdipus, he has chiefly trusted to his own intelligence,—that he feels his impotence, when, like Ajax and Heracles, he is presumptuous on account of his strength ;—that he finds himself cast into the abyss of misery, when, like Creon, he fancies he stands on the pinnacle of power. In a word, the vanity of things terrestrial is shown in contrast with the celestial, and the folly of the efforts and restless operations of men in contrast with the calm will and infallible operations of Divine Omnipotence.

Lastly, the wisdom of Sophocles is shown in the artistic treatment of the tradition.

Tragical effect depends partly upon the nature of the subject matter ; partly—and principally—upon the manner in which this is treated. If a deep and lasting emotion, and not the sudden terror caused by a frightful incident, is the real aim of tragedy, there is no doubt that this aim can only be attained by a skilful arrangement which constantly repeats and strengthens the same impressions. A peal of thunder, in a clear sky startles us more violently ; but the storm that forms itself gradually and blackens as it approaches, fills the soul with a *fascinating* terror, which is the highest effect of art and the most fruitful source of the sublime. While, on the one hand, this arrangement gives intensity to the impression, so, on the other hand, it softens it in favour of beauty, inasmuch as that which would have appeared hideous to an unprepared imagination, loses, by that gradual preparation, its repulsive form. Hence Sophocles, ever faithful to the principle of beautiful moderation, is always in the habit of softening by lengthened preparation the horror of



his results. He approaches his goal slowly ; many knots are entangled together before the final one is loosened, and the catastrophe, horrible as it may be, appears at last endurable, as the effect of an inevitable necessity, which is in operation before our very eyes. Hence, in none of his tragedies is the action so artificially complicated as in the *Œdipus*, the catastrophe of which, considered by itself, is horrible and revolting. With admiring wonder did the ancients contemplate the art with which the poet lengthened the path to his goal, and the skill with which he exhibited it long beforehand, that he might—not suddenly but—gradually hurl down the venerated king, once the saviour of Thebes, and now the cause of a cruel pestilence, from the summit of his glory into the deepest misery. The veil which conceals the murder of Laius is raised so gradually, by a series of necessary circumstances, and the secret of the origin of Œdipus, the revelation of which renders his whole destiny manifest, is unfolded with such consummate art that the spectator is not surprised by any of the discoveries, but is led from one to the other so gradually that he cannot help anticipating even the most horrible results. The very cruelty of the punishment which Œdipus inflicts upon himself is not unexpected. For after Jocasta has killed herself, the punishment of crimes greater than hers is presupposed as necessary, and as the other prophecies of Tiresias have been literally fulfilled, we expect that his threat of blindness will be fulfilled likewise.

In all the other plays the wisdom of the poet, the spirit of grand and noble moderation, and the beautiful equipoise of all forces and tragic motives, are equally displayed. In every one of his characters there is strength without insolence, boldness without temerity, softness without effeminacy. Their sufferings nobly elevate the mind, raising it to a grandeur which does not deaden and repel, but attract and move. Then the action itself, while it shakes the very depth of the soul, lifts it into those serene regions of freedom, where,

raised above the storms of a troubled life, it rejoices in the sublime feeling that its moral strength is invincible. In the language too of this poet, force and grace, strength and softness (*Lieblichkeit*) are balanced with the most beautiful nicety. When tragedy had as yet scarcely extricated itself from the dithyramb, it was but natural that the boldness of that class of poetry, not only raged through the choruses, but even foamed over into the dialogue. Sophocles, however, who better understood the nature of tragedy, not only limited the functions of the chorus, and shortened its songs to give room for the action, which he regarded as the more important part, but he also moderated the impetuosity of its language and its Bacchic violence. This softening influence was also extended to the dialogue, and thus the language of Sophocles, in every part of his work, is truly poetical, noble, temperate (*mässig*), and elaborated to the highest degree of perfection.

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That Greek tragedy might perform a complete cycle, a poet was required like Euripides, who, whereas, of the two elements of tragedy—the terrible and the pathetic—Æschylus had favoured the former alone, should, with equal onesidedness, devote himself to the softer emotions, and by again separating what had been united in the perfected art of Sophocles, thus falling into an extreme opposite to that of Æschylus, should complete the cycle of tragic art.

When the Persians, in the second war, overran Attica, and the Athenians, leaving their home, sought a refuge in the islands, Euripides, according to some, was born at Salamis, on the day of the glorious battle gained by Themistocles. Hence, it was said, the island had acquired a claim to the affection of the poet, who often went thither, that, in the shade of a wild gloomy grotto, he might compose the tragedies, with which he triumphed upon the Athenian stage.

Mnesarchus, his father, misled by a falsely interpreted oracle, which promised his son the victory in public contests, had him instructed in athletic exercises, which he soon abandoned to receive the lessons of Prodicus in eloquence, and of Anaxagoras in philosophy; in both with some success, as is plainly shown by the character of his poetry. He subsequently became the friend of Socrates, who, though he was younger than Euripides, has been wrongly looked upon by some as his teacher, by others as his assistant in poetical labours. The poetry of Euripides has, indeed, often a tinge of the familiar style of Socrates, though not sufficient to induce belief in a tradition that probably owed its origin to the poet's unmistakeable predilection for philosophical aphorisms and tirades. Scarcely has any poet so little resisted the temptation to avail himself of every opportunity for reflection. Indeed, he often abuses this privilege of the stage; dramatic inspiration is sacrificed to the love of didactic instruction; the poet's own sentiments are made conspicuous, and he forgets the personages in the action to consult the moral wants of his spectators.

After Euripides had acquired great fame at Athens, he was invited by Archelaus, king of Macedonia, to his court, and accepted the invitation. Once when the king said to him, 'I should esteem it a great honour if you made me the subject of one of your tragedies,' the poet evaded the proposal by a happy turn, saying, 'God forbid that you should ever be the subject of a tragedy!' It is related that one evening, when he was returning home from a banquet given by Archelaus, he was attacked by dogs and torn to pieces. He was buried at Pella, but a monument was also raised to him at Athens.

The works of Euripides, like those of all the genial Greek minds, bear the impress of the age in which he was trained. When Sophocles was formed, the character of the nation was at the acme of perfection; but such periods are always transient and short. The whole

system of the Athenian state underwent a great alteration after the defeat of the Persians on the Eurymedon. The enemy, who by terrible superiority had previously summoned the citizens of Athens to strain every sinew of their patriotism, had been wholly deprived of the halo that surrounded him, and the continuation of the contest now required no extraordinary power. It was no more the preservation of his country and of liberty that incited the soldier against the foe, but the desire for Persian treasures and profitable acquisitions. Selfishness took the place of other motives, and thus the character of the nation assumed a new form. Its sap was expended in luxurious off-shoots. Self-confidence degenerated into presumptuous insolence, cheerfulness into licence, inclination into passion, enjoyment into luxurious excess. The old rigid morals became ridiculous, and the severity of the ancient discipline was lost in the voluptuous enjoyments of modern times. Soon after the happy administration of Cimon, the impetuosity of desire triumphed over the repose of reason, and means of excitement (*der Reiz*) triumphed over the Beautiful in all the departments of the state. The equipoise of faculties was destroyed; and that lofty style of beauty which arises from the union of weighty grandeur and dignity with gracefulness had now departed.

In this age of gradual degeneracy, which already manifested itself in the lavish demagogy of Pericles, and still more in the inharmonious nature of the idolized Alcibiades, was formed and developed the tragic genius of Euripides, in whom the loss of equipoise may be perceived partly in other defects, but most in the attempt to secure applause by all sorts of sophistical arts, and by a preponderance of the softening and the pathetic. Occupied with this effort, he often makes an abuse of eloquence, which had, in his time, become an instrument of luxury, and sacrifices to rhetorical brilliancy the higher purposes of art. In reliance upon his rhetorical talent and the predilection

of his hearers, he avails himself of every possible opportunity to introduce detailed oratorical discussions, often riveting the attention by fulness of language, by a use of dialectic artifices, and by a fascinating grace of expression. He always defends a bad cause as well as circumstances permit; often so well that the judgment is misled by specious appearances. How many orations are contained in *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Andromache*! It seems as though a piece could not exist without them; often is speech crowded on speech, discussion on discussion, and where the strife of contending opinions ceases, narrative comes in with all its rhetorical luxuriance. Even this very fulness of a fine talent destroyed in the poet's mind that equilibrium from which alone beauty can rise like Aphrodite from the calm depths of the sea. In many passages, the free development of the action, the sentiments, and the passions is impeded by the disproportionate claims of eloquence. The action crawls along under the weight of a superfluous incumbrance; the sentiments retire into the shade behind rhetorical glitter; the fire of passion is extinguished by the application of purposeless ornaments.

As it was the poet's chief object to excite pity, he loved to heap together every sort of pathetic material, and instead of penetrating to the depths of the soul, like Sophocles, by a gradual development of the action, he preferred to crowd calamity upon calamity, thus destroying that unity which is the triumph of art. Thus in the *Alcestis*, the action begins far too early, for the sake of the touching scenes of the farewell. In the *Andromache*, we are occupied during the first act with the fortunes of the unhappy wife of Hector; when she is saved a new action begins, the subject of which is the abduction of Hermione, and the whole concludes with the murder of Neoptolemus, which also stands isolated. All these subjects are merely connected together by the slender thread of proximity in respect to time; not one of them is developed from the rest,



but each has its own special purpose. The same thing may be said of the *Troades*. The commencement of the play is occupied with the woes of Hecuba, the second part with the fate of Cassandra, the third decides the lot of Helen, and the whole concludes with the grief felt at the murder of Astyanax.

Not to pass an unfair judgment on the genius of this poet, who, in spite of many defects, holds, nevertheless, high rank, his works must be regarded less in their entirety than in detail. In single passages there is much that in itself is excellent, deeply moving, and masterly, which, if considered as part of a whole, is liable to censure. We might almost maintain that, with Euripides, those very parts are most beautiful which he introduced as superfluous additions, merely because he could not resist the temptations offered by certain situations; though, indeed, it sometimes happens that the over-abundant heaping together of materials impedes the development of the individual parts, and that the episodes fail in making their due impression, from a want of proper extension. Tragic effect to be perfect requires completeness in preparation, development, and solution, but for this there is frequently a want of room with Euripides. In the *Troades*, for instance, there is such a quantity of matter that the death of Polyxena can only be narrated in a few words. Thus, in this tragedy, the effect of the tragic incidents is destroyed by the over-abundance which makes them neutralize each other.

It was quite conformable to the tendency of the Euripidean poetry, that the poet, who valued effect above everything, especially devoted himself to the exhibition of sensual power and unbridled passion. There is not one of his pieces, in which the passions are not raised to the extreme height of which Greek humanity was capable; while in the characters of barbarians the limit is even passed. In exhibitions of this sort, the genius of the poet shines forth, from its energetic truthfulness. But this very truth is

sometimes vulgar ; for the efforts of Euripides were never for ideality, but always for effect, and this is most certainly to be obtained by an energetic one-sidedness. From this point of view the notorious contest in the *Alcestis* is excellent, while in regard to decorum and dignity it is objectionable in the highest degree. For that a son should revile his father like the lowest slave because he will not die for him is only to be excused by an excess of uncontrollable agony. No less offensive, but extremely powerful, is the rage of Polymnestor, who, after he has been blinded by the hands of Hecuba, pursues his enemies and desires to satiate himself with their blood and bones. Thus almost universally with Euripides the outbreak of passion is devoid of dignity, and the personages whom he represents are seldom noble—never sublime. With him a truthful delineation of ordinary life was more important than the beauty of an idea, strength was higher than dignity, the excitement of pity higher than the elevation of the soul. The nobler touches which we find here and there seem to have fallen accidentally from the hand of the poet, for he seldom makes use of them, and perhaps only endows them with beauty when this is requisite to produce emotion. Thus in the characters of Polyxena and Iphigénia, delicate grace, youthful joyousness, maiden purity, and childlike simplicity, are mingled together, that the most perfect amiability may be brought into contrast with the most melancholy fate, and that the tenderest flower may be plucked by the hardest hand.

If after these remarks we take a comparative view of the heroes of Greek tragedy, we find that in Æschylus the mighty subject-matter is not always satisfactorily developed—that in Euripides the luxuriance of the matter often predominates over the form—that in Sophocles, on the contrary, the matter is so completely proportionate to the form, that, with all its abundance, it adapts itself without constraint, and, as it were of

its own accord, to the law of order. With the first, nature is grand and powerful, but art is somewhat unwieldy; with the second, art is too lax and pliant; with Sophocles, art rules over a free and beautiful nature. Æschylus pays homage to grandeur without grace, Euripides only seeks the fascinating, Sophocles combines dignity and beauty in intimate union. The first fills us with wonder, the second with compassion, the third, Sophocles, with noble admiration.

The whole plan of their works corresponds to their different aims. Æschylus, at the very commencement, often raises himself to a height which only his own gigantic mind can hope to surmount. Sophocles leads us on gradually. Euripides, through successive sections, repeats the same tones of touching sorrow; Æschylus proceeds rapidly from his preparation to his catastrophe; Sophocles as he approaches the catastrophe retards his steps. Euripides, with uncertain tread, pursues an uncertain goal, rather heaping up misfortune than rendering it more intense. Æschylus is simple without art, with Sophocles simplicity is a result of art, with Euripides variety often predominates to the injury of art. The mighty and extraordinary events which are the focus of the action with his predecessors are often with Euripides no more than strengthening rays, and the incidents are, not unfrequently, more tragical than the catastrophe. The immolation of a daughter torn from her mother's arms, the murder of an innocent boy, the voluntary death of a wife upon her husband's funeral pile, the sacrifice of a youth for his country, of a maiden for her family—all these with Euripides are mere incidents of the action.

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Simultaneously with tragedy, comedy separated itself from the old Satyric sport, that it might represent the highest freedom of life in its external pheno-

mena, just as it is the proper office of tragedy to exhibit the highest degree of freedom in the inner man.

The earliest development of comedy is wrapped in obscurity. However, it is not improbable that Crates first supplied a distinct material, and invented comic action. Many followed in his steps, but their works have been destroyed by time, with the single exception of Aristophanes, to whom antiquity concedes the first and highest rank among all his rivals.

Aristophanes flourished during the Peloponnesian war—a contemporary of Pericles, Socrates, Plato, Sophocles, and Euripides, and consequently a witness of the most brilliant age of intellect, and of the beginning of moral corruption. Of the circumstances of his life little is known, but his works prove that, being averse to the party in power, he saw with noble indignation the gradual extinction of the ancient lustre of the republic, the decline of strict discipline, the misuse of demagogic artifice, and the mischievous expenditure of the forces of the state on a war which was destructive to all classes of the people, and was only profitable to their faithless administrators. This virtuous indignation, though not the source of his works, is nevertheless their foundation, lying beneath the licence and gaiety of the poet like a foil of nobility, which gives greater depth to the work, and raises the poet himself high above the level of ordinary creators of mirth.

The old comedy is one of the most remarkable phenomena of the ancient world, only conceivable in that world, with its peculiar relations, but there almost necessary. If we may generally assume that human nature sometimes requires to overleap those arbitrary bounds which, for the sake of order and propriety, impede the free enjoyment of life in the ordinary routine, this must especially have been the case with a people whose overflowing fulness of life endured those bounds with so much impatience. The necessity for relaxation shows itself in the jests of common conversation, when the real is arbitrarily exchanged for the ideal.

Even children like to step out of actuality in an assumed character, that they may move more freely in an imaginary world; but this endeavour after an unrestrained enjoyment of life only attains its highest pitch through the intercommunication and sympathy of large masses. The ancient states, revering every human impulse as something holy, also recognised the necessity of enjoyment for the people,—such enjoyment to consist either in a free movement within legal boundaries, but without any sense of restraint, or in a wanton sport, after those boundaries have been overthrown. Joy is beautiful, but this wanton licence is analogous to the sublime. Hence in the ancient world it readily associated itself with religion; for its source was a deep inspiration by which the highest life was at once impelled forth from the innermost depths of the soul. Thus the Bacchanalia and Saturnalia, as well as many church-festivals in the middle ages, were so many parodies of earnestness in which the freedom of the imagination asserted the original and inborn rights of humanity against the discipline of the regulative understanding. Hence all the laws of arbitrary propriety became silent; the old equality of the Saturnian age returned; the slave commanded the master, the master obeyed the servant; no jest was prohibited, no scoff was punishable, and gods and men were alike made the objects of unconstrained mirth. For even the gods, it was thought, willingly shared the delight of mortals, and, mingling in the excited throng, heard without anger the jeers which a joyous intoxication lavished even upon them. From this practice no danger resulted to religion, any more than to the state, when its rulers, its orators, and its generals became, during the Bacchanalian riot, the butts of an unbridled licence. Even the stern Roman world allowed this freedom to be taken with its triumphant emperors, without at all infringing upon their dignity, or compromising the strict discipline to which the Roman soldier was subjected. Indeed, the most earnest and dignified life



seems imperatively to have required the contrast of the comic element; while, on the other hand, the necessity of the comic appears to be diminished in proportion to the increase of frivolity in ordinary life. Real dignity has never been injured by the attacks of playful licence; but, on the other hand, it is perilous to attack with such weapons that which is only tricked out with a borrowed lustre of dignity, and therefore stands of itself on the boundary line between the serious and the comic.

From these remarks we may understand the nature and essence of ancient comedy. Conceived amid the intoxication of Bacchic excitement, and exercising the right derived from this loftier sanction, it assails real life in all its phases, however high or low, and treats it as a subject for unconstrained jest. The gods, the state, the people, and its leaders, were all here mingled together as in reality; but while, in the actual world the most foolish objects are often pursued with zeal and earnest, the old comedy, on the other hand, destroyed the appearance of reality by a constant parody of life, which was thus exhibited in all its nakedness. Even as tragedy exhibits life in all its high significance, in order to contrast it with the sublime dignity of moral freedom, as something infinitely higher, so does comedy set forth the zealous pursuit of the earthly in all its nothingness, and thus raises the soul far above the narrow limits of actuality into the realm of a serene and unconditional freedom.

Whoever seeks in comedy nothing but a mirror of real life set up for the better knowledge and the remedy of our faults, will be unable to comprehend Aristophanes and his works; nay, to such a person they will even appear absurd and senseless. No extract or translation (least of all in prose), can convey a knowledge of this poet; since, as in all works of real genius, it is impossible in the comedies of Aristophanes to separate matter and form, and even the best poetical

imitation must fall far short of the perfect elegance of his language and the force of his rhythms, the wealth and fulness of which often stand in ludicrous contrast to the purport of the words. Contemplated from that lower point of view, which would require from him a mere faithful copy of nature, he will often appear malicious, flat, vulgar, scurrilous, irreverent, and in the highest degree licentious. But if we contemplate him from a higher point of view, we must acknowledge that he holds up a concave mirror to the vulgarities of conventional life in general. Here every member that seemed distorted takes its proper place; harmony is restored, and in the depths of the mad sport a noble and religious feeling is discernible. In all the elements of these marvellous works stirs that living inspiration of Bacchic licence which reveres everything while seeming to revere nothing; and which dispels all suspicion of impious intentions, even in the treatment of the gods, nay, of Bacchus himself, whose festival is here solemnized.

The prevailing tendency of the Aristophanic comedy is parody;—parody of the political constitution, when either the women, discontented with the government, introduce female rule, and with it a community of women and of goods, or discontented citizens build in the air a city according to improved principles, or, lastly, patriotic women to terminate a long war enforce a peace by banishing the men from their embraces;—parody of degenerate morals, of the education by atheistical philosophers, of the tragic stage.

As pleasure in the comic is produced by that contemplation of incongruities\* which bears the stamp of a free enjoyment of life, the intentional absurdity of many situations in this school of comedy is a subject not for censure but for praise. This it is which keeps the action in constant movement, and

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\* 'Das Zweckwidrige,' literally 'that which is adverse to an end or purpose.'—J. O.

feeds the stream of playful licence. And so irresistibly are we carried away by this stream in the comedies of this wonderful poet, that, while we fancy we are standing upon the ground of actuality, we are ever kept up in the heights of an ideal world. Round about us is Athens with her manners, her policy, and her celebrated men; but the pursuits of these Athenians are so poetically mad, and so imbued with folly, they press on to their fantastic goal with such honest zeal, that we are caught and entangled in the maze of absurdity. At the same time we are floating upon the stream of enthusiastic language, and of the most marvellous rhythm, far beyond the boundaries of the actual world, meeting grotesque shapes that belong neither to man nor to Olympus, but seem nevertheless to be on friendly terms with both worlds alike. Often amid this intoxicating confusion, the poet appears at the head of his chorus, on purpose to destroy the whole texture of the illusion, and while he converses with the public, to begin his wanton sport anew in an earnest tone. Scarcely ever did a poet sway the minds of his hearers with such certain consciousness of his own superiority, create and dispel an illusion so completely at pleasure, or with such abundance of bold invention interweave the highest and the lowest subjects into such a whole of perfected art.

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Although the rich abundance of poetical life, which unfolded itself in innumerable works upon the stage of Athens, would alone have been sufficient to give lustre to this age, its poetical productions constitute only one of the elements from which its glorious eminence arose. Indeed, it was not possible for poetry to reach its highest point, without the mind of the nation being animated, stirred, and fertilized in all its faculties. Hence, in the same period, history, eloquence, philosophy, in a word, everything in which a deep genial life can put forth its energies, was brought to the

highest perfection. Prose entered into the lists with verse, and invented a peculiar syllabic dance, by which unfettered speech first became harmonious discourse, and an innate power of pleasing delivery became artistic eloquence. At this period, and in this focus of the Hellenic world, everything was brought to the highest degree of perfection which it could attain in Hellas, and succeeding times, though they have advanced in science, have not advanced in art, either literary or plastic. Even as the nation itself attained at this period the moment of maturity, after passing which it fell off like overripe fruit at the first unkindly touch, so also did the creative force of genius now attain its maximum, beyond which lay the ungenial dexterity of talent. Hence, in after times, though there was no deficiency of poets and literary artists of all kinds, these all took their places at the bounteous table of the ancients. They reaped where they had not sown. What the ancients with productive force had evoked from the innermost depths, their successors plucked from the surface, and thought they had done enough if they newly arranged what the ancients had discovered by dint of genius, thus twining elegant garlands out of withered flowers. For the feeling for elegant arrangement was long retained, being carefully fostered by the doctrines of the theorists, who, with great acuteness, penetrated into the souls of the classical ancients, and pursued the finest threads of their artistic texture.

In endeavouring to embrace the whole compass of classical cultivation at Athens, we shall first direct our attention to history, which had indeed been already wakened into existence by the remarkable deeds of an earlier time, but which on the classic ground of Attica sprang up anew in a higher and more dignified form. The first attempts, which do not seem to have been made earlier than the time of the Pisistratides, when a prosaic style was yet in process of formation, bordered on mythical poetry, consisting partly (like the poems

of Hesiod) of genealogical lists, partly (like some of the cyclic poems) of records respecting the foundation of states by wandering races and heroes; partly of collections of early legends, and of whatever appeared historical in ancient songs. Scanty and uncertain such materials must necessarily be with a nation, which engaged in various migrations, and divided into several branches politically and geographically separated from each other, never had, like the Egyptians or the Hebrews, a central point of union, where it could deposit its ancient history, as a common property of the people, in the temples or the archives of the priests. Thus this period was still without any authenticated knowledge of antiquity; and as all the elements of Hellenic life were derived from the heroic world, and its learning from heroic poetry, the eyes of the people were necessarily directed to fable and the fabulous age. This tendency has been retained even to late times; and it is a very ordinary phenomenon that history either poetically weaves the gods into the life of man, or converts a divine into a merely human tradition. But these fables lay scattered, and tradition could only give information respecting a few isolated details; nor were other sources of knowledge, such as monuments and votive offerings, more extensive in their revelations. From such materials it was impossible that a really historical, intrinsically connected whole could be produced. Thus the older writers of history could only collect details, and virtually sank into oblivion when the material they had collected was historically wrought up and critically sifted.

The first who treated history in a grand style and as an artist was Herodotus of Halicarnassus in Caria—a Dorian, consequently, by race—born in the fourth year after Xerxes had brought over his countless hosts to Europe. Thus the wonderful events of this and the previous war constituted the first history that riveted the attention of the boy, which was directed



now to his own people, now to the Persians. A similar subject—the attack of the Persians upon the Greeks of Asia, and the resistance of the latter in the Ionian insurrection—was just at that time treated by Hecataeus, an historian of Miletus, whose work probably aroused and nurtured the youth's historical feeling. As then, for the first time, an historical connexion was established between the East and the West, and thus the compass of human vision was greatly extended, so did the susceptible mind of Herodotus rise to the comprehensive idea of an universal history, which, so far as lay in his power, should comprise the whole of the known world. As the focus\* of the whole, he intended to set up the history of the wars, from which his own views of the world were to radiate. It was his design to reveal the first cause of the contest that now divided the Greeks and Barbarians, and thus to penetrate into the obscurity of the old mythical time, and as far as the utmost limits of the earth. This idea seems early to have taken possession of his mind. Dissatisfied with the scanty material afforded to him by the collected legends, the histories of cities, and the genealogies of earlier historians, he was impelled by his thirst for knowledge to wander among men and into distant lands, that he might see with his own eyes, and hear with his own ears, the nature of the different climates, the manners, religion, and history of the peoples. Egypt lay nearest his heart;—the land of wonder, in the eyes of the ancients, and, as some imagined, the cradle of the human race and of wisdom, where a compact, mysterious caste of priests alleged that they were in possession of strange knowledge unrevealed to other mortals. Thither, then, he went first, and became acquainted with the marvellous country through its whole extent. He likewise visited the coasts of Libya as far as the Carthaginian territory, and the whole of Greece as far as Thrace; then pene-

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\* The plural 'Mittelpunkte' seems to be a mistake.—J. O.

trated to the shores of the Ister and the Borysthenes (Dnieper), and into the land of the Scythians. He knew Asia as far as Babylon, and to the north as far as Colchis, whence he returned by the way of Macedonia, passing through the land of the Asiatic Scythians.

When he came back into his own country he found it under the yoke of a tyrant named Lygdamis, a grandson of that Artemisia who had fought at Salamis more valiantly than the men. He proceeded to Samos, and collecting there a number of exiles, expelled the tyrant, and restored the liberty of his country. But as the tyranny had previously arisen from the war of factions, the tyrant was no sooner removed than the war of factions commenced anew; and Herodotus, who desired liberty, not the triumph of either party, became an object of hatred to both. He therefore abandoned his country and betook himself to Hellas, where, it is said, he read his history to the assembled Greeks, at the Olympian games. It is narrated that Thucydides, then a youth, was present at the reading, and charmed with the nobleness of the subject and the sweetness of the style, was moved even to tears. We would willingly believe in the truth of this statement though it is not confirmed by authentic witnesses, for it is pleasant to recognise the influence of one superior intellect upon another, and to perceive how the Beautiful strikes root in susceptible minds. When sparks of genius fall so often upon a hard surface and die without ignition, or vanish unperceived in the broad space, seeking in vain for a combustible material with which they may communicate; every single example, in which we can trace the progress from one link of the electric chain to another, becomes to us a consolation and a new source of the faith, that, perhaps, there is nothing really beautiful that does not extend its operation in its forming and vivifying course.

When Herodotus, about twelve years after his

appearance at Olympia, came to Athens, and read his work there also, at the Panathenæa, it happened that the Athenians were sending a colony to Thurium. His love of travel induced him to join the colonists, and it is probable that he there concluded his life. The incorporation into his history of many events that occurred after his emigration proves that in his new country, he continued his work with meritorious toil. The year of his death is not precisely known, but it appears from the events which he records, that he exceeded the seventy-seventh year of his age.

The history of Herodotus is divided into nine books, in conformity with the number of the Muses, whose names they bear, on which account an ancient poet has looked upon the whole work as the Muses' gift. It sets out with a simple promise to narrate the history and origin of the Greeks and Barbarians, but in reality it comprises the history of the entire world, a description of lands and products, as well as of the manners and customs of the inhabitants. As Homer, in the wanderings of Ulysses, conducts us through the whole region of the mythical world, so does Herodotus lead us through the whole extent of the historical world. In another sense, too, he is the Homer of historians; for his work, in plan, purport, and style, is an historical epos. With all the repose and grace of the Homeric poetry, the great work of time is unfolded; and, connected by the thread of the principal narrative, one episode easily and gracefully follows another, often diverting us from lyrical, never from æsthetical, unity. For the whole is sketched with a deep poetical spirit and a genuine religious feeling; and just as the gods are indispensable to the Homeric poems, so also in the historical epos of Herodotus does the all-ruling, all-directing Deity appear as the central point to which everything tends. There is one idea that pervades the whole and is pre-eminently conspicuous in the main action;—the idea that no earthly might or majesty can stand before God, and

that all who impiously dare to compete with that Deity, who alone reposes in impregnable felicity, will be ruthlessly struck to the ground. On this account the haughty power of Persia was overthrown. However, not only in the history of nations, but also in the life of individuals, this truth is plainly laid down, and this it is which Herodotus endeavours to render manifest by the series of highly significant and often deeply affecting narratives, which he purposely interweaves with his main history. Hence, too, a great part of his history refers to the oracles as organs of the divinity, which, in a palpable and (as the ancients believed) infallible manner, exhibit the connexion of the world with superterrestrial powers.

The style of Herodotus, in conformity with the epic nature of his work, is calm and tranquil, and yet, like the Homeric, replete with internal life. That he viewed everything with an open childlike mind,—that he allowed the external world to act upon him with all its variety and all its majesty, is proved by the graphic character of his descriptions, and the accurate but poetical detail of the scenes in which he represents the deeds and workings of humanity. The whole wondrous mass of history which he lays before us seems to have been formed and arranged in the depths of his soul, and to step forth as complete as the world from the thought of its creator. Hence the narrator conceals himself behind his narrative, and happily lost in the contemplation of his work, forgets himself, his merits, and his labours. His style therefore is justly extolled as the model of a style for universal history, since it is that very repose and forgetfulness of self that maintains in the narrator his lively sympathy and his absorption into the grandeur of the details, as well as the relation of the details to the great whole. Everything stood full of life and motion before his eyes. Hence with him narrative is easily converted into dialogue, which gracefully gives a present reality to the action and to the subject of

discourse, while, by wise lessons or religious reflections, it often induces the reader to take a higher view of the events.

Finally, the language of Herodotus, as well as his narrative, is simple and clear throughout, without flatness or commonplace—just like the Homeric language, which it resembles in peculiarity and palpable life. Herodotus is named as the best pattern for the Ionic dialect; for he preferred this dialect, notwithstanding he was a Dorian, because its whole nature is best suited to narrative. For that abundance of forms and details which Herodotus strove to exhibit, the hard, compressed Doric dialect is ill adapted. Hence he chose the Ionic, which presented itself for his use, and which, already devoted to epos, was by analogy well fitted for his own epical history. Hence in this work, as in others, is shown that essential character of Greek art, that wonderful agreement of substance and form, that accordance of the inner with the outer music, which is the first and most necessary condition of beauty.

The veracity of this historian has very often been questioned, and those who only regard phenomena from the modern point of view, and with unphilosophical narrowness refuse to accept as true anything that lies beyond the limits of their own experience, have looked upon his work as nothing more than an amusing collection of absurd tales, and the author himself as a credulous and mendacious babbler. However, his whole work is pervaded by an honest and candid spirit, which seems utterly incapable of intentional deceit; while the author conscientiously expresses his own doubts as to certain traditions, fairly states the reasons on both sides when a difference arises, and even elevates himself by critical inquiries above the authority of poets and fabulous antiquity. Much that has been rejected as fabulous in his descriptions of lands and peoples has been since fully confirmed by accurate investigations made on the spot, and the more the knowledge of those regions of the world through which Herodotus travelled has be-



come extended, the more plainly does his veracity appear in all that he described from his own observation.

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As in the progress of poetical culture, the free and unconfined epic was converted into tragedy, by which poetry gained in depth what it lost in extension—so also did history take a similar course. For the Attic history of Thucydides is to the Ionic history of Herodotus what the Attic tragedy is to the Ionic epic. Like tragedy, Attic history abandons the free episodic course, seeking not the amusement of the moment, but a deep instruction for ages, and aiming to represent not the world, but the men and the Deity of the world. If the Ionic history may be compared to the smooth surface of a calm lake, the depths of which reflect a clear sky and the various objects on the smiling shores, the Attic history is like a powerful stream, which flows quietly down through sturdy banks, forcibly overcomes every obstacle, and never deviating from its track, greets both the cheerful and the melancholy shores with equal honour, and at last, at the end of a long and earnest course, mingles with the ocean. And if history does not properly begin before the point at which the region of tradition leaves off and the limits between poetry and fact can be sharply defined,—if it cannot be conceived without a critical spirit, which investigates the truth, nor without a deep sense, which, sharpened by experience, discovers the connexion of events, we may fairly assert that Attica is the real native soil of history, and that Thucydides is the originator of this department of literature.

Thucydides, son of Olorus, was descended from one of the oldest families of Attica, and was related, on the mother's side, to the ancient kings of Thrace. His youth was devoted to the study of philosophy, in which the intelligent, earnest, and profound Anaxagoras was his instructor,—and of rhetoric, in which he received lessons from the orator Antipho. Taking no

part in the affairs of state, he appeared neither before the people nor in the courts of justice. Nevertheless, he was chosen general to lead an army to Amphipolis, on the Strymon. As, however, Brasidas had arrived before him, and had already occupied the city, he was impeached at Athens, and punished with exile; whereupon he lived first in Ægina, afterwards in Thrace, where, according to some, he died. Others say that, after the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily, he was recalled, with other exiles, but was assassinated in his own country. A cenotaph was erected to him at Athens.

After the mind of the boy had been strongly excited by the history of Herodotus—whether he heard it at Olympia, or simply read it at a later period—the events of his country, when he had attained the age of manhood, conducted him towards a more elevated goal. When the Peloponnesian war broke out, not without many antecedents, which long caused the expectation of some decisive contest of the kind, Thucydides perceived that the great question, whether Sparta or Athens was to stand at the head of the Greek states, was now to be solved; and he accordingly at the very commencement of the war set about describing it, because the degree of power which each of the nations had attained, the vastness of the preparations, and the general disposition of Hellas, gave indications that a decisive result was to be expected. To give an impartial narrative of the struggle—to pay all respect to historic truth, and to produce, not an amusement for the moment, but a monument for posterity—this was the great and earnest endeavour of the excellent Thucydides. Hence his view of events is not epic but critical; and if Herodotus everywhere insisted on the influence of the deity as the focus of his historical epic, Thucydides, on the other hand, sees nothing but human powers, human will, and human prudence, the contemplation of which may be useful and instructive on the return of a similar state of things. If, however, there

is no poetical form in the plan of the whole, which is as chronological as possible, it cannot be denied that a lively imaginative power and deep poetical feeling are shown in the treatment of certain details. The description of the plague at Athens—of the great expedition against Sicily—the narration of the calamities which befel the Greek army there—and the exposition of the disorders in the Greek cities, have been extolled by antiquity with well-merited admiration.

A principal ornament of the history of Thucydides, who otherwise, in an earnest spirit, despises all the fascinations of variety, consists of the speeches, which are everywhere introduced, and without which the history of a Hellenic state would be imperfect. As everything is here shown just as it proceeds from the bosom of a republic, an exhibition of the common deliberations of the sovereign people must necessarily be the central point of the narrative. If, therefore, the history, as the history of a war, pauses on the field of battle to give future generals a lively picture of the nature of an enterprise, so on the other hand, does the political history return to the popular assembly, as the source of all external phenomena, sets forth the speeches that were delivered there, and soon lets us know that demagogy is the extreme summit of the whole work. Nor is it incompatible with a desire for truth that the speeches are not faithful transcripts, and that Thucydides, in this portion of his work, exercised the rights of a free art, the product of which was history. Hence he says, in his introduction, 'As for the speeches which were delivered, partly during the deliberations on the subject of the war, partly during the war itself, I have scarcely been able to retain and to note down with verbal accuracy all that I myself have heard, or that has been communicated to me by others. I have been satisfied to make each of the speakers say that which, in my estimation, seemed conducive to his cause, but at the same time have adhered as closely as possible to the general sense of the words actually spoken.' This last

condition determines the peculiar purport of these speeches. They exhibit to the reader the interior motives of the events, the views and the temper of the several parties, the real and merely ostensible reasons of their decisions. All this—so indispensable to pragmatic history—is communicated in a truly natural and lively manner, and in a much more varied shape than by the moderns, who, being without the organ of public oratory, generally exhibit their own individuality, and remind and teach in their own person. It should be added, however, that it is chiefly in these speeches that Thucydides has set down all the fulness of his own political wisdom, and that they show, more than any part of the work, that he wrote, not for the amusement of the moment, but for all posterity. For never would a popular assembly, even of Athenians, have been able to understand results of the profoundest observation of human nature, and of the most refined state-policy, expressed in such a fashion.

To the sublimity and profundity of his thoughts the language of Thucydides, which ever strives after the grand and the sublime, is perfectly adapted. Although, as a genuine follower of the sophists, he aims at a symmetrical and orderly arrangement of the single parts of his work, his endeavour to say a great deal in the fewest possible words, and consequently to crowd as many thoughts as possible into a single phrase, has produced a certain uncouthness and obscurity of style, which is chiefly perceptible in his speeches. But even in his narrative the serious tone of his mind may be recognised, inasmuch as he always keeps before his eyes the wants of his country and the practical purpose of the commonweal, and to carry out his object of instruction is always anxious about a due establishment of facts. But the more perfectly he fulfilled the mission of a political historian, the more did his style lose that charm of a youthful history, which, sometimes mythical, could indulge in a heedless sport. Hence, those parts of the history where Thucydides apparently

seeks to dilate episodically on mythical antiquity wear a foreign aspect, and stand in contrast with the character of the whole work.

No Greek historian has raised himself to the height of Thucydides, or apprehended in all its purity his political point of view. The one who was nearest to him in point of time, and who finished the unfinished history of the Peloponnesian war (beginning from the two-and-twentieth year), the maiden-like Xenophon, resembles him in moral feeling, but neither in profundity nor in fulness of thought.

Xenophon, the son of Gryllus, and pupil of Socrates, had attracted the attention of the philosopher by his personal appearance. Once when he met Socrates in a narrow street, he was stopped by the latter, who asked him where he could buy several useful articles. When Socrates had received an answer, he further inquired where excellent men were formed. The youth, not knowing how to answer this question, hesitated, when Socrates said, 'Then come with me, and learn ;' and from that time he became one of his hearers. How he adhered to the Socratic doctrine, and how he apprehended it, what that doctrine taught respecting the gods, the duties of man in general, and of the citizen in his particular relations, may be learned from his *Memorabilia*, which are to be regarded as an apology for his excellent and misunderstood instructor, wrung from his very heart. According to some he went with his teacher to the war, and in the battle of Delium in Bœotia was saved as he fell from his horse by Socrates, who carried him several *stadia*, till he was out of the enemy's reach. When the younger Cyrus prepared to make war against his brother, Proxenus, who was a Bœotian and a pupil of Gorgias, resided at Sardes. As he knew and loved Xenophon, and thought him worthy of becoming the friend of Cyrus, he wrote to him inviting him to Sardes. Xenophon showed the letter to Socrates, and asked his advice, but was referred by him to the



oracle at Delphi. As the oracle seemed to approve of his project, he accompanied the army as a volunteer, and after the death of Cyrus, when his generals had been perfidiously murdered by the Persian king, guided it, though constantly pursued by the enemy, through the wildest peoples, from the interior of the Persian monarchy back to the coast of Asia, inhabited by Greeks. There he resigned to Agesilaus, who was his friend, the greater part of the army, and accompanied the Spartan king in several of his expeditions. His fellow-citizens banished him, because he showed himself hostile to Artaxerxes, whose favour the Athenians sought, whereupon he betook himself to Scyllus in Elis, where he settled, and with his sons Gryllus and Diodorus, who were called the Dioscuri, occupied himself with agriculture, hunting, and writing. However, in a war that broke out between Sparta and Elis, the whole district was ravaged, and Xenophon fled to Corinth. When the Athenians had resolved to assist the Spartans during the war of the Thebans against Sparta, he also sent his sons to the war. Gryllus fought with great valour among the cavalry, and was slain at the battle of Mantinea, having first, according to some, killed Epaminondas. When the messenger arrived with the news of the death of Gryllus, they found Xenophon occupied in offering sacrifice to the gods. When he heard that his son had fallen, he took from his head the wreath commonly worn on such occasions. When, however, he was further informed that his son had died as a man of valour, he replaced the wreath, and, without shedding a tear, said, 'I knew that I had given life to a mortal.' He himself died at Corinth at an advanced age, leaving behind him the fame of a pious and excellent man.

The qualities which are most conspicuous in the life of Xenophon, that religious feeling which everywhere recognises the hand of a higher power, his moral sensibility, his clear intellect, his circumspection,

the quiet moderation and equipoise of all his moral faculties, are also remarkable in his works, and spread over them a magic veil of gracefulness, which has earned for him the title of the Attic muse. A jealous regard for truth was part of his moral character, although the predilection for Spartan discipline, imbibed in the school of Socrates, and strengthened by his own circumstances, may sometimes have misled his judgment. Generally, however, his mind was less formed by its own internal power than by the intercourse of life. He particularly admired the military system that he saw developed in the army of Agesilaus, and hence the description of that *beau idéal* of a general which he had derived from Socrates, and found embodied in Agesilaus, became the central point of all his histories.

That one of his historical works, in which his glory shines most brightly forth, is also technically the most perfect. The history of the campaign against Persia, the *Anabasis*, is a rich picture of various and highly interesting incidents in distant regions and among different sorts of people. Hence the description of great events, of the manners of nations, rude and polished, of great dangers and happy escapes, follow each other in uninterrupted succession. Moreover, the style (*Vortrag*), in this work is more animated than in any of the rest, though here, as elsewhere, it is quiet, unpretending, and clear, fascinating, not by any ornament of detail, but by the moral grace which is diffused over the whole. The same qualities also adorn the *Cyropædia*, a work which sets forth not a real history of the founder of the Persian monarchy, but the ideal of a monarch, according to the Greek notions. The fact that many moderns have not understood this, and have fancied that the book contains a veritable history, may be considered as greatly contributing to the glory of the author; for the sole origin of the error was that unpretending *naïveté* in which there is nothing to remind the reader of artistical purpose. Everything,

on the contrary, seems to take place of its own accord, like a natural product. The work is also full of the most charming variety, and of dramatic life, that here, as in the other works of Xenophon, develops itself in amusing and instructive dialogues.

Great as is the difference of the three heroes of Greek history in kind and in purpose, they all equally bear the characteristic stamp of the Greek mind: the truly plastic sense, the retirement of the narrating individual behind the subject narrated, and the affectionate self-abandonment to that subject. From the absence of all attempt on the part of the historian to appear in his own person, even when he tells his own story, arises that beautiful tranquillity of manner by which the works of Greek art act like nature itself, delighting the heart by their mere calm existence. An example of this is afforded by the description in the *Anabasis* of the murder of the Greek generals, where all means of tricking out this shocking event—so important in its consequences—are slighted, and the effect to be produced on the sensitive mind is left to the bare narrative of what has passed. For in these simple words is it related :

‘When the generals and logarchs had arrived at the head-quarters of Tissaphernes, the generals, namely Proxenus the Bœotian, Meno the Thessalian, Agias the Arcadian, Clearchus the Spartan, and Socrates the Achæan, were summoned to the tent, while the logarchs remained outside. Soon afterwards, on a signal being given, the generals were seized, and the logarchs without were slaughtered. When this was done, some of the Persian cavalry dispersed themselves over the plain, and slew all the Greeks whom they found, whether freemen or slaves. While the Greeks wondered at this incursion, which they witnessed from their camp, and were doubtful what they should do, Nicarchus the Arcadian, who fled with a wound in his belly, came to them, sustaining his entrails with his hands, and related all that had occurred. At this

the Greeks, in terror, all rushed to arms, thinking that the enemy would attack the camp at once. However, no one came but Ariæus, Artaozus, and Mithridates, once the most trusty friends of Cyrus, \* \* \* \* accompanied by about three hundred armed Persians. When these approached they summoned every Greek general or logarch who might be there to appear before them, saying, that they bore a message from the king. Upon this, after precautionary measures had been taken, the generals Cleanor and Sophænetus came forward. Xenophon the Athenian accompanied them, that he might learn the fate of Proxenus. When they were sufficiently near to hear each other, Ariæus said :—‘Clearchus, the Greek, has suffered punishment for his perjury and breach of treaty, and has been put to death, but Proxenus and Meno, who revealed his treason, are highly esteemed by us. The king now requires you to give up your arms, because, he says, they belong to him, having once been the property of his slave Cyrus.’ To this Cleanor of Orchomenus replied in the name of the Greeks. ‘Oh! basest of men, Ariæus, and ye others, who were friends of Cyrus, are ye not ashamed before gods and men, that, after you have sworn to have the same friends and foes as ourselves, you are now in alliance with Tissaphernes, the most godless and deceitful of men, have put to death those to whom you swore fidelity, and now come with the enemy to betray us also?’ Ariæus replied that Clearchus was convicted of having first acted faithlessly towards Tissaphernes and Orontes, and all who were with them. To these words Xenophon answered, ‘We grant that Clearchus, if, contrary to his oaths, he has broken the treaty, has met his deserts—for perjury is justly punished with death, but send hither Proxenus and Meno, since they are your benefactors and our generals, for it is evident that as they are friends to us both, they will endeavour to give us both good counsel.’ Upon this the Barbarians deliberated with one another for a long time, and then retired without reply.

So far proceeds Xenophon in his own words. He next goes on to describe the characters of the murdered generals, and then proceeds, with equal calmness and simplicity, to describe the state of the bereft army in these words :—

‘ After the generals had been taken, and the logarchs and soldiers who followed them were slain, the Greeks were in great perplexity, reflecting that they were near the king’s court, and were surrounded by hostile peoples and towns, where they could not hope to obtain sustenance,—that they were more than ten thousand stadia distant from Greece, without guides, and cut off from their return homewards by impassable rivers. Moreover, they were betrayed by the Barbarians who had accompanied them under Cyrus, and were left alone, without any cavalry whatever, so that it was manifest that in the event of victory they could not slay a single fugitive, and that in case of a defeat they would be utterly destroyed. Reflecting on their situation, and being thoroughly disheartened, only a few of them took any food that evening ; a few lit their fires, but many did not take up arms that night. Each of them rested just where he happened to be ; since they were not able to sleep for grief, and their longing for their country, their parents, their wives, and their children, whom they never hoped to see again. In this mood they passed the night.’

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That peculiar tendency of the old Hellenic world to social intercourse, which is a fundamental characteristic of its humanity, and the publicity of life, government, and politics, which was its natural consequence, soon gave rise to eloquence, which was much more a result of those peculiarities, than—as is commonly supposed—of a democratic constitution. However, as, on the one hand, eloquence greatly contributed to endow the Greek administration of affairs with a higher and more poetical character than could



ever have been attained by the government of a modern state, so, on the other hand, did the peculiar nature of the constitution lend its aid in making it a more perfect art than in any other country. As poetry sprang from the bosom of freedom in the lustre of public life, so was it also with eloquence, which oscillates between poetry and philosophy, and requires those wings of enthusiasm that can only grow through the sympathy of a susceptible audience. The audience of the Greek orators were susceptible, not only by their temperament, but likewise—and still more so—by their circumstances. The orator discoursed to them on subjects which were of the highest importance to every one of them, and awakened the activity of each individual in all its force, whether he confirmed him in his own opinion, or contradicted it. Inclination and aversion here vied with each other. The highest objects—the country's weal, the glory of the nation and the individual—kindled the noblest emulation; and in the best times the orator was only the organ of patriotism and justice. His words overflowed the thousand hearts which they had entered, and their force increased by propagation. Effects that flowed from such a source could not be of an ordinary kind; but what was in itself noble was further ennobled by enthusiasm. Thus it is obvious that eloquence not only belongs of necessity to the grand style of the ancient form of government, but also served to exalt and develop it.

Eloquence, which even in the Homeric world was inseparably connected with all public transactions, could not attain its highest perfection till the Hellenic nation had reached its manhood. Until a prose was formed, and that which seemed altogether unrestricted began to accept a law of art, the art of discourse (*Redekunst*) could not arise. For although the poetical is one of the chief elements of eloquence, an oration should, nevertheless, be discourse and not poetry, and, at the same time, something more than ordinary dis-

course, while subjected, nevertheless, to a rhythmical law, which manifests the poetical life that is the pulse of the whole. He only deserves the name of an orator, who, while he aims at conviction, nevertheless treats his subject with apparent freedom; who can reconcile understanding with imagination; who strives after beauty without lessening the force of argument, and seeks truth without the sacrifice of grace; who convinces while he pleases; who combines dignity with grace, profundity with popularity, abundant thought with copious language. Such an union of qualities—every one of which is in itself great and glorious—can be expected from an individual only when he has attained the full strength of his manhood—from a nation only when it has attained the age of its highest perfection.

While, therefore, in the earlier times eloquence was a growth of nature, and every one merely followed his own internal impulse, without any consciousness of a special art, there arose shortly before the time of Socrates, the art of rhetoric, which, at first only one-sided and defective, occupied itself sometimes with words, sometimes with the structure of periods, sometimes with isolated technical rules. The Sophists, who wished to be both philosophers and rhetoricians, taught the art of discoursing at pleasure on any subject, of proving and disproving any proposition, of playing therefore with truth, and convincing their audience by deceptive means. As by this method they cultivated only one element of eloquence, and did away with enthusiasm, which could not possibly exist where truth was regarded as a mere empty name, the lustre which they had acquired for a short time was at once dissipated when tested by the ægis of truth. Nevertheless, it was they who gave the first impulse to rhetorical art. Attention to the technical part of eloquence was excited; people learned that there was such a thing as a method for the formation of style, and thus art, having been once awakened, and

being supported by the elevated and ennobled taste of the nation, rapidly advanced to its highest goal. In that age of manhood, when all the elements of intellectual life were astir in Attica, when the rapid exaltation of Athens, the lustre of her glory, the extent of her political power, the increase of her commerce, spurred every individual to the most varied activity, and the thought of their country's majesty moved the hearts of all ; in that age, the greatest statesmen were also the greatest orators ; for the same enthusiasm that carried them to the helm of the state was also the source of a lofty eloquence. Hence, Themistocles, Cimon, Pericles, Alcibiades, are named among the most eminent orators, and distinguished men, whose works are the models for future ages, rapidly succeeded each other in every department of eloquence. Judicial eloquence found its model in the speeches of a Lycias, an Antiphon, an Andocides ; panegyric eloquence in Isocrates ; political eloquence in Demosthenes, who also shone in the judicial kind with equal power and with all the highest gifts of a perfect orator. If ever there was an instance of the highest eloquence proceeding from enthusiasm, and of enthusiasm proceeding from the lively apprehension of an ideal, such an instance is to be found in the political orations of Demosthenes, who, in his already degenerate time, was at once fired by the contemplation of prevailing weakness, by a retrospective glance at the glorious days of old, and by the hopes of once more recalling a better time. His whole soul was penetrated with the ideal of patriotism. The ancient lustre of Athens and the virtues of the victors at Marathon and Salamis ever disquieted his melancholy mind, and all his life and all his faculties were devoted to an endeavour to bring about a better time, more worthy of the Athenian name. In all his transactions we behold him inspired with these views ;—these are the views that animate him in his spirited attacks upon the Macedonian king. It is true that he miscalculated the

relative strength of his country and of the enemy, but in that which was intrinsically great and noble he was not deceived. And this strong feeling for the really noble that pervades every part of his orations, that earnest ideal of patriotism that scorns all association with flattery and hypocrisy, but is everywhere marked by an absence of pretension that accords with its dignity—this it is that gives the speeches of Demosthenes that overwhelming force which has made them an object of admiration for all ages. They form the last constellation that shines in the free sky of Hellas, and as, during the statesmanship of Demosthenes, Greek freedom found its grave in the battle of Chæronea, so also did the spirit of lofty eloquence die with him. When the force of Macedonia pressed harder and harder on the neck of Greece, and, in spite of the show of democratic forms, the will of Macedonia alone swayed the popular assemblies, the source of patriotism was dried up, and with it that living enthusiasm which alone gives birth to eloquence. The art, however, was still kept up, and all the schools resounded with the highly-wrought orations of declaiming youths, who ever repeated the forms and phrases of the ancient models, and ever adorned with new colours that corpse of eloquence from which soul and life had departed. Thus there was a gradual retrograde movement to that sophistry which, empty in substance while rich in words, coldly played with glittering expressions and antitheses, and presented all that could dazzle the eye—nothing that could quicken, elevate, and inspire the soul.

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Before we leave this period of Greek culture, philosophy claims our attention. For philosophy, although it has its origin in the earliest awakening of man within himself, first attained its perfect bloom in Attica, where it assumed so new a form, that it regarded Athens as its true mother country.

The oldest philosophy of the Greeks was contained in their religion, and displayed itself in poetical forms. All reflections on the origin and duration of things, on the gods and the divine powers, passed through the medium of fancy, where the abstract thought clothed itself in a sensuous veil. Thus the oldest philosophy of Orpheus, Musæus, Linus, and others was thoroughly religious, but this religion was thoroughly poetical.

As the simple life of the Greeks became more and more varied in its forms, and the individual was variously excited by the complication and change of circumstances, his attention was diverted from the world in its entirety to its single phenomena, and man himself, with the immediate relations in which he lived, became the object of contemplation. Philosophy took a moral and political tendency, which first displayed itself in the age of the Seven Wise Men, whose wisdom was more practical than speculative. But after the need of philosophy had once been felt, it soon diffused itself over the whole sphere of human knowledge, and the Ionian philosophers, at the head of whom was Thales, united an investigation into the origin and principle of all things, with a contemplation of the moral nature of man, and its relation to the divine.

No less comprehensively, but with more profundity, did the school of Pythagoras inquire into the most recondite sources of the world's existence, without losing sight of practical life, which they even ennobled by the introduction of philosophy. The reverential affection of the disciples of this school has adorned the life of its founder with many traditions, which, against the intention of the inventors, gave an appearance of imposture and vanity to him whom they were designed to adorn with dignity and lustre. Born at Samos, nearly six hundred years before the Christian era, Pythagoras sought the sources of wisdom in Phœnicia and Egypt, where, by command of king Amasis, he was



initiated into the mysteries of the priests. After his return he found Samos—then under the rule of Polycrates—unfit for the pursuit of his studies, and like many other Greeks who had been expelled from their homes, directed his course to Magna Græcia, where several independent states offered a hospitable reception to the stranger. His chosen place of residence was Croton, the flourishing neighbour of Sybaris, where the beauty and dignity of his form, and his copious eloquence, gained him friends and admirers. A mighty and strange enthusiasm took possession of the inhabitants of the luxurious city. The women who heard his admonitions cast aside their ornaments; the men left their mistresses; and the youths crowded to his school, where, after passing through certain appointed grades, they were thoroughly initiated into the mysteries of the new doctrine. Much here seemed to have been borrowed from the sacerdotal institutions of Egypt; as, for instance, the diet, the purification of the body, the linen-clothing, and various exercises, the object of which was moral culture and a habit of abstinence and self-control. For the school opened by Pythagoras was a school not only of doctrine but of life; what was taught was also practised; and the most intelligent were also required to be the most virtuous. The whole division of time was adapted to this formation of life. When they woke in the morning, the disciples of the Pythagorean school sought lonely places in the groves and temples to collect their thoughts, to take a retrospective review of the day just past, and to prepare themselves for the occupations of the day now commencing. With the tones of the lyre they dispersed the mists of sleep, and sought to give their minds an harmonic tone that, throughout the day, would render more easy the performance of their duties. After this internal contemplation, the disciples met together to devote the calmest hours of the day to the repetition or elucidation of what they had learned. Next followed bodily exercises, which

usually lasted till dinner-time. Their meal was moderate, without wine or animal food. The rest of the day was devoted to business, to the instructions of the teacher, and to mutual discourse, and closed with a cold bath and a supper, that was taken in a common dining-room, and always ended before sun-set. The meal was followed by discourses and conversations on philosophical subjects; and friends never separated without having the most important duties of life and the rules of the order impressed anew on their memory. Thus the school of the master was a school of temperance and self-control, of calmness and equanimity; and as Pythagoras was himself a pattern of mildness and dignity, so did he exercise his pupils in those virtues by his teaching and his example. When the storm of passion arose within them, he ordered them to seek some lonely place, and to say and do nothing till the internal tempest had abated. It does not seem to be true that the members of the league consigned to it all their property, and lived in a complete community of goods, but certainly of their own free will all was common among them. Sacred friendships were concluded under the auspices of this union, of which a Damon and Phintias\* are perhaps not the only virtuous examples.

The order which had sprung up at Croton, under the eyes of Pythagoras, spread itself through the other cities of Magna Græcia, and had a beneficial effect in improving legislation and forming morals. The introduction everywhere of a wise and virtuous aristocracy seems to have been the aim of the league, though a doubt may be raised whether it always proceeded with wise moderation. Pythagoras himself saw his work destroyed. Some men of Croton, it is said, indignant at being refused admittance into the league, charged him with criminal designs, declared the associates enemies of the state, and ridiculed their fellow-citizens for allowing themselves to be ruled by a

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\* This name seems to be better authenticated than the more common 'Pythias.'—J. O.

few individuals. On one occasion, therefore, when these were assembled in consultation at the house of Milo, they were attacked by Cylo's mob, the house was set on fire, and most of them were slaughtered. Pythagoras himself escaped; but when he sought a refuge at Locri, a reception was refused, and delegates were sent to him with the message, that the citizens of Locri considered him a great and wise man, but that they were satisfied with their own constitution, and would live in conformity with their own laws. The same thing occurred in other cities, until at last he came to Metapontus, where, it is said, he ended his life. The insurrection raised at Croton spread through other parts of Magna Græcia. Many most excellent men fell a sacrifice to jealousy and popular dislike, and only a few remains of the league assembled at Rhegium, where they remained faithful to their mode of life. But, although the tree was hewn down, the fruits which it had borne were not lost, and even later times produced men who, inspired by the wisdom of Pythagoras, flourished as models of virtue and wise rulers of states.

The philosophy of Pythagoras, like the history of his life, has come down to us only in fragments, and much has been confused, distorted, and misinterpreted by the course of time. But even in these fragments we cannot fail to recognise a deep and sublime meaning. The world, a work of the divine intellect, animated and peopled with gods, enclosed, as he believed, the earth like a sphere, and in its centre glowed the vivifying fire that streamed through the universe. According to him, the stars were emanations of ethereal fire, inhabited by gods, who likewise dwelled in the elements and in the (Kräfte) powers of bodies. And as the soul is a spark of the divine ether, so is it immortal and imperishable, as well as the souls of animals, and migrates from one body into another. The perfection of man and his virtue consists, like the perfection of the universe, in harmony. For a great and wondrous harmony penetrates the world; and while the spheres roll along at musical intervals, they echo and form the purest

concords, which are the delight of the gods, but are imperceptible to the dull ears of mortals.

The Ionian philosophy, the professors of which, absorbed in the contemplation of nature, principally sought the origin of things, and the Pythagorean, or Italian, which had a thoroughly ideal basis, were combined in Attica, where philosophy, through Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, reached the highest point attainable in the ancient world. Before these the Sophists had endeavoured to work their way by the deceptive arts of a copious eloquence, external magnificence, and a dazzling variety of knowledge. Their principle was to *seem*, and to draw advantage from the illusion. Gorgias of Leontium, Protagoras, and Hippias filled Greece with their fame, and assembled around them hosts of pupils, whom they promised to render happy men, great orators, and wise politicians. They wandered about Greece to hold pompous discourses, and some of them challenged their hearers to propose subjects on which they might speak *ex tempore*. Indifferent about truth and justice, and owning no duty but expediency, they proclaimed that religion was superstition, that virtue was simple folly, and that justice was an arbitrary limitation of human freedom that had its origin not in the nature of man, but in the rules of civil society and in state-institutions. Thus they would have produced no other result than the corruption of mankind, if the audacity with which they displayed their religious and moral atheism had not awakened in every better heart the pure feeling for truth and virtue with greater liveliness than ever, and challenged it to combat their specious wisdom.

This contest was begun and sustained by Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, and the midwife Phænarete, who, though intended to follow his father's art, soon renounced every calling to follow the vocation which he felt in his inmost soul. A philosopher more by character than by profession, and dissatisfied with the doctrines of the older schools, he resolved to devote his

whole life to the Deity, and to reconcile what had been especially severed by Sophistic art—life and teaching. Thus he was, for his age, what Pythagoras was for an earlier time, although in another manner, and in a democratic style. The outward appearance of his life, like that of his doctrines, was without lustre, almost vulgar; but on that very account, through its contrast with the empty pomp of the Sophists, of which it seemed an ironical parody, it was attractive to those who by long intercourse had learned to know the profundity of his mind and his moral excellence. The enthusiasm with which he inspired his friends, the influence of his teaching, which gradually increased through the ages immediately succeeding his own, doubtless arose from the perfect and rare harmony of his character, in which every faculty had its proper measure, and in which, by a lively enthusiasm for all that was great and beautiful, knowledge and will seemed blended into an inseparable whole. Led by his natural calling to the path of wisdom, where he hoped to find satisfaction for his several wants, he set up man as the central object of all philosophical endeavours, and self-knowledge as the principle of virtue. This virtue, which is the harmony of the inner man, and is at the same time wisdom and beauty, should be the goal of every human effort. Being the first to follow this principle, he became himself a pattern of a higher humanity, and, by his example and his teaching, led his disciples to the same goal. In delivering his doctrines he showed dexterity and confidence: always perfectly adapting himself to the character and mind of his hearers, he was full of irony towards those who fancied themselves wise, full of enthusiasm with the sympathetic. Always lively, never presumptuous, he ever maintained his circumspection and repose, and animated his discourse by graceful wit and delicate pleasantry. Hence what Alcibiades, in Plato, says of the person of Socrates, that it was like those satyric images that conceal figures of the Graces inside, may



also be predicated of his mode of expression and style of communication. Its form was often homely and vulgar, but that form is overcome and ennobled by the fine genial life that plays within.

As the particular mode of his instruction consisted not in the connected delivery of definite doctrines, but in the excitement of self-activity in his hearers, and were intended not to reveal anything new, but merely to awaken what was slumbering in the bosom of all—whence he called his art an intellectual midwifery, which, to a certain extent, was like his mother's trade,—so, the results of his philosophy, notwithstanding their internal consonance, assumed a most varied aspect, and his different scholars understood them in the most various ways. Thus from this one source issued a number of sects, all of which desired to be called Socratic, but which, by sharing among them the whole heritage of his philosophy, destroyed the internal harmony which Socrates had endeavoured to attain, as true wisdom. Whereas Socrates had combined the highest perfection of knowledge with the most perfect action, in the one idea of virtue in which alone was manifested the highest truth and beauty, the Socratic sectarians severed these to trace out, some the first sources of knowledge, others the first sources of moral action.

In uniting anew what had been thus separated, and in reconciling the examining, dissecting, and exploring intellect with the exigencies of a soul that strove after entirety, that man succeeded who had most perfectly apprehended the spirit of his teacher's wisdom, and was armed with all the talents of a profound thinker and a genial poet. Plato perfected the Socratic, and consequently the Attic philosophy. Born of noble parents, and instructed by the best teachers in all branches of knowledge, he first applied himself with ardour to poetry, in which he made various attempts. But when, in his twentieth year, he made the acquaintance of Socrates, he discovered his own peculiar

element. From this time he never abandoned philosophy; but even after the death of his teacher sought to enlarge his knowledge by visiting Archytas the Pythagorean at Tarentum, and Egypt, which was then looked upon by the Greeks as the cradle of wisdom and the more profound sciences. He then taught at Athens, in the groves and halls of the Academy, and more than once at the court of the two Dionysii, to which he was allured by the friendship of Dion, not without peril to his liberty and life. He died on his eighty-first birth-day, surrounded by his disciples and friends.

His numerous dialogues, in which Socrates is always the chief person, have brought the doctrine and spirit of this excellent man down even to our own times, and have awakened anew, more than any other philosophical work, the spirit of true philosophy. However, it is not merely the wealth of ideas that they contain which has produced this effect, but this has been assisted by the genial and poetical form of the dialogue, the lively style of the speakers, the high inspiration that is diffused throughout, the abundance of graceful pleasantry that is scattered over the whole, and, lastly, the perfection of Attic language which appears in every tone and turn. Indeed this form was alone suited to his philosophical purposes. Convinced that all thinking was self-activity, and that living oral instruction would alone produce this result, while with written instruction it always, as he thought, remains uncertain how much the reader really appropriates to himself, and how much he merely assumes, he necessarily made his written as similar as possible to oral instruction, and sought, by the force of conversation, to produce an effect like that of the lively intercourse of preceptor and pupil. For this purpose the dialogue form was alone appropriate, and the Platonic dialogue was endued with an excellence not to be surpassed. No philosopher has like him possessed the art of arousing the peculiar activity of

the thinking faculty, and of checking the vain fancy that we know what we do not know. Many have remarked that the Platonic dialogues often leave the zealous investigator of truth unsatisfied, that the definite result of the inquiry is not to be found, and that frequently, when we think we have reached the goal, we are cast upon the sea of uncertainty. Nay, it is a very common opinion that Plato, not having arrived at any result with his own inquiries, merely played with dialectic art, and designedly filled the whole region of philosophy with uncertainty and illusion. Such a deliberate deception would certainly have been unworthy of the great man. But it is quite worthy of his purer endeavour for the extension of philosophic knowledge, to suppose that he leaves his reader under the decided impression that he has not found what he expected, in order to incite his mind to an activity of its own, if it is thirsting for truth and knowledge. On this account, the result of the investigation is often withheld, but the necessity is produced of seeking for it one's self, and the path is opened by which it can be found. The former is effected by the clearness with which the position of *not knowing* is made evident—the latter by the bringing forward (often with apparent want of design) of those elements which are necessary for the solution of the problem.

The inspired Plato, whose peculiar element is heaven and the eternal, whence he merely descends to the finite and the earthly, found his opposite in his pupil Aristotle, the tutor of Alexander the Great, whose whole philosophy and writings rather reflect the following period into which he passed than the free republican life of that preceding period when philosophy arose in the bosom of the state and the people. As the government of the influential states retired more and more from the light of publicity into the shade of the royal palace, so also did philosophy become a subject for learned, that is, private communication. It retired from actual life into the study, and thus lost not only its popularity,

but also that tone of enthusiasm which was excited by public communication. Thus the philosophy of Aristotle was distinguished from that of its preceptor less by its results than by the manner in which it arrived at those results, and by the dry, severe, and sober style which it adopted. Admirable, however, is Aristotle's honest striving after truth, the immeasurable compass of his knowledge, the power of intellect with which he produces light and order in every department of science, his logical vigour, and the acuteness with which he detects and dissects the last fibres of human knowledge. His influence, as well as that of Plato, has been wide and great; and while Plato has gained for his school the more poetical and sentimental thinkers, those in whom, as in their master, acuteness, intellect, logical consistency, method, and order were the preponderating qualities, have been ranged on the side of Aristotle.

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Thus does the most learned of all philosophers bring us to that age of learning with which the Greek cycle of literary culture is brought to its conclusion.

When, by the overwhelming force of the Macedonian kings, the ancient strength of the republics was destroyed; when, in the rapid changes of party, the hereditary constitutions and many of the virtues connected with them were dissolved; when, by the dying out of the individual will, the peculiar fresh and joyous life of old times receded more and more from the boundaries of Greece, the productive and creative force of genius seemed also to die out with the extinction of that strength which was requisite for the maintenance of those inestimable treasures. This age seemed only fitted for a collecting, comparing, and examining erudition, for that which needed no incitement from without, and sought rather to dissect life than to produce it. The previous activity of mind was transformed into contemplation, and as the

harvest of the present would not satisfy, recourse was had to the produce of the past. This change of mind, and in the mode of intellectual exertion, could with no people be more apparent than with the Greeks, with whom art, in all its departments, had sprung from actual life, by which it had also been matured. When, therefore, the moral dignity of the people, which was reflected in the æsthetical perfection of their works, was lost, the fulness and splendour of all the existing models was insufficient to maintain art at that ideal elevation to which it had been raised by the wonderful greatness and majesty of actual life. All that could be effected by study was the maintenance of the pure form. Then, however, arose this result, inevitable under the circumstances, that matter and form, which had hitherto been united in inseparable concord, were severed, and that uninspired works were produced, which sought to please by mere correctness of form, and a classical perfection of expression.

At this time Egypt arose, as it were, out of her ruins. This land, which had long been admired as the cradle of ancient secret wisdom and holy revelations, but which, for ages, had been petrified to a dead tradition and an empty form, acquired under the sceptre of Macedonian rulers a rapid increase of national wealth and apparent strength. An activity, of which it had long been destitute, caused a sudden change in all directions, and produced a show of life that was, however, more superficial than internal. Alexandria, situated at the mouth of the Nile, and, as it were, at the gates of the eastern and western world, became the focus of a rich and profitable trade, which was carried on, down to the fifteenth century, in the canals cut by Alexander. Here, amid the tumult of active life, and on the exchange of three quarters of the globe, the commercial spirit of the Greeks found a new field for its energies, and here also, learning, which wandered about Hellas in an orphan and destitute condition, found a secure haven.

It was doubtless the intention of the first Ptolemies



to raise on the banks of the Nile a second Athens, even more beautiful than the first, and whatever could be done, in conformity with this intention, towards the promotion of culture by external means, was here done most liberally. But nothing that was matured in this forcing-house of literature and art was more than a faint reflex of that bright light which had shone over the regions of Hellas. The activity which actuated the Egyptian and Jewish traders of Alexandria was of a very different kind from that which conducted the citizens of the Greek cities to the bema of the orator, the hill of the philosopher, the Palæstra, or the theatre. The public use of art was at an end, whence it left the free path of genial originality, confining itself to the applause of individuals and the fame of correct and successful imitation. What happens generally, as soon as genius recedes from art, and an immoderate admiration of external form takes the place of real truth, happened here also. Polish of language, carefulness in the construction of verse, an artificial disposition of words, borrowed, but tastefully arranged ornaments,—these were the objects to which the efforts of the Ptolemaic age were chiefly directed.

Another peculiarity of the time, kindred to this excessive artificiality, was that effort after the strange and unusual, which necessarily arose in a wealthy city, that always hankered after some new excitement, from the rivalry of versifiers, who lived close to each other, and were rather men of learning than genuine poets. This peculiarity will account for many sins against taste in this age, as well as for that habit of playing with forms such as we find in those poets, who, by an artificial combination of long and short lines, produced shapes of eggs, altars, wings, and so forth.

An immoderate respect for erudition, even of that which consists only in unfruitful knowledge, is a further characteristic of the age. In the best epochs, polyhistory was not the aim; but now the opening of

a new world, with its unbounded treasures and curiosities, had excited the desire for knowledge in a manner previously unknown, and at Alexandria the tendency towards multiplicity of learning was increased by the wealth of the library and the museum, which is the first instance of an academy of the sciences. Hence, this age became the parent of grammatical learning in its widest extent, and this new study, which was generally diffused, had a particular effect upon poetry, which now took a completely novel direction. Not content with the treasures of language that lay immediately at hand, the *litterati*, that they might turn their learning to more account, sought to enrich themselves with the expressions and forms of the earliest ages and of the most unpolished dialects, and, from a similar motive, materials were raked together from all departments of learning, to produce an appearance of novelty. From this endeavour have resulted such works as the *Cassandra* of Lycophron, in which the daughter of Priam sets forth the whole history of Troy in an oracular speech, obscure in purpose and enigmatical in expression. The oldest and most recondite legends were generally preferred by the Alexandrian poets, and with these they combined the old mythological theories of the earth; so that we are tempted to think that the same industry which once piled up pyramids and fashioned obelisks in these regions, now inspired the learned to bring together what was most strange and unfamiliar, from sources nearly dried up. Thus Apollonius of Rhodes drew from the treasury of ancient tradition the story of the Argonauts, where the quantity of strange incidents offered scope for the display of a varied erudition. But while the labour of the poet was employed in collecting, sifting, and arranging materials taken from his numerous predecessors, the fire of imagination was extinguished amid his toils, and his work stands as a monument of laboured smoothness and as a masterpiece of language, but not as the product of a really creative

mind. Armed with a still greater knowledge of fabulous antiquity, Callimachus of Cyrene collected in various profoundly learned poems, subjects that appeared consigned to oblivion. Others attempted scientific subjects, and the technical didactic poem, totally devoid of inspiration, and distinguished by art and talent alone, took the place of the philosophic. Thus Aratus, without any profound knowledge of astronomy, wrote a description of the starry heavens and the signs of the weather, and Nicomedes described the effects of poisons and their remedies. Others devoted their labours to geography. In all these works there are unmistakeable signs of cultivation and taste, but the poets just named, being satisfied with a correct mediocrity, were as far removed from the beauties as from the defects of great minds, and they seemed to dread a lofty flight, lest it might lead to a fall into the abyss.

Among all the poets of that age, none perhaps was more successful in the invention or renovation of a species of poetry, which at the same time corresponded to his peculiar tone of mind and the tendency of his age, or more happily combined grace with novelty, than Theocritus of Syracuse. It would be unjust to confound this excellent writer with the herd who wished to be called poets, while he alone was a poet to an eminent degree. He found the pastoral song in his own country, and in the neighbouring land of Italy, but the lively description of the shepherd's life was peculiar to himself. Doric poets had, indeed, before his time attempted with comic force to depict common life in single scenes and situations (for instance, Sophron was famed for his mimes, which, it is well known, were read with pleasure by Plato); but Theocritus seems first to have brought pastoral life within the precincts of mimic poetry. His intention was to be a mimic poet, and as such he must be judged, or an incorrect judgment will be formed, through a confusion of things wholly dissimilar. For the pastoral

of a modern time, which languidly seeks for what it has lost in the harmless innocence of an ideal Arcadia, is something widely different from the bucolic power of the ancients, which merely seeks to give a lively and forcible description of an actual state of things. Hence there is no doubt that, to over-delicate minds, the poetry of Theocritus appears rude, and scarcely comparable to that of Gessner, just as a mind of the same class would prefer the enamelled smoothness of a Van der Werfft to the rude strength of a Rembrandt. As in the old comedy, so also in the bucolics of Theocritus, there is much that is repulsive to modern taste, though it gave no offence whatever to the ancient world, which troubled itself little about decorum. On the contrary, the polite pastoral world in our bucolics would have been to the ancients like a frame enclosing nothing but a pale blue sky, before which flimsy shadows of human forms were here and there passing along, and a faint dream of spring was floating up and down like a mist.

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Almost all the poets of this age were, at the same time, grammarians, in the old sense of the word; that is to say, were learned in the language, and well versed in the whole compass of ancient literature. Indeed, this was the learning that was everywhere cultivated during the Alexandrian period. After people had ceased to produce anything new, they were forced to content themselves with reviving, arranging, and cleansing from the dust of ages the treasures of antiquity, and with the religious preservation of the form that enclosed the ancient spirit. A critical elaboration of ancient works became a necessary occupation, and with this, a careful investigation into the compass and laws of the language was intimately connected. Great labour was also devoted to the explanation of these works, and it is to this age that we are indebted for the best of those documents

which, with the relics of antiquity, have been wafted to the coast of the modern world.

Far less was the progress of other branches of learning, which, nevertheless, had been diffused in the age preceding, and were, apparently, favoured by the circumstances of the Ptolemaic epoch. History declined through a cause which should have elevated it,—the increased wealth of materials,—for among these the strange and wonderful was the only object of search. Moreover, in the completely altered form of the Greek world, a basis for true history in the grand style was no longer to be found. On the other hand, geography gained more and more by the opening of the east and the life given to commerce; the apparent boundaries of the earth were every day extended, and the interior of foreign lands, and the peculiarities of the remotest peoples, became more perfectly known. Thus, also, mathematics and astronomy progressed; the latter, indeed, only so far as it was subservient to astrology. For superstition was a prevalent disorder on the banks of the Nile, and this made itself felt in medicine, which was connected with magic, and in philosophy, which could not escape the influence of the religious mysticism of Egypt.

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Learning, which had found a home in Alexandria under the protection of the first Ptolemies, spread from this point to other parts of the world, when the madness and tyranny of the later kings of Egypt would hardly allow it a scanty subsistence. The extension of commerce and of political relations took the Greek language to all parts of the earth, and, with these, new stores of knowledge flowed to barbarous nations. Thus Hellas, though degenerate, still remained the fountain-head of science, and as she had formerly, by her Triptolemus, diffused the blessings of agriculture among mankind, so was it from her that the blessing of a higher culture was now conveyed to



uncultivated races. Even as a star that has been extinguished for ages still sends its mild beams to the earth, so did the rays of the extinct Hellas still shine with undiminished force in the horizon of the ancient world.

This diffusion of Greek learning became more apparent than ever under the influence of the Roman power. The conquerors, who had been merely trained in war and politics, found, while they sojourned with their legions in Asia and Hellas, an intellectual life, which, even though the nation was enfeebled, was still of a higher order than their own, a delicate classical feeling, and an amount of knowledge and skill, which seemed worthy of adoption. The Greeks had not yet lost everything; for their language, the reflex of their cultivation, still remained, and with this intellectual superiority they subdued their haughty conqueror, and ruled him with a moral force that lasted even longer and with greater lustre than the effect of the Roman arms. and the victory that seemed inseparably connected with the Roman name. In the fresh Roman heart a love for literature and art was awakened, and the cultivated Greeks, bereft of all other protection, now showed an affection for their Roman conquerors. The results of this combination could only be really beneficial to the learners, to whom it brought learning and cultivation; for to the teachers it merely brought external advantages, which often had to be earned by humiliations of every kind. A new inner life could not thus be gained for literature, but an external life was maintained by the support and protection of Roman patrons. Poetry did not blossom anew, for we cannot regard that as a blossom which was but a shadow and a reflex of the old living forms; and the same may be said of art in general. On the other hand, historical investigation gained in profundity, and more particularly in pragmatic sense, which, it seems, received an additional impulse from the contemplation of the political wisdom of the Romans. In this sense, Polybius, whom his

own and his people's misfortunes assisted in obtaining a knowledge of the Roman world, is still an excellent historian. And as Polybius wrote the history of Rome in its relation to Greece with especial regard to political wisdom and military science, so also did Dionysius of Halicarnassus write the earliest history of Rome for the consolation of his countrymen, to whom he intended to present the image of a perfect state, and thus to show the claims of this state to the possession and dominion of the world. With another view did Plutarch of Chæronea place the great men of Greece and Rome side by side, in parallel biographies, as if to inspire both nations with a wholesome admiration of each other. Everything was absorbed in the contemplation of the Roman world, and as all nations at last became subjects and citizens of Rome, so did the Muse of History become a Roman citizen likewise.

At last the power of the Hellenic mind expired in empty sophistry and pompous word-coining; that is to say, in the hollow form which alone survived the destruction of its better self. Greek rhetoricians went about the Roman world with grandiloquent discourses, which, rich in sounding words and affected ornaments, tickled the ear without touching the heart, and imitated the thunder of the ancient eloquence as the machinery of the stage imitates the thunder of nature. Nevertheless, so great even yet was the love of the multitude for the public employment of art, and so keen was its sense for refinement of expression, that, being bereft of all other intellectual enjoyment, it still listened with pleasure and even with eagerness to these wearisome discourses, and often rewarded the author with extravagant honours. Till the final expiration of Hellenic individuality, this feeling was never wholly extinct, and even on the coasts of Thrace, and on the shores of the Bosphorus, in the narrow and heartless world of the Byzantine court, there still existed, even to the latest times, a relic of that taste which had flourished under Cimon and Pericles at the foot of the Hymettus.

## GREEK ART.

HOW the mind and interior life of the Hellenic nation formed and developed itself in the political history and constitution of the people, and in all the departments of literature, with individual distinctions, it is true, but still in the same spirit, has been set forth in the preceding sections.

But the narrative of this development would be imperfect and defective without some mention of that plastic art, which may be regarded as the highest blossom of the Greek creative power. For, as in their poetry and eloquence, so also in the art of the Greeks—and in this even more plainly than in those—are we addressed by the beautiful abundance of a serene imagination, a depth of feeling, a refinement of taste, and a certainty of technical skill, which appeal to us from forms full of meaning and significance, and which, conceived in lofty minds, are fashioned with secure hands, and are less manufactured than created. Only once has art attained this summit, and as, on the altar of modern poetry and philosophy, the sacred fire was first re-kindled by the spark still preserved beneath the rubbish of ages, so also has modern art raised itself by the ancient, satisfied with the comparatively small renown of a not unsuccessful imitation, and in all branches, painting alone excepted, retiring with modest self-consciousness behind her old and venerable mistress.

Art, with the Greeks, as with all nations among whom it has been kindled, proceeded from religion. Now, as the religion of every people has formed itself according to the peculiar sense and feeling of that people, so also has art, when not borrowed from without, but freely invented, reflected the character

and spirit of a nation. Indeed, everywhere and at all times is manifested a religious desire to set up a visible sign of the Infinite, whom everyone acknowledges in his inner self, but whom one merely sees through the clouds of his own perplexity, another adorns with visible beauty, a third disfigures with significant symbolic attributes, until at last, in the purifying fire of the most perfect knowledge, the idea of the Infinite is freed from all the dross of mortality, and the mind recognises, in the bright flame, in the still clear light that burns within itself, the formless, unlimited Deity. Thus the benighted Negro is satisfied with an unhewn block as a symbol of a higher power, and even the Greek religion began at this lower stage, until, as people ennobled themselves, the forms of the gods were ennobled likewise, and a higher idea of the Divine took the shape of humanity. Here, as in everything else, the Greek followed the course of nature and of free development, and—while among other nations the conception was for the most part petrified in the form, inasmuch as (with the Egyptians and the Indians for instance) the symbolically significant was usually in the ascendant, and the mystical sense which was connected with certain forms, often the rudest, precluded every alteration and improvement,—the Greeks retained what was their own peculiarity, that is to say, the Idea was free, and passed through every grade, until, rising from the unformed (*ungestaltet*) through the medium of the highest beauty, it had attained a knowledge of the formless\* (*gestaltlos*). With the Egyptians, among whom the first seeds of art had been sown in times of a dim antiquity, it was soon fettered by a hieroglyphic system, which accustomed the mind to regard the meaning alone and not the form, and produced

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\* The distinction between 'ungestaltet' and 'gestaltlos' cannot be too strongly marked. The former is rude or unformed, and is below form; the latter is formless, as being superior to form.—J. O.\*

such immoderate efforts after the significant and the symbolic, that import rather than beauty was sought, not only in the forms of the gods, in the religious ceremonial, and in the vestments of the priests, but also in common utensils, and in whole edifices, as for instance, in the labyrinth, which was an astronomical symbol. Now, if once a certain form receives a sanctity from opinion, all elevation of it becomes impossible. Hence Egyptian art always remained at the lowest point, until, at last, the ancient religion was cast into the shade by the political superiority of a Hellenic dynasty, and allowed a mixture of Hellenism that was especially manifest in the beauty with which the forms of the old gods were now endowed. However, these images, fashioned by Greek hands, never had the honour of adorning an Egyptian temple—(for like all other nations of narrow mind and small susceptibility, the Egyptians, at all times, abhorred what was foreign);—they were merely used by the Greeks, who granted to the Egyptian gods a place by the side of their own, and thus set forth that fundamental principle of their humanity, to honour the holy in whatever form it might display itself.

Thus, while oriental art degraded the Idea of the Deity to a symbolical monster, pregnant with meaning, the Greeks, on the other hand, deified the divine part of man, and thus gave the human form the highest significance which it can attain as a veil and a covering of the immortal soul. With the Greeks, as with other nations, the worship of the Deity began with the adoration of stocks and stones; the stone only gradually assumed the general symbol of nature—namely, the mark of sexual distinction,—and was adorned with a head. Such figures did not represent Hermes alone—although they were generally named after him—but all the gods, who thus originally differed as little in form as in name. The indication of arms and feet in a statue was a new progress in art, but still the arms were kept close to the



body, and the feet were joined together and motionless, like those of mummies. The arms were first liberated. The warlike spirit of ancient times decorated the images of the gods with that which was the noblest ornament of man,—namely, with helmet, lance, and shield; and while the upper half of the figure thus gained an appearance of motion, the pious adorers of these palladia often fancied they could perceive actual life, threatening gestures, and an appropriate movement of the arms. At last Dædalus—whose name is given in common to the most ancient architects and sculptors, and who, according to tradition, was a contemporary of the Cretan Minos, who is said to have flourished three generations before the Trojan war,—freed the feet also of these armed figures, and supplied all that was wanting to a complete representation of life. Hence it was alleged that the figures made by Dædalus were endowed with a peculiar sort of life, and not only apparently but really moved. However, the ancient statues that were said to be by him, and his supposed pupils, Smilis of Ægina, and Endœus of Athens, were merely remarkable for their great antiquity, being, according to the judgment of Pausanias, destitute of every pleasing quality.

When this path had been taken, and, both through art and poetry, a belief in human forms endowed with strength and beauty, dignity and grace, and all those qualities that adorn the human shape, had been firmly established in every Greek mind, art did not remain stagnant, but approached, though with tardy steps, the epoch of its perfection. When commerce had produced wealth, art became a mediator between men and gods, and the pupils and successors of Dædalus adorned the temples with images and all kinds of votive offerings. In these latter especially, the ingenious industry of the artist vied with the piety of the believer. We read with astonishment how almost all the temples, particularly those honoured-

edifices at Delphi, Delos, and Olympia, were filled with sculptured thrones, shields, tripods, and vessels artistically elaborated, so that the history and progress of art could be traced in these, as the history of states and of individual families could be traced from examples and monuments. Respecting many of these monuments history is silent ; many are only referred to in brief hints, but the importance and wealth of many may be inferred from the complete description of a few which the ancients have bequeathed to us. Doubtless that famous chest of Cypselus, which was kept in the Heræum at Olympia as a monument of the marvellous escape of the house of the Cypselidæ, and represented, in relief and inlaid work, a series of scenes from the heroic myths, especially those relating to the family, was not the only work of its kind ; and the same may be said of the throne of Apollo at Amyclæ, which was made about Solon's time by Bathycles the Megarian, and comprehended, in forty-two compartments in relief, the whole known cycle of the fabulous history of the gods and the heroes.

Even in that earliest period of gradually progressive art which we must extend to the time of the Persian wars, the effort after the significant and the expressive prevailed. Enough proficiency had not yet been acquired to conquer with sufficient ease all the technicalities of art ; the proportions were often incorrect, the body was often too lean or too unwieldy, the drapery was stiff and monotonous. Nevertheless, the competition between cities and peoples, whose pride and joy was the decoration of their public life, kept up such an energy among the artists, that technical perfection, in the most difficult departments, was attained, even in this age. Several of the renowned and wealthy cities paid their tribute to art. Thus at Chios flourished a school of Dædalidæ, from which Bupalus and Athenis proceeded, who publicly exhibited the comically deformed figure of the poet Hipponax, but, lashed by the iambics of the poet, paid for their

temerity with their lives. Samos, flourishing with its trade and navigation, boasted of the invention of casting statues in metal, an art which, it is said, was first practised by Rhœcus and his son Theodorus, about the thirty-fifth Olympiad. Images embossed in metal had been known at an earlier period. However, when the art of casting was first discovered, whole figures were not cast at once, but the different parts were afterwards joined together, and sometimes the casting was performed in different places. This art was brought to a higher perfection at Ægina, whose ships, before the flourishing period of Athens, ruled the Ægean Sea, and the casters of that island boasted of a peculiar mixture of metal which rendered it more ductile, and gave it a finer colour. Before this, marble, which now took the place of wood, had been used in Crete and Chios, and at later times, it was exchanged for ivory, though only in smaller works.

When the gods of civilization and humanity, after the subjugation of Asia Minor by the Persians, who took several of the islands in the Archipelago, had been thrust further and further west, in search of a free soil; when, after the victories of the Eastern invaders, a pure flame arose from the soil of Athens, as if upon a vast altar of the Muses and the sciences; then also did a domain of art flourish with increased strength and beauty, both here and in other regions of ancient Hellas. Here the acquisitions of preceding ages were used, in every department of art as well as of literature, with judgment and fresh vigour, now that the requisite means for improvement were obtained by the influx of wealth, and the spirit of the nation was elevated by prosperity and glory. The early and zealous homage paid by the Greeks to art, was a result of that childlike feeling which was kept alive by their epic poetry. As this department of poetry is plastic throughout, and abounds in visible forms (*ist gestaltvoll*), so also is it with every product of the Greek mind, and it is no wonder that they

preferred to all others that plastic art which seemed to extend the sphere of a sensuous, beautiful, and significant world. Happily, the perfection of technical proficiency coincided with the moral perfection of the Hellenic race. The nation had rapidly attained the maturity of manhood, and, as in tragedy, it twined all the branches of the elder poetry into a single wreath, so in art did it combine technical perfection with characteristic significance and the highest degree of beauty. For this product of Greek genius, as well as for the rest, Athens was the central point. And as here the other arts were purified in the flame of a democratic spirit, and the highest style arose which can be formed by public life, so also, and even more than the rest, did plastic art, directed as it was to the state and the nation, acquire that great, earnest, and sublime character, on which is based its peculiarity and its superiority to the art of the moderns.

When, after the victories of Salamis and Plataea, the streams of wealth arising from the spoils of the vanquished and the rule which Athens exercised over her allies flowed into Attica, the first thought of the happy conquerors was the decoration of a city already crowned with glory. Athens rose from her ruins more beautiful than ever. Little, indeed, was expended at this time on the dwellings even of the wealthiest citizens; but the public places were enlarged, and adorned with long spacious halls, on which Cimon's friend, the imaginative Polygnotus of Thasos, represented the deeds of the Greeks in a series of pictures. What Cimon had begun was continued with still greater ardour by Pericles. As the pomp of the festivals was increased, and the people celebrated its own glory and its own majesty in the beautified offices of worship, the dwellings of the gods were beautified likewise, and Athens vied with the older works of her kindred in Asia. Then, at the foot of the Acropolis, arose the magnificent Propylæa, the building of which cost the republic more than a year's revenue,

(two thousand and twelve talents,) and, on the summit of the citadel itself, the temple of the tutelary goddess of Athens, which now, on an enlarged scale, rose from the ashes of the Persian conflagration.

Elevated on three steps, surrounded by forty Doric columns, adorned with various sculptures on every frieze and metope, all having reference to Athenian traditions of gods and heroes, this masterpiece of ancient architecture, which long served Christians and Mahometans as a place of religious meeting, was the admiration of travellers as late as 1676. But in the war of Turkey with Austria that followed the abortive attempt upon Vienna and the defeat at Mohacz, the Venetians took advantage of the difficulties of the Porte. Athens was bombarded, and the balls directed against the Acropolis, as the highest point, destroyed a large portion of this ancient and well preserved work. The bombardment, which took place on the 28th of September, 1687, was the sad precursor of further devastation. A new and a smaller mosque was built out of the ruins in the middle of the old one, and the remains were employed for other purposes. In this temple stood the colossal statue of the goddess, by Phidias, about forty feet high, composed of gold and ivory; the dress, of gold, which could be taken off, alone weighed forty-four gold talents. The goddess stood resting upon her lance, and her robe flowed down to the ground. Her armour was adorned with the head of Medusa, and in her left hand she carried an image of the goddess of victory four cubits high. On the inclined shield was represented the war of the giants, and on the edges of the sandals, which were four inches high, was depicted the contest between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ. On account of its golden ornaments, this image was carried off by the tyrant Lachares, when Demetrius Poliorcetes compelled him to fly.

It will be sufficient just to mention the other architectural works, which served to adorn Athens in the



age of Pericles. However, after those already named, none was more celebrated than the Odeum, intended for the musical contests of the lyrical poets and rhapsodists. For such a purpose, the rotunda form seemed most appropriate, while, at the same time, it flattered the national pride, as the shape of the entire building is said to have been in imitation of the admired tent from which Xerxes reviewed his fleet. The cupola, too, it is said, was made of the masts which lay as fragments of the Persian ships on the shores of Salamis. This edifice also fell a prey to war. For when Sulla, in the Mithridatic war, besieged Athens, and the tyrant Aristion was compelled to leave the city and to take refuge in the Acropolis, he set the Odeum on fire, that the enemy might not be able to make machines of the woodwork. Ariobarzanes, a Cappadocian king, rebuilt it, about 690 B.C. ; perhaps out of regard for Athens, perhaps for some other cause ; and it was this later Odeum which was embellished by Herodes Atticus, and the ruins of which are still to be seen.

During the forty years' administration of Pericles, who, at first contending with Cimon for precedence, took pains to flatter the people by increasing the splendour of the city, the arts, supported by all the external means of wealth, guided by the spirit and taste of Pericles himself, and exalted by the universal enthusiasm of the nation and the age, reached their culminating point. All the inventions that had been made in earlier ages in other parts of Greece, were now, as it were, publicly revived at Athens, and employed on a grander scale than before, so that while other countries boasted of single temples, Athens seemed rather to be *one* temple of the gods and of the arts. At this period, the wondrous figures of the gods, which filled the artist's Olympus in the ancient world, sprang from the free and inexhaustible soil of Hellas, and in every one of the Uranides visibly presented the ancient character sketched or indicated by the epic poets.

Expressiveness was combined with beauty, and grace with that severe earnestness which characterizes the figures of the earliest times. As the morals were best at this time, so also was the conception of beauty raised to an ideal in the minds of the people. To this eminence the Greeks were brought partly by their lively apprehension of actual objects, with an open childlike sense, for which the gymnasia and the youth who were trained in them afforded ample opportunity, partly by that moral purity which banishes every thought of sensual gratification, and severs the earthly from the divine, or, more properly speaking, only finds in the earthly the sensuous medium by which the contemplation of the divine is rendered possible. With the first requisite of a fresh and childlike spirit, the Greeks generally were endowed to an eminent degree; but the elevation to the divine Idea and the purification of the visible form from all baser mixture, seems to have been reserved for that immortal period, when, in the feeling of an elevated nationality, the feeling of humanity, and its title to a higher and divine world, was kindled like a bright and glowing flame. Without that moral purity of mind, and that religious enthusiasm, which is awakened but not fettered by the contemplation of beautiful forms, without the purifying belief in that higher origin of man, which reveals itself in his figure, and appears as a type of the Supreme Being, all the technical dexterity which had been already acquired at an earlier period, and all the opportunities of seeing the most beautiful forms uncovered, would, at any rate, have been no more than so many additional means for the acquirement of that superior dexterity which indeed soon attains its end and earns the admiration of science, but which cannot awaken the enthusiasm with which the art of Phidias and Praxiteles, even in the dim shadow of their lost works, has inspired posterity.

Notwithstanding the wreck which has been suffered by the greater part of the ancient works of art,

we have still some compensation for the glories we have lost, inasmuch as the forms which have been invented and elaborated by the best artists in the best times, have been faithfully adopted by a later period that despaired of enlarging the boundaries of art by newly devised forms, and have been handed down in constantly repeated copies, in the shape of drawings, or, at any rate, of gems and coins. How much really antique work adorns our glyptothecæ and museums, it would be difficult to say ; but no one can deny that the figures of a later date often give a faithful imitation of the grand and rich ideas of the ancients.

The sphere of sculpture,—as that particular art which the ancients carried to the highest perfection,—is by its nature limited ; for it must generally rest satisfied with a form, in which it represents beauty either in repose, or with an expression that is intelligible in itself, and without any complex motive. But all those varieties of character, which are caused by differences of age and sex, and various combinations of the lofty and serious,—of dignity and grace—of melancholy and joy,—from their noblest aspects down to the boundaries of brute nature,—have been apprehended by ancient sculpture, and always united with the greatest possible share of beauty. This cycle of all that, as pure humanity, puts on visible form, has been completely exhausted by art in the world of gods. Here we can find for every deity, in addition to the universal character of divinity—(namely, the deep repose, the eternal and imperishable youth or manhood, and the light floating gait)—a peculiar ideal as a permanent form and a stereotype of his figure. This peculiarity probably originated in the age to which we now refer. Here humanity was represented in its purest forms, and at every stage of its development, except that of earliest infancy, which was rejected by plastic art as devoid of character and deficient in decided outlines. But childhood, developed and awakened to self-consciousness, indicating

like a closed bud the whole fulness of coming manhood, and, while forgetful of self, expressing in joyous sports the image of the happiest innocence—more especially at that point of time when the bud bursts and the distinction of sex begins—this has been represented to perfection, especially in the person of Eros, the god of a deeply-inspired love, and in the guardian Genius, the intelligent guide of man. Next to these youthful forms, which, absorbed within themselves, contemplate the glimmering morning dream of life, or, like the Eros that embraces Psyche, concentrate the whole fulness of life into a kiss, as into a single blossom;—next to these comes the figure of Dionysus, in which is depicted the awakening of a divine and eternal joy—a symbol, as it were, of that bliss which Epicurus attributed to the gods, and sought, by his wisdom, to diffuse among mankind. But since among human forms, harmonious perfection can only be produced by blending the male with the female sex,—inasmuch as one without the other degenerates into a one-sided hardness or an immoderate luxuriousness—ancient art blended the two sexes in the figure of Bacchus, and although the masculine nature predominates, indicates the feminine nature also in the form of the hips and the soft undulation of the muscles.

But the highest degree of youthful beauty and the ideal of perfected youthful strength which, penetrated by a lofty, courageous, and proud feeling, fills the spectator with delighted admiration, containing as it does a capacity for all that is high and grand, is represented in the figure of Apollo,—at any rate, in that statue of Apollo which is preserved in the Vatican collection at Rome, and is known by the name of the Apollo Belvedere. In this is comprised all the fulness of mental and bodily strength, and while the advancing movement of the feet and the raised arm indicate the victor in every contest, the glance directed straight forward denotes the seer of future destinies, and the thoughtful forehead the leader of the Muses.

In this, more than in any other deity, is manifested a belief in the necessity of a harmonious balance of powers; for even here, where he appears in repose, and more as the thinking than the acting Phœbus, we can still perceive the strength of that perfectly-formed body which, placed in the happy medium between the too-much and the too-little, can on every incitement of the will bestir itself for strife and conquest. In the figure of Hermes, which is less noble, and is pervaded rather by a placid than an exalted spirit, we find that the chief stress is laid on corporeal perfection, as befits the divine patron of the Palæstra, the restless messenger of the gods, and the conductor of the dead. The sons of Zeus, the inseparable Dioscuri, those most beautiful and genuine ideals of that heroic character which is afterwards multiplied in many others, such as Meleager, Perseus, &c., and has undergone various combinations, resemble Hermes in form and character. Next to these, or rather above these, comes he in whom was expressed the highest ideal of a wrestler, the toil-tested son of Alcmene,—the impersonation of the highest degree of strength which the human body can attain. In his firm muscles and in his almost brazen frame was manifested that invincible and inexhaustible strength, which he displayed in deeds of all kinds, through the whole course of his life, unwearied till the day when, overpowered but not subdued by hostile fate, he ascended the funeral pile, proved in the flames his divine origin, and entered the abode of the celestial gods. Here the goddess of perpetual youth embraced him as a husband,—an union in which the ancients symbolized the peculiarity of the divine perfection, according to the old notion—namely, that of the combination of strength with unfading youth. Hence ancient art represented this son of the gods in almost every age, and engaged in the most various actions, often for the mere sake of giving a learned study of anatomy and bold attitudes; nay, there are even representations of him after his apotheosis. For instance



in that Torso of Belvedere, sublime above all praise, we see how his body, purified from all earthly dross, puts on a peculiar softness, which is, nevertheless, combined with the highest strength.

Of the king of gods no such worthy likeness is preserved, as of his sons and daughters; nevertheless, we may suppose that the ideal form of his head has been repeated in some busts, and even on the coins of the Macedonian Philip, and Ptolemæus, surnamed Lagides.

No less rich, various, and wonderful is the cycle of the goddesses whom ancient art has associated with the gods. At their head stands the venerable ox-eyed Hera, the highest ideal of the domineering housewife, attended, like the matron of a terrestrial house, by her female servants, the active Iris, Ilithyia, Hebe, and the Graces. Like an earthly matron, too, she sat upon a higher chair, with a stool at her feet, while down to her ankles descended a flowing dress from which, it seems, the beautiful arm of the goddess alone appeared. Over her face was diffused all the grandeur and majesty that became the queen of the gods, the sister and wife of the highest deity, who rejoiced in the quiet dignity of her own greatness, as in the colossal head in the villa Ludovisi, to which her other well-known busts and her figure upon coins are similar.

As in the Hera the ideal of a matron, so in Pallas was expressed the ideal of a virgin in the grandest style. What Apollo is among matured manly youth Pallas was among women; capable of everything great, but more serious, reserved, and tranquil than Apollo, as befits the character of maidenhood. In her was expressed the idea of the highest female virtue, according to the views of the Dorians, which combined well-trained physical strength with exalted courage, discipline with boldness, prudent circumspection with quick resolution. Thus she appeared to Phidias not merely as the goddess of war and combat (for she is never delighted, like the rude Ares, with the wild

tumult of battle), but as an ordering wisdom placed amid the storms of unbridled passions, as the genius of the general and of the prudent statesman. Hence she had, among other names, that of the protectress, and it was principally in this capacity that she governed Athens, the nursery of all wisdom and statesmanship. Hence, too, she had proceeded perfect and fully equipped from her father's head, and every useful art by which states are formed and supported, as well as every household occupation which does honour to the industry of noble virgins, stood under her guardianship and protection. Thus arms, which were originally an ornament of all the gods, were with her a symbol of the security she granted to those who are under her protection; and the head of Medusa which adorned her breast-plate and her Ægis was a symbol of the dignity which envelops moral perfection and warns off the licentious. The figure, even when she appears in her mildest moods, is ever tall and replete with dignity, so as only to be compatible with the graces of the highest style,—a virgin and intellectually perfect Hera.

Related to her, but at the same time widely different, is Artemis, the ideal of pure and unsophisticated maidenhood, likewise conceived according to the Dorian view, as the ideal of a fresh and joyous virgin-life, taken in an age when no sinful thought has yet begun to bud. Pallas is chaste from conviction, and hence appears armed and fully clad, while Artemis is chaste from her thorough ignorance of passion, and fears no danger because her senses have remained quiescent, and have not revealed any object from which danger could proceed. Hence she roves over hill and dale with the companions of her sports, directing her glance, not inwards, like Pallas, but outwards into the far distance, and devoting herself to the invigorating occupation of the chase. Her dress, in accordance with her whole character, is Dorian and scanty; for, like the Spartan maidens during the exercises in

the Palæstra, this goddess was protected by the veil of her unsophisticated innocence against the looks and the touch of the licentious.

The Muses are conceived in the same spirit as Pallas, though without the admixture of the bold and warlike element ; for their office is to embellish and cheer the life of gods and men, not to guard or direct it. They are young, because art, like everything that is divine, delights in a perpetual fulness of youth, but also earnest and reflective, being absorbed in the contemplation of their own inner world like the thoughtful and inspired artist. Originally their functions were not distinct ; but, as in the life of man occupations and arts became more and more severed from each other, the Muses also divided their offices ; and their figures, though the general character was still retained, adapted themselves, in some degree, to the peculiarity of that particular art which had been assigned to each as her own sphere.

By the link of the Charites (or Graces) who were often the associates of the daughters of Mnemosyne, this sacred chain is connected with the goddess of love, the sea-born Aphrodite, often perverted into a goddess of sensual delight, for which the poets and the artists of the best period never intended her. The Aphrodite of the earlier period was veiled like virtuous love ; and even when Praxiteles rent the veil asunder, and dared to display the goddess to mortal eyes, as if she had just risen from the bath or the bosom of her mother, Tethys, he enveloped her with delicate modesty and virgin chastity ; for she was intended to be the ideal of moral beauty adorned with the highest grace. Hence she was taken at that period when the female nature first awakens to consciousness, but is reminded of itself more by observing the effects which it produces around than by self-contemplation. There she stands in her own pure perfection, devoid of coquettish art, rapt in silent transport like the nature around her, and reflecting

the deep repose of her inmost soul in the clear serenity of her whole appearance, even as by the sea-shore her lovely image is often mirrored in the water, which is appeased and smoothed by her tranquil presence.

The other deities approximate, more or less, to one or more of the ideal forms mentioned above—as, for instance, Hestia and Demeter to Hera, the Charites to Aphrodite, Posidon to Zeus; although the relationship never passes into perfect similarity. However, a sphere quite peculiar is occupied by those deities, who stand lowest in the series, without being the worst subjects for art,—such as the Satyrs, the Sileni, the Bacchantes, and the whole merry host of Bacchus. Inasmuch as Bacchus himself is eternal joyousness, he fills his followers with every gradation of joy even to the limit of reckless intoxication, where in moments of inspiration the boundaries of every-day life are overthrown and give way to unchecked delight. This state, in which caprice and licence are uncurbed, and the animal element, tearing asunder the veil of *décorum*, steps boldly forth, is represented in ancient art by the Fauns and Satyrs, who, on this account bear the marks of their animal nature even in their highest elevation. To these as to the lowest order in the divine series, were assigned all those peculiarities which are indispensable to human nature, and are, nevertheless, recognised as ignoble; but even these peculiarities are spiced with so much grace and humour, that they produce mirth without offence. Here, as elsewhere, is the moral feeling of the ancients maintained. That which could not—and indeed should not—be removed from the sphere of nature, they rendered harmless for morality, by assigning it to this particular class of beings, so that any merely animal impulse,—the ticklish palate, the love of tipping, the wanton desire, even those licentious jests which tend to stimulate the passions,—were removed by art from the nobler world, and transferred to the

woods among the goat-footed satyrs. Thus the morality of the action was sufficiently judged by the form of the actors, and there was no possibility of that confusion of moral principles which we so often find in modern art, where the most heterogeneous elements of the moral and the immoral are frequently jumbled together in such a repulsive manner that the judgment is utterly perplexed and all right feeling is ultimately perilled. With an equally correct feeling did Italian comedy endeavour to satisfy the comic exigencies of humanity without offence to morals, inasmuch as it assigned all animal and licentious propensities, still endowing them with grace, to the character of the Bergamesque Brighella, a part which is borrowed from the old Satyric world, or, at any rate, has been conceived in the antique sense.

Having thus characterized the principal subjects of plastic art, we have now to glance at the different epochs through which it passed, and to mention those works, which, as the first and chief of the greatest artists, have been regarded by the later world as patterns for imitation.

The first epoch of high art begins with Phidias, whose Pallas, as it once stood in the Parthenon, we have already mentioned. However, it was not only in this one colossal figure that this artist sought to represent the ideal of the eternal virgin, but on several other occasions he vied with himself, and set up in Lemnos a figure of Pallas, that, as a marvel of symmetry and beauty, was pre-eminently named the Beautiful. Phidias, too, it was who perfected the idea of Zeus by the Colossus of Olympia, where the god, after the defeat of his enemies, was enthroned in quiet majesty, having laid aside the threatening bolt and resigned himself to the festive occupation of the games, at which he himself as judge (Hellanodikes) bestowed the victor's wreath. The upper part of his body was uncovered, but the lower part was enveloped in a mantle which descended in folds to his feet. The naked portions



of the figure were of ivory; the cloak was of gold, and covered with flowers. In his right hand was the Goddess of Victory, turned towards him, with the olive branch in her hand, while in his left he bore the sceptre, which was wrought out of various metals, as a symbol of his dominion over the earth, and upon the extremity of which was the reposing eagle. That in the countenance of the god the highest dignity was indescribably blended with mildness and graciousness, we are assured by the unanimous voice of antiquity. Hence it was said of this figure, as of the angels of Guido Reni, that the artist had stolen it from heaven; and Strabo found in the eyebrows and in the form of the ambrosial locks that hung about the head of the god, a sanctity and dignity that no human words could express. On the back of the throne, by his right and left shoulders, the Hours and the Graces danced about the god; Victories stood at his feet, and various sculptures adorned the throne upon which he sat, everywhere denoting the ruler of the world and the leader of fate. When Caligula ordered the most renowned works of ancient art to be brought to Rome for the decoration of his palaces and villas, this destination was also reserved for the Olympian Zeus, on whom the emperor intended to place his own head. However, the edile, Memmius Regulus, averted the profanation, by representing the danger of spoiling the work. Afterwards the statue was removed, with the greatest wonders of ancient art, to Byzantium, where it was seen as late as the eleventh century. It was probably not destroyed before the conquest of Constantinople by the Franks, in the thirteenth century, when, with many other works—particularly those in bronze, it was devoted to destruction by the vandalism of the victors.

Among the pupils of Phidias, Alcamenes of Athens and Agoracritus of Paros are the most renowned, both being celebrated for their sculptures in marble. The clothed 'Aphrodite in the gardens,'\* executed in the

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\* 'ἡ ἐν κηποις Ἀφροδίτη.'—J. O.

grand style, was the work of Alcamenes, and was particularly admired for the breast and cheeks, and the proportions of the hands and feet. The most famous work of Agoracritus was his Nemesis, in which the figure of the Goddess of Love was adorned with the attributes of the regulating Goddess of Moderation. For Agoracritus having, in a contest with Alcamenes, made an Aphrodite out of a marble block which the Persians had brought with them for a trophy to Marathon, and the Athenians having—perhaps not quite impartially—awarded the preference to their own countryman, he altered the Goddess of Love (with the assistance of his master) into a Nemesis, and set up the statue at Rhamnus, a place not distant from Marathon. This change was less difficult than at the first glance might be supposed, for the conception of Aphrodite, according to the old severe style, was not far removed from the idea of Nemesis, when she was looked upon as the chief guardian of discipline and decorum, and of human modesty. Thus this remarkable image, which, according to the testimony of Pliny, was preferred by M. Terentius Varro, the most learned of the Romans, to all the other statues of the Greeks, was set up on a spot, the name of which was associated with the memory of the victory of the Greeks over the Persians, and thus it became at the same time a trophy of Athens and a mild memorial of that eternal truth, that man, when surrounded by the beams of prosperity and earthly majesty, should not give way to presumption.

About the same time, Polyclitus of Sicyon entered into the lists with Phidias. Like him he was an architect, but in the high style of sculpture he was inferior to his rival, his eminence being based rather on the exquisite finish of his execution and the careful study of human proportions than on any inspiring idea. He was chiefly famed for his 'Doryphorus,' a boy carrying a spear, in which the proportions were so accurate as to serve as a rule for succeeding times; and for the figure of a 'Diadumenus,'—a youth binding his hair with the fillet of victory. By these works he perfected the

ideal of the youthful athlete, and was commended for the dignity with which he had clothed human nature, so occupied, and at such an age. However, he sometimes stepped out of the sphere of humanity into that of the gods, especially in his admired Hermes, of which perhaps we have an imitation in the statue that, under the erroneous name of the Vatican Antinous, was so long the study of painters and sculptors, and the colossal statue of Hera which he set up for the adoration of the Greeks at Argos. After the old temple of Hera in this city had fallen a prey to the flames at the commencement of the Peloponnesian War, the Argive Eupolemus rebuilt it with increased magnificence, and as the Elians had displayed the king of the gods, so did the Argives, in a spirit of competition, resolve to exalt his consort on a similar scale and with similar majesty. The visitor to the temple, after passing through a long series of high-priestesses, which adorned the court of the temple, found on entering the vestibule the nuptial bed of the goddess, and by the side of it her attendants, the Graces; the walls of the vestibule were hung around with shields, among which was the renowned votive offering of the Panthoid Euphorbus,\* in whose form Pythagoras maintained he had passed his first life. In the cella itself the queen of gods sat elevated on a golden throne, like the Olympian Zeus on a throne of gold and ivory. Her head was adorned with a golden wreath, upon which the Hours and the Graces were dancing; her left hand held the sceptre, her right hand the mystic pomegranate, and as an attendant by her side stood the Goddess of Youth.

While mentioning these great masters of the older school, we should not pass over Myron, the fellow-labourer of Polyclitus in the workroom of Ageladas, and the most skilful artist in the management of bronze. Endowed with a bold and powerful mind, Myron ex-

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\* Vide HOR. *Carm.* I. 28.—J. O.

celled all his rivals both in the number of his productions and in the variety of the subjects he treated. Being alike great in the large and in the small, there was nothing that, in his noble self-reliance, he would not attempt. In the old sacred temple of Hera at Samos was a colossal group in bronze, by Myron, in which Athena was conducting the deified Heracles to his father's throne. These figures were carried away by M. Antony, but Augustus restored the Athena and the Heracles to their former base, and merely retained the Zeus, to which he assigned a place at Rome in a small temple in the capitol. As Polyclitus was accustomed to form the youthful bodies of athletes, so did Myron represent the more manly and invigorated frames of the Pentathli and the Pancratistæ, with all the force of the swelling muscles and in the most daring positions, while at the same time he did not disdain the lighter exercises of running and hurling. Thus the running Ladas, shown in the last extreme of exertion, at the decisive moment of victory, and the Discobolus, a learned work of art, in which the greatest difficulties were conquered, are renowned among his works. The excellence of the latter may be surmised from numerous copies, among which is a highly successful one in the Palace Massimi alle Colonne.\* Great in his gods and men, and even in such trifles as cups and pateræ, Myron was equally great in his representation of animal nature, and his lowing cow with the sucking calf has been immortalized by a great number of witty epigrams, which commend the illusive truth of the representation with all sorts of ingenious turns. (Vide *Anthol.* II. p. 152.) Even in Cicero's time this cow stood in the great square at Athens. It was afterwards brought to Rome, where, in the days of Procopius, it might be seen in the Temple of Peace. Four other oxen by the same master were set up by Augustus in the vestibule of the Palatine Apollo.

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\* And the British Museum.—J. O.

After the various forms of the grand and marvellous, which, extended even to the fantastical, seemed to be exhausted in the age of Phidias and his immediate disciples, the age of grace began in the next period, illustrious through the great names of Xenophon, Plato, and Demosthenes, and the working of marble was brought to perfection. This age is chiefly represented by the names of Praxiteles and Scopas.

Praxiteles, no less renowned in marble than in metal, is celebrated as the creator of grace in a variety of divine forms, and whereas Phidias and Polyclitus had combined with beauty the severe style of the earlier period, so did beauty now break forth with all that grace which seemed first to give it the most lively expression of the soul. However, Praxiteles did not go too far in this respect, but only endowed those gods with the charm of grace whose youthful form would admit of the combination. Thus of the gods of the first class he has represented only Apollo, and even him engaged in an idle pastime, as Sauroctonus, (*i. e.*, the lizard-slayer,) and the bare-legged Artemis, whom he seems to have imagined among the companions of her sport, suffused with mild grace. The ideal of Bacchus, in which grace is, as it were, most at home, he has set forth in various celebrated figures; also Eros, who, as represented by him, was worshipped at Thespiæ and Parium (in the Propontis), and was deemed such a marvel of art that many visited these cities for the sake of the Eros alone. Aphrodite he first represented naked, for a chapel in the temple of the goddess at Cnidos. That he might be able to portray the Goddess of Love in all the fulness of her charms and with all the perfection of her beauty, it is said, that Phryne, who was beloved by him, revealed to him her own charms;—the same Phryne who, on the festival of Posidon, it is added, confiding in the irresistible fascinations of her beauty, threw off her clothes on the sea-shore, loosened her hair, and



descended into the water, to bathe in the Saronic Gulf. For the inhabitants of Cos, Praxiteles represented Aphrodite veiled both in body and soul. Imitations of both have been left in great abundance for the wonder of the world; the Capitoline Venus, as it is called, probably most resembles the Cnidian Aphrodite, while the Medicean only seems to be like her in the position of the hand. A copy of the Venus of Cos is supposed to exist in a half-clad Venus of the Mus. Pio-Clement. Universally commended and admirable for another sort of grace was his Satyr, surnamed 'the renowned' (*περιβόητος*), of which it seems that the Satyr in the Paris Museum is an imitation, who has an almost human form, and who, with the nebris carelessly flung about him, is leaning against the stump of a tree, supporting his left hand on his side, and holding a flute in his right. There was also another celebrated Satyr by Praxiteles, who held a wine-skin in his hand, and was surrounded by dancing nymphs; frequently, too, he represented Mænads. We may assume that these figures of Praxiteles often reappear in later works both of painting and sculpture. According to the opinion of Praxiteles himself, the Eros and the Satyr were his best works. The ancients tell us that Phryne once entreated the artist to bequeath to her his most successful statue. He assented, but never would confess which of his works he deemed most beautiful. On this account, it is said, a slave entered Phryne's apartment while Praxiteles was there, with the news that his house was in flames, and that most of the works were already destroyed. On receiving this intelligence, Praxiteles sprang up, exclaiming, that if his Eros and Satyr were injured, he was a ruined man. While he was hastening in terror to his residence, Phryne went after him and told him to be of good courage, since no mischief had been done, but that she had gained what she wished by her stratagem, having now learned

which of his works he preferred. She therefore chose the Eros, and placed it in a temple of her native city Thespiæ.

Three of the principal figures in the group of Niobe, at Florence, namely, the mother and two daughters, are considered by many connoisseurs to be the work of this master, and even among the ancients opinions were divided on the subject. The other figures, which now form part of the group, probably did not originally belong to it, and are certainly of very inferior value as works of art.

Scopas, who flourished about the same time with Praxiteles, displayed proficiency in beautiful forms of women and boys, as well as in whole groups, and approached the sphere of painting as far as the peculiar nature of sculpture permitted.

In single figures, Scopas sought to bring art to the highest point of perfection, and as Myron had represented in bronze the bold postures of athletes, so did Scopas, going further still, if possible, exhibit in marble the most audacious movements of the Mænads, as executed by delicate female forms. Art had become bold. The time had long past when the feet of wooden images were first opened to give an appearance of motion, when an arm had first raised itself, and when even the most skilful artist did not venture to quit the perpendicular, and give wings to the heavy material. Now the difficult appeared difficult no longer, and the boldest expression of Bacchanal madness was combined with the highest beauty. Scopas represented Mænads and Nereids, with their charming heads hung back, their hair wildly fluttering, floating along with one foot on the ground, the other raised. And as the effect of Bacchanal inspiration, which seemed to make the impossible possible, was often regarded with admiring wonder in nature, when, on his festivals, the god raged in the bosoms of the faithful, so were the marvels of art regarded with scarcely less astonishment. Scopas himself, says an ancient, who describes his celebrated

Bacchante, has, in a moment of inspiration, transferred to the figure the divine impulse of his mind. The stone is animated into a real Mænad, and quits its native limits, penetrated by the power of art. Feeling speaks from the insensible material, and the movements of the inspiring god tremble through the innermost depths of the marble.

The same artist seemed also to have sought the highest perfection in the representation of blooming grace, as represented in the figures of Eros, Himerus, and Pothos—as the personations of incitement, ardent longing, and pining desire.

The character of bold and self-confident art seems also to have been expressed in the groups which are assigned to Scopas by the ancients. Among these, a group representing Achilles, whom his mother, surrounded by Tritons, Nereids, and strange inhabitants of the sea, conducted to Leuca, the fabulous island of the hero, was distinguished by the wealth of invention displayed in the composition and by the boldness of the figures. Here was combined everything that plastic art could desire, with a favourable subject;—men and women of every age and kind; Posidon himself at the head of the procession, the deified Achilles, and a number of fantastic wonders, in the formation of which Scopas again vied with Myron, who was the first to depict the monsters of the sea with their grotesque intertwinings. This remarkable group, sufficient, observes Pliny, to occupy the entire life of the artist, was set up at Rome in a temple of Neptune, near the Flaminian Circus, and has been variously imitated in bas-reliefs and on painted vases. Later artists, too, finding the sphere of art extended in this direction, vied with each other in producing similar groups connected with the history of Aphrodite and Amphitrite.

When these artists had attained the perfection of elegance and grace, art had performed its cycle, and nothing remained for it but the attempt to combine

extremes, and to unite the highest dignity with the most alluring charms. Against this danger there was at first a protection in the healthy sense of the nation. What, however, was not to be avoided, now that technical proficiency had reached its perfection in the widest sphere, in which were included the most delicate outlines of an imaginary world, was a standing still in the region of technicality itself. The pleasure afforded by mere skill outweighed every other feeling, and inner life was forgotten in external form. Whereas, therefore, the artists of the best period, absorbed in the Idea, in which they represented themselves and their *better part*, directed their thoughts to the essential, the later artists, who entertained less love for the Idea—which they had generally borrowed from others—staked all their glory on their technical proficiency, bestowing as much, nay, sometimes more, labour on the accessories than on the essentials. Thus, under Alexander's successors, it fared with plastic art as with poetry. That which could be learned triumphed over the unfathomable, the earthly over the divine;—the god perished in the form.

The advancement of mechanical art, and the consequently improved facility of execution, may be seen from the circumstance that even in the age of Alexander, more than one art was carried on with equal proficiency by one artist. Thus, for instance, Euphranor of Corinth was at the same time, and with equal renown, a painter and a sculptor, as great in marble as in bronze, and united with all this the talent of an author. With equal skill he fashioned a colossus or a goblet, the body of an athlete, with its strong, muscular development, and the delicate frame of a Paris, to which he gave such an expression that the spectator could at once recognise the judge of the goddesses, the lover of Helen, and the murderer of Achilles. Such an excessive effort after variety in modes of production, and after individual expression, may be regarded as the infallible mark of an approaching decline. The

notion arose that—whereas every kind of form, expression, and movement had been represented by the greatest artists to a degree of perfection that could not easily be exceeded,—not only could a work of art be produced by a mere selection from existing productions, but even the most excellent works of former times could be outshone by a more judicious combination of what was best in each, without any creative power at all. Thus the schools of art gradually ceased; art itself dwindled away within its limits, and whereas it had formerly vied with nature in the production of new forms, it now gave up its privilege of original creation, and was satisfied to fashion anew that which already existed.

However, one artist of Alexander's age, who worked with a power comparable to that of the old times, deserves especial mention—Lysippus of Sicyon, who was brought up for a copper-smith, and was, as it seems, a student of nature. Seeing that the artists of his time had wholly abandoned the path and the study of nature, and were satisfied with a mechanical imitation of the ideal forms already invented, he returned back to the source, took up art again at its origin—the study of the human form—and, after the fashion of the old masters, raised himself on this difficult path, by his own power, to an ideal of beauty. The two extremes which he pursued are visible in his unsurpassable portraits of living men and his various figures of the gods, both on the largest and on the smallest scale. In his portraits he judiciously endeavoured to combine the closest resemblance with the highest degree of beauty, and ever kept before his mind the proportions in which they would have been formed by uninterrupted nature. Many forms were produced by his hand, but none was more often repeated than that of the Macedonian Alexander, whom he represented in various sizes and positions;—in his youthful and in his manly beauty—engaged in battle—seated on his throne—engaged in the chase—



riding or standing in his chariot. As he completely caught the expression of strength and boldness in his hero,—indeed the ancient poets vie with each other in extolling the audacity of these figures—Alexander forbade any artist but Lysippus to execute his portrait. With equal success he represented the king's companions on the path of glory, especially Hephæstion, in single statues, and also frequently assembled the whole host of generals around their king. When five-and-twenty of Alexander's chosen companions fell in the first battle of the Macedonians on the Granicus, Lysippus, at the king's command, represented them by equestrian statues of the size of life, in the various attitudes of fighting, suffering from wounds, and dying; and set up the picturesque group of Dion in Macedonia, whence, after the conquest of the pseudo-Philip, it was brought by Metellus to adorn the portico he had built at Rome. As a companion to this combination of statues, in the centre of which Alexander stood as the witness of his friends' deeds, we may regard a hunt, in which the king, supported by Craterus, subdues a lion. This was exhibited at Delphi, as a votive offering from Craterus. For Lysippus was also regarded as perfect in the representation of animals; and the ancients mention a number of lions, dogs, and chargers executed by his hand. Probably in these subjects, too, he rose from nature to the ideal.

Among the gods produced by Lysippus, the Heracles is most frequently mentioned. A colossal figure which he made of this hero, thirty cubits high, was placed at Tarentum, whence, after the conquest of this city, it was removed to the capital. Another figure, only a foot in height, which represented Heracles seated on a rock, holding a club in his right hand and a bowl in his left, has become famous through the description of the Latin poet Statius.\* A colossal figure of Zeus,

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\* *Sylv. lib. iv. 6.*—J. O.

forty cubits high, which was the largest of all the colossal figures after that of Rhodes, and which by its very size resisted the cupidity of the conquerors; and another of Posidon, at Corinth, were also shown as works from the hand of Lysippus. Thus the comprehensiveness of his talent and the variety of his works are no less admirable than their number, which, according to some, amounted to fifteen hundred.

That tendency to the extraordinary which usually gains the upper hand in the periods of declining art, is shown in this epoch by the predilection for colossal figures, the number and dimensions of which constantly increased, not without the influence of Alexander and his gigantic conquests. Dиноchares, or, as others say, Stasicrates, a pupil of Lysippus, to flatter the vanity of the king, devised the bold plan of converting Mount Athos into a statue of Alexander, which was to hold in its left hand a city of ten thousand inhabitants, and in its right a bowl from which it was to pour down a stream into the sea. About the same time Chares, the Rhodian, another pupil of Lysippus, made the Colossus of the Sun, which was seventy cubits high, and which was not placed across the entrance of the harbour (as is commonly fabled), so as to allow the ships to sail between the extended legs, but was merely set up near the entrance. Few persons could clasp the thumbs, and every one of the fingers was larger than most statues. When the limbs were broken off, broad hollows were revealed, and in the inside were found large pieces of rock, which served to hold the mass together. Nevertheless the Colossus only stood upright for six and fifty years; in the year 222 B.C. it was broken off above the knees by the great earthquake that devastated Rhodes and Caria. Even when prostrate it filled all beholders with astonishment. It was never set up again, although Ptolemæus offered the Rhodians three thousand talents for the purpose, because the erection had been forbidden by an oracle. After it had lain on the ground for

nine hundred and thirty-two years, it was sold, in the year 932 A.B., by an Ottoman general to a Jew, who loaded nine hundred camels with the metal, which, according to this standard, we may estimate at seven hundred thousand hundred-weight. Besides this, Rhodes was peopled (if we may use the expression) with one hundred other colossal figures, each of which singly, to quote Pliny, was large enough to render a place famous. Also through other countries under the Macedonian rule the same taste was diffused. On the occasion of a Bacchanalian procession under Ptolemæus Philadelphus, at Alexandria, the record of which makes us look upon the pomp and wealth of the ancient world as something almost fabulous, whole masses of colossal figures, with suitable accompaniments, were carried about. Thus, there was a Bacchus whose car was drawn by one hundred and eighty men, a crater drawn by six hundred, wine-skins that contained more than three thousand measures (at one hundred pounds the measure), a golden Thyrsus-staff ninety feet long, with many things beside on the same scale. Other regal cities would not remain in the background; and whenever a province wished to pay homage to a royal benefactor, it set up his image on a colossal scale. To this age probably belonged the Apollo, thirty cubits high, which Lucullus brought from Apollonia to Rome, and set up in the Capitol, as well as many other similar works, which, though recorded by the ancients, have perished in the general wreck of art.

The unhappy and disorderly times in which the cities on the coasts of Asia and of Greece were ravaged by the wild contests of Gauls, Ætolians, and Macedonians, by the soldiers of Mithridates, and by the Romans,—far from being favourable to art, caused the destruction of several celebrated works. Dodona, the oldest oracle in Greece, where a number of votive offerings had been collected from the earliest antiquity, was destroyed by the ruthless hands of the Ætolians. The Macedo-

nians, inspired by vengeance, ravaged Ætolia with equal fury, as a punishment for these outrages, and in Thermon alone, an Ætolian commercial city, overthrew and disfigured more than two thousand statues (Polyb. v. 9.). With equal violence did Philip rage against the city of Pergamus, where he so utterly destroyed the statues and temples, that even the stones were broken up to prevent the edifices from being rebuilt. He also plundered the temples in the suburbs of Athens, burned the groves of the Academy, and demolished a number of statues in that region also. Thus the old treasures of art were diminished at a time when no new works arose to supply the deficiency. The work of destruction, which the Greeks themselves did not shrink from doing, was carried still further by the Romans, who, neither favouring nor appreciating art, destroyed without scruple everything that was unconsecrated, and soon, rendered bolder by their own progress, and incited by the ever increasing fury of war, laid their hands on sacred edifices likewise. In the locality of Corinth the treasures of many ages fell a prey to the flames; many relics were wantonly destroyed, many were squandered; a great quantity, too, were taken to Rome, who became more and more accustomed to deck herself with the works of Greek art as so many trophies of her own glory. When M. Scaurus, as a Roman ædile, had a large theatre built for the few days of public festivities, he deprived the ancient city of Sicyon of all its pictures, on account of an undischarged debt, that he might use them to deck the edifice; and even whole walls, upon which there were celebrated paintings, were sent to Rome. The temples at Delphi, Epidaurus, and Olympia were robbed of their old adornments by Sulla, who, in his reckless anger, did not spare Athens itself, but ravaged a great part of the city, and burned the Piræus, which was filled with wealth. Syria, which had been decorated with admirable works, through the magnificence of its kings, lost its chief ornaments to the Romans after the

battle of Magnesia ; and the Roman general, Lucius Scipio, embellished his triumph with an incredible number of statues, which he had brought from Syria to Rome.

However, that which was at first, in the eyes of the Romans, a mere symbol of their victories, and an ornament to their temples, soon excited among many of them a taste for art, which, if it did not always proceed from a pure feeling of the beautiful,—nay, often led to mere rapacity,—was sometimes serviceable to the arts, and gave employment to the artists. But for a long time this taste was regarded by the greater part of the people as a decline of the true Roman spirit ; and those who wished to please the multitude, and to rise by their power to posts of honour, concealed both their taste and its objects, from the eyes of the many, in their country villas. Even in the times of Tiberius, an historian asks the question, whether the rudeness and want of taste displayed by Mummius were not more glorious and more Roman than the covetous love of art which shortly afterwards gained ground, and resulted in the robberies of a Verres and the many others who resembled him. Indeed, from causes easy to be understood, a feeling for art never struck deep root into Roman minds, nor did it incite them to the production of original works. The Romans were satisfied with the relics of ancient art, and with that which, by their order, was fashioned in the *ateliers* of the Greek artists, who, like the philosophers and rhetoricians, settled in great numbers at Rome. Few emperors patronised art ; nay, some raged against it with Vandal ignorance. Thus, for instance, the statues of celebrated men, which Augustus had set up in the Campus Martius, were pulled down and broken to pieces by order of Caligula, and the head of the emperor was placed on the finest images of the gods. Nero, although he pretended to favour the Greeks in every possible way, deprived them of their finest works, and sent out freedmen—among whom was the infamous



despoiler Acratus—to select everywhere the best that could be had for the adornment of his palaces, by which means five hundred bronze statues were taken from the Delphic treasury alone. This universally extravagant madman had himself represented, on a colossal scale, as god of the sun. According to some this statue was one hundred and ten feet high, according to others one hundred and twenty, and it even exceeded the colossus of Rhodes. Under the government of Nero the conflagration of the city destroyed a quantity of works of art that had been collected there during a century and a half. A better time for art came with the reign of Hadrian, who, having an especial predilection for the Greek nation, proclaimed the liberty of Greece, and adorned his cities with works of art. At Athens he raised a temple to the Olympian Zeus, in which a colossal statue of the god in gold and ivory stood as at Olympia; and another temple, at Cyzicus, was reckoned among the wonders of the world. On his travels Hadrian collected the numerous treasures of art with which he adorned his marvellous villa at Tibur, where were represented the most renowned spots of Greece—the Academy, the Lyccum, the Prytaneum, the Pœcile, the Valley of Tempe. Of this age the finest relics are probably the statues of the Bithynian Antinous, which, in all varieties of position and expression, immortalize the charming features of the imperial favourite, and were scattered all over the world by the love and grief of Hadrian. Under this emperor art reared up its head for the last time, and whatever glories arose in the period immediately following were the fruits of the seed that his hand had scattered. Art revived no more after the time of Commodus.

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This section of the history of Greek life cannot be concluded without some mention of the painter's art. For although the central point of Greek art, and that upon which its glory immovably rests, is sculpture,

—still even this presupposes a perfect proficiency in drawing, which was regarded as a branch of education, and was generally taught and practised after the Peloponnesian war. Painting, too, was cultivated by great artists; but as it had not the advantage, that pictorial works were objects of religious veneration, it remained far behind sculpture, on this account,—to say nothing of other causes, to be referred to a deficiency of those means without which this art can never be cultivated in a comprehensive spirit.

Which of the arts, drawing or sculpture, was first discovered, is an idle question that we will not discuss. Neither shall we attempt to settle the point, whether drawing was discovered, as some say, by the daughter of Dibutades, a Sicyonian, when she traced the shadow of her departing lover on the wall, or,—as others maintain,—by Dibutades himself, who traced the shadow of a horse upon the ground. All that is cited by the ancients with respect to the origin and gradual progress of painting, consists less of facts than of conjectures, such as every one can make for himself with slight trouble, or such as experience can furnish to every one who, in the days of his childhood, has drawn with a pencil or a piece of charcoal, and has thus, as it were, invented and elaborated art without assistance.

Down to the times of the first Persian war, painting, as it seems, was still in its infancy, and the painters used only one colour, with which they filled up the outline, indicating the shade by hatching. For down to the 94th Olympiad, when Apollodorus of Athens discovered the use of the pencil, painting was nothing more than drawing with the stile, by which outlines were marked upon a coloured ground, and this method was not altered when the use of many colours was introduced. These, before the invention of the brush, were laid on with a sponge in broad masses, without nice gradations. However, the earlier painters, even in their polychrome pictures, only used four colours,

white, black, yellow, and red. With these, Pliny says, even Zeuxis was content; and those who afterwards increased the number were not on that account greater painters, but even lowered the dignity of art by a meretricious charm.

The first pictures of a more comprehensive kind are mentioned as belonging to the age when Athens was in her bloom, and when every branch of art and literature received an impulse upwards. Thus Panæus, the brother of Phidias, painted the battle of Marathon on the Pæcile at Athens together with Polygnotus the Thracian, of whom it is mentioned, as a great progress, that he painted female forms with transparent\* garments, and diminished the old Egyptian stiffness of the faces by a slight opening of the mouth. From other hints we may infer that he not only produced a resemblance to the original (this is clear from the fact that Cimon's sister Elpinice could be recognised in one of his pictures), but that he also went beyond nature into the ideal. One of the greatest pictures by Polygnotus was in the Lesche,† at Delphi, upon which he painted Troy in flames, with the Greeks on the shore of the Hellespont, in the act of departing homewards, surrounded with spoil and captives. We read a closer description of this picture in Pausanias (x. 25), from which we may gather the following particulars:—The artist had ingeniously contrasted the foreground, which was full of groups, with the desolate condition of Troy, whose ruined streets might be seen through the broken walls. The ship of Menelaus stood by the shore ready to sail; and near it might be seen Helen, the cause of war, surrounded by wounded Trojans. In another group, composed of

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\* Or 'brilliant,' the words in Pliny (*H. N.* xxxv. 9), from whom the description is taken, being 'lucidâ veste.' The German is 'durchschimmernd,' or 'shining through.'

† This was a public building, within the sacred enclosure. Leschæ generally were public places for persons to meet and converse.—J. O.

Greek princes, was Cassandra ; most of these were in gloomy silence, with the single exception of Neoptolemus, who was still pursuing and slaying some Trojans. On the other side of the Lesche was depicted the entrance into the lower world in the realms of night, with Ulysses on the banks of the Acheron, Tartarus filled with scenes of horrible punishment, and Elysium peopled with the shades of the blessed. In the first of these pictures more than a hundred, in the other more than eighty, figures were represented. Every one of these, in compliance with ancient custom, was inscribed with a name.

As there was less opportunity for practising the art of painting among the Greeks than that of sculpture,—since the former was confined to the embellishment of halls and temples, as a sort of appendage to architecture, and private persons very seldom adorned their own dwellings with pictures,—we must not be astonished if, after a commencement that promised something great, it nevertheless made but slow progress, and, as it seems, remained at a great distance behind sculpture. When the latter had already attained its highest bloom, shortly after the Peloponnesian war, the epoch of perfection in painting only began, opening with Apollodorus the Athenian, to whom the invention of the pencil is attributed, and who is, on that account, called the ‘sciagraph.’\* Consistently with this belief, the distribution of light and shade is chiefly attributed to Apollodorus. Pliny says of him, that he first obtained glory and importance for his art, since, before his time, no picture had been produced which could rivet the eyes. Zeuxis, a native of Heraclea in Magna Græcia, and a pupil of Apollodorus, trod in the footsteps of his master. He excelled all painters in the ideal representation of the female form, on which

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\* Not from the invention of the pencil itself, but from the gradations which the pencil produced, and were unattainable by the stile previously used.—J. O.

account he was commissioned by the Crotoniats to paint for them the picture of Helen, with which, as a most precious offering, they intended to adorn the Temple of Hera, surnamed the Lacinian. As the artist had represented in the person of Helen the perfection of beauty, so far as it can appear in the form of an earthly woman, so did he represent the highest ideal of chaste decorum in the person of a Penelope. That he understood how to give an accurate imitation of nature was indicated by the ancients in the well-known story of his contest with Parrhasius;\* nevertheless, some missed in his works a characteristic expression of form and that sort of moral truth, which indeed painting generally sacrifices when, competing with sculpture, it strives to attain the highest ideal.

About the same time flourished Parrhasius of Ephesus, whose pictures were admired for the accurate observance of the most delicate proportions, the neat execution of all the details, and the sharpness and correctness of the outlines. His rival was Timanthes of Samos, of whose works the 'Sacrifice of Iphigenia' is mentioned with the highest praise by the ancients, from the variety of expression found in the persons placed about Agamemnon, whose head was veiled by the artist, because he could discern no more suitable manner of denoting a father's anguish. When in a representation of the dispute for the armour of Achilles, he contended with Parrhasius, and the judges awarded him the victory, Parrhasius said that he was only vexed on account of his Ajax, who was now for the second time defeated by an unworthy adversary. It was generally the opinion of the ancients with respect to the pictures of Timanthes, that they allowed more to be surmised than they actually expressed; not only

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\* In this contest Zeuxis painted grapes so naturally that living birds pecked at them, while Parrhasius was so successful in the imitation of a curtain as to deceive Zeuxis himself, and therefore to carry off the victory. The *tale*—for it is no more—is told by Pliny.—J. O.



because they represented ideal subjects alone, but also, and chiefly, as it seems, because of the abundant motives which were implied in them.

In the age of Alexander the Great, painting, like sculpture, reached the highest point of fascination and gracefulness, chiefly through Apelles of Cos, the pupil of Pamphilus, a learned master, who united the practice of art with theoretical knowledge, and combined with these instruction in geometry. Apelles seems to have penetrated more deeply than his predecessors into the true nature of painting, inasmuch as he abandoned the dry one-sided effort after the sculptural ideal, in order to breathe into his works a richer and more varied life. Like Lysippus, he combined with creative power the talent of giving faithful imitations of nature in his portraits, and thus especially gained the favour of Alexander. A portrait of that monarch hurling the thunder-bolt was drawn in the temple of the Ephesian Artemis. In this the projecting hand, and the lightning which seemed to dart from the surface, were admired. He also painted Alexander's generals in various situations and attitudes—sometimes single, sometimes grouped together. Of his ideal works an Artemis surrounded by a chorus of virgins, who are offering sacrifice, and an Aphrodite rising from the sea (*Anadyomene*), were most highly esteemed. While he was at work on this latter picture he suddenly died, and as no one ventured to paint the lower part, which he had not executed, it remained unfinished. It was at first hung up in the temple of Aphrodite, at Cos, but was afterwards brought by Augustus to Rome, and found its place in the temple of the deified Cæsar.

About the same time flourished Aristides, the Theban, who, although his colouring was less agreeable, is nevertheless commended for the soul-full expression of his pictures, which, it seems, chiefly represented battles and conquests. One of these, which had for its subject an engagement between the Macedonians and the Persians, contained more than a hundred figures; but his masterpiece was the melancholy picture

of a conquered city, especially the chief group, in which a dying mother is keeping off a child, who is climbing up to her breast, that it may not imbibe blood instead of milk. Still more celebrated, at the same time, was Protogenes of Caunus in Caria, who, by his invincible zeal for art, overcame the difficulties of a poverty which to his fiftieth year compelled him to seek subsistence in common toil. Apelles, whose mind was superior to all petty considerations, appreciating his talent, and perceiving that he was but little regarded in his own country, bought some of his works for a large sum, which he offered of his own accord, and caused the report to be spread that he had purchased these pictures to pass them off as his own. Thus Protogenes became known even to his fellow-countrymen. One of his most celebrated pictures was of Ialysus, a local hero of Rhodes, which occupied him for seven years. In this Ialysus was represented as a hunter, with a panting dog by his side. The picture, for the sake of which, as we shall presently narrate, Rhodes was spared, stood in Pliny's time in the Temple of Concord at Rome, but in the time of Plutarch had been destroyed by fire. When Demetrius, surnamed Polyorctes, besieged Rhodes, the artist had his workshop outside the walls, and was exposed to the molestations of the enemy. Demetrius summoned him into his presence, and asked him how he ventured to remain in front of the city, when he answered that he knew that Demetrius made war against Rhodes, not against art. Upon this the general gave him a guard, and often visited him to see him at work. It is even said that Demetrius could never make up his mind to attack the city on this side, and to expose it to the danger of a conflagration, though thus alone he could be victorious, because he knew that it was here the Ialysus was kept. He consequently failed in his enterprise. At the same time, amid the tumult of war, Protogenes finished his Satyr, to which he gave the name of 'reposing,' because he had represented the figure

leaning against a column. This was reckoned one of his best works. The ancients say that no painter bestowed so much time and industry upon his compositions. On the other hand, the rapidity of his contemporary Nicomachus, who was not his inferior in art, was likewise admired. In the Temple of Minerva, in the Capitol at Rome, might be seen from his hand a Rape of Proserpine, and a Victory guiding a quadriga. There was also a Scylla, which stood in the Temple of Concord.

After this time painting seems to have made no great progress, and as the occasion for the execution of great works became less frequent, art became more humble in its aims, and sought to please rather by careful finish than by beauty of form and genius in composition. In this more lowly style Pyricus, whose age cannot be accurately fixed, was distinguished above all. He represented scenes from common life, the workshops of cobblers and barbers, kitchens, markets, and the like, with the most finished art. His works were highly esteemed by the Romans, who, in painting as in the other arts, were only satisfied with the industry of the Greeks.

It was not till afterwards that the true value of painting was felt by the Romans. Even after the taking of Corinth, Polybius saw the finest and most celebrated works spoiled by the Roman soldiers, who put them to the commonest uses; nor did the generals themselves show a higher appreciation of the Beautiful. Hence, when the spoil was sold by auction, and Attalus, king of Pergamus, purchased, for a large sum, a picture of Bacchus, by Aristides, Mummius was astonished at the price, and as he thought it impossible that mere drawing and colouring could give such value to a common board, he took the picture back, and consecrated it in the Temple of Ceres, observing that it must possess some secret virtue with which the king was acquainted. In the following age Rome fell into the opposite extreme; and the pictures as well as the

statues of Greece were taken to Italy. It became a common practice to decorate handsome rooms, banqueting-halls, and especially villas, with pictures, and the first age of the empire attracted to Rome many Greek painters whose taste and talent for a kind of decorative art are proved by the Baths of Titus.

The actual degree of perfection to which this art was brought in ancient times cannot be decided with certainty from the works now in existence; the descriptions of the ancients are likewise uncertain guides, for, on the one hand, they had no means of making comparisons with more perfect works, and on the other, the writers themselves evince no great knowledge. Altogether the ancients have not written much that is important on the subject of art, deeming it more instructive to cite a fine work than to expatiate on the productions of others while they themselves were barren. So much that was excellent lay close at hand, that there was no occasion for that natural expedient of poverty—a weak adumbration by means of words. However, we assume it as a probability, that if the ancient painters distinguished themselves by the correctness of their drawing and their choice of beautiful forms as well as by a tasteful distribution of local colours, they were inferior to the moderns in the employment of perspective in larger compositions, and in that *chiaro-oscuro* which is produced by a blending of colours. Like the scenes of their dramas, their compositions were for the most part extremely simple, being confined to a few personages, who appeared to be occupied in a very intelligible action. If, therefore, ancient painting may have had the advantage, —where the ancients were generally greatest— in beauty of form, modern art seems to have excelled it in poetical depth—a distinction necessarily based on the difference between ancient and modern religions. The religion of the ancients was replete with forms, which it cost some trouble to endow with a deeper import, while on the other hand the Christian re-

ligion is marked by a profundity and fulness of thought, the apprehension of which in visible forms is the difficult problem of modern painting. While Christian art has unceasingly striven to solve this problem, and to give a visible indication of the unfathomable mystery of religion, it necessarily gave great preponderance to the significant (*das Bedeutsame*),\* and the depth of feeling with which the greatest part of the Scriptures are filled necessarily extended itself even to unscriptural subjects.

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We have thus pursued the course of the Hellenic nation through the various regions in which its powers were developed; through the changes of its political activity; through the gardens of its poetry, eloquence, history, and philosophy; and finally through the luxurious fields of art. We have approached that which was most beautiful and remarkable among those fragments of a past world, which a happy chance, during the general shipwreck, has driven to our shores; and we have also paused at a mournful though instructive reminiscence of much that exists only in a lifeless record. As a star in the blue of heaven, which is only attainable by aspiring thought, so to us is Greece floating in the misty distance of the past, whence we only derive single rays, by the light of which we often learn our own poverty, while we surmise with admiration the majesty of the entire form. But even this scanty light has called much beauty into existence upon a modern soil, and the spirit of the ancients, if it no longer has a place in practical life, has not vanished from the souls of the chosen few who direct their glances and their hearts to the orient of art and science. The active power of the Great and Beautiful is eternal; and we cannot conceive a more excellent union than the combination in one individual of Greek elevation with a Christian spirit, of pride with humility, of grandeur with love.





A SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT STATESMEN, GENERALS, POETS, PHILOSOPHERS

YEARS B.C.	POLITICAL EVENTS.	LAWGIVERS, STATESMEN, AND GENERALS.	POETS.
		Minos. Rhadamanthus.	. . .
1184	Destruction of Troy.		
1104	Migration of the Dorians into the Peloponnesus.	. . .	Homeric Poems about 950 B.C.
1068	Codrus at Athens.		
1040	Ionian Migration.		
884	. . . . .	Lycurgus.	Hesiod about 850
776	Corcebus victor in the Olympian games.	. . .	Cyclic Poets about 776.
743	First Messenian war.	. . .	. . .
734	Syracuse founded by Archias.		
721	Sybaris founded by the Achæans.		
700	. . . . .	. . .	Archilochus flourishes.
691	. . . . .	. . .	. . .
682	Second Messenian war.	. . .	Tyrtæus.
664	The oldest sea-fight of the Greeks, between the Corinthians and Coreyraens.		
661	. . . . .	Zaleucus legislator of the Locrians.	
660	Cypselus at Corinth.		
658	Byzantium founded by the Megarians.	. . .	. . .
648	. . . . .	. . .	Pisander, epic.
640	. . . . .	. . .	. . .
632	. . . . .	. . .	. . .
624	. . . . .	Draco	Stersichorus born.
612	Sedition of Cylon at Athens.		
604	The Athenians conquer Salamis.		
600	Massilia founded by Phocæans.	. . .	Alcæus and Sappho flourish.
597	The Alcmaeonides banished from Athens.	. . .	Stersichorus flourishes.
596	. . . . .	. . .	Mimnermus flourishes.
594	. . . . .	Legislation of Solon.	
585	Periander dies at Corinth.		
572	. . . . .	. . .	Æsop the fabulist
570	Pittacus dies.		

POLITICAL EVENTS, AND OF THE MOST EMINENT  
ORATORS, HISTORIANS, AND ARTISTS.

PHILOSOPHERS.	ORATORS.	HISTORIANS AND GEOGRAPHERS.	ART AND ARTISTS.
. . .	. . .	. . .	Dædalus.
. . .	. . .	. . .	Rhæcus and Theo- dorus, inventors of brass-founding.
. . .	. . .	. . .	Temple of Artemis built at Ephesus, by Chersiphron.
. . .	. . .	. . .	Glaucus, inventor of soldering.
. . .	. . .	. . .	Chest of Cypselus.
. . .	. . .	. . .	Lesches.
Seven Wise Men of Greece. (Thales born, 632 B.C.)			
Maximander.			

YEARS B.C.	POLITICAL EVENTS.	LAWGIVERS, STATESMEN, AND GENERALS.	POETS.
560	Pisistratus at Athens.	. . .	Anacreon.
556	. . . . .	. . .	Simonides.
549	. . . . .	. . .	. . .
548	. . . . .	. . .	. . .
544	. . . . .	. . .	Theognis.
540	Tyranny of Pisistratus.	Pythagoric league at Croton.	Hipponax.
535	. . . . .	. . .	Thespis.
533	Polycrates, tyrant of Samos.		
528	Pisistratus dies. Hipparchus and Hippias.		
525	. . . . .	. . .	Æschylus born.
524	Cleomenes victorious over the Argives.		
522	. . . . .	. . .	Pindar born.
514	Hipparchus dies.		
511	. . . . .	. . .	Phrynichus gains tragic prize.
510	Hippias banished.	Constitution of Clisthenes.	
500	Insurrection of Ionia; Aristagoras of Miletus.	. . .	Æschylus and Epi- charmus begin.
499	. . . . .	. . .	. . .
497	. . . . .	. . .	Sophocles born.
493	Fortification of the Piræus.		
492	First expedition of the Persians against Greece; failure of Mar- donius' fleet.	Themistocles.	
490	Second expedition of the Persians against the Greeks; battle of Marathon.	Miltiades.	
488	. . . . .	. . .	Panyasis.
485	Gelo, tyrant of Syracuse.	. . .	. . .
484	. . . . .	. . .	Æschylus' first vic- tory.
483	Aristides banished.		
480	Third expedition of the Persians against Greece; battles of Ther- mopylæ and Salamis.	. . .	Euripides born on the day of the Battle of Sala- mis.
479	Battles of Platœa and Mycale.		
478	Gelo dies and is succeeded by Hiero.	Pausanias com- mander of the fleet.	Chœrilus born.
473	. . . . .	. . .	. . .
472	. . . . .	. . .	The <i>Persæ</i> of Æs- chylus.
471	Beginning of the maritime supre- macy of Athens. Themistocles banished.	. . .	. . .

PHILOSOPHERS.	ORATORS.	HISTORIANS AND GEOGRAPHERS.	ART AND ARTISTS.
Anaximenes flourishes. Pherecydes. Pythagoras.	. . . . . . . . .	Hecataeus. . . . . . .	Agelades at Argos. Bupalus and Athenis.
Anaxagoras born. Pythagoras dies. Zeno born.	. . . . . . . . .	. . . . . . . . .	. . . . . . . . .
. . . . . . . . .	. . . . . . . . .	Herodotus born.	Phidias born.
Empedocles.	. . . . . . . . .	Thucydides born.	. . . . . . . . .



YEARS B.C.	POLITICAL EVENTS.	LAWGIVERS, STATESMEN, AND GENERALS.	POETS.
470	Cimon's victory by the Eurymedon.	Cimon.	
469	Beginning of Pericles.	. . .	Simonides dies.
468	. . . . .	. . .	Epicharmus flourishes.
464	Insurrection of the Helots.	. . .	Sophocles' first victory.
461	Cimon banished.		
460	. . . . .	. . .	
458	. . . . .	. . .	The <i>Orestes</i> of Æschylus.
457	Maritime power of Ægina destroyed.		
456	. . . . .	. . .	Æschylus dies.
450	Truce between Athens and Sparta. Themistocles dies.	. . .	
449	Peace of Cimon. Cimon dies.		
447	Battle of Coronea.		
444	Pericles at the head of Athenian affairs.	Charondas gives laws to the Thurians.	
442	. . . . .	. . .	Pindar dies.
441	Samian war.	. . .	Euripides' first victory.
440	. . . . .	. . .	The <i>Antigone</i> of Sophocles.
436	. . . . .	. . .	
435	. . . . .	. . .	
432	Potidæa revolts from Athens.	. . .	
431	Peloponnesian war begins.	. . .	The <i>Medea</i> of Euripides.
429	Plague at Athens.	Pericles dies. — Cleon.	
428	. . . . .	. . .	
427	. . . . .	. . .	The <i>Daitaleis</i> of Aristophanes.
424	Battle of Delium.	Brasidas.	
423	. . . . .	. . .	
422	. . . . .	Cleon dies.	
421	Truce between Sparta and Athens.		
415	Sicilian expedition.	Alcibiades.	
414	Second Sicilian campaign.	. . .	
413	Defeat of the Athenians at Syracuse.	. . .	
408			
407	Victorious return of Alcibiades.	Lysander the Spartan.	

PHILOSOPHERS.	ORATORS.	HISTORIANS AND GEOGRAPHERS.	ART AND ARTISTS.
Socrates born.			
. . . . . .	Gorgias flourishes.	. . . . . .	Phidias begins. Polygnotus.
Parmenides.			
. . . . . .			Phidias sets up the statue of Athena in the Parthenon. The Odeum built.
. . . . . .	Isocrates born.		Olympian Zeus by Phidias. Alcámenes and Ari- stocritus.
Hippocrates (physi- cian).	Prodicus appears.		Phidias' pupils, Po- lycitus and My- ron.
Anaxagoras dies.			
. . . . . .		Thucydides ba- nished.	
Hilolaus, the Py- thagorean.			
. . . . . .		Herodotus dies.	

YEARS B.C.	POLITICAL EVENTS.	LAWGIVERS, STATESMEN, AND GENERALS.	POETS.
406	Dionysius becomes tyrant of Syracuse.	. . .	Euripides dies.
405	Battle of Ægospotami. Sparta, mistress of the sea.	. . .	Sophocles dies. The <i>Frogs</i> of Aristophanes.
404	Athens taken by Lysander. Sparta at the head of Greece. Thirty tyrants at Athens.	Critias. Theramenes	
399	. . . . .	. . .	. . .
397	. . . . .	. . .	. . .
396	Agésilau8 in Asia.	. . .	. . .
394	First Bœotian war. Sea-fight at Cnidos.	Cimon. Iphicrates.	
392	. . . . .	. . .	. . .
391	. . . . .	. . .	. . .
387	Peace of Antalcidas.		
384	. . . . .		
382	Thebes under Sparta.	Phœbidas.	. . .
380	. . . . .	. . .	. . .
379	Liberation of Thebes.		
378	Revival of the maritime power of Athens.	. . .	. . .
376	Battle of Naxos.	Iphicrates Chabrias. Timotheus.	
371	Battle of Leuctra.	Cleombrotus of Sparta.	
368	. . . . .	. . .	. . .
367	Dionysius dies.	. . .	. . .
364	Pelopidas dies. Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ.		
362	Battle of Mantinea.		
360	Philip of Macedon.	. . .	. . .
357	Social war.	Chabrias dies.	. . .
356	Alexander born.	. . .	. . .
352	. . . . .	. . .	. . .
347	Destruction of Olynthus.	. . .	. . .
346	. . . . .	. . .	. . .
341	. . . . .	. . .	. . .
340	. . . . .	. . .	. . .

PHILOSOPHERS.	ORATORS.	HISTORIANS AND GEOGRAPHERS.	ART AND ARTISTS.
. . .	. . .	Ephorus born.	Apollodorus.
Death of Socrates.	. . . . . .	. . . . . .	Zeuxis flourishes. Parrhasius and Timanthes.
Theophrastus born.	. . . Beginnings of Lysias and Antiphanes.	Thucydides dies.	Scopas.
Aristotle born.	Demosthenes born. . . .	. . .	Polyclitus the younger.
. . .	Lycias dies.		
Aristotle comes to Athens.	. . . Beginnings of Demosthenes and Isæus.	. . . . . .	Lysippus. Praxiteles and Euphranor.
. . . Democritus and Hippocrates die.	. . .	Theopompus flourishes.	
. . .	Demosthenes' first Philippic.	. . .	Apelles.
Plato dies.	Treachery of Æschines.		
Hippocritus born.	Panathenaic Oration of Isocrates.	Ephorus.	Apelles and Protogones.

YEARS B.C.	POLITICAL EVENTS.	LAWGIVERS, STATESMEN, AND GENERALS.	POETS.
338	Battle of Chæroneæ. Timoleon liberates Syracuse.		
336	Death of Philip and accession of Alexander.	. . .	. . .
334	Asiatic expedition of Alexander.	. . .	. . .
	Battle of Granicus.		
333	Battle of Issus.	. . .	. . .
331	Battle of Arbela. Death of Agis.	. . .	. . .
323	Alexander dies at Babylon. Samian war.	. . .	. . .
322	Samian war ends.	. . .	Menander and Di- philus.
317	Demetrius Phalereus at Athens.	. . .	. . .
310	. . . . .	. . .	. . .
307	Demetrius Poliorcetes at Athens.	. . .	. . .
304	Demetrius besieges Rhodes.	. . .	. . .
301	Battle of Ipsus. Pyrrhus of Epirus.		
296	Foundation of Museum at Alex- andria.		
291	. . . . .	. . .	Menander dies.
286	. . . . .	. . .	. . .
281	Rise of the Achæan league.	. . .	. . .
280	. . . . .	. . .	. . .
252	Aratus liberates Sicyon.	. . .	. . .
243	Agis at Sparta.		
222	Battle of Sellasia.		
215	Aratus dies.		
212	Syracuse taken by Marcellus.	Philopœmen.	. . .
197	Battle of Cynocephale.		
196	Greece declared free at the Isth- mian games.		
167	. . . . .		
146	Destruction of Corinth. Greece a Roman province.	. . .	. . .



PHILOSOPHERS.	ORATORS.	HISTORIANS AND GEOGRAPHERS.	ART AND ARTISTS.
. . .	Isocrates dies.		
. . .	. . .	Ephorus dies.	Dinocrates (architect).
Diogenes the Cynic dies.	. . .	. . .	Melanthius.
Aristotle dies.	Demosthenes dies.		
Epicurus teaches at Athens.			
. . .	. . .	. . .	Chares works at the Colossus of Rhodes; Protogenes at the Ialysus.
Theophrastus dies.			
Zeno the Stoic. Chrysippus born.			
Archimedes dies.			
. . .	. . .	Polybius at Rome.	

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