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# ANCIENT GREECE.

FROM THE GERMAN OF

ARNOLD H. L. HEEREN.

By GEORGE BANCROFT.

SECOND AMERICAN EDITION.

BOSTON:

CHARLES C. LITTLE AND JAMES BROWN.

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## THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE volume of which a translation is here offered to the public, forms in the original a portion of an extensive work, entitled, "Reflections on the Politics, Intercourse, and Commerce of the chief Nations of Antiquity." Mr. Heeren has accomplished his design only with respect to the nations of Asia and Africa. On those of Europe, he has published nothing further than the present series of essays, which relate solely to subjects connected with the political institutions of the Greeks, and may be regarded as an independent collection of historical sketches.

It is on that larger work that the literary reputation of Mr. Heeren primarily depends. With respect to the Asiatic and African nations, he has discussed his subject in its full extent, and furnishes a more distinct account of their ancient condition, than has perhaps been given by any other writer. Early in life he was led to consider the history of the world as influenced by colonial establishments and commerce; and the results of his investigations, in a department of science to which he is enthusiastically attached, and to which he has uninterruptedly devoted the most precious years of a long life, are communicated in the elaborate production which we have named.

In that portion which relates to Asia, after considering the character of the continent itself, he first treats of the Persians, giving a geographical and statistical account of their ancient empire, their form of government, the rights and authority of

their kings, the administration of their provinces, and their military resources.

The Phœnicians next pass in review ; and a sketch is given of their internal condition and government, their colonies and foreign possessions, their commerce, their manufactures and inland trade.

The country and nation of the Babylonians, and their commerce, form the next subjects of consideration.

The Scythians are then delineated, and a geographical survey of their several tribes is naturally followed by an inquiry into the commerce and intercourse of the nations which inhabited the middle of Asia.

In treating of India, it was necessary to consider with careful criticism, the knowledge which still remains to us of that distant country, and to collect such fragments of information as can be found respecting its earliest history, political constitution and commerce. The Indians are the most remote Asiatic nation which had an influence on the higher culture of the ancient world, and with them the division which treats of Asia is terminated.

To the lover of studies connected with antiquity, the history of the African nations possesses the deepest interest. Beside the physical peculiarities of this singular part of the globe, the Carthaginians present the most remarkable example of the wealth and power which a state may acquire by commerce alone ; and at the same time, it shows most forcibly the changes to which such a state is exposed, when the uncertainty of its resources is increased by a want of the higher virtues, of valor, faith, and religion. In Egypt, on the other hand, the vast antiquity of its political institutions, the veil of uncertainty which hangs over its early condition, connected with the magnificence of its monuments, that have, as it were, been discovered within the recollection of our contemporaries, all serve to

render that country a most interesting subject of speculation and critical study.

The volume on Africa first introduces the Carthaginians, who had the melancholy fate of becoming famous only by their ruin. Mr. Heeren discusses the condition of their African territory, their foreign provinces and colonies, their form of government, their revenue, their commerce by land and by sea, their military force, and lastly the decline and fall of their state.

Before entering upon the consideration of the Egyptians, Mr. Heeren ascends the Nile, and presents us with a geographical sketch of the Æthiopian nations, an account of the state of Meroë, and of the commerce of Meroë and Æthiopia.

The Egyptians are then considered. A general view of their country and its inhabitants, its political condition and its commerce,—these are the topics, under which he treats of that most ancient people. The whole is concluded by an analysis of the monuments which yet remain of Egyptian Thebes.

These are the subjects which are discussed in the “Reflections of Heeren,” a work which deservedly holds a high rank among the best historical productions of our age. Mr. Heeren’s style is uniformly clear, and there are few of his countrymen, whose works so readily admit of being translated. We may add, there are few so uniformly distinguished for sound sense and a rational and liberal method of studying the monuments of antiquity. He is entirely free from any undue fondness for philosophical speculations, but recommends himself by his perspicuity, moderation, and flowing style.

The business of translating is but an humble one; and yet it may be the surest method of increasing the number of good books which are in the hands of our countrymen. None can be offered more directly interesting to them, than those which

relate to political institutions. Holding as we do our destinies and our national character and prosperity in our own hands, it becomes us to contemplate the revolutions of governments; to study human nature, as exhibited in its grandest features in the changes of nations; to consider not only the politics of the present age, but gaining some firm ground, such as history points out, to observe with careful attention the wrecks of other institutions and other times. The present volume may perhaps do something to call public attention to the merits and true character of the ancient Greeks. The admirers of Grecian eloquence will find in one of the chapters, an outline of the political career of Demosthenes. His reputation is there vindicated from the calumnies that have so long been heaped upon one of the noblest, most persevering, most disinterested advocates of the cause of suffering liberty.

The Translator hopes the work will prove acceptable to scholars and those who have leisure for the study of history; and that it will be received by them as an earnest of his desire to do something, however little it may be, for the advancement of learning in our common country.

NORTHAMPTON, MASS., December 18, 1823.

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## P R E F A C E

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THIS translation, of which two or three editions have been published in England, has recently been adopted as a text-book in Harvard College. Hence it became necessary to reprint it; and the opportunity has been seized to revise it, and to adopt the few changes and additions, which were made by Mr. Heeren in the latest edition of his works.

BOSTON, February 12, 1842.



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## GENERAL PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

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To the student of the history of man, there is hardly a phenomenon more important in itself, or more difficult of explanation, than the superiority of Europe over the other parts of our earth. Whatever justice may be rendered to other lands and nations, it cannot be denied that the noblest and best of everything, which humanity has produced, sprung up, or at least ripened, on European soil. In the multitude, variety, and beauty of their natural productions, Asia and Africa far surpass Europe; but in everything which is the work of man, the nations of Europe stand far above those of the other continents. It was among them, that, by making marriage the union of but one with one, domestic society obtained that form, without which the higher culture of so many parts of our nature could never have been attained; and if slavery and bondage were established among them, they alone, recognising their injustice, abolished them. It was chiefly and almost exclusively among them, that such constitutions were framed, as are suited to nations who have become conscious of their rights. If Asia, during all the

changes in its extensive empires, does but show the continued reproduction of despotism, it was on European soil that the germ of political freedom unfolded itself, and under the most various forms, in so many places, bore the noblest fruits; which again were transplanted to other parts of the world. The simplest inventions of the mechanic arts may perhaps belong in part to the East; but how have they all been perfected by Europeans. What progress from the loom of the Hindoo to the power-looms driven by steam; from the sun-dial to the chronometer, which guides the mariner over the ocean; from the bark canoe of the Mohawk to the British man-of-war. And if we direct our attention to those nobler arts, which, as it were, raise human nature above itself, what a distance between the Jupiter of Phidias and an Indian idol; between the Transfiguration of Raphael and the works of a Chinese painter. The East had its annalists, but never produced a Tacitus, or a Gibbon; it had its poets, but never advanced to criticism; it had its sages, who not unfrequently produced a powerful effect on their nations by means of their doctrines; but a Plato or a Kant never ripened on the banks of the Ganges and the Hoangho.

Nor can we less admire that political superiority, which the nations of this small region, just emerging from savage life, immediately established over the extensive countries of the large continents. The East has seen powerful conquerors; but it was only in Europe that generals appeared, who invented a science of war really worthy of the name. Hardly had a kingdom in Macedonia of limited extent outgrown its childhood, before Macedonians ruled on the Indus as on the

Nile. The imperial city was the heiress of the imperial nation ; Asia and Africa adored the Cæsars. Even in the centuries of the middle age, when the intellectual superiority of the Europeans seemed to have sunk, the nations of the East attempted to subjugate them in vain. The Mongolians advanced into Silesia ; nothing but the wastes of Russia long remained in their power : the Arabs desired to overrun the West ; the sword of Charles Martel compelled them to rest contented with a part of Spain ; and the chivalrous Frank, under the banner of the cross, soon bade them defiance in their own home. And how did the fame of Europeans beam over the earth, when, through Columbus and Vasco de Gama, the morning of its fairer day began to dawn. The new world at once became their prey, that it might receive their culture, and become their rival ; more than a third part of Asia submitted to the Russian sceptre ; merchants on the Thames and the Zuyder See seized on the government of India ; and if the Turks have thus far been successful in preserving the country which they have robbed from Europe, will it remain to them forever ? will it remain to them long ? The career of conquest may have been marked with severity and blood ; the Europeans became not the tyrants only, but also the instructors of the world. The civilization of mankind seems to be more and more closely connected with their progress ; and if, in these times of universal revolution, any consoling prospect for the future is opened, is it not the triumph of European culture beyond the limits of Europe ?

From whence proceeds this superiority, this universal sovereignty of so small a region as Europe ? An impor-

tant truth presents itself at once. Not undisciplined strength, not the mere physical force of the mass, — it was intelligence which produced it; and if the military science of Europeans founded their sovereignty, it was their superior political science which maintained it. But the question which was proposed, remains still unanswered; for we desire to know the causes of this intellectual superiority; and why it was in Europe, that the faculties of human nature were so much more beautifully unfolded?

To such a question no perfectly satisfactory answer can be given. The phenomenon is in itself much too rich, much too vast for that. It will be readily conceded, that it could only be the consequence of many coöperating causes; of these several can be enumerated, and thus afford some partial solution. But to enumerate them all separately, and in their united influences, could only be done by a mind, to which it should be granted, from a higher point of view than any to which a mortal can attain, to contemplate the whole web of the history of our race, and follow the course and the interweaving of the various threads.

Here, attention is drawn to one important circumstance, of which the cautious inquirer almost fears to estimate the value. Whilst we see the surface of the other continents covered with nations of different, and almost always of dark color, (and, in so far as this determines the race, of different races); the inhabitants of Europe belong only to one race. It has not, and it never had, any other native inhabitants than white nations.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Gipseys are foreigners; and it may seem doubtful whether the Laplanders are to be reckoned to the white or yellow race.

Is the white man distinguished by greater natural talents? Has he by means of them precedence over his colored brethren? This is a question, which physiology cannot answer at all, and which history must answer with timidity. Who will absolutely deny, that the differences of organization, which attend on the difference in color, can have an influence on the more rapid or more difficult unfolding of the mind? But, on the other hand, who can demonstrate this influence, without first raising that secret veil, which conceals from us the reciprocal connexion between body and mind? And yet we must esteem it probable; and how much does this probability increase in strength, if we make inquiries of history? The great superiority, which the white nations in all ages and parts of the world have possessed, is a matter of fact, which cannot be done away with by denials. It may be said, this was the consequence of external circumstances, which favored them more. But has this always been so? And why has it been so? And further, why did those darker nations, which rose above the savage state, attain only to a degree of culture of their own; a degree, which was passed neither by the Egyptian nor by the Mongolian, neither by the Chinese nor the Hindoo? And among the colored races, why did the black remain behind the brown and the yellow? If these observations cannot but make us inclined to attribute differences of capacity to the several branches of our race, they do not on that account prove an absolute want of capacity in our darker fellow-men, nor must they be urged as containing the whole explanation of European superiority. This, only, is intended; experience thus far seems to prove, that a

greater facility in developing the powers of mind belongs to the nations of a clear color; but we will welcome the age, which shall contradict this experience, and exhibit cultivated nations of negroes.

But however high or low this natural precedency of the Europeans may be estimated, no one can fail to observe, that the physical qualities of this continent offer peculiar advantages, which may serve not a little to explain the abovementioned phenomenon.

Europe belongs almost entirely to the northern temperate zone. Its most important lands lie between the fortieth and sixtieth degree of north latitude. Farther to the north nature gradually dies away. Thus our continent has in no part the luxuriant fruitfulness of tropic regions; but also no such ungrateful climate, as to make the care for the mere preservation of life exhaust the whole strength of its inhabitants. Europe, except where local causes put obstacles in the way, is throughout susceptible of agriculture. To this it invites, or rather compels; for it is as little adapted to the life of hunters as of herdsmen. Although its inhabitants have at various periods changed their places of abode, they were never nomadic tribes. They emigrated to conquer; to make other establishments where booty or better lands attracted them. No European nation ever lived in tents; the well wooded plains offered in abundance the materials for constructing those huts, which the inclement skies required. Its soil and climate were peculiarly fitted to accustom men to that regular industry, which is the source of all prosperity. If Europe could boast of but few distinguished products, perhaps of no one which was exclusively its own, the transplantation



of the choicest from distant regions, made it necessary to cherish and to rear them. Thus art joined with nature, and this union is the mother of the gradual improvement of our race. Without exertion man can never enlarge the circle of his ideas; but at the same time his mere preservation must not claim the exercise of all his faculties. A fruitfulness, sufficient to reward the pains of culture, is spread almost equally over Europe; there are no vast tracts of perfect barrenness; no deserts like those of Arabia and Africa; and the steppes, which themselves are well watered, begin towards the east. Mountains of a moderate elevation usually interrupt the plains; in every direction there is an agreeable interchange of hill and valley; and if nature does not exhibit the luxurious pomp of the torrid zone, her awakening in spring has charms which are wanting to the splendid uniformity of tropic climes.

It is true, that a similar climate is shared by a large portion of middle Asia; and it may be asked, why, then, opposite results should be exhibited, where the shepherd nations of Tartary and Mongolia, so long as they roamed in their own countries, seem to have been compelled to remain forever stationary? But by the character of its soil, by the interchange of mountains and valleys, by the number of its navigable rivers, and above all, by its coasts on the Mediterranean, Europe distinguishes itself from those regions so remarkably, that this similar temperature of the air, (which is moreover not perfectly equal under equal degrees of latitude, since Asia is colder,) can afford no foundation for a comparison.

But can we derive from this physical difference, those moral advantages, which were produced by the better

regulation of domestic society? With this begins in some measure the history of the first culture of our continent; tradition has not forgotten to tell, how the founder of the oldest colony among the savage inhabitants of Attica, was also the founder of regular marriages; and who has not learned of Tacitus the holy usage of our German ancestors? Is it merely the character of the climate, which causes both sexes to ripen more gradually, and at the same time more nearly simultaneously, and a cooler blood to flow in the veins of man; or is a more delicate sentiment impressed upon the European, a higher moral nobility, which determines the relation of the two sexes? Be this as it may, who does not perceive the decisive importance of the fact? Does not the wall of division which separates the inhabitants of the East from those of the West, repose chiefly on this basis? And can it be doubted, that this better domestic institution was essential to the progress of our political institutions? For we say confidently; no nation, where polygamy was established, has ever obtained a free and well ordered constitution.

Whether these causes alone, or whether others beside them (for who will deny that there may have been others?) procured for the Europeans their superiority; thus much is certain, that all Europe may now boast of this superiority. If the nations of the South preceded those of the North; if these were still wandering in their forests when those had already obtained their ripeness, — they finally made up for their dilatoriness. Their time also came; the time when they could look down on their southern brethren with a just consciousness of their own worth. This leads us to the important differences,

which are peculiar to the North and the South of this continent.

A chain of mountains, which, though many arms extend to the North and South, runs in its chief direction from West to East, the chain of the Alps, connected in the west with the Pyrenees by the mountains of Sevens, extending to the Carpathian and the Balkan towards the east as far as the shores of the Black sea, divides this continent into two very unequal parts, the Southern and the Northern. It separates the three peninsulas which run to the south, those of the Pyrenees, Italy, and Greece, together with the southern coast of France and Germany, from the great continent of Europe, which stretches to the north beyond the polar circle. This last, which is by far the larger half, contains almost all the chief streams of this continent; the Ebro, the Rhone, and the Po, of all that flow into the Mediterranean, are alone important for navigation. No other chain of mountains of our earth has had such an influence on the history of our race, as the chain of the Alps. During a long succession of ages, it parted, as it were, two worlds from each other; the fairest buds of civilization had already opened under the Grecian and Hesperian skies, whilst scattered tribes of barbarians were yet wandering in the forests of the North. How different would have been the whole history of Europe, had the wall of the Alps, instead of being near the Mediterranean, been removed to the shores of the North sea? This boundary, it is true, seems of less moment in our time; when the enterprising spirit of the European has built for itself a road across the Alps, just as it has found a path over the ocean; but it was of decisive importance

for the age of which we are speaking, for antiquity. The North and South were then physically, morally, and politically divided ; that chain long remained the protecting bulwark of the one against the other ; and if Cæsar, finally breaking over these boundaries, removed in some measure the political landmarks, the distinction still continues apparent between the Roman part of Europe, and that which never yielded to the Romans.

It is therefore only the southern part of our hemisphere, which can employ us in our present inquiries. Its limited extent, which seemed to afford no room for powerful nations, was amply compensated by its climate and situation. What traveller from the North ever descended the southern side of the Alps without being excited by the view of the novel scenery that surrounded him ? The more beautiful blue of the Italian and Grecian sky, the milder air, the more graceful forms of the mountains, the pomp of the rocky shores and the islands, the dark tints of the forests glittering with golden fruits—do these exist merely in the songs of the poets ? Although the tropic climes are still distant, a feeling of their existence is awakened even here. The aloe grows wild in Lower Italy ; the sugar-cane thrives in Sicily ; from the top of *Ætna*, the eye can discern the rocks of Malta, where the fruit of the palm-tree ripens, and in the azure distance, even the coasts of neighboring Africa.<sup>1</sup> Here nature never partakes of the uniformity, which so long repressed the spirit of the natives in the forests and plains of the North. In all these countries there is a constant interchange of moderately elevated mountains with pleasant valleys and level lands, over which Pomona has scattered

<sup>1</sup> Bartel's Reise durch Sicilien. B. II. p. 338—340.

her choicest blessings. The limited extent of the countries allows no large navigable rivers; but what an indemnification for this is found in its extensive and richly indented coasts. The Mediterranean sea belongs to the South of Europe; and it was by means of that sea, that the nations of the West were formed. Let an extensive heath occupy its place, and we should yet be wandering Tartars and Mongolians, like the nomades of middle Asia.

Of the nations of the South, only three can engage our attention; the Greeks, Macedonians, and Romans, the masters of Italy and then of the world. We have named them in the order in which history presents them as prominent, although distinguished in different ways. We shall follow the same order in treating of them.



G R E E C E .





# G R E E C E .

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## CHAPTER I.

### GEOGRAPHICAL VIEW OF GREECE.

WERE any one, who is entirely unacquainted with the history of the Greeks, to examine the map with attentive eye, he could hardly remain in doubt that their country, in point of situation, is favored by nature beyond any other in Europe. It is the most southern of that continent. The promontory of Tænarium, in which it terminates, lies under almost the same degree of latitude with the celebrated rock of Calpe; and its northern boundary falls somewhat to the south of Madrid. In this manner it extends from that promontory to Olympus and the Cambunian mountains, which divide it from Macedonia, about two hundred and twenty-five miles from south to north.<sup>1</sup> Its eastern point is the promontory of Sunium in Attica; from thence its greatest breadth, to the promontory of Leucas in the west, is about one hundred and sixty miles. The greatness of the nation and the abundance

<sup>1</sup> From 36½ to 40 degrees north latitude.

of its achievements easily lead to the error of believing the country an extensive one. But even if we add all the islands, its square contents are a third less than those of Portugal. But what advantages of situation does it not possess over the Iberian peninsula. If this, according to the ideas of the ancients, was the western extremity of the world, as the distant Serica was the eastern, Greece was as it were in the centre of the most cultivated countries of three continents. A short passage by sea divided it from Italy; and the voyage to Egypt, Asia Minor, and Phœnicia, though somewhat longer, seemed hardly more dangerous.

Nature herself, in this land of such moderate extent, established the geographical divisions, separating the peninsula of the Peloponnesus from the main land; and dividing the latter into nearly equal parts, northern and southern, by the chain of *Œta*, which traverses it obliquely. In every direction hills interchange with valleys and fruitful plains; and though in its narrow compass no large rivers are found (the *Peneus* and *Achelous* are the only considerable ones), its extensive coasts, abundantly provided with bays, landing-places, and natural harbors, afford more than an equivalent.

The peninsula of *Pelops*, so called in honor of *Pelops*, who, according to the tradition, introduced, not war, but the gifts of peace from Asia Minor, is about equal in extent to Sicily, and forms the southernmost district.<sup>1</sup> It consists of a central high ridge of hills, which sends out several branches, and some as far as the sea; but between these branches there are fruitful plains well

<sup>1</sup> See the Map of the Peloponnesus by Professor C. O. Müller, on which the mountains as well as the different districts are given with critical exactness.

watered by an abundance of streams, which pour from the mountains in every direction. This high inland district, nowhere touching the sea, is the far-famed Arcadia of poetical tradition. Its highest ridge, mount Cyllene, rises, according to Strabo, from fifteen to twenty stadia above the sea.<sup>1</sup> Nature has destined this country for pastoral life. "The pastures and meadows in summer are always green and unscorched; for the shade and moisture preserve them. The country has an appearance similar to that of Switzerland, and the Arcadians in some measure resemble the inhabitants of the Alps. They possessed a love of freedom and yet a love of money; for wherever there was money, you might see Arcadian hirelings. But it is chiefly the western part of Arcadia (where Pan invented the shepherd's flute), which deserves the name of a pastoral country. Innumerable brooks, one more delightful than the other, sometimes rushing impetuously and sometimes gently murmuring, pour themselves down the mountains. Vegetation is rich and magnificent; everywhere freshness and coolness are found. One flock of sheep succeeds another, till the rugged Taygetus is approached; where numerous herds of goats interchange with them."<sup>2</sup> The inhabitants of Arcadia, devoted to the pastoral life, preferred therefore for a long time to dwell in the open country rather than in cities; and when some of these, particularly Tegea and Mantinea, became considerable, the contests between them destroyed the peace and liberties of the people. The shepherd life among the

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, l. viii. p. 595, ed. Casaub. 1707. The indefinite nature of the account shows how uncertain it is.

<sup>2</sup> Bartholdy. Bruchstücke zur nähern Kenntniss Griechenlands, s. 239-241.

Greeks, although much ornamented by the poets, betrays its origin in this ; that it arose among a people, who did not wander like Nomades, but had fixed abodes.

Round Arcadia lay seven districts, almost all of which were well watered by streams, that descended from its highlands. In the south lay the land of heroes, Laconia, rough and mountainous, but thickly settled ; so that it is said, at one time, to have contained nearly a hundred towns or villages.<sup>1</sup> It was watered by the Eurotas, the clearest and purest of all the Grecian rivers,<sup>2</sup> which, rising in Arcadia, was increased by several smaller streams. Sparta was built upon its banks, the mistress of the country, without walls, without gates ; defended only by its citizens. It was one of the larger cities of Greece ; but, notwithstanding the market-place, the theatre, and the various temples which Pausanias enumerates,<sup>3</sup> it was not one of the more splendid. The monuments of fallen heroes<sup>4</sup> constituted the principal ornament of the banks of the Eurotas, which were then, and still are, covered with the laurel.<sup>5</sup> But all these monuments have perished ; there is a doubt even as to the spot where ancient Sparta was situated. It was formerly thought to be the modern Misitra ; this opinion has been given up ; a more recent traveller believes, that about three miles to the south-east of Misitra, he has discovered, in the ruins of Mogula, the traces of the ancient theatre and

<sup>1</sup> Manso has enumerated sixty-seven : Sparta, i. 2. p. 15. And yet Laconia was not much more extensive than the territory of Nuremberg, when a free city

<sup>2</sup> Bartholdy. Bruchstücke, &c. p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. iii. p. 240. ed. Kuhn.

<sup>4</sup> See the long list of them in Pausanias, p. 240, 243, &c.

<sup>5</sup> Pouqueville. Voyage i. p. 189.

some temples.<sup>1</sup> At the distance of four miles lay Amyclæ, celebrated for the oracle of Apollo, of whose sanctuary not a trace is now visible; and a road of twenty miles led from Sparta to Gythium, its harbor in that period of its history, when, mistaking its true policy, it built a fleet. On the west and north, Laconia was surrounded by the lofty Taygetus, which separated it from the fruitful plains of Messenia. This country was soon overpowered by Sparta,<sup>2</sup> which, having thus doubled its territory, easily became the largest of all the Grecian cities. But after a long and quiet possession, Messenia was finally avenged; when Epaminondas, its restorer, crushed the power of humbled Sparta.

A neck of land, called Argolis, from its capital city Argos, extends in a south-easterly direction from Arcadia forty-eight miles into the sea, where it terminates in the promontory of Scillæum. Many and great recollections recall this country to memory from the heroic age; and the remains of the most ancient style of architecture, the Cyclopic walls, which are still standing on the sites of the west towns, make that age present even now. Here lay Tiryns, whence Hercules departed to enter on his labors; here was Mycenæ, the country of Agamemnon,

<sup>1</sup> See Chateaubriand. *Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem*, i. p. 25. This traveller was but *one* hour in going from Misitra to Mogula, by way of Palaiochoros, on horseback and in a gallop. Those discoveries belong to M. Chateaubriand; he remarks, however, that others before him had supposed Palaiochoros to be the site of ancient Sparta. The great insecurity of travelling in the Pelopónnesus increases the difficulty of the investigation; yet by the work of Sir William Gell, in his *Itinerary of the Morea*, being a description of the Routes of that peninsula, London, 1817, with a map, the topography of the peninsula has received sufficient illustrations. The distances given in the text rest on his authority. He makes the distance from Misitra or Mistra to Sparta to be 52 minutes. The city lay on hills, and appears to have been about a mile long. — Gell, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> In the second Messenian war, which ended 668 years before Christ

the most powerful and most unhappy of kings; here was Nemea, celebrated for its games instituted in honor of Neptune. But the glory of its earliest times does not seem to have animated Argos. No Themistocles, no Agesilaus was ever counted among its citizens; and, though it possessed a territory of no inconsiderable extent, holding in subjection the larger western moiety of the district, while Epidaurus and Træzene remained independent; — still it never assumed a rank among the first of the Grecian states, but was rather the sport of foreign policy.

In the west of the Peloponnesus lay Elis, the holy land. Its length from south to north, if the small southern district of Triphylia be reckoned, amounted to forty-eight miles; its breadth in the broadest part was not more than half as much. Several rivers, which had their rise in the Arcadian mountains, watered its fruitful plains. Among them the Alpheus was the largest and the most famous; for the Olympic games were celebrated on its banks. Its fountains were not far distant from those of the Eurotas; and as the latter, taking a southerly direction, flowed through the land of war, the former, in a westerly one, passed through the land of peace. For here, in the country sacred to Jove, where the nation of the Hellenes, assembling in festive pomp, saluted each other as one people, no bloody feuds were suffered to profane the soil. Armies were indeed permitted to pass through the consecrated land; but they were first deprived of their arms, which they did not again receive till they left it.<sup>1</sup> This general rule was

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 247. Phidon of Argos was the first, who violated this sanctity by an invasion, to appropriate to himself the holding of the Olympic games,

afterwards limited in its application to the time of the Olympian games; but even during the following wars, the treasures of art in the sanctuaries of Elis remained uninjured; and under their protection it long enjoyed a beneficent peace.

The country of Elis embraced three divisions. The woody Triphylia was in the south, and contained that Pylus, which, according to the judgment of Strabo, could lay a better claim than either of the other two towns of the same name, to have been the country ruled by Nestor.<sup>1</sup> The northern division was Elis, a plain enclosed by the rough mountains Pholoë and Scollis, both spurs from the Arcadian Erymanthus, and watered by the Selleis and the Elian Peneus, on whose banks lay the city that gave a name to the whole region, over which it also exercised supreme authority; for the district of the Elians, embracing both Pisatis and Triphylia, extended to the borders of Messenia.<sup>2</sup> The middle territory, Pisatis, so called from the city Pisa, was the most important of all, for it contained Olympia. Two roads from Elis led thither, one nearer the sea through the plain, another through the mountains; the distance was from twenty-eight to thirty-two miles.<sup>3</sup> The name Olympia designated the country near the city Pisa<sup>4</sup>

(about 900 years before Christ); yet this occupation must have been transient, for when Elis was built, (about 447 years before Christ) that city, even then relying on this sanctity, was surrounded by no walls. — Strabo, l. c. It was not till after the Peloponnesian war, that this and so many other religious ideas appear to have died away.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 242. The two other towns were situated, one in northern Elis, the other in Messenia.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 247, relates the manner in which it came to be extended thus far by the assistance of the Spartans in the Messenian war.

<sup>3</sup> According to Strabo, l. c. 300 stadia.

<sup>4</sup> Barthélemy is not strictly accurate, when he calls (iv. p. 207) Pisa and

(which even in Strabo's time was no longer in existence), where every five years those games were celebrated, which the Elians established after the subjugation of the Pisans, and at which they presided. If this privilege gave to them, as it were, all their importance in the eyes of the Greeks; if their country thus became the common centre; if it was the first in Greece with respect to works of art and perhaps to wealth; if their safety, their prosperity, their fame, and in some measure their existence as an independent state, were connected with the temple of Jupiter Olympius and its festivals;—need we be astonished, if no sacrifice seemed to them too great, by which the glory of Olympia was to be increased? Here on the banks of the Alpheus stood the sacred grove, called Altis, of olive and plane trees, surrounded by an enclosure; a sanctuary of the arts, such as the world has never since beheld. For what are all our cabinets and museums, compared with this one spot? Its centre was occupied by the national temple of the Hellenes, the temple of Olympian Jove,<sup>1</sup> in which was the colossal statue of that god, the masterpiece of Phidias. No other work of art in antiquity was so generally acknowledged to have been the first, even whilst all other inventions of Grecian genius were still uninjured; and need we hesitate to regard it as the first of all the works of art, of which we have any knowledge? Besides this temple, the grove contained that of Juno Lucina, the theatre and the prytaneum; in front of it, or

Olympia one city. Pisa was but six stadia (not quite a mile) from the temple; Schol. Pind. ad Ol. x. 55. I have never met with any mention of a city Olympia.

<sup>1</sup> The temple of Jupiter Olympius, built by the Elians in the age of Pericles.



perhaps within its precincts,<sup>1</sup> was the stadium together with the race-ground, or hippodromus. The whole forest was filled with monuments and statues, erected in honor of gods, heroes, and conquerors. Pausanias mentions more than two hundred and thirty statues; of Jupiter alone he describes twenty-three,<sup>2</sup> and these were, for the most part, works of the first artists; for how could inferiority gain admittance, where even mediocrity became despicable? Pliny estimates the whole number of these statues in his time, at three thousand.<sup>3</sup> To this must be added the treasures (*θησαυροί*), which the piety or the vanity of so many cities, enumerated by Pausanias,<sup>4</sup> had established by their votive presents. It was with a just pride, that the Grecian departed from Olympia. He could say to himself with truth, that he had seen the noblest objects on earth, and that these were not the works of foreigners, nor the pillage of foreign lands, but at once the creation and the property of his own nation.

had nearly the same dimensions as the Parthenon at Athens; 230 feet in length, 95 in breadth, and 68 in height. The colossal statue of Jupiter, represented as seated, nearly touched the roof of the temple, as Strabo relates; and is said to have been 60 feet high. Compare: Völkel über den grossen Tempel und die Statue des Jupiters in Olympia, 1794.

<sup>1</sup> According to Strabo, in the Altis: Barthélemy says, in front of it. We are still much in the dark respecting the situation of ancient Olympia. What Chandler says is unimportant. The only modern traveller, who has made *accurate* investigations, is M. Fauvel. But I am acquainted with his communication to the National Institute, *Précis de ses voyages dans le continent de la Grèce, etc.*, only from the short notice contained in Millin, *Magazin Encyclop.* 1802, T. II. He found, it is there said, not only the remains of the temple of Jupiter, but also of the Hippodromus.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, v. p. 434, &c. has enumerated and described that number. Among them there was a colossus of bronze, 27 feet high.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 17. There were as many at Athens, Delphi, and Rhodes.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. vi. p. 497, etc.

The territory of Elis was indebted for its repose to the protection of the gods; Achaia, the country which bounded it on the north, to the wisdom of men. Having once been inhabited by Ionians, this maritime country had borne the name of Ionia; which was afterwards applied exclusively to the neighboring sea on the west side of Greece. But in the confusion produced by the general emigration of the Dorians, it exchanged its ancient inhabitants for Achæans.<sup>1</sup> Achaia, watered by a multitude of mountain streams, which descended from the high ridges of Arcadia, belonged, with respect to its extent, fruitfulness, and population, to the middling countries of Greece. The character of its inhabitants was analogous. They never aspired after aggrandizement, or influence abroad. They were not made illustrious by great generals or great poets. But they possessed good laws. Twelve cities,<sup>2</sup> each with a small territory, independent of each other in the management of their internal affairs, formed a confederacy, which, under the name of the Achæan league, could trace its origin to remote antiquity. A perfect equality was its fundamental principle; no precedence of rank or power was to be usurped by any single city. What an example for the other parts of Greece, if they had been able or willing to understand it! In this manner the Achæans continued for a long time in the enjoyment of happy tranquillity, having no share in the wars of their neighbors. Their country was in no one's way, and attracted no one; even during the Peloponnesian war, they remained neutral.<sup>3</sup> The Mace-

<sup>1</sup> As early as 1100 before Christ.

<sup>2</sup> Dyme and Patræ were the most important; Helice was swallowed up by the sea.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. ii. 9.

donian supremacy finally dissolved the confederacy, and favored individual tyrants, to use them as its instruments. But the times were to come, when Nemesis should rule. The Achæan league was renewed, and enlarged, and it became most dangerous to the Macedonian rulers.

The small territory of the city Sicyon, (which afterwards belonged to the Achæan league) divided Achaia from that of Corinth. In point of extent, this state was one of the smallest in Greece; but the importance of a commercial state does not depend on the extent of its territory. Venice was never more flourishing or more powerful, than at a time when it did not possess a square mile on the continent. Wealthy Corinth, more than four miles in extent, lay at the foot of a steep and elevated hill, on which its citadel was built. There was hardly a stronger fortress in all Greece, and perhaps no spot afforded a more splendid prospect than Acrocorinthus.<sup>1</sup> Beneath it might be seen the busy city and its territory, with its temples, its theatres, and its aqueducts.<sup>2</sup> Its two harbors, Lechæum on the western bay, Cenchreæ on the eastern, filled with ships, and the two bays themselves with the isthmus between them, were all in sight. The peaks of Helicon and of Parnassus

<sup>1</sup> See Strabo, p. 261. Of modern travellers, Spon and Wheler ascended it in 1676. Chateaubriand, i. 36, says, that the prospect at the foot of the citadel is enchanting. If it is so now, what must it formerly have been? Clarke (Travels, vol. ii. § 5, p. 745, etc.) describes the few remaining ruins, and the whole country round Corinth; especially the isthmus. He too, and his companions, were refused admittance to the citadel, yet they obtained leave to climb the cliff on which it stands; and which might be made as strong as Gibraltar. They gained the summit just at sunset: "a more splendid prospect cannot be found in Europe." It extended even to the Acropolis at Athens. Travels, ii. p. 749.

<sup>2</sup> Corinth is famous even with the poets, for being well supplied with water; compare Euripides in Strabo l. c. Pausanias enumerates, l. ii. 117, its many temples and aqueducts.

itself, were seen at a distance ; and a strong eye could distinguish on the eastern side the Acropolis of Athens. What images and emotions are excited by this prospect !

Beyond the isthmus of the Peloponnesus, which the Grecians, acquainted for a long time with no other, were accustomed to call simply the Isthmus, lay the tract of Hellas. Its southern half stretching as far as the chain of Œta, was divided into eight, or, if Locris, of which there were two parts, be twice counted, into nine districts ; of these, the extent was but small, as their number indicates. Next to the isthmus, on which may still be seen the ruins of a stadium and a theatre,<sup>1</sup> and that temple of Neptune, in the grove of fir-trees, where all Greece assembled to celebrate the Isthmian games, the small but fruitful territory of Megara<sup>2</sup> began ; and through this, along the high rocky shore, where the robber Sciron is said to have exercised his profession, the road conducted to the favorite land of the gods, to Attica.<sup>3</sup>

A neck of land or peninsula, opposite to that of Argolis, extends in a southeasterly direction about fifty-six miles into the Ægean sea, and forms this country. Where it is connected with the main land, its greatest breadth may be twenty-four miles ; but it tapers more and more to a point, till it ends in the high cape of Sunium, on the summit of which the temple of Minerva announced to the traveller, as he arrived from sea, the land which was protected by the goddess of courage and wisdom.

<sup>1</sup> Clarke's Travels, ii. p. 752. Even the sacred grove of firs still exists, from which, according to Pausanius, the crowns of the victors were taken.

<sup>2</sup> Like that of Corinth, not more than eight miles in length and breadth.

<sup>3</sup> On Attica, see the critical map of Professor O. Müller.

It was not endowed with luxuriant fruitfulness ; it never produced so much corn as would supply its own inhabitants ; and for this, neither the honey of Hymettus, nor the marble of the Pentelic mountains, nor even the silver mines of Laurium, could have afforded a compensation. But the culture of the olive, mechanic industry, and the advantageous use made of the situation of the country for the purposes of commerce, gave to the frugal people all that they needed, and something more ; for the activity of commerce was shackled by no restrictive laws. Almost the whole country is mountainous ; the mountains are indeed of a moderate height, and covered with aromatic plants ; but they are stony and without forests. Their outlines are, however, wonderfully beautiful ; the waters of the Ilissus, the Cephissus, and of other rivers, or, to speak more accurately, of other brooks, which stream from them, are clear as crystal, and delicious to the taste ; and the almost constant clearness of the atmosphere, which lends very peculiar tints to the buildings, no less than to the mountains,<sup>1</sup> opens a prospect, which distance can hardly bound. “ For, without doubt,” (says a modern traveller<sup>2</sup>) “ this is the most salubrious, the purest, and the mildest climate of Greece ; as Euripides<sup>3</sup> has said, ‘ Our air is soft and mild ; the frost of winter is never severe, nor the beams of Phœbus oppressive ; so that for us there are no attractions in the choicest delights which are offered by the fields of Asia, or the wealth of Hellas.’ ”

<sup>1</sup> See the remarks of Chateaubriand on this subject. *Itinéraire à Jerusalem*, i. p.191.

<sup>2</sup> Bartholdy. Bruchstücke, &c. p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Euripides in Erechtheo, fr. i. v. 15, &c.

But where the mountains open, and leave room for plains of a moderate extent, the soil is still covered by forests of olive-trees, of which the eye can perceive no termination. "More beautiful are nowhere to be seen. Those of Palermo or on the Riviera of Genoa are hardly to be compared with these, which seem as it were immortal, and century after century send forth new branches and new shoots with renovated vigor."<sup>1</sup> Formerly they overshadowed the sacred road, and the gardens of the academy; and if the goddess herself, like her scholars, has deserted the soil, she has at least left behind her for posterity, the first of the presents, which she made to her darling nation.

The traveller from Corinth and Megara, passing the isthmus to Attica, reached the sacred city of Eleusis at the distance of about eight miles from Megara. When the inhabitants of that place submitted to Athens, they reserved for themselves nothing but their sanctuaries;<sup>2</sup> and hence the mysterious festivals of Ceres continued to be celebrated in their temple. From this place, the sacred road of almost unvarying breadth, led to the city which Pallas protected.

Athens lay in a plain, which on the southwest extended for about four miles towards the sea and the harbors, but on the other side was enclosed by mountains. The plain itself was interrupted by several rocky hills. The largest and highest of these supported the Citadel or Acropolis, which took its name from its founder Cecrops: round this, the city was spread out, especially in

<sup>1</sup> Bartholdy. Bruchstücke, &c. p. 220. This account is confirmed by Clarke, ii. p. 783, who was told that the olive trees were 40,000 in number.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. i. p. 92.

the direction of the sea. The summit of the hill contained a level space, about eight hundred feet long, and half as broad; which seemed, as it were, prepared by nature to support those masterpieces of architecture, which announced at a great distance the splendor of Athens. The only road which led to it, conducted to the Propylæa,<sup>1</sup> with its two wings, the temple of Victory, and another temple, ornamented with the pictures of Polygnotus. That superb edifice, the most splendid monument which was erected under the administration of Pericles, the work of Mnesicles, was decorated by the admirable sculptures of Phidias.<sup>2</sup> They formed the proud entrance to the level summit of the hill, on which were the temples of the guardian deities of Athens. On the left was the temple of Pallas, the protectress of cities, with the column which fell from heaven, and the sacred olive-tree; and that of Neptune.<sup>3</sup> But on the right, the Parthenon, the pride of Athens, rose above every thing else, possessing the colossal statue of Minerva by Phidias, next to the Olympian Jupiter, the noblest of his works. At the foot of the hill on the one side was the Odeon, and the theatre of Bacchus, where the tragic contests

<sup>1</sup> Compare the sketches and drawings in Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*.

<sup>2</sup> A part of these masterpieces has perished. By robbing the Acropolis, Lord Elgin has gained a name, which no other will wish to share with him. The sea has swallowed up his plunder. The devastation made by this modern Herostatus, is described not by Chateaubriand only, *Itinér.* i. p. 292, but also, and with just indignation, by his own countryman, Clarke, *Travels*, ii. p. 483, an eye-witness.

<sup>3</sup> The two, forming one whole, were only divided by a partition. Consult on the details of the building: *Minervæ Poliadis Sacræ et ædes in arce Athenarum*; illustrata ab C. Odofredo Müller. Gottingæ, 1820, and the plan of the city by the same author, who, in his essay, followed a still extant Attic inscription: and in his plan of Athens differs widely from Barthélemy.

were celebrated on the festivals of the god, and those immortal masterpieces were represented, which, having remained to us, double our regret for those that are lost ; on the other side was the Prytaneum, where the chief magistrates and most meritorious citizens were honored by a table, provided at the public expense. A moderate valley, Cœle, was interposed between the Acropolis and the hill on which the Areopagus held its sessions ; and between this and the hill of the Pnyx, where the collected people was accustomed to decide on the affairs of the republic. Here may still be seen the tribune, from which Pericles and Demosthenes spoke (it is imperishable, since it was hewn in the rock) ; not long ago it was cleared from rubbish, together with the four steps which led to it.<sup>1</sup>

If any desire a more copious enumeration of the temples, the halls, and the works of art, which decorated the city of Pallas, they may find it in Pausanias. Even in his time, how much, if not the larger part, yet the best, had been removed ; how much had been injured and destroyed in the wars ; and yet when we read what was still there, we naturally ask with respect to Athens (as with respect to so many other Grecian cities), where could all this have found room ? The whole country round Athens, particularly the long road to the Piræens, was ornamented with monuments of all kinds, especially with the tombs of great poets, warriors, and statesmen, who did not often remain after death without expressions of public gratitude, which were given so much the less frequently during their lives. A double wall, called the

<sup>1</sup> Chateaubriand. *Itinéraire*, vol. i. p. 184 ; and Clarke. *Travels*, ii. 2, p. 450.



Northern and Southern, enclosed the road, which was nearly four miles long, on both sides, and embraced the two harbors of Piræus and Phalereus. This wall, designed and executed by Themistocles, was one of the most important works of the Athenians. It was forty Grecian ells in height, built entirely of freestone, and so broad, that two baggage-waggons could pass each other. The Piræus, to which it led, formed (as did Phalæræ) a city by itself with its own public squares, temples, market-places, and its enlivening commercial crowd; and it seemed perhaps even more animated than Athens.<sup>1</sup> Its harbor, well provided with docks and magazines, was spacious enough to hold in its three divisions four hundred triremes; whilst the Phalereus and Munychius could each accommodate only about fifty.<sup>2</sup> All three were formed naturally by the bays of the coast; but the Piræus excelled the others not only in extent, but also in security.

The plain of Athens was surrounded on three sides by mountains; which formed its limits within no very great distance of the city. The prospect from the Acropolis and the Parthenon commanded on the east the two peaks of Hymettus; on the north, Pentelicus with its quarries of marble; to the northwest, the Cithæron was seen at a great distance, rising above the smaller mountains; and Laurium, rich in silver mines, lay to the

<sup>1</sup> The Piræus was sometimes reckoned as a part of Athens; and this explains how it was possible to say, that the city was two hundred stadia, or twenty miles in circumference. Dio Chrysost. Or. vi.

<sup>2</sup> The rich compilations of Meursius on the Piræus, no less than on Athens, the Acropolis, the Ceranicus, &c. (Gronov. Thes. Ant. Gr. vol. ii. iii.) contain almost all the passages of the ancients respecting them.

southeast almost at the end of the peninsula ; but towards the southwest, the eye could freely range over the harbors and the Saronic bay, with the islands of Salamis and Ægina, as far as the lofty citadel of Corinth.<sup>1</sup> Many of the chief places of the cantons (*δημοί*), into which Attica was divided, (and of these there were more than one hundred and seventy) might also be seen ; and the situation was distinct even of the towns, which the mountains covered. No one of these was important as a city, and yet there were few which had not something worthy of observation, statues, altars, and temples ; for to whatever part of his country the Athenian strayed, he needed to behold something which might remind him that he was in Attica. There were many, of which the name alone awakened proud recollections ; and no one was farther than a day's journey from Athens. It required but about five hours to reach the long but narrow plain<sup>2</sup> of Marathon, on the opposite coast of Attica. It was twenty-four miles to Sunium, which lay at the southern extremity of the peninsula, and about twenty to the borders of Bœotia.

This country, so frequently enveloped in mists, lay to the northwest of Attica, and exhibited, in almost every respect, a different character. Bœotia was shut in by the chain of Helicon, Cithæron, Parnassus, and, towards the sea, Ptoüs ; these enclosed a large plain, constituting the chief part of the country. Numerous rivers, of which the Cephissus was the most important,<sup>3</sup> descending from

<sup>1</sup> Chateaubriand. *Itineraire*, etc. i. p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> Chendler's *Travels*, p. 163. Clarke. *Plates* ii. 2. 11. 4. 5., gives not only a description, but a map and view of the country.

<sup>3</sup> Distinct from the Cephissus in Attica.

the heights, had probably stagnated for a long time, and had formed lakes, of which Copäis is the largest. This lake must have subterraneous outlets; for while the canals, through which its waters were anciently distributed, have fallen into decay, it has so far decreased in modern times, that it is now almost dried to a swamp.<sup>1</sup> But these same rivers appear to have formed the soil of Bœotia, which is among the most fruitful in Greece. Bœotia was also perhaps the most thickly settled part of Greece; for no other could show an equal number of important cities. The names of almost all of them are frequently mentioned in history; for it was the will of destiny, that the fate of Greece should often be decided in Bœotia. Its freedom was won at Plataæ, and lost at Chæronea; the Spartans conquered at Tanagra, and at Leuctra their power was crushed forever. Thebes with its seven gates, (more distinguished for its extent than its buildings,) esteemed itself the head of the Bœotian cities, although it was not acknowledged as such by all. This usurpation by Thebes, of a supremacy over Bœotia, was of decisive importance in several periods of Grecian history.

Bœotia was divided by mount Cithæron from Attica, and by Parnassus from Phocis. This district, of moderate size and irregular shape, extended to the south along the bay of Corinth; and was bounded on the north by the chain of Œta. Here are the passes which lead

<sup>1</sup> Bartholdy. Bruchstücke, &c. p. 230. On the ancient subterraneous outlets of this lake, which form some of the most curious remains of the earliest hydraulic works, and on the geography and earliest history of Bœotia, a clearer light is spread in C. O. Müller's histories of the Hellenic Tribes and Cities, published in 1820, with a map.

from Bœotia to Attica. Of these, the most important is near the city Elatea, and on that account was early occupied by Philip on his second invasion of Greece. The desolate mountain of Parnassus, once associated with the fame of Phocis, presents to the traveller of our times, nothing but recollections. Delphi lay on the south side of it, overshadowed by its double peak; and not far above the city was the temple, the oracle of Apollo. Here the masterpieces of art were displayed in countless abundance under the protection of the god; together with the costly and consecrated offerings of nations, cities,<sup>1</sup> and kings. Here in the Amphictyonic council, still more costly treasures, the first maxims of the laws of nations, were matured by the Greeks. Hither on the festival days, when the great games of the Pythian deity recurred, (games surpassed only by those of Olympia,) pilgrims and spectators poured in throngs; here at the Castalian fountain, the songs of the poets resounded in solemn rivalry; and, more exciting than all, the acclamations of the multitude.

Of all this not a vestige remains. Not even ruins have been spared to us by time. Only one monument of doubtful character seems to designate the spot, where Œdipus slew his father Laius; and whilst every vestige of greatness and glory has vanished, nothing but the memory of a crime is perpetuated.<sup>2</sup>

Phocis and mount Parnassus separate the two parts of Locris. The eastern part, inhabited by the two tribes

<sup>1</sup> Many of them had, as at Olympia, storehouses of their own. Pliny, xxxiv. 17, estimates the number of statues at Delphi, as at Olympia and Athens, to have been even in his time 3000.

<sup>2</sup> Bartholdy. Bruchstücke, p. 251. Compare the view in Clarke, Plates ii. 2. Pl. 10, 11.

which took their names from the city Opus and mount Cnemis,<sup>1</sup> lies along the Euripus, or the long strait, which divides the island Eubœa from Bœotia; and would have almost nothing to show, that is worthy of commemoration, were it not that the inseparable names of Thermopylæ and Leonidas produce an emotion in every noble mind. "Here the long heroic file of three hundred Spartans, takes precedence of others, as it moves through the gate of eternity."<sup>2</sup> "At Thermopylæ," says Herodotus,<sup>3</sup> "a steep and inaccessible mountain rises on the west side in the direction of Æta; but on the east side of the road are the sea and marshes. In the pass there are warm fountains, near which stands an altar to Hercules. On going from Trachin to Hellas, the road is but half a plethrum (fifty feet) wide, yet the narrowest place is not there; but just in front and back of Thermopylæ, where there is room for but one carriage." Thus Thermopylæ was considered as the only road, by which an army could pass from Thessaly into Hellas, for nothing more than a footpath ran across the mountains; and Thermopylæ, not only during the wars with Persia, but also in the age of Philip, was considered the gate of Greece.

The western part of Locris, on the bay of Corinth, inhabited by the Ozolæ, was greater in extent, but possessed fewer remarkable objects. Yet its harbor Nau-pactus has preserved its importance, while so many of the most celebrated cities have become insignificant. It is

<sup>1</sup> Locri, Opuntii, and Epicnemidii.

<sup>2</sup> This grave is still shown. See the view of it and of the country, in Clarke, pl. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. vii. 176.

now called Lepanto, and is perhaps the only town of which the modern name is more harmonious than the ancient.

The western parts of Hellas, rough Ætolia, and woody Acarnania, are indeed among the largest districts, but are so inferior to the rest in fame, that the historian can do little more than name them. Nature was here neither less sublime nor less munificent; both were situated on the largest of the Grecian rivers, the Achelous, which flowed between them; both were inhabited by descendants of the Hellenes; both were once celebrated for heroes; and yet the Ætolians and the Acarnanians remained barbarians, after the Athenians had become the instructors of the world.—How difficult it is, to comprehend the history of the culture of nations!

The chain of Œta, which farther west receives the name of Othrys, and at last of Pindus, and, taking a northerly direction, is connected with the mountains of Macedonia, divides the central part of Greece from the northern. Thessaly, the largest of all the Grecian provinces, (though its extent cannot be given with accuracy, for its boundary on the north was never defined), forms the eastern, and Epirus the western part of this district. There is hardly any other in Greece, for which nature seems to have done so much as for Thessaly. The mountains which have been mentioned, surrounded it on three sides; while the peaks of Ossa and of Olympus, rose above them on the east along the coasts of the Ægean sea. Thessaly can with justice be called the land of the Peneus; which, descending from Pindus, flowed through it from west to east. A multitude of tributary streams poured from the north and the south

into this river. The traditions of the ancients related,<sup>1</sup> that it had stagnated for centuries, till an earthquake divided Olympus and Ossa,<sup>2</sup> and opened for it a passage to the Ægean sea through the delicious-vale of Tempe.<sup>3</sup> Thus the plain of Thessaly arose from the floods, possessed of a soil, which they had long been fertilizing. No other district had so extensive an internal navigation; which, with a little assistance from art, might have been carried to all its parts. Its fruitful soil was fitted alike for pasturing and the cultivation of corn; its coasts, especially the bay of Pagasa,<sup>4</sup> afforded the best harbors for shipping; nature seemed hardly to have left a wish ungratified. It was in Thessaly, that the tribe of the Hellenes, according to the tradition, first applied themselves to agriculture; and thence its several branches spread over the more southern lands. Almost all the names of its towns, as Pelasgiotis and Thessaliois, recall some association connected with the primitive history and heroic age of the nation. The Doric tribe found in Estiæotis its oldest dwelling-places; and who has ever heard the name of Phthiotis, without remembering the hero of the Iliad, the great Pelides? Thessaly was always well inhabited and rich in cities. In the interior, the most celebrated were Larissa, situated in the midst of the noble plain, and Pheræ; Iolcos, whence the Argonauts

<sup>1</sup> Herod. viii. 6. Strab. ix. p. 296.

<sup>2</sup> To commemorate the event, a festival was instituted in Thessaly, called the Peloria, which festival seems to have been continued in a christian one. Bartholdy, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> "Tempe forms, as it were, a triple valley, which is broad at the entrance and at the end, but very narrow in the middle." These are the words of Bartholdy, who, of all modern travellers, has given us the most accurate account of Tempe from his own observation. Bruchstücke, &c. p. 112, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Pagasa itself (afterwards called Demetrias), Iolcos, and Magnesia.

embarked, and Magnesia, were on the seacoast. But it was perhaps the very fertility of the soil, which ruined the Thessalians. They rioted in sensual enjoyments; they were celebrated for banquets, and not for works of genius; and although Olympus, the mountain of the gods, was on the boundary of their land, nothing god-like was ever unfolded within its precincts. Is it strange that in the midst of such gross sensuality, the love of self overpowered the love of country; that neither heroes nor poets were created among them by the inspirations of patriotism? Anarchy and tyranny commonly followed each other in regular succession; and thus Thessaly, always ripe for foreign subjugation, cowered of itself beneath the yoke of the Persians, and afterwards under that of Philip.

On the opposite side of the Peneus, the pure race and language of the Hellenes were not to be found. Other nations, probably of Illyrian descent, dwelt there; the Perrhæbians, the Athamanes, and others; who, as Strabo relates, sometimes claimed to belong to the Thessalians, and sometimes to the Macedonians.<sup>1</sup> The case was not different in Epirus, which lay to the west. The house of the Æacidæ, a Grecian family, the descendants of Achilles, were indeed the rulers over the Molossians; and the oracle of the Jupiter of the Hellenes was heard in the sacred grove of Dodona; but still the larger portion of the inhabitants seems hardly to have been of the Grecian race.

The main land of Hellas was surrounded by a coronet of islands, which were gradually occupied by the

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, vii. p. 494. Others esteem them of Pelasgic origin. Compare C. O. Müller's Dorians, i. p. 25.



Hellenes, and came to be considered as parts of their country. They rose above the sea in beautiful verdure, and were surmounted by rocky hills. We can hardly doubt, that we see in them the remains of an earlier world ; when the waters which covered the middle parts of Asia, and the deserts of northern Africa, retired, leaving behind them the Euxine and the Mediterranean sea as two vast reservoirs. Each of those islands commonly bore the name of the chief town, of which it formed the territory ; with the exception of the three large islands Eubœa, Crete, and Cyprus, each of which contained several cities. Almost every one of them possessed its own remarkable objects and its own claims to fame. Fruitful Coreyra<sup>1</sup> boasted then, as it does now, of its harbor and its ships. Ithaca, small as it is, shares the immortality of Ulysses and Homer. Cythera, in the south, was the residence of the Paphian goddess. Ægina, unimportant as it seems, long disputed with Athens the sovereignty of the sea. What Greek could hear Salamis named, without feeling a superiority over the barbarians ? Eubœa was celebrated for its fruitfulness ; Thasos for its gold mines ; Samothrace for its mysteries ; and in the labyrinth of the Cyclades and Sporades, now called the Archipelago, what island had not afforded the poets the subject of a hymn.<sup>2</sup> Delos and Naxos had their gods ; Paros its marble ; Melos its misfortunes.<sup>3</sup> If so many of them are now desolate ; if the alluring Cythera has become a naked rock ; if Samos is poisoned by its swamps ; if nature herself seems here to have

<sup>1</sup> Now Corfu.

<sup>2</sup> Need we mention the hymns of Callimachus ?

<sup>3</sup> See Thucydides, v. 116.

grown old; shall we conclude that these things were so in ancient times? The Etesian winds blow certainly with more piercing roughness, now that the tops of the mountains are naked; the brooks stagnate in the desolate plains; but the change of seasons still produces varying visions; and the traveller, who at one time finds the Archipelago melancholy and waste, a few months later may contemplate a smiling prospect. "In spring, these islands are covered with green turf, with anemones and flowers of all colors. But in the month of August, when the northerly winds prevail, everything is burnt and dried up, and the parched fields produce no more herbage till autumn."<sup>1</sup>

This view of Greece, though it cannot claim to be considered a regular description, leads us to several remarks, which may perhaps throw some light on the history of the nation.

First: Greece was naturally so divided and cut in pieces in a geographical point of view, that it could not have been easy for any one district to gain the supremacy over the rest. Thessaly could not well control the lands which lay to the south of  $\text{\AA}$ eta; and still less could Hellas sway the Peloponnesus, or the Peloponnesus, Hellas. Nature herself had erected breastworks for those, who desired and who knew how to be free. It was easy to defend Thermopylæ, or the Isthmus. We do not here take into consideration the superior power of a foreign conqueror; but even that could have effected little, so long as the nation refused to forge its own chains.

<sup>1</sup> Bartholdy. Bruchstücke, &c. p. 194. The whole description of the Archipelago, by this traveller, should be consulted.

Again : If Greece was excelled by many countries in fertility, it would yet be difficult, and, at least in Europe, impossible, to find a land of such limited extent, where nature had done so much to prepare the way for the various branches of industry. Greece was not merely an agricultural, or a commercial country, or a land fitted for pasturing ; it was all, at once ; but different parts of it had different degrees of aptitude for the one or the other. The fruitful Messenia was fit for the growth of corn ; Arcadia for the nurture of cattle. Attica was proud of its oil, and the honey of Hymettus ; Thessaly of its horses. Of mines, there were not many ; still they were not unknown in Laurium and Thasos. The maritime towns were suited for trade and commerce ; and the coasts, indented with bays, and the islands, invited to navigation. This variety of pursuits in active life may have been the cause of an extensive intellectual culture, which was directed to many objects, and perhaps laid the foundation for the farther improvement of the nation.

Lastly : No other country in Europe was so favorably situated for holding commerce with the oldest cultivated nations of the western world. On the way to Asia Minor and Phœnicia, one island almost touched upon another. It was easy to cross into Italy ; and the coasts of Egypt were not far distant. Even in the times of fable, a path was discovered from the shores of Thessaly to those of Colchis ; and how much earlier, and with how much greater facility, to those countries, where no rocks, like the Symplegades, opposed the passage of the daring Argo ?

## CHAPTER II.

## EARLIEST CONDITION OF THE NATION ; AND ITS BRANCHES.

THE nation of the Hellenes, as they called themselves after an ancient leader, (for they received the name of Greeks from foreigners,) preserved many a tradition respecting their earliest state, representing them to have been nearly on a level with the savage tribes which now wander in the forests of North America.<sup>1</sup> From these traditions, it would seem, that there was once a time, when they had no agriculture, but lived on the spontaneous produce of the woods ; and when even fire could not be appropriated to the service of man, till it had first been stolen from heaven. Yet, in the meanwhile, they gradually spread over the country, which they afterwards possessed ; and all foreign tribes were either driven from the soil, or were mingled with them. Much is told of the emigration of individual tribes, from the southern districts to the northern, and from these back again into the southern ; but the peculiar habits of nomades, as seen in the nations of middle Asia, belonged to the Greeks as little as to the Germanic race. The moderate extent and the hilly character of their country, which afforded pasture only for less numerous herds, did not admit of that kind of life.

As far as we can judge from the very indefinite accounts of this early period, it seems, especially in the

<sup>1</sup> Æschyl. *Prom. vinct.* v. 412, etc.

fourteenth and thirteenth centuries before the Christian era, that the race of the Hellenes was already so far extended over Hellas, as to be every where predominant. For it appears as such even then, before the Trojan war. The nation of the Pelasgi, which, no less than that of the Hellenes, belonged to the first inhabitants of the country, and which must be considered as having had a different origin, since their language was different,<sup>1</sup> may at an early period have been the most powerful, but was constantly reduced within narrower limits, and either emigrated to Italy and other countries; or, where it preserved its residence, as in Arcadia and Attica, was gradually mingled with the Hellenes, of whom the power was constantly increasing, until every vestige of it, as a separate race, was entirely lost. Whilst the Hellenes were thus spreading through Greece, the several chief tribes of them became more and more distinctly marked; and this division was so lasting and so full of consequences, that the internal history of the nation for the most part depends on it. Of the four most important branches, the Ionians, Dorians, Æolians, and Achæans, the two first (for the Æolians were chiefly mingled with

<sup>1</sup> Herod. i. 57. The relation of the Pelasgi to the Hellenes is of difficult solution. But the judgment of Herodotus in the passage now cited, rests on the comparison of the language of Pelasgi, of whom some were found even in his times, in the city Cruston, and Placiæ and Seylace, the two last on the Hellespont. This was so different from the language of the Hellenes, as in his opinion to prove a nation of a different stock. True, this is at variance with his previous remarks, that the Dorians are of Hellenic, the Ionians of Pelasgic origin. But the Ionians whom he had in view, are the Athenians, who had become Hellenes, by the immigrations and intermarriage of Ionians with the native Pelasgi. Compare viii. 44. If difference of language proves difference of origin, we must discriminate between the Pelasgi and Hellenes. For to affirm that the Pelasgi of the cities above named, had exchanged their own language for another, would be a wholly gratuitous supposition.

the Dorians,)<sup>1</sup> and the Achæans were so eminent, that they deserve to be regarded as the chief component parts of the nation. It is important, in order to become acquainted with the people, to know in what parts of Greece these several tribes had their places of residence. But these places did not remain unchanged; the event which had the greatest influence on them for the succeeding time, happened shortly after the termination of the Trojan war. Till then the tribe of the Achæans had been so powerful, that Homer, who, as Thucydides has already observed,<sup>2</sup> had no general name for the whole nation, commonly distinguishes that tribe from the others; which he sometimes designates collectively by the name of Panhellenes.<sup>3</sup> It possessed at that time almost all the Peloponnesus, with the exception of the very district which afterwards was occupied by it and bore its name, but which was then still called Ionia; and as the territories of Agamemnon and Menelaus, the most powerful of the Grecian princes, both lay in that peninsula, the first rank was clearly due to the Achæans. But soon after this war, it was the lot of that tribe to be in part subjugated and reduced to the severest bondage,<sup>4</sup> and in part to be expelled from the lands where it had resided, and confined to a small district, which from that time was called Achaia. This was a consequence of the

<sup>1</sup> Euripides, enumerating in *Ion*, v. 1581, &c. the tribes of the Hellenes, makes no mention of the Æolians.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. i. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Πανήλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί, as *Iliad* ii. 530. The Hellenes of Homer are particularly the inhabitants of Thessaly; but the expression *Panhellenes* proves that even then, or soon after, when the catalogue of the ships was written, the name had begun to receive a general application.

<sup>4</sup> The Helots of the Spartans were, for the most part, descendants of the conquered Achæans. Theopomp. ap. Athen. vi. p. 265.

immigration of the Dorians, under the direction of the descendants of Hercules ; of which immigration the chief object was the conquest of the Peloponnesus ; but it also occasioned a change in the places occupied by most of the other tribes of the Hellenes. From this time almost the whole of the Peloponnesus was occupied by the Dorians, and the kindred tribe of the Ætoliæ, who possessed Elis ; the district of Achaia alone became the property of the Achæans, who, being in quest of refuge, drove from it the Ionians. But besides this, a large part of the rest of Hellas was occupied by tribes, which, though not expressly called Dorians, betrayed by their dialects their Doric origin ; Bœotians, Locrians, Thes-salians, and even the Macedonian Hellenes belonged to this class ; and although the inhabitants of the western maritime tracts and islands were at first called Æolians, their dialects were so similar, that they soon ceased to be distinguished from the Dorians. This powerful tribe was also extended towards the east and west by means of its colonies. Several of the islands of the Archipelago were occupied by them ; and they flourished on the coast of Asia Minor, and still more in Lower Italy and Sicily, and their colonies bloomed even in Africa in Cyrene. The Ionic branch, as far as we know, kept possession of no part of the main land of Greece, excepting Attica.<sup>1</sup> But Attica alone outweighed in glory and power all the rest of Greece. Most of the large

<sup>1</sup> The other Ionians and even the Athenians laid aside the name ; and none formally preserved it except those of Asia Minor. Herod. i. 143. Hence the extent of this tribe cannot be accurately given ; and indeed no attempt should be made to trace every little Grecian tribe to its origin, and form a tree of descent for them all. This the Greeks themselves were never able to do ; but the chief tribes remained distinct.

island of Eubœa also belonged to the Ionians ; many of the small islands of the Archipelago were entirely occupied by them ; and while their colonies in Asia Minor were decidedly superior, their colonies on the coasts of Italy and Sicily were but little inferior to those of other Grecian tribes.

From the earliest times, these two tribes were distinguished from each other by striking characteristics, which were not removed by the cultivation which was becoming universal. On the Doric tribe, the character of severity is imprinted, which is observable in the full tones of its dialect, in its songs, its dances, the simplicity of its style of living, and in its constitutions. It was most strongly attached to ancient usage.<sup>1</sup> From this its regulations for private and public life took their origin, which were fixed by the prescriptive rules of its lawgivers. It respected the superiority of family and age. The governments of the Doric cities were originally more or less the government of rich and noble families ; and this is one cause of the greater solidity of their political institutions. Good counsel was drawn from the experience of age ; wherever an old man appeared, the young rose from their seats. Religion among the Dorians was less a matter of luxury ; but it was more an object of which they felt the need. What important transaction did they ever begin, without first consulting the oracle ? — All this is true from the earliest times. When once the reverence for ancient usage was overcome, the Dorians knew no bounds ; and Tarentum exceeded all cities in luxury, just as Syracuse did in internal feuds. After this tribe had

<sup>1</sup> The character of the Doric tribe, as well as its history, has been amply illustrated by C. O. Müller, in his *History of Grecian Tribes and Cities*, vol. ii.



once emigrated to the Peloponnesus, not only the greater part of that peninsula, but also of the neighboring main land of Hellas was occupied by it.

The Ionians were on the contrary more distinguished for vivacity and a proneness to excitement. Ancient usage restrained them much less than it did the Dorians. They were easily induced to change, if pleasure could be gained by the change. They were bent on enjoyment, and seem to have been equally susceptible of refined gratifications of the mind and of those of the senses. They lived amidst holidays; and nothing was pleasant to them without song and dance. Their soft dialect brings to mind the languages of the South sea; but in both cases the remark is found to be true, that a soft language is by no means a proof of deficiency in warlike spirit. In the constitutions of their states, hereditary privileges were either rejected at once, or borne with only for a short time. The supreme authority rested with the people, and although it was limited by many institutions, the people still decided the character of the government. Any thing could be expected of these states, rather than domestic tranquillity. Nothing was so great that they did not believe they could attain it; and for that very reason they often attained greatness.

These differences in the natural character of the most important tribes, needed to be mentioned at the beginning. There are few subjects in history, which have been so little illustrated, especially with reference to their consequences, as the characters of nations and their branches. And yet it is these peculiarities, which, in a certain degree, form the guiding thread in the web of the history of nations. From whatever they may proceed,

whether from original descent, or the earliest institutions, or from both, experience teaches that they are almost indelible. The difference between the Doric and Ionic tribes, runs through the whole of Grecian history. This produced the deep-rooted hatred between Sparta and Athens, though that hatred may have been nourished by other causes; and who needs to be told, that the history of all Greece is connected with the history of those leading states.

The difference of tribes and their dispositions was also one of the chief causes of the subsequent political partitions of the soil. There probably was never a land of similar extent, in which so large a number of states subsisted together. They lived, both the large and the small ones, (if indeed we may call these large, which were only proportionally so,) each after its own customs; and hence Greece was saved from the torpor of large empires, and was able to preserve so much life and activity within itself.

Of the earliest history of the nation, we can expect only fragments. We leave it to the historian to collect them and to judge of their value.<sup>1</sup> But we must direct attention to those general circumstances, which had a decisive influence on the earliest progress of national culture, if we would form correct opinions with respect to it. Before we can describe the heroic age, we must explain the influence of religion, of early poetry, and of foreign emigrations, and show how they served to introduce that age.

<sup>1</sup> On this subject I refer to the work of Professor C. O. Müller; *Geschichte Hellenischer Stämme und Städte*, B. i. Orchomenos und die Minyer; B. ii. iii. die Durier. Müller's Orchomenos and the Dorians.

## CHAPTER III.

## ORIGINAL SOURCES OF THE CULTURE OF THE GREEKS.

## RELIGION.

It is not easy to decide, whether the culture of a nation proceeds originally from their sacred or their civil institutions. The character of the domestic relations, the proper application of the means provided for the easier and more regular support of life, agriculture, and husbandry, constitute the first foundation of national culture; but even these can make but little progress without the assistance of religion. Without the fear of the gods, marriage loses its sanctity, and property its security. The earthly and the divine are so mingled in our natures, that nothing but a continued harmony between them both, can elevate us above the mere animal creation. But it has been wisely ordained by the Author of our being, that the feelings of religion can be unfolded, and thus the character of our existence ennobled, even before a high degree of knowledge has been attained. It would be difficult, and perhaps impossible, to find a nation, which can show no vestiges of religion; and there never yet has been, nor can there be a nation, in which the reverence for a superior being was but the fruit of refined philosophy.

The foundation of all religion is the belief in higher existences (however differently these may be represented to the mind), which have an influence on our destinies.

The natural consequence of this belief are certain rites of worship; invocations, sacrifices, and offerings. All this is so connected with the feelings of man, that it springs from within him, and exists independent of all research or knowledge. And this is the religion of the people. But so soon as the intelligent spirit of man was somewhat awakened, a higher principle was separated (though in very different ways) from this simple faith; and that remained in the possession of a small circle of priests, of the initiated, of the enlightened. If the religion of the people reposed only on belief and indistinct conceptions, certain doctrines, on the contrary, belonged to those higher circles, although they were often represented by images, and exhibited to the senses by outward ceremonies. These two kinds of religion commonly remained distinct from each other; and the difference was the most clearly marked in such nations, as had a cast of priests. But still there were some points, in which they both were united. Even a cast of priests, with whatever secrecy they guarded their doctrines, could influence the people only by means of external forms. But the less the order of priests is separated by a nice line of division from the mass of the people, the more faint becomes the distinction between the religion of the people and the doctrine of the priests. How far the two differed from each other, and remained different, must ever be an object of learned inquiry; to have confounded them, has been one of the chief sources of error with regard to the religion of the ancients.

Among the Greeks there never was a distinct cast of priests, nor even, as we shall hereafter observe, a separate order of priesthood. And yet, beside the popular

religion, they had a religion of the initiated; and their mysteries were almost as ancient as the faith of the people. Each of these must be considered by itself, before we can draw any general conclusion respecting the influence of religion on their character.

The popular religion of the Greeks rested on a belief in certain superhuman beings, and in the influence exercised by them over the destinies of mortals; on the fear of offending them, resulting from this belief; and on the custom of worshipping them. Yet according to the account of the earliest and most credible witnesses, these divinities were not of Grecian origin; and the learned investigations of modern writers on the origin of them individually, establish the fact beyond a doubt.<sup>1</sup> “The Hellenes,” says Herodotus,<sup>2</sup> “have received their gods of the Pelasgi; but the Pelasgi, who at first honored their gods without giving them particular names, took the names of their divinities from the Egyptians.” This account of the historian has difficulties, which cannot be entirely cleared away. If it be granted, that certain divinities and the manner in which they were worshipped came from Egypt, we may still ask, how could the names have been of Egyptian origin, since the names of the Egyptian gods are almost all known to us, and are very different from those of the Greeks. We learn of Herodotus himself, that it was common for the Egyptian priests, even in his age, to institute comparisons between their gods and those of the Greeks, and to transfer the names of the latter to their own divinities.

<sup>1</sup> Compare, above all, Creuzer. *Symbolik*, b. ii. s. 376, &c. and Böttiger. *Kunstmythologie*, Abschn. i. über Zeus; Abschn. ii. über Juno.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. ii. 50, 52.

And this enables us, at least, to explain how the historian, who was accustomed to hear a Jupiter, a Bacchus, a Diana, mentioned in Egypt, could have thought the matter very probable. But the question is still by no means answered. For if the Egyptian priests, in the time of Herodotus, applied the Grecian names to their gods, how can we explain the alleged fact, that the Greeks first borrowed those names from them? There are, however, two circumstances, which we may infer from the words of Herodotus himself, and which throw some light on the subject. The historian has not concealed the source of his information. These assertions were made to him at Dodona; he heard, then, a tradition of the priests of that place. But the oracle of Dodona traced its origin to Egypt; can we wonder then, that its priests should derive the gods of the Greeks from the same source? Again: it is clear from Herodotus, that the Hellenes did not receive them directly from the Egyptians, but through the Pelasgi; that is, they received them at second hand. We shall hereafter remark, that they came chiefly by way of Crete and Samothrace. Could such circuitous routes have left them unchanged? And is it not probable, that the Pelasgi essentially altered them in their own way, before delivering them to the Hellenes? Questions of this kind cannot now be answered with certainty; but, however many of the Egyptian gods may have been introduced into Greece, it is certain that not all were of that origin. The father of history has not forgotten to remark,<sup>1</sup> that Neptune, Juno, Bacchus, and others were not of Egyptian origin, and this has been fully substantiated by the acute inves-

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 50.

tigations of the modern inquirers, whom we have just cited.

But to whatever country the gods of the Hellenes may have originally belonged, they certainly did not remain, in Greece, what they had been before. We need but throw a glance on the Grecian religion to convince ourselves, that the gods of the Greeks became entirely their property, if they were not so originally; that is, the representations which they made of them, were entirely different from the conceptions of those nations, of whom they may have borrowed them. Wherever Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, and Phœbus Apollo, may have first been worshipped, no country but Hellas adored the Olympian ruler of the world, the queen of heaven, the power which encompassed the world, the far-darting god of light. And it was the same with the rest. What the Grecian touched, became gold, though before it had been but a baser metal.

But if the popular religion of the Greeks was formed by changing the character of foreign gods, in what did the change consist? What were the characteristics of the Grecian assembly of divinities? This question is important, not for the history of the Grecian religion alone, but for the general history of religion itself. For the problem is nothing less, than to fix on the essential difference between the religion of the ancient eastern and western world.

This characteristic difference may yet be easily discovered; and may be reduced, we think, to a single head.

All inquiries relative to the divinities of the East, even though the explanations of individual ones may be various, lead to the general result, that objects and powers of na-

ture lay at their foundation. These may have been, first, corporeal objects, the sun, the moon, the stars, the earth, the river which watered the country ; or they may have been powers of nature, a creating, a preserving, a destroying power ; or, which was more usual, both these may have been combined ; and visible objects became objects of adoration, in so far as they were the expressions of a creating or destroying power. When the gods of the Egyptians, the Indians, the Persians, the Phrygians, the Phœnicians, and others, are analyzed, even in cases where the interpretation remains imperfect, it cannot be doubted, that some idea of this kind lay at the bottom, and was the predominant one. They had but one signification, as far as this idea was connected with it ; and the sacred traditions and mythological tales respecting them, seem to us without meaning, because we have so often lost the key to their interpretation. “ The Egyptians,” Herodotus relates,<sup>1</sup> “ had a sacred tradition, that Hercules once appeared before Ammon, and desired to see his face. Ammon refused, and Hercules continued his entreaties ; upon this, Ammon slew a ram, veiled himself in its skin, put on its head, and in this plight showed himself to Hercules. From that time the Thebans ceased to sacrifice rams ; only once a year, on the festival of Ammon, they kill a single one, hang its skin round the picture of the god, and show at the same time the picture of Hercules.” Who understands this story and this festival from the mere relation ? But when we learn that the ram, opening the Egyptian year, is the symbol of the approaching spring, that Hercules is the

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 42.



sun of that season in its full power, the story, as well as the festival, is explained as descriptive of the spring, and as a figurative representation of the season that is beginning. In this, as in similar cases, the object or power of nature was exhibited under a human form ; for the tendency to copy that form, is too deeply fixed in our natures ; or rather it results immediately from the limitations of the same. But in all such cases in the East, where the human form was attributed to the gods, it was but a secondary affair, the indispensable means of presenting them to the senses. It was never any thing more. And this is the reason, why no hesitation was made among those nations to depart from this human form, and to disfigure it whenever it seemed possible to give, by that means, a greater degree of distinctness to the symbolic representation ; or if any other object could thus be more successfully accomplished. This is the source of all those singular shapes, under which the gods of the East appear. The Indian makes no scruple of giving his gods twenty arms ; the Phrygian represents his Diana with as many breasts ; the Egyptian gave them the heads of beasts. Different as these disfigurations are, they all have their origin in this ; the human form was but a subordinate object ; the chief aim was the distinct representation of the symbol, under a form suited to their modes of comprehension.

As the Grecians received most if not all of their gods from abroad, they of course received them as symbols of those natural objects and powers ; and the farther we look back in the Grecian theogony, the more clearly do their gods appear as such beings. He who reads with tolerable attention the earlier systems as contained in Hesiod, cannot mistake this for a moment ; and it cannot

be denied, that there are traces of this origin in the gods of Homer. That his Jupiter designates the ether, his Juno the atmosphere, his Phœbus Apollo the sun, is obvious in many of his narrations. But it is equally obvious, that the prevailing representation with him is not the ancient symbolical one, that rather his Jupiter is already the ruler of gods and men, his Juno the queen of Olympus.

This then is the essential peculiarity of the popular religion of the Greeks; they gradually dismissed those symbolical representations, and not only dismissed them, but adopted something more human and more sublime in their stead. The gods of the Greeks were *moral persons*.

When we call them moral persons, we do not mean to say, that a higher degree of moral purity was attributed to them, than humanity can attain; (the reverse is well enough known;) but rather, that the whole moral nature of man, with its defects and its excellencies, was considered as belonging to them, only with the additional notions of superior physical force, a more delicately organized system, and a more exalted, if not always a more beautiful form. But these views became the prevailing ones, the views of the people; and thus an indestructible wall of division was placed between Grecian and foreign gods. The former were moral beings; this was their leading character, or rather all their character; they would have been mere names, if this had been taken from them; but with the barbarians, their gods remained only personifications of certain objects and powers of nature: and hence neither a moral nature nor character belonged to them, although the human shape and certain actions and powers were attributed to them.

Having thus illustrated the essential difference be-

tween the Grecian and foreign gods, and shown in what the transformation of the foreign gods, adopted by the Grecians, consisted, the question arises, how and by what means did that transformation take place?

By means of poetry and the arts. Poetry was the creating power; the arts confirmed the representations which she had called into being, by conferring on them visible forms. And here we come to the decisive point, from which we must proceed in continuing our inquiry.

“Whence each of the gods is descended, whether they have always existed,” says the father of history,<sup>1</sup> “and how they were formed, all this the Grecians have but recently known. Hesiod and Homer, whom I do not esteem more than four hundred years older than I am, are the poets, who invented for the Grecians their theology; gave the gods their epithets; fixed their rank and occupations; and described their forms. The poets, who are said to have lived before these men, lived, as I believe, after them.”

This remarkable account deserves more careful attention. The historian expressly remarks, that this is his own presumption, not the assertion of others. He may certainly have been mistaken; but he would hardly express himself so explicitly, unless he had believed himself warranted to do so. We must receive his opinion therefore as the result of such an investigation, as could in his age be carried on; and can we do more than he?

He names Homer and Hesiod; and naturally understands by them the authors of the poems, which already bore their names; the two great epic poems of Homer, and at least the *Theogony* of Hesiod. The case does

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 53.

not become changed, even if those productions are, agreeably to a modern opinion, the works of several authors. It would only be necessary to say, it was the ancient epic poets of the schools of Homer and of Hesiod, who formed the divine world of the Greeks ; and perhaps this manner of expression is at all events the more correct. For it would be difficult to doubt that the successors of those poets contributed their share.

According to the assurances of Herodotus, these poets were the first to designate the forms of the gods ; that is, they attributed to them, not merely the human figure, but the human figure in a definite shape. They distinguished, moreover, their kindred, their descent, their occupations ; they also defined the personal relations of each individual ; and therefore gave them the epithets, which were borrowed from all this. But if we collect these observations into one, they signify nothing less, than that the poets were the authors of the popular religion, in so far as this was grounded on definite representations of the several divinities.

This is not intended to imply, that Homer made it his object, to be the creator of a national religion. He did but make a poetic use of the previous popular belief. But that poetic spirit, which left nothing indistinctly delineated in the heroes whose deeds he celebrated, bringing before our eyes their persons and their characters, effects the same with the gods. He invented his divine personages as little as he did his heroes ; but he gave their character to the one and the other. The circle of his gods is limited to a small number. They are inhabitants of Olympus, and if they do not all belong to the same family, they yet belong to the same place ; and they

usually live together, at least, when that is required by the purposes of the poet. Under such circumstances, an inferior poet might have felt the necessity of giving them individuality. And how much more a Homer? But that he executed this in so perfect a manner, is to be ascribed to the superiority of his genius.

Thus the popular notions entertained of the gods were first established by Homer, and established never to be changed. His songs continued to live in the mouth of the nation; and how would it have been possible to efface images, which were painted with such strokes and colors? Hesiod is, indeed, named with him; but what are his catalogues of names compared with the living pictures of Mæonides?

In this manner, by means of the epic poets, that is, almost exclusively by means of Homer, the gods of the Greeks were raised to the rank of moral beings, possessed of definite characters. As such they gained life in the conceptions of the people; and however much may have been invented respecting them in the poetry of a later age, no one was permitted to represent them under a figure, or with attributes inconsistent with the popular belief. We soon perceive the various consequences, which this must have had on the culture and improvement of the nation.

The more a nation conceives its gods to be like men, the nearer does it approach them, and the more intimately does it live with them. According to the earliest views of the Greeks, the gods often wandered among them, shared in their business, requited them with good or ill, in conformity to their reception, and especially to the number of presents and sacrifices with which they were

honored. Those views decided the character of religious worship, which received from them, not merely its forms, but also its life and meaning. How could this worship have received any other than a cheerful, friendly character? The gods were gratified with the same pleasures as mortals; their delights were the same; the gifts which were offered them, were the same which please men; there was a common, a correspondent enjoyment. With such conceptions, how could their holidays have been otherwise than joyous ones? And as their joy was expressed by dance and song, both of these necessarily became constituent parts of their religious festivals.

It is another question: What influence must such a religion have had on the morals of the nation? The gods were by no means represented as pure moral beings, but as beings possessed of all human passions and weaknesses. But at the same time the Greeks never entertained the idea, that their divinities were to be held up as models of virtue; and hence the injury done to morality by such a religion, however warmly the philosophers afterwards spoke against it, could hardly have been so great, as we with our prepossessions, should have at first imagined. If it was not declared a duty to become like the gods, no excuse for the imitation could be drawn from the faults and crimes attributed to them. Besides, these stories were esteemed, even by the vulgar, only as poetic inventions, and there was little concern about their truth, or their want of truth. There existed, independent of those tales, the fear of the gods as higher beings, who on the whole desired excellence, and abhorred and sometimes punished crime. This punishment was inflicted in this world; for the poets and the people of Greece for

a long time adopted a belief in no punishment beyond the grave, except of those who had been guilty of direct blasphemy against the gods.<sup>1</sup> The system of morals was on the whole deduced from that fear of the gods, but that fear especially produced the observance of certain duties, which were of great practical importance, as, for example, the inviolable character of suppliants (supplices), who stood under the particular protection of the gods; the sanctity of oaths, and the like; of which the violation was also considered as a direct crime against the gods. Thus the popular religion of the Greeks was no doubt a support of morality; though never in the same degree as with us. That its importance was felt as a means of bridling the licentiousness of the people, is sufficiently clear from the care which the state took during its better days to preserve the popular religion, and from the punishments inflicted on those who corrupted it or denied its gods. When we may name the popular religion of the Greeks in one sense a religion of the poets, we by no means indulge merely in a play of fancy. But if the influence of the popular religion on the moral character of the nation should be differently estimated, there is less room to doubt as to its influence on taste; for that was formed entirely by the popular religion, and continued indissolubly united with it.

By the transformation of the Grecian divinities into moral agents, an infinite field was opened for poetic invention. By becoming human, the gods became peculiarly beings for the poets. The muse of the moderns

<sup>1</sup> The reader may here compare an essay of Heeren on the notions entertained by the Greeks of rewards and punishments after death. Heeren; *Historische Werke*, Th. iii. s. 214.

has attempted to represent the Supreme Being in action ; she could do so only by giving him as far as possible the attributes of men ; with what success this has been attended, is known. It was in vain to endeavor to deceive us with respect to the chasm which lay between our more sublime ideas of the Divinity, and the image under which he was represented. But the case was altogether different in ancient Greece. The poet was not only allowed, but compelled to introduce the gods in a manner consistent with popular belief, if he would not fail of producing the desired effect. The great characteristics of human nature were expressed in them ; they were exhibited as so many definite archetypes. The poet might relate of them whatever he pleased, but he never was permitted to alter the original characters ; whether he celebrated their own actions, or introduced them as participating in the exploits of mortals. Although themselves immortal, they always preserved the human character, and excited a corresponding interest ; with their weaknesses and faults, they stood nearer to man, than if they had been represented as possessing the perfection of moral excellence.

Thus the popular religion of the Greeks was thoroughly poetical. There is no need of a long argument to show, that it also decided the character of Grecian art, by affording an inexhaustible supply of subjects.

On this point a single remark only needs here be made. Among the nations of the East, the plastic art not only never created forms of ideal beauty, but was rather exercised in producing hideous ones. The monstrous figures of their gods, which we have already mentioned, are proofs of it. The Grecian artist was secure against any



thing similar to this, now that their gods had become not merely physical, but human, moral beings. He never could have thought of representing a Jupiter or a Juno with ten arms; he would have destroyed his own work, by offending the popular religious notions. Hence he was forced to remain true to the pure human figure, and was thus brought very near the step, which was to raise him still higher, and give ideal beauty to his images. That step he would probably have taken without assistance; but the previous labors of the poets made it more natural and more easy. Phidias found in Homer the idea of his Olympian Jupiter, and the most sublime image in human shape, which time has spared us, the Apollo of the Vatican, may be traced to the same origin.

Beside the popular religion, Greece possessed also a religion of the initiated, preserved in the mysteries. Whatever we may think of these institutions, and whatever idea we may form of them, no one can doubt that they were religious ones. They must then have necessarily stood in a certain relation to the religion of the people; but we shall not be able to explain with any degree of probability, the nature of that relation, until we trace them to their origin.

We must preface this inquiry with a general remark. All the mysteries of the Greeks, as far as we are acquainted with them, were introduced from abroad; and we can still point out the origin of most of them. Ceres had long wandered over the earth, before she was received at Eleusis, and erected there her sanctuary.<sup>1</sup> Her secret service in the Thesmophoria, according to the

<sup>1</sup> Isocrat. Paneg. op. p. 46. ed. Steph. and many other places in Meursii Eleusin. cap. i.

account of Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> was first introduced by Danaus, who brought it from Egypt to the Peloponnesus. Whether the sacred rites of Orpheus and Bacchus originally belonged to the Thracians or the Egyptians, they certainly came from abroad. Those of the Curetes and the Dactyli had their home in Crete.

It has often been said, that these institutions in Greece suffered, in the progress of time, many and great alterations, that they commonly degenerated, or to speak more correctly, that the Grecians accommodated them to themselves. It was not possible for them to preserve among the Greeks the same character, which they had among other nations. And here we are induced to ask: What were they originally? How were they introduced and preserved in Greece? And what relation did they bear to the popular religion?

The answer to these questions is contained in the remarks which we have already made on the transformation and appropriation of foreign gods by the Hellenes. Most of those gods, if not all of them, were received as symbolical, physical beings; the poets made of them moral agents; and as such they appear in the religion of the people.

The symbolical meaning would have been lost, if no means had been provided to ensure its preservation. The mysteries, it seems, afforded such means. Their great end therefore was, to preserve the knowledge of the peculiar attributes of those divinities, which had been incorporated into the popular religion under new forms; what powers and objects of nature they represented; how these, and how the universe came into being; in a

<sup>1</sup> Herod. iv. 172.

word, cosmogonies, like those contained in the Orphic instructions. But this knowledge, though it was preserved by oral instruction, was perpetuated no less by symbolic representations and usages ; which, at least in part, consisted of those sacred traditions or fables, of which we have already made mention. "In the sanctuary of Sais," says Herodotus, "representations are given by night of the adventures of the goddess ; and these are called by the Egyptians mysteries ; of which, however, I will relate no more. It was from thence, that these mysteries were introduced into Greece."<sup>1</sup> If we find in this the chief design of the mysteries, we would by no means assert, that this was the only one. For who does not perceive how much more could be connected with it ? With the progress of time a greater variety of representations may have arisen in the mysteries ; their original meaning might perhaps be gradually and entirely lost ; and another be introduced in its stead.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Herod. l. c. .

<sup>2</sup> The investigation respecting the mysteries is a most extensive one, and yet very little has thus far been ascertained, as may be seen from the highly valuable work of St. Croix, especially in the German translation: *Versuch über die alten Mysterien*, translated by Lenz, 1790. I refer to this book for the necessary proofs. There has also appeared an excellent work by V. Ouwaroff: *Essai sur les mystères d'Eleusis*: Troisième Ed. à Paris 1816. The learned author. p. 65, says: "Nous avons essayé de prouver, que les mystères religieux de la Grèce, loin d'être de vaines ceremonies, enfermoient effectivement quelques restes de traditions antiques, et formoient la véritable doctrine ésotérique du polythéisme." With this we agree ; at the same time we limit the esoteric doctrine originally to the meaning which the Divinities of the Greeks, transformed as they were into poetic beings, still possessed as representing powers of nature ; yet without excluding the inferences made above in the text. It does not belong to the political historian to pursue this investigation any farther ; he must leave it to the student of the history of religions. Yet two remarks may here be permitted. First : Homer and Hesiod say nothing of mysteries ; which may very possibly have been older than those poets, but are thus proved to have had in their time less importance than they afterwards gained. And this is immedi-

Those passages may therefore be very easily explained, which import that the mysteries, as has been particularly asserted of those of Eleusis, illustrated the superiority of civilized over savage life; the invention and value of agriculture, to which the worship of physical deities had immediate reference; and gave instructions respecting a future life and its nature. For what was this more than an interpretation of the sacred traditions, which were told of the goddess as the instructress in agriculture, of the forced descent of her daughter to the lower world, &c.? And we need not be more astonished, if in some of their sacred rites we perceive an excitement carried to a degree of enthusiastic madness, which belonged peculiarly to the East, but which the Hellenes were very willing to receive. For we must not neglect to bear in mind that they shared the spirit of the East; and did they not live on the very boundary line between the East and the West? As those institutions were propagated farther to the west, they lost their original character. We know what the Bacchanalian rites became at Rome; and had they been introduced north of the Alps, what form would they have there assumed? But to those countries, it was possible to transplant the vine, not the service of the god, to whom the vine was sacred. The orgies of Bacchus suited the cold soil and inclement forests of the north, as little as the character of its inhabitants.

ately explained, so soon as the proper object of the mysteries is discovered, by making the difference between the popular religion, as modified by the poets, and the more ancient physical religion of the East. Secondly: Diodor. I. p. 393. The mysteries introduced from Crete, are said to have constituted the public worship of the Cretans. It was in Greece then, that they first came to be mysteries. This, too, can hardly be more naturally explained, than by the departure of the popular religion, as established by the poets, from the other more ancient one.

The secret doctrines which were taught in the mysteries, may have finally degenerated into mere forms and an unmeaning ritual. And yet the mysteries exercised a great influence on the spirit of the nation, not of the initiated only, but also of the great mass of the people ; and perhaps they influenced the latter still more than the former. They preserved the reverence for sacred things ; and this gave them their political importance. They produced that effect better than any modern secret societies. The mysteries had their secrets, but not every thing connected with them was secret. They had, like those of Eleusis, their public festivals, processions, and pilgrimages ; in which none but the initiated took a part, but of which no one was prohibited from being a spectator. Whilst the multitude was permitted to gaze at them, it learned to believe, that there was something sublimer than any thing with which it was acquainted, revealed only to the initiated ; and while the worth of that sublimer knowledge did not consist in secrecy alone, it did not lose any of its value by being concealed.

Thus the popular religion and the secret doctrines, although always distinguished from each other, united in serving to curb the people. The condition, and the influence of religion on a nation, are always closely connected with the situation of those persons, who are particularly appointed for the service of the gods, the priests. The regulations of the Greeks concerning them, deserve the more attention, since many unimportant subjects of Grecian antiquity have been treated with an almost disproportionate expense of industry and erudition ; but with respect to the priesthood of the nation, we are as yet left without any investigation, corresponding to the

importance of the subject.<sup>1</sup> The very abundance of matter renders it the more difficult, for very little can be expressed in general terms; and many changes were brought about by time.

During the heroic age, we learn of Homer, that there were priests, who seem to have devoted themselves exclusively to that vocation. We readily call to mind a Calchas, a Chryses, and others. But even in that age, such priests appear but individually; no longer in colleges or societies, as the colonies of priests may have been, when in earlier times they migrated into Greece; and it does not appear, that their influence over the rest of the people was very great and important. The sacred rites in honor of the gods, were not performed by them alone; they were not even needed at the public solemnities. The leaders and commanders themselves offer their sacrifices,<sup>2</sup> perform the prayers, and observe the signs which indicated the result of an undertaking. In a word, kings and leaders were at the same time priests.

Traces of these very ancient regulations were preserved for a long time among the Greeks. The second Archon at Athens, who presided at the public ceremonies of worship, was called the king because he had to prepare the sacred rites, which were formerly regulated by the kings. He had his assistants; and it was necessary for his spouse to be of irreproachable character, as she also had secret religious services to perform. He was, however, like the other Archons, annually appointed,

<sup>1</sup> The Prolegomena to a scientific Mythology, by C. O. Müller, p. 249, &c., contain the outlines for the inquiry, and agree with the remarks made above.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of all other passages, see the description of the sacrifices which Nestor makes to Pallas. *Od.* iii. 430, etc.

and the election was made by lot.<sup>1</sup> The priests and priestesses of the several divinities were for the most part chosen. But the priestesses could be married, and the priests seem by no means to have been excluded by their station from participating in the offices and occupations of citizens. There were some sacerdotal offices, which were hereditary in certain families. But the number of them seems to have been inconsiderable. In Athens, the Eumolpidæ possessed the privilege, that the hierophant, or first director of the Eleusinian rites, as well as the other three,<sup>2</sup> should be taken from their family. But the place of hierophant could not be obtained except by a person of advanced years; and those other offices were probably not occupied during life, but frequently assigned anew.<sup>3</sup> How far the same was true in other cases, is but seldom related. At Delphi, the first of the oracles of the Hellenes, the Pythian priestess was chosen from among the women of the city;<sup>4</sup> and was obliged to have no intercourse with men. It is hardly probable from the extreme exertions connected with the delivery of oracles, that the same person could long fill the place. Here, as elsewhere, people were appointed for the service without the temple, some of whom, like Ion in Euripides, belonged to the god or the temple, and were even educated within its limits. But the service within the temple was performed by the most considera-

<sup>1</sup> See the important passage in Demosthenes, in *Neaer. Op. ii. p. 1370*, ed. Reisk.

<sup>2</sup> The Daduchus, or torch-bearer; the Hieroceryx, or sacred herald; and the Epibomius, who served at the altar.

<sup>3</sup> St. Croix has collected examples in his *Essay on the ancient Mysteries*.

<sup>4</sup> Euripid. *Ion*, v. 1320.

ble citizens of Delphi, who were chosen by lot.<sup>1</sup> The sanctuary of Dodona, where the responses of the oracle were made, as at Delphi and in other temples, by priestesses, seems to have belonged to the family of the Selli, of which Homer had heard ;<sup>2</sup> but we have no particular accounts respecting the situation of that family.

The regulations respecting priests, proposed by Plato in his books on laws,<sup>3</sup> show most clearly, that the ideas of the Greeks required, that the offices of priests should not long be filled by the same persons. "Let the election of the priests," says he, "be committed to the god, by referring the appointment to lot ; those on whom the lot falls, must submit to an examination. But each priesthood shall be filled for one year only, and no longer by the same person ; he who fills it, may not be less than sixty years old. The same rules shall apply to the priestesses."

We infer from all this, that, though the regulations respecting the priesthood were not the same in all parts of Greece, that office was commonly filled for a limited time only, was regarded as a place of honor, to which, as to the other mysteries, appointments were made by lot, with an examination, and was subjected to the same rotation with the rest. They to whom it was entrusted, were taken from the class of active citizens, to which they again returned ; and even whilst they were priests, they were by no means withdrawn from the regular busi-

<sup>1</sup> See the important passage in Euripid. *Ion*, 414: "I," says Ion, speaking to the foreigner on the service of the temple, "I have charge only of the outer part ; the interior belongs to them who sit near the tripod, the first of the Delphians, whom the lot selected.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* xv. 235.

<sup>3</sup> Plato. *de Leg.* l. vi. Op. viii. p. 266. Bip.



ness of civil life.<sup>1</sup> The priesthood did not gain even that degree of firmness, which it had at Rome; where the priests, though they were not separated from secular pursuits, formed separate colleges, like those of the Pontifices and Augurs; and the members of them were chosen for life. Since the priesthood then, among the Hellenes in general, and in the several states, never formed a distinct order, it could not possess the spirit of a party, and it was quite impossible for any thing like priestcraft to prevail. Religion and public acts of worship were so far considered holy and inviolable, that they were protected by the state; and that a degree of intolerance was produced, which led even to injustice and cruelty. But we do not find, that the priests were peculiarly active in such cases. It was the people which believed itself injured; or a political party; or individual demagogues, who had some particular object in view.<sup>2</sup>

As the priests of the Greeks formed no distinct class in society, it is evident, that they could have no such secret system of instructions, as was possessed by those of Egypt. No such system can therefore be contrasted with the popular religion; instead of it there were the mysteries; but the initiated were not all of them priests, nor was it necessary for every priest to be initiated into the mysteries. Any could be admitted to them, whose

<sup>1</sup> Not even from the duties of war. The Daduchus Callias fought at the battle of Marathon in his costume as a priest. Plutarch in *Aristid.* Op. ii. p. 491, ed. Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> Consult above everything else, the oration of Andocides on the profanation of the Mysteries, delivered on occasion of the well-known accusation of Alcibiades and his friends. Did we not know that a political party was active in that affair, it would hardly seem intelligible to us. It gives a remarkable proof of the ease, with which the passions of the Athenians might be aroused, when any attack was made on the things they deemed sacred.

condition in life, and behavior, were found to deserve the distinction.

These regulations led to important consequences. There was in the nation no separate class, which claimed an exclusive right to certain branches of scientific and intellectual culture ; and preserved that exclusive right by means of written characters, intelligible only to themselves. That which should be the common property and is the noblest common property of humanity, was such among the Greeks. And this made it possible to unfold with freedom the spirit of philosophy. The oldest philosophy of the Greeks, as it appeared at first in the Ionic school, may have originally stood in close union with religion, and may indeed have proceeded from it ; for who does not perceive the near connection between speculations on the elements of things, and those ancient representations of the gods as powers or objects of nature. But religion could not long hold philosophy in chains. It could not prevent the spirit of free inquiry from awakening and gaining strength ; and hence it was possible for all those sciences, which are promoted by that spirit, to assume among the Greeks a decided and peculiar character. In the intellectual culture of the East, all scientific knowledge is connected with religion ; but as these were kept separate by the Greeks, science gained among them that independent character, which distinguishes the West, and which was communicated to the nations of whom the Greeks were the instructors.

As the priests never formed a distinct order, and still less a cast, in Greece, the religion never became a religion of state to such a degree as in other countries. It was sometimes subservient to public policy, but never

became a slave to it. The dry, prosaic religion of the Romans could be used or abused to such purposes ; but that of the Greeks was much too poetical. The former seems to have existed only for the sake of the state ; and the latter, even when it was useful to the state, appears to have rendered none but voluntary services. The Patricians confined the popular religion of Rome within the strict limits of a system ; but in Greece, religion preserved its freedom of character.

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#### COLONISTS FROM ABROAD.

The race of the Hellenes was always the prevalent one in Greece ; but it was by no means unmixed. The superior advantages of the country invited foreign emigrations, and its situation facilitated them. Many nations of Thracian, Carian, and Illyrian origin, descended at different times from the North by land.<sup>1</sup> These colonists, at least such as remained in the country, may by degrees have been amalgamated with the Hellenes ; but, being themselves barbarians, they could not have contributed much towards softening the manners of the nation ; although the poets of Thrace, an Orpheus and his school of bards, and Linus and others, were not without influence on them. The case was far different with those who came by sea. Greece, as we observed in a former chapter,<sup>2</sup> was surrounded at no great distance by the most cultivated nations of the western world, which nations were more or less devoted to commerce and the

<sup>1</sup> Their names are for the most part mentioned by Strabo, l. vii. p. 404.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the close of chapter first.

foundings of colonies. This is well known to have been the character of the Phœnicians, and it is equally certain that it was so of the inhabitants of Asia Minor; and traces of Egyptian colonies are found no less in Europe, than in Asia.

If no accounts had been preserved of colonies of those nations, emigrating to Greece, they would of themselves have seemed highly probable. But we are so far from being without accounts of this kind, that they have been much more accurately preserved, than the remoteness of the time and the condition of the nation would have authorized us to expect. The memory of them could not become extinct, for their consequences were too lasting; and if events which for so long a time were preserved by nothing but tradition, are differently related and sometimes highly colored, the critical student of history can hardly make any valid objections against their general truth, if the narratives are interpreted, as the mythical language of extreme antiquity requires. The first of the foreign colonies, which are mentioned as having arrived by sea, is that, which, under the direction of Cecrops, came from Sais in Lower Egypt to Attica;<sup>1</sup> fifty years

<sup>1</sup> This is supposed to have taken place about 1550 years before Christ. The immigration by Cecrops from Egypt, is questioned by the investigations of C. O. Müller, in the *History of the Hellenic Tribes and Cities*, i. p. 106, &c., inasmuch as Theopompus is the earliest writer who mentions it. But Theopompus must have had before him an earlier authority. That a belief in a relationship with the Egyptians, is as old as the age of Solon, appears to me certain, from the narration of Plato in *Timæus*, (Op. ix. p. 293, etc., ed. Bip.) Further inquiries respecting the influence of Egypt on Greece, on which opinions are now so divided, will probably lead to the conclusion, that the truth is in the middle. Want of land, excessive population, and revolutions, which are the chief causes of emigration, existed nowhere in the old world in more force than in Egypt, and particularly at the time assigned for the emigration of Cecrops, during the dominion, and after the expulsion of the Hyksos from Lower Egypt.

later, Danaus led his colony from Chemmis in Upper Egypt, to Argos in the Peloponnesus. These emigrations took place at the period, in which, according to the most probable chronological reckoning, the great revolutions in Egypt were effected by the expulsion of the Arabian nomades; and the kingdom was restored to its liberty and independence; a period, in which emigrations were at least not improbable. The colony, which, as Herodotus relates, was brought by Cadmus, together with the alphabet, from Phœnicia to Greece,<sup>1</sup> needs no farther proof, when we learn how extensive were the colonies of that nation; we are only astonished, that we hear of but one such in Greece; since the common course of things would rather lead us to expect a continued immigration, such as took place in the islands, which became almost entirely Phœnician. Even this doubt vanishes, when we regard Cadmus, not as a person, but as the symbol of the Phœnician colonies in Greece; although the early and distinct notices of Cadmus in Herodotus, render it difficult to give up the usual representation. Nor should we forget the establishment, made by Pelops of Lydia in the peninsula which bears his name.<sup>2</sup> That also was occasioned by the events of war. Tantalus, the father of Pelops, having been driven from Lydia by Ilus, king of Troy, sought and found in Argos a place of refuge for himself and his treasures.

Yet very different answers have been given to the question; what influence had the emigration of those foreign colonists on the culture of the Greeks? And more have denied than have conceded, that such an influence was exerted. Where cultivated nations make

<sup>1</sup> Herod. v. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, p. 222.

establishments in the vicinity of barbarians, it would be wrong to infer directly the civilization of the latter, unless it be confirmed by distinct evidence. The aborigines of America have been for more than two centuries the immediate neighbors of civilized Europeans, and yet how little have they adopted from them? And if doubts were entertained in the case of the Greeks, it was chiefly because their whole national culture was so remarkably different from that of those Eastern nations, that the former could hardly seem much indebted to the latter.

Yet the testimony of the Greeks themselves proves such an influence too clearly to be doubted. Cecrops is expressly mentioned, as having first established domestic union among the inhabitants of Attica, by the introduction of regular marriages; and as having built the citadel which afterwards bore his name. The same is true of the citadel, which Cadmus built in Thebes; and if we interpret the account of Herodotus respecting the introduction of the alphabet by him, to mean only, that the Hellenes were indebted for it to the Phœnicians (which on the whole can hardly be doubted), the case would not be changed. And if Pelops not only emigrated to Argos with his treasures, but gave his name to the peninsula, the facts admit of no other interpretation than that his emigration was productive of the most important consequences.

But farther. These foreigners not only became princes themselves, but made the royal power hereditary in their families. The earliest kings of Attica, Pandion, Ægeus, Theseus, were all descended from the house of Cecrops, although only by the female side. Perseus and his heroic family sprung in like manner from the family

of Danaus. When we name Cadmus, we remember at the same time his descendants, the favorites of the tragic muse, Laius, Œdipus, Eteocles, and Polynices, the rulers of Thebes. But the posterity of Pelops, the house of Atrides, excelled all the rest in fame as in misfortunes. In this manner the traditional history of the nation is principally dependent on these families from abroad; they were not only the oldest rulers, but the memory of them continued to live in the mouth of the people from age to age; till the tragic poets conferred on them immortality. It is impossible that such a continued dominion of those families should have had no influence on the nation. To assert it would be to assert what is inconsistent with the natural course of things.

If these immigrations seem to have been occasioned by political causes, others had their origin in religion. In modern times the savage nature of barbarians has been tamed by missions; but although antiquity knew and could know none such, the early part of our present inquiries proves, that political and mercantile ends were none the less connected with sanctuaries and oracles. Greece received its colonies of priests; by which we mean the establishments of sanctuaries by foreigners, who brought with them their own peculiar forms of worship. The Homeric hymn to Apollo affords a remarkable proof, that such institutions were entirely in the spirit of the ancient Grecian world. When the Pythian god was establishing his oracle at Delphi, he beheld on the sea a merchant-ship from Crete; this he directs to Crissa, and appoints the foreigners the servants of his newly-established sanctuary, near which they settled and abode.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Homer. Hymn. in Apoll. 390, &c.

When this story, which we would not affirm to be historically true, is stripped of the language of poetry, it can only mean, that a Cretan colony founded the temple, and oracle of Delphi. And the account given by Herodotus of the Egyptian origin of the oracle of Dodona, ceases to surprise us,<sup>1</sup> although that oracle owes its establishment to another cause, the Phœnician slave-trade, by means of which two consecrated women were carried, the one to Ammonium in Lybia, the other to Dodona. If we knew more certainly who the Selli were, who are thought to have been a branch of the Pelasgi, and are said by Homer<sup>2</sup> to have been the servants of the god, and in possession of the oracle, we should probably be able to say more than we now can respecting its history. That it was of Egyptian origin, is acknowledged not only by the sacred traditions of Dodona, but also by those of Egypt. It was impossible for these settlements to assume in Greece the aspect, which they took in Africa. The character of the country and the spirit of the people were alike opposed to it; for though the popular religion in Greece was not wholly unconnected with politics, the state had never, as in Egypt, been founded entirely upon religion. But those settlements became the central point of societies of nations; they subsisted as oracles; of which the Greek stood in need both in public and private life.

Similar sacred institutions arose very early on several of the islands round Greece, and were transplanted from them to the continent. Those of Crete and Samothrace were the most important. The first of these islands occupies, in many points of view, a very important place in the most ancient history of Grecian culture: but the cul-

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 54.      <sup>2</sup> Il. xvi. 234.



ture, which sprung up in Crete, seems rather to have produced early blossoms than later fruits. All that we know of the glory of Crete, belongs to the age of Homer and the preceding times.<sup>1</sup> The period in which they cleared the sea of robbers; exercised supremacy over the islands, and a part of the country on the shore, even of Attica; and received their laws from Minos, the familiar friend of Jove, belongs to so remote an age, that it affords less room for certainty than for conjecture. But Crete still appears in Homer so flourishing, that hardly a country on the continent could be compared with it.<sup>2</sup> The situation of this large island can alone serve to explain, how it came to precede Hellas in culture. It lay at almost equal distances from Egypt, Phœnicia, and Greece. If it was, as we are told, the country of brass and iron, and if these metals were first manufactured there,<sup>3</sup> the obscurity which covered the oldest tradition, is at once removed. Late investigations have, however, led to more discriminating views; for they have shown, that by confounding the Ida of Phrygia or Asia Minor, with the Ida of Crete, many things have been applied to the latter, which should have been restricted to the former.<sup>4</sup> The prevailing minerals in Crete do not contain brass and iron;<sup>5</sup> and Crete has, therefore, been improperly regarded as the country of these metals. But they are found

<sup>1</sup> See the rich compilation of Meursius: Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes. 1675.

<sup>2</sup> Crete awes the circling waves, a fruitful soil,  
And ninety cities crown the sea-born isle.

Od. xix. 172, &c. in Pope 196, &c.

<sup>3</sup> The most important passage in Diodor. v. p. 381.

<sup>4</sup> Hoeck's Kreta. I. Eand.

<sup>5</sup> Hoeck, I. 42. and the appendix by Hausmann on the character of the geological formations of Crete, p. 443.

in the Ida of Phrygian Lydia; and that there was also the home of the fabulous personages, the Daetyli and Curetes, to whom tradition attributes the first acquisition and working of iron, is apparent even from the account in Strabo.<sup>1</sup> Yet they and their worship were transplanted to Crete; and with them the working of iron, which, though not originating in Crete, could easily have been introduced from Asia Minor and Cyprus. Nor can any one, who is familiar with the origin of the ancient religions of nature, be surprised to find this earliest metallurgy, connecting itself with a worship, which generated sacred usages and mysteries.<sup>2</sup> As far as we can judge, the immigration of the Daetyli and Curetes into Crete belongs to the age before Minos;<sup>3</sup> and if manufactures of iron and brass were established there, the immigration into the island from various quarters, by the Pelasgi, Hellenes, and Phœnicians, are easily explained.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, p. 725, and Hoeck, 284.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. I. p. 331. So too the workmen in the mines of Germany abound in superstitions.

<sup>3</sup> Hoeck, I. 359. first appendix.

<sup>4</sup> They are enumerated chronologically by Diodorus, I. p. 382. Hoeck, I. 52, proves that no evidence exists of immigrations from Egypt.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE HEROIC AGE — THE TROJAN WAR.

ALTHOUGH the history of the progress of the Greek nation during the early period of its culture, is imperfect and fragmentary, the progress itself is certain. In the age which we best designate in the spirit of the nation by the name of the Heroic Age, and which extends from about the thirteenth to the eleventh century before the christian era, we find them advanced to a far higher degree of civilization, than that of which by their own accounts they were possessed before. The poet who delineates them in that stage is never untrue to the poetic character ; and yet Homer was regarded even by the ancients as of historical authority ; and, to a certain point, deserved to be so regarded. Truth was his object in his accounts and descriptions, as far as it can be the object of a poet, and even in a greater degree than was necessary, when he distinguishes the earlier and later times or ages. He is the best source of information respecting the heroic age ; and since that source is so copious, there is no need of drawing from any other.

When we compare the Greeks of Homer with those of later ages, we immediately perceive a remarkable difference, to which we must at once direct our attention. His Greeks, to whatever tribe they belong, are all equal in point of culture. With him, the Thessalian

differs in nothing from the inhabitant of the Peloponnessus, nor the Etolian from the Bœotian and Athenian; the sole points of difference which he marks, are merely personal; or, at most, result from the greater or smaller extent of the several territories. Hence we infer, that the causes which afterwards gave the inhabitants of the eastern part of Hellas so great an advantage over those of the west, had not then begun to operate. There must rather have been some causes of general influence, to produce that early progress; and therefore we have less reason to fear that we were mistaken in assigning the first place among them to religion.

Yet religion had no influence in exciting and developing that heroic spirit, which is the characteristic of the age. In those later centuries of the middle age which embrace the christian heroic age, a devotional spirit formed a prominent feature in the character of a knight; but nothing like this is to be found among the Greeks. The Grecian heroes always preserve a belief in the gods; are intimately and directly united with them; are sometimes persecuted and sometimes protected by them; but they do not fight for their religion, like the christian knights. Such an idea could never occur to them; for their representations of their gods did not admit of it. And here we remark one great point of difference between the Grecian and christian heroic character. A second, to which we shall return directly, results from the different condition of the other sex. But another prominent trait is common to both; the propensity to extraordinary and bold undertakings, not only at home, but in foreign lands, in countries beyond the sea, and of which tradition had, for the most part, spread

none but indistinct accounts. This propensity was first awakened by the early immigrations of the Hellenes. But the exploits of the oldest heroes among the Greeks, Meleager, Tydeus, and others, before Hercules and Jason, were performed at home ; and even those which are said to have been performed by Hercules out of Greece, are probably a later fiction, invented at the time when his name was first added to the number of the Argonauts, and the Grecian Hercules was confounded with the Phœnician. Adventures in foreign regions begin with Jason and the Argonautic expedition ; and those adventures were destined soon to end in a general union of the nation for the purpose of carrying on a war beyond the sea.

As far as we can judge amidst the uncertainty of the chronology of that period, this adventurous spirit appears to have been awakened in the century immediately preceding the Trojan war. According to all possible chronological combinations, we must refer to this period the expedition of the Argonauts and the undertaking of Theseus against Crete ; which events happened soon after the dominion of the sea had been gained for that island by Minos. The general condition of Greece in that period explains, in some measure, why the limits of that country began to grow too narrow, and a new theatre for the display of enterprise to be sought for. The whole of Greece previous to the Trojan war, appears to have enjoyed perfect tranquillity within its own boundaries. The limits of the small districts into which Greece was divided, seem already to have been definitively established. We hear of no contention respecting them on the part of the princes ; and Homer was able to

enumerate the several possessions with precision. The war of the seven against Thebes had its origin in family discord; and the claims of the exiled Heraclidæ were not made valid till a more recent age. It was on the whole an age of internal peace, notwithstanding some interruptions. In such an age there was little opportunity for heroic exploits at home; and what was more natural than that the warlike spirit which was once roused, should go in quest of them abroad?

But such was the situation of the country, that this could take place only by sea. There was in the North, nothing which could invite the spirit of enterprise; and the country in that direction was possessed by warlike nations. On the other hand, the reports which came to the Greeks respecting the land beyond the sea, were numerous; even though they may have been brought by none but the Phœnicians. The countries and nations which were the chief objects of the voyages of that commercial people, the Cimmerians in the North, the Loto-phagi, and the gardens of the Hesperides on the coast of Lybia; Sicily with its wonders, the Cyclops, and Scylla and Charybdis; and even Spain with the mighty Geryon and the pillars of Hercules, are dimly seen in the earliest Grecian mythology. These traditions did much towards awakening the spirit of adventure, and thus occasioned the Argonautic expedition.

These early voyages, by which so much activity was awakened, and so much energy called into action, were the chief means by which the circle of ideas in the nation was enlarged. This is obvious from those ancient mythological tales, which were thus introduced, and which were the fruit of the increased intercourse with

foreign countries. The geography of Homer, limited as it is, not only extends far beyond the bounds of his native land ; but shows a manifest desire of discovering the farthest limits of the earth. The ocean stream which flowed round it, is mentioned ; the regions are named, in which the sun has the gates of its rising and setting ; even the entrance to the lower world is known. The obscurity in which all this was veiled, served but to excite the adventurous spirit, when once aroused, to new undertakings.

The internal political condition of Greece in the heroic age was in one respect similar to that of a later period ; and in another essentially different. It was similar in the division into small territories ; but it was altogether different in the constitutions of the states.

The division into territories, a result of the variety of the tribes, was in those times as great, or perhaps greater than in more recent ones. The district of Thessaly alone contained, in Homer's time, no less than ten small states, each of which had its prince or leader. In the central part of Greece, the Bœotians had five principalities ;<sup>1</sup> the Minyes, whose capital was Orchomenus, the Locrians,<sup>2</sup> the Athenians, the Phocians, had each their own ruler. In the Peloponnesus, there existed, independent of each other, the kingdoms of Argos, of Mycenæ, of Sparta, of Pylus, that of the Elians, divided under four heads, and Arcadia. Many of the islands also had their own princes. On the west side, the government of Ulysses embraced, beside Ithaca, the islands

<sup>1</sup> Il. ii. catalog. nav. l. &c. where also the passages may be found, which serve as proofs of the following statements.

<sup>2</sup> The Opuntii and Epienemidii. Homer makes no mention of the Ozolæ.

Zacynthus and Cephallene, and Epirus which lies over against it. The flourishing island of Crete was swayed by Idomeneus; Salamis by Ajax; Eubœa, inhabited by the Abantes, Rhodes, and Cos had their own rulers; Ægina and probably others of the small islands belonged to the neighboring princes.

This political division was therefore from the earliest times a peculiarity of Greece; and it never ceased to be so. And here it is natural to ask, how it could have continued so long? How happened it, that amidst the early civil wars, and especially the later superiority of the Doric tribe, the supremacy of an individual state was never established? One principal cause of this is to be found in the natural geographical divisions of the country, which we have described in a former chapter; another, no less important, seems to lie in the internal division of the several tribes. Even where those of the same tribe made their settlements, they were immediately split into separate townships. According to these, the troops of soldiers are distinguished in Homer. Proofs of it are found in all parts of his poems, especially in the catalogue of the ships. If these townships stood under one common head, they were still united only by a feeble bond. The germ of division was deeply fixed, even in those earlier times; and as it unfolded, it was destined to mature the whole subsequent political condition of Greece.

Yet though the divisions of the country were then as numerous, the forms of government in those early times were entirely different from the later ones. We meet with no governments but those of princes or kings; there were then no republics; and yet republicanism was



eventually to decide the political character of Greece. These monarchical constitutions, if that name may be applied to them, were rather the outlines of constitutions than regular, finished forms of government. They were a consequence of the most ancient condition of the nation, when either ruling families sprung up in the several tribes ; or the leaders of foreign colonies had known how to secure to themselves and their posterity the government over the natives. The families of Peleus, Cadmus, Pelops, and others, have already been mentioned. It was a great recommendation of the later rulers, to be able to trace their lineage to one of the ancient heroes or gods ; and Alexander himself sought the confirmation of his own descent from the temple of Ammon. But though much depended on descent, we learn from observing those ancient families, that it was not only necessary that the founder of the family should be a hero, but, if its elevation was to be preserved, that many heroes like him should arise among his posterity. For this the houses of Pelops and Cadmus were the most illustrious. But only certain branches of the family of Hercules, the first of Grecian heroes, were remembered by the nation, while others passed into oblivion. The Greeks paid respect to birth, yet they never attributed every thing to it ; and if in those republican times, the noble families were preserved distinct from the rest, their superiority depended seldom on birth alone ; and no line was drawn between them and the rest of the people, such as divided the Patricians from the Plebeians in the early period of Roman history. The correct feeling of the Greeks is observable in this, as in so many other things. The respect for their illustrious families was continued in the

recollection of their actions ; but the descendants were not long permitted to live on the fame of their forefathers.

The constitutions of the heroic age were the result of circumstances, and wants which were felt. Esteem for the ruling families secured to them the government ; but their power was not strictly hereditary. Princes were not much more than the first amongst their peers ; even the latter were sometimes denominated princes.<sup>1</sup> The son had commonly the precedence over others in the succession ; but his claim was measured by his personal qualifications for the station.<sup>2</sup> It was his first duty to lead in war ; and he could not do this, unless he was himself distinguished for courage and strength. His privileges in peace were not great. He called together the popular assembly, which was chiefly, if not exclusively, composed of the older and more distinguished citizens.<sup>3</sup> Here the king had his own seat ; the ensign of his dignity was a sceptre or staff. He had the right of addressing the assembly, which was done standing. In all important events he was bound to consult the people. In addition to this he sometimes acted as judge ;<sup>4</sup> but not always ; for the administration of justice was often committed to an assembly of the elders.<sup>5</sup> Nothing was known of particular taxes paid to the king. His superiority consisted in a piece of land, and a larger part of

<sup>1</sup> As, in *Od.* viii. 41. the *σχηττοῦχοι βασιλῆες* of Ithaca.

<sup>2</sup> Observe the description of the situation of Telemachus in this respect. *Odys.* i. 392, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the description of the assembly of Phæaciens. *Odys.* viii.

<sup>4</sup> *Aristot. Polit.* iii. 14. *Στρατηγὸς γὰρ ἔνι καὶ δικαστῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ τῶν πόλεως θεσπὺς νόμος.*

<sup>5</sup> See e. g. the representation on the shield of Achilles. *Il.* xviii. 504.

the booty. Excepting this, he derived his support from his own possessions and the produce of his fields and herds. The preservation of his dignity required an almost unbounded hospitality. His house was the place of assembly for persons of the upper class, who almost always sat at table with him; to turn away strangers, who asked for shelter, or only seemed to stand in need of it, would have been an unexampled outrage.<sup>1</sup>

Greece, even in those times, was a thickly peopled and well cultivated country. What a crowd of cities is enumerated by the poet! And we must not imagine these to have been open towns with scattered habitations. The epithets applied to them frequently prove the reverse. They are in part surrounded with walls; have gates and regular streets.<sup>2</sup> Yet the houses stand by themselves; having in front a court, and in the rear a garden.<sup>3</sup> Such at least were the houses of the most respectable. Others appear to stand directly on the street without any court in front. In the middle of the city there is a public square or marketplace; the common place of assembly for the citizens, whether on solemn occasions, or for deliberation, or courts of justice, or any other purpose. It is surrounded with seats of stone, on which the distinguished men are wont on such occasions to take their places.<sup>4</sup> No trace is to be found of any pavement in the streets.

<sup>1</sup> How warmly Menelaus reproaches Eteoneus for proposing to send the strangers somewhere else. Od. iv. 31.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. Athens with broad streets (*εὐανάγκυια*). Od. vii. S. Gortys with firm walls (*τεγχισσοῦα*); and others.

<sup>3</sup> Thus the palace of Menelaus, Od. ii.; and of Alcinous, Od. vii. Others on the street. Il. xviii. 496.

<sup>4</sup> The city of the Phæaciens, Od. vii. gives proof of all this.

The different branches of agriculture were already well advanced. Property in lands was universal; of which the boundaries were fixed by measurement, and often designated by stones.<sup>1</sup> The poet describes to us the various labors of farming, ploughing, whether with oxen or mules, sowing, reaping, binding the sheaves, and treading out the corn by oxen on the threshing-floor. Nor does he omit to mention the culture of the grape, the tilling of gardens, and the various duties of the herdsman.<sup>2</sup> It may be doubted whether the soil was much better cultivated in the most flourishing period of Grecian history.

The houses of the heroes were large and spacious, and at the same time suited to the climate. The court was surrounded by a gallery, about which the bedchambers were built. There was a direct entrance from the court to the hall, which was the common place of resort.<sup>3</sup> Movable seats (*θρόνοι*) stood along the sides of the walls. Every thing glistened with brass. On one side was a place of deposit, where the arms were kept. In the back ground was the hearth, and the seat for the lady of the mansion, when she made her appearance below. Several steps conducted from thence to a higher gallery, near which were the chambers of the women, where they were employed in household labors, especially in weaving. Several outhouses for the purpose of grinding and baking, were connected with the house; others for the common habitations of the male and female slaves;

<sup>1</sup> Il. xii. 421, xxi. 405.

<sup>2</sup> I need only call to mind the representations on the shield of Achilles. Il. xviii. 540, &c.

<sup>3</sup> The abovementioned mansions of Menelaus and Alcinoüs best illustrate this style of architecture; although the description of the mansion of Ulysses is in some parts more minute.

and also stables for the horses.<sup>1</sup> The stalls for cattle were commonly in the fields.

Astonishment is excited by the abundance of metals, both of the precious and baser ones, with which the mansions were adorned, and of which the household utensils were made.<sup>2</sup> The walls glittered with them; the seats were made of them. Water for washing was presented in golden ewers on silver salvers; the benches, arms, utensils were ornamented with them. Even if we suppose that much, called golden, was only gilded, we still have reason to ask, whence this wealth in precious metals? Homer gives us a hint respecting the silver, when he speaks of it as belonging to Alybe, in the land of the Halizones.<sup>3</sup> Most of the gold probably came from Lydia, where this metal in later times was so abundant, that the Greeks were for the most part supplied with all they used from that country. As there was no coined money,<sup>4</sup> and as the metals were in consequence used in commerce as means of exchange, the manufacturing of them seems to have been one of the chief branches of mechanic industry. Proofs of this are found in the preparation of arms and utensils. We need but call to mind the shield of Achilles, the torch-bearing statues in the house of Alcinous,<sup>5</sup> the enameled figures on the clasp of Ulysses' mantle,<sup>6</sup> &c. But it is difficult to say, how far these manufactures were made by the Greeks, or

<sup>1</sup> Thus with Menelaus, *Od.* iv. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Above all in the mansion of Menelaus.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* ii. *Catalog.* v. 364. Without doubt in the Caucasian chain of mountains; even if the Halizones and the Chalybes were not the same.

<sup>4</sup> This was probably one of the chief reasons why so much of it was manufactured.

<sup>5</sup> *Od.* vii. 100.

<sup>6</sup> *Od.* xix. 225, &c.

gained by exchange from abroad. As the poet commonly describes them to be the works of Vulcan, it is at least clear, that manufactures of this kind were somewhat rare, and in part foreign.<sup>1</sup> Gold was afterwards wrought in Asia Minor, especially in Lydia; all labor in brass and iron seems, as we remarked above, to have been first brought to perfection among the Hellenes in Crete.

These labors in metal appear to have limited the early progress of the plastic arts. We find no traces of painting, and none of marble statues. But those efforts in metal imply practice in drawing; for we hear not only of figures, but also of expression in their positions and motions.<sup>2</sup>

The art of weaving, the chief occupation of the women, was even then carried to a high degree of perfection. The stuffs were of wool and linen; it is hard to decide how far cotton was in those times manufactured in Greece.<sup>3</sup> Yet garments of foreign manufacture, those of Egypt and Sidon, were esteemed the most beautiful.<sup>4</sup> The dress was decent but free. The female sex were by no means accustomed to conceal the countenance, but were clad in long robes; both sexes wore a tight under garment, over which the broad upper garment was thrown.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As e. g. the silver goblet received by Menelaus from the king of Sidon. Od. iv. 615.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the description of the shield of Achilles, note especially Od. xix. 225, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Compare, above all, the description of Achilles' clothing. Od. xix. 225, etc. The mantle (*χλαίνα*), rough to the touch, was without doubt of wool; but the under garment (*χιτώνι*) can hardly pass for either woollen or linen.

Fine as a filmy web beneath it shone

A vest, that dazzled like a cloudless sun.

<sup>4</sup> As e. g. Il. vi. 290.

<sup>5</sup> The passages are collected in Feithii Ant. Homer. iii. cap. 7.

The internal regulations of families were simple, but not without those peculiarities, which are a natural consequence of the introduction of slavery. Polygamy was not directly authorized; but the sanctity of marriage was not considered as violated by the intercourse of the husband with female slaves. The noble characters of Andromache and of Penelope exhibit, each in its own way, models of elevated conjugal affection. It is more difficult for us, with our feelings, to understand the seduced and returning Helen; and yet if we compare Helen, the beloved of Paris in the *Iliad*,<sup>1</sup> with Helen, the spouse of Menelaus in the *Odyssey*,<sup>2</sup> we find truth and much internal harmony in the character which could err, but not become wholly untrue to nobleness of feeling. It is a woman, who, having become in youth the victim of sensuality, (and never without emotions of regret,) returned afterwards to reason; before she was compelled to do so by age. Even after her return from Troy, she was still exceedingly beautiful;<sup>3</sup> (and who can think of counting her years?) And yet even then the two sexes stood to each other in the same relation, which continued in later times. The wife is housewife, and nothing more. Even the sublime Andromache, after that parting, which will draw tears as long as there are eyes which can weep and hearts which can feel, is sent back to the apartments of the women, to superintend the labors of the maidservants.<sup>4</sup> Still we observe in her, conjugal love of an elevated character. In other instances love has reference, both with mortals and with immortals, to sensual enjoyment; although in the noble

<sup>1</sup> In the third book.

<sup>2</sup> *Odys.* iv. and xv.

<sup>3</sup> *Odys.* iv. 121.

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* vi. 490.

and uncorrupted virgin characters, as in the amiable Nausicaa, it was united with that bashfulness, which accompanies maiden youth. But we meet with no trace of those elevated feelings, that romantic love, as it is very improperly termed, which results from a higher regard for the female sex. That love, and that regard are traits peculiar to the Germanic nations, a result of the spirit of gallantry which was a leading feature in the character of chivalry, but which we vainly look for in Greece. Yet here the Greek stands between the East and the West. Although he was never wont to revere woman as a being of a higher order, he did not, like the Asiatic, imprison her by troops in a haram.

The progress which had been made in social life, is visible in nothing, except the relative situation of the sexes, more distinctly, than in the tone of conversation among men. A solemn dignity belonged to it even in common intercourse; the style of salutation and address is connected with certain forms; the epithets with which the heroes honored each other, were so adopted into the language of intercourse, that they are not unfrequently applied, even where the language of reproach is used. Let it not be said, that this is merely the language of epic poetry. The poet never could have employed it, if its original, and a taste for it, had not already existed. If the tone of intercourse is a measure of the social and, in a certain degree, of the moral improvement of a nation, the Greeks of the heroic age were already vastly elevated beyond their earlier savage state.

To complete the picture of those times, it is necessary to speak of war and the art of war. The heroic age of the Greeks, considered from this point of view, exhibits



a mixture of savageness and magnanimity, and the first outlines of the laws of nations. The enemy who has been slain, is not secure against outrage, and yet the corpse is not always abused.<sup>1</sup> The conquered party offers a ransom; and it depends on the victor to accept or refuse it. The arms, both of attack and defence, are of iron or brass. No hero appeared, like Hercules of old, with a club and lion's skin for spear and shield. The art of war, as far as it relates to the position and erecting of fortified camps, seems to have been first invented in the siege of Troy.<sup>2</sup> In other respects, everything depended on the more or less perfect equipments, together with personal courage and strength. As the great multitude was, for the most part, without defensive armor, and as only a few were completely accoutred, one of these last outweighed a host of the rest. But only the leaders were thus armed; and they, standing on their chariots of war (for cavalry was still unknown,) fought with each other in the space between the armies. If they were victorious, they spread panic before them; and it became easy for them to break through the ranks. But we will pursue no farther the description of scenes, which every one prefers to read in the poet himself.

As the crusades were the fruit of the revolution in the social condition of the West, the Trojan war resulted from the same causes in Greece. It was necessary, that a fondness for adventures in foreign lands should be awakened; expeditions by sea, like that of the Argonauts, be attended with success; and a union of the heroes, as in that and the march against Thebes, be first

<sup>1</sup> An example, *Il. vi.* 417.

<sup>2</sup> See on this subject, on which we believe we may be brief, the *Excursus* of Heyne to the *vi.* *vii.* and *viii.* books of the *Iliad*.

established; before such an undertaking could become practicable. But now it resulted so naturally from the whole condition of things, that, though its object might have been a different one, it must have taken place even without a Helen.

The expedition against Troy, like the crusades, was a voluntary undertaking on the part of those who joined in it; and this circumstance had an influence on all the internal regulations. The leaders of the several bands were voluntary followers of the Atridæ, and could therefore depart from the army at their own pleasure. Agamemnon was but the first among the first. It is more difficult to ascertain the relation between the leaders and their people; and he who should undertake to describe every thing minutely, would be most sure of making mistakes. There were certainly control and obedience. The troops follow their leaders, and leave the battle with them. But much even of this seems to have been voluntary; and the spirit of the age allowed no such severe discipline as exists in modern armies. None but a Thersites could have received the treatment of Thersites.

This undertaking, begun and successfully terminated by united exertions, kindled the national spirit of the Hellenes. On the fields of Asia, the tribes had for the first time been assembled, for the first time had saluted each other as brethren. They had fought and had conquered in company. Yet something of a higher character was still wanting to preserve the flame, which was just blazing up. The assistance of the muse was needed, to commemorate in words those events of which the echo will never die away. By preserving the memory of them for ever, the most beautiful fruits which they bore were saved from perishing.

## CHAPTER V.

THE PERIOD FOLLOWING THE HEROIC AGE. MIGRATIONS.  
ORIGIN OF REPUBLICAN FORMS OF GOVERNMENT, AND  
THEIR CHARACTER.

LIKE the age of chivalry in western Europe, the heroic age of the Greeks began and ended without our being able to define either period by an exact date. Such a phenomenon is the fruit of causes which are rooted deeply and of continuing influence, and it neither suddenly ripens nor suddenly decays. The heroic age was not immediately terminated by the Trojan war; yet it was during that period in its greatest glory.<sup>1</sup> It was closely united with the political constitution of the times; the princes of the tribes were the first of the heroes. When the constitution of the tribes was changed, the ancient heroic world could not continue. No new undertaking was begun, which was so splendidly executed and closed. Although, therefore, heroic characters may still have arisen, as in the times of Achilles and Agamemnon, no similar career of honor was opened to them; they were not celebrated in song like the Atridæ and their companions; and though they may have gained the praise of their contemporaries, they did not live, like the latter, in the memory of succeeding generations.

In the age succeeding the Trojan war, several events

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod limits his fourth age, the age of heroes, to the times immediately before and after the Trojan war. *Op. et Dies*, 156, &c.

took place, which prepared and introduced an entire revolution in the domestic and still more in the public life of the Greeks. The result of these revolutions was the origin and general prevalence of republican forms of government among them; and this decided the whole future character of their public life as a nation.

It is still possible for us to show the general causes of this great change; but when we remember that these events took place before Greece had produced a historian, and when tradition was the only authority, we give up all expectation of gaining perfect and unbroken historical accounts; and acknowledge that we can hardly know more of them than Thucydides.

“The emigration of the tribes,” says this historian,<sup>1</sup> “was by no means at an end with the Trojan war. The continuance of the war produced many changes; in many cities disturbances were excited, which occasioned the banished parties to found new cities. The Bœotians, driven from Arne in Thessaly, took possession of their country in the sixtieth year after the fall of Troy; in the eightieth, the Dorians, led on by the Heraclidæ, conquered the Peloponnesus.” And we have already observed, what great revolutions were produced by this last event. A new tribe, till then the weaker, was extended and became the more powerful. But still greater changes were to come; the race of the Hellenes were destined to extend on the east and west, far beyond the limits of their ancient country. “When Greece,” continues Thucydides, “after a long interval, at length became composed, and assumed a firmer appearance, it sent out colonies; Athens, to Ionia in Asia Minor, and to a great

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 12.

part of the islands of the Archipelago; the Peloponnesians, chiefly to Italy and Sicily; all which settlements were not made till after the Trojan times.”

The views of the nation could not but be enlarged by the Trojan war. It had become acquainted with the coasts of Asia, those lands so highly favored by nature; and the recollection of them never died away. When the new internal storms followed, and almost all the tribes of the Hellenes were driven from their places of abode, it is not remarkable that the coasts of Asia should have attracted the emigrating parties. Since the downfall of Troy, no new dominion had been established there; no nation of the country was strong enough to prohibit the settlement of the foreigners. Thus, in the course of not more than a century,<sup>1</sup> the western coast of Asia Minor was occupied by a chain of Grecian cities, extending from the Hellespont to the boundary of Cilicia. Æolians, conducted by the descendants of the fallen house of the Atridæ, established their residence in the vicinity of the ruins of Troy, on the coast of Mysia, in the most fruitful region known to those times,<sup>2</sup> and on the opposite island of Lesbos; on the continent they built twelve cities, and on Lesbos Mitylene, which now gives a name to the whole island. Smyrna, the only one which has preserved a part of its splendor, and Cyme, exceeded all the rest on the main land. Æolis was bounded on the south by Ionia, a region so called from the twelve Ionian cities, which were built by the Ionians, who had been expelled from their ancient country. They also occupied the neighboring islands Chios and Samos. If Æolis

<sup>1</sup> In a period subsequent to the year 1130 before Christ.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. i. 149.

could boast of superior fertility, the Ionian sky was celebrated with the Greeks as the mildest and most delightful.<sup>1</sup> Of these cities, Miletus, Ephesus, and Phocæa became flourishing commercial towns; the mothers of many daughters, extending from the shores of the Black sea and lake Mæotis, to the coasts of Gaul and Iberia. Neither were the Dorians content with their conquest of the Peloponnesus; troops of them thronged to Asia; Cos, and the wealthy Rhodes, as well as the cities Halicarnassus and Cnidus, were peopled by them. In this manner, as the series of cities planted by the Grecians ascended the Macedonian and Thracian coast to Byzantium, the Ægean sea was encircled with Grecian colonies, and its islands were covered with them. But the mother country seems soon to have been filled again; and as the east offered no more room, the emigrants wandered to the west. At a somewhat later period, but with hardly less success, the coasts of Lower Italy, which soon took the name of Magna Græcia, and those of Sicily, were occupied by Dorians, Achæans, and Ionians.<sup>2</sup> On the gulf of Tarentum, not only the city of that name, but Croton and Sybaris soon rose to a degree of population and wealth, bordering on the fabulous; whilst the chain of towns extended by way of Rhegium and Pæstum as far as Cumæ and Naples. These colonial towns were still more frequent on the coasts of Sicily, from Messana and the unrivalled Syracuse to the proud Agrigentum. And in the now desolate Barca, on the coast of Lybia, Cyrene flourished with the towns of which it was the

<sup>1</sup> Herod. i. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Especially between the years 800 and 700 before the Christian era. Yet single colonies were earlier established.

metropolis, and proved that Greeks remained true to their origin even in Africa.

We reserve for another chapter the consideration of the flourishing condition and various consequences of their colonies. But whilst the world of the Greeks and their circle of vision were thus enlarged, it was not possible for their political condition to remain unchanged. Freedom ripens in colonies. Beyond the sea, ancient usage cannot be preserved, cannot altogether be renewed, as at home. The former bonds of attachment to the soil and ancient customs, were broken by emigration; the spirit felt itself to be more free in the new country; new strength was required for the necessary exertions; and those exertions were animated by success. Where every man lives by the labor of his hands, equality arises, even if it did not exist before. Each day is fraught with new experience; the necessity of common defence is more felt in lands where the new settlers find ancient inhabitants desirous of being free from them. Need we wonder, then, if the authority of the founders, even where it had originally subsisted, soon gave way to liberty?

Similar phenomena are observable in the mother country. The annihilation of so many of the ruling houses in the Trojan war and its immediate consequences would have produced them even without internal storms. How then could the ancient order of things be restored, after so great revolutions and such changes in the residence of nearly all the tribes? The heroic age disappeared; and with it the supremacy of the princes; and when heroes came forward, like Aristomenes, they resemble adventurers rather than the sublime figures of

Homer. On the other hand, the intercourse and trade with the colonies were continued on all sides ; for, according to the Grecian custom, the mother country and her colonies were never strangers to each other ; and the former soon had a lesson to learn of the latter.

A new order of things was the necessary consequence. The ancient ruling families died away of themselves, or lost their power. But this did not take place in all or most of the Grecian cities at one time, but very gradually ; and he who should speak of a general political revolution in the modern phrase, would excite altogether erroneous conceptions. As far as we can judge from the imperfect accounts which remain of the history of the individual states, more than a century elapsed before the change was complete. We cannot fix the period of it in all of them ; it happened in most of them between the years 900 and 700 before Christ ; in others in the two centuries immediately after the Doric emigration. In several, as in Athens, it was brought about by degrees. In that city, when the royal dignity was abolished at the death of Codrus,<sup>1</sup> archons, differing little from kings, were appointed from his family for life ; these were followed by archons chosen for ten years ;<sup>2</sup> and these last continued for seventy years, till the yearly election of a college of archons set the seal to democracy.

The fruit of these changes was the establishment of free constitutions for the cities ; which constitutions could prosper only with the increasing prosperity of the towns. Thucydides has described to us in an admirable manner how this happened. “ In those times,” says he,<sup>3</sup> “ no

<sup>1</sup> In the year 1068 before Christ.

<sup>2</sup> In the year 752 before Christ.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. i. 15.



important war, which could give a great ascendancy to individual states, was carried on; the wars which chanced to arise, were only with the nearest neighbors," Though tranquillity may thus have sometimes been interrupted, the increase of the cities could not be retarded. "But since colonies were established beyond the sea, several of the cities began to apply themselves to navigation and commerce; and the intercourse kept up with them afforded mutual advantages.<sup>1</sup> The cities," continues Thucydides, "became more powerful and more wealthy; but then usurpers arose in most of them, who sought only to confirm their own power, and enrich their own families; but performed no great exploits; until they were overthrown, not long before the Persian wars, by the Spartans (who, amidst all those storms, were never subjected to tyrants,) and the Athenians."<sup>2</sup>

The essential character of the new political form assumed by Greece, consisted therefore in the circumstance, that the free states which were formed, were nothing but cities with their districts, and their constitutions were consequently only forms of city government. This point of view must never be lost sight of. The districts into which Greece was divided, did not form, as such, so many states; but the same often contained many states, if it possessed several independent cities; though a whole district sometimes formed the territory of but one city, as Attica of Athens, Laconia of Sparta, etc., and in such a case formed of course but one state. But it might easily happen, that the cities of one district, especially if

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 13.

<sup>2</sup> For the counterpart to the narration of Thucydides, we need only call to mind the history of the Italian cities, towards the end of the middle age.

their inhabitants were of kindred tribes, formed alliances for mutual safety ; as the twelve Achæan cities had done. But these alliances had reference only to foreign relations ; and thus they formed a confederation of cities, but not one state ; for each individual city had its own internal constitution, and managed its own concerns. It might also happen, that some one of the cities, on becoming powerful, should claim the sovereignty over the rest ; as Thebes over the Bœotian cities. But however far such a superior rank might lead ; it was intended by the Greeks, not only that each state should preserve its internal liberty ; but that its submission should be voluntary ; although the claims of a supreme city occasionally led to compulsory measures. When Thebes usurped the first rank in Bœotia, Plataeæ would never acknowledge its sovereignty. The consequences of it are known from history.

The whole political life of the nation was thus connected with cities and their constitutions ; and no one can judge of Grecian history with accuracy, unless he comprehends the spirit of them. The strength of such cities seems to be very limited ; but the history of the world abounds in examples, which show how far beyond expectation they can rise. They are animated by public spirit, resulting from civil prosperity ; and the force of that spirit can be expressed in no statistical tables.

## CHAPTER VI.

## HOMER. THE EPIC POETS.

THE heroic age was past, before the poets, who celebrated it, arose. It produced some contemporary with itself; but their fame was eclipsed by those who came after them, and were it not for Homer, the names of Demodocus and Phemius had never become immortal.

With the Greeks, epic poetry had an importance, which it possessed among no other people; it was the source of their national education in poetry and the arts. It became so by means of the Homeric poems. But boundless as was the genius of the Ionian bard, a concurrence of favorable circumstances was still needed, to prepare for his appearance, and to make it possible.

Epic poetry was of itself a fruit of the heroic age; just as the poetry of chivalry was the result of the age of chivalry. The picture drawn for us by Homer of the heroic times, leaves no room to doubt of it. The feasts of the heroes, like the banquets of the knights, were ornamented with song. But the more copious the stream is to which it swelled, the more does it deserve to be traced, as far as possible, to its origin.

Even before the heroic age, we hear of several poets, of Orpheus, Linus, and a few others. But if their hymns were merely invocations and eulogies of the gods, as we must infer from the accounts which are handed down to

us respecting them,<sup>1</sup> no similarity seems to have existed between them and the subsequent heroic poetry ; although a transition not only became possible, but actually took place, when the actions of the gods were made the subjects of hymns.<sup>2</sup> The heroic poetry, according to all that we know of it, preserved the character of narration ; whether those narrations contained accounts of the gods or of heroes ;<sup>3</sup> “the actions of gods and heroes, who were celebrated in song.” In the songs of Demodocus and Phemius, the subject is taken from the one and from the other ; he celebrates the loves of Mars and Venus,<sup>4</sup> no less than the adventures which took place before Troy. The latter class of subjects cannot be more ancient than the heroic age, even though we should esteem the former as much older. But that age produced the class of bards, who were employed in celebrating the actions of the heroes. They formed a separate class in society ; but they stood on an equal footing with the heroes, and are considered as belonging to them.<sup>5</sup> The gift of song came to them from the gods ; it is the Muse, or Jove himself, who inspires them and teaches them what they should sing.<sup>6</sup> As this representation continually recurs, it is probable, that their poetic effusions were often extemporaneous. At least this seems in many cases hardly to admit of a doubt. Ulysses proposes to Demodocus the subject of his song ;<sup>7</sup> and the bard, like the modern im-

<sup>1</sup> Our present Orphic hymns have this character. The more ancient ones, if there were such, were nothing else. See Pausanias ix. p. 770 ; and the very ancient hymn, preserved by Stobæus. Stob. Eclog. i. p. 40, in Heeren's edition.

<sup>2</sup> The proof of this is found in the hymns attributed to Homer.

<sup>3</sup> *Odyss.* i. 338.

<sup>4</sup> *Odyss.* viii. 266, &c.

<sup>5</sup> *Od.* viii. 483. Demodocus himself is here called a Hero.

<sup>6</sup> *Od.* viii. 73, i. 348.

<sup>7</sup> *Od.* viii. 492, etc. a leading passage.

provisatori, commences his strains under the influence of the sudden inspiration. We would by no means be understood to assert, that there were none but extemporaneous productions. Certain songs very naturally became favorites, and were kept alive in the mouths of the poets; whilst an infinite number, which were but the offspring of the moment, died away at their birth. But an abundance of songs was needed; a variety was required, and the charm of novelty even then enforced its claims.<sup>1</sup>

For novel lays attract our ravished ears;  
But old the mind with inattention hears.

The voice was always accompanied by some instrument. The bard was provided with a harp, on which he played a prelude,<sup>2</sup> to elevate and inspire his mind, and with which he accompanied the song when begun. His voice probably preserved a medium between singing and recitation; the words, and not the melody, were regarded by the listeners; hence it was necessary for him to remain intelligible to all. In countries where nothing similar is found, it is difficult to represent such scenes to the mind; but whoever has had an opportunity of listening to the improvisatori of Italy, can easily form an idea of Demodocus and Phemius.

However imperfect our ideas of the earliest heroic songs may remain after all which the poet has told us, the following positions may be inferred from it. First: The singers were at the same time poets; they sang their own works; there is no trace of their having sung those of others. Farther: their songs were poured forth from the inspiration of the moment; or only reposed in

<sup>1</sup> Od. i. 352.

<sup>2</sup> ἀναβύλλεσθαι, Od. viii. 266, &c.

their memory. In the former case, they were, in the full sense of the word, improvisatori; and, in the latter, they must necessarily have remained in some measure improvisatori, for they lived in an age, which, even if it possessed the alphabet, seems never to have thought of committing poems to writing. The epic poetry of the Greeks did not continue to be mere extemporaneous effusions; but it seems to us very probable, that such was its origin. Lastly: Although the song was sometimes accompanied by a dance illustrative of its subject, imitative gestures are never attributed to the bard himself. There are dancers for that. Epic poetry and the ballet can thus be united; but the union was not essential, and probably took place only in the histories concerning the gods.<sup>1</sup> This union was very natural. Under the southern skies of Europe, no proper melody is required for the imitative dance; it is only necessary that the time should be distinctly marked. When the bard did this with his lyre, the dancers, as well as himself, had all that they required.

This heroic poetry, which was so closely interwoven with social life, that it could be spared at no cheering banquet, was common, no doubt, throughout all Hellas. We hear its strains in the island of the Phæacians, no less than in the dwellings of Ulysses and Menelaus. The poet does not bring before us strict contests in song; but we may learn, that the spirit of emulation was strong, and that some believed themselves already perfect in their art, from the story of the Thracian Thamyras, who wished to contend with the muses, and was punished

<sup>1</sup> As in the story of the amour of Mars and Venus. Od. viii.

for his daring by the loss of the light of his eyes, and the art of song.<sup>1</sup>

Epic poetry emigrated with the colonies to the shores of Asia. When we remember, that those settlements were made during the heroic age, and that in part the sons and posterity of the princes, in whose halls at Argos and Mycenæ its echoes had formerly been heard, were the leaders of those expeditions,<sup>2</sup> this will hardly seem doubtful and still less improbable.

But that epic poetry should have first displayed its full glory in those regions, and should have raised itself to the sublimity and extent which it obtained; was more than could have been expected.

And yet it was so. Homer appeared. The history of the poet and his works is lost in doubtful obscurity; as is the history of many of the first minds who have done honor to humanity, because they arose amidst darkness. The majestic stream of his song, blessing and fertilizing, flows like the Nile through many lands and nations; like the sources of the Nile, its fountains will remain concealed.

It cannot be the object of these essays, to enter anew into these investigations, which probably have already been carried as far as the present state of criticism and learning will admit.<sup>3</sup> The modern inquirers can hardly be reproached with credulity, for nothing, which could be doubted, not even the existence of Homer himself, has been left unquestioned. When once the rotten

<sup>1</sup> Il. Cat. Nav. 102.

<sup>2</sup> As Orestes and his descendants.

<sup>3</sup> It is hardly necessary to refer to the Excursus of Heyne on the last book of the Iliad; and the Prolegomena of Wolf.

fabric of ancient belief was examined, no one of the pillars, on which it rested, could escape inspection. The general result was, that the whole building rested far more on the foundation of tradition, than of credible history ; but how far this foundation is secure, is a question, respecting which, the voices will hardly be able to unite.

It seems of chief importance to expect no more than the nature of things makes possible. If the period of tradition in history is the region of twilight, we should not expect in it perfect light. The creations of genius remain always half miracles, because they are, for the most part, created far from the reach of observation. If we were in possession of all the historic testimonies, we never could wholly explain the origin of the Iliad and the Odyssey ; for their origin, in all essential points, must have remained the secret of the poet. But we can, to a certain extent, explain how, under the circumstances of those times, an epic poet could arise ; how he could elevate his mind ; and how he could become of such importance to his nation and to posterity. This is all to which our inquiry should be directed.

The age of Homer, according to all probability, was that in which the Ionian colonies flourished in the vigor of youth.<sup>1</sup> Their subsequent condition shows that this must have been so ; although history has not preserved for us any particular account on the subject. It is easy

<sup>1</sup> The age of Homer is usually set about a century after the foundation of those colonies, about the year 950 before Christ. If it be true, that Lycurgus, whose laws were given about the year 880, introduced his poems into Sparta, he cannot be much younger. We must leave to others the prosecution of these inquiries.



to conceive, that in a country highly favored by nature ; external circumstances could afford the poet many facilities, by means of the forms of social life, of which song was the companion. But the circumstances of the times afforded many greater advantages to poetic genius.

The glimmerings of tradition were not yet departed. The expedition against Troy, and the efforts of the earlier poets, had rather contributed so to mature the traditions, that they offered the noblest subjects for national poems. Before that time, the heroes of the several tribes had been of importance to none but their tribe ; but those who were distinguished in the common undertaking against Troy, became heroes of the nation. Their actions and their sufferings awakened a general interest. Add to this, that these actions and adventures had already been celebrated by many of the early bards ; and that they had even then imparted to the whole of history the poetic character, which distinguished it. Time is always needed to mature tradition for the epic poet. The songs of a Phemius and a Demodocus, though the subjects of them were taken from that war, were but the first essays, which died away, as the ancient songs have done, which commemorated the exploits of the crusaders. It was not till three hundred years after the loss of the Holy Land, that the poet appeared who was to celebrate the glory of Godfrey in a manner worthy of the hero ; more time had perhaps passed after Achilles and Hector fell in battle, before the Grecian poet secured to them their immortality.

The language no less than the subject had been improved in this age. Although neither all its words nor its phrases were limited in their use by strict grammati-

cal rules, it was by no means awkward or rough. It had for centuries been improved by the poets, and had now become a poetic language. It almost seemed more easy to make use of it in verse than in prose; and the forms of the hexameter, of which alone the epic poet made use, are extremely simple.<sup>1</sup> The language voluntarily submitted to the poet; and there never was a tongue, in which inspiration could have poured itself forth with more readiness and ease.

Under such circumstances it is intelligible, that when a sublime poetic genius arose among a people so fond of poetry and song as the Ionians always were, the age was favorable to him; although the elevated creations of his mind must continue to appear wonderful. There are two things, which in modern times appear most remarkable and difficult of explanation; how a poet could have first conceived the idea of so extensive a whole, as the Iliad and the Odyssey; and how works of such extent could have been finished and preserved, without the aid of writing.

With regard to the first point, criticism has endeavored to show, and has succeeded in showing, that these poems, especially the Iliad, have by no means that perfect unity which they were formerly believed to possess; that rather many whole pieces have been interpolated or annexed to them; and there hardly exists at present an inquiring scholar, who can persuade himself, that we possess them both in the same state, in which they came from the hands of the poet. But notwithstanding the

<sup>1</sup> How much easier it must have been to make extemporaneous verses in that measure, than in the *ottava rima* of the Italians. And yet the Italian wears its shackles with the greatest ease.

more or less frequent interpolations, each has but one primary action ; which, although it is interrupted by frequent episodes, could hardly have been introduced by any but the original author ; and which does not permit us to consider either of these poems as a mere collection of scattered rhapsodies. It is certainly a gigantic step, to raise epic poetry to the unity of the chief action ; but the idea springs from the very nature of a narration ; and therefore it did not stand in need of a theory, which was foreign to the age ; genius was able of itself to take this step.<sup>1</sup> Herodotus did something similar in the department of history.

We find it still more difficult to comprehend how works of this extent could have been planned and executed without the aid of letters, and preserved, probably for a long time, till they were finally saved from perishing by being committed to writing. We will not here repeat at large, what has already been said by others ; that a class of singers, devoted exclusively to this business, could easily preserve in memory much more ; that the poems were recited in parts, and therefore needed to

<sup>1</sup> A more plausible objection is this : that even if it be conceded, that it was possible to invent and execute such large poems, they would have answered no end, as they were too long to admit of being recited at once. But a reply may be made to this. The Iliad and Odyssey could not be recited at a banquet. But there were public festivals and assemblies which lasted many days, and Herodotus read aloud the nine books of his history, in a succession of days at Olympia. The Iliad and Odessey, which, when free from interpolations, were perhaps much shorter than they now are, may have been recited in the course of several days. And if we may be permitted to indulge in conjecture, why may they not have been designed for such occasions ? That the Greeks were accustomed to intellectual enjoyments, interrupted and afterwards continued, appears from the *Tetralogies* of the Dramatists in a later age. This is characteristic of a nation, which even in its pleasures desired something more than pastime, and always aimed at grandeur and beauty.

be remembered only in parts ; and that even in a later age, when the Homeric poems had already been entrusted to writing, the rhapsodists still knew them so perfectly (as we must infer from the *Ion* of Plato), that they could readily recite any passage which was desired. But let us be permitted to call to mind a fact, which has come to light since the modern inquiries respecting Homer, and which proves, that poems of even greater extent than the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* can live in the memory and mouths of a nation. The *Dschangariade* of the Calmucks is said to surpass the poems of Homer in length, as much as it stands beneath them in merit ;<sup>1</sup> and yet it exists only in the memory of a people, which is not unacquainted with writing. But the songs of a nation are probably the last things which are committed to writing, for the very reason that they are remembered.

But whatever opinions may be entertained on the origin of these poems, and whether we ascribe them to one author or to several, it will hardly be doubted that they all belong on the whole, to one age, which we call in a larger sense, the age of Homer. The important fact is, that we possess them. Whatever hypothesis we may adopt on their origin and formation, their influence on the Grecian nation and on posterity remains the same. And these are the topics which claim our regard.

<sup>1</sup> See on this subject B. Bergmann, *Nomadische, Streifereyen unter den Kalmycken*. B. 2, S. 213, &c. This Calmuck Homer flourished in the last century. He is said to have sung three hundred and sixty cantos ; but this number may be exaggerated. Of the singers, called *Dschangartschi*, it is not easy to find one, who knows more than twenty by heart. In the fourth part of his work, Mr. Bergmann has given us a translation of one of them, which is about equal in length to a rhapsody of Homer. It thus appears to be no uncommon thing for the Calmuck singers to retain in memory a poem quite as long as the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.

It was Homer who formed the character of the Greek nation. No poet has ever, as a poet, exercised a similar influence over his countrymen. Prophets, lawgivers, and sages have formed the character of other nations ; it was reserved to a poet to form that of the Greeks. This is a trait in their character, which could not be wholly erased even in the period of their degeneracy. When lawgivers and sages appeared in Greece, the work of the poet had already been accomplished ; and they paid homage to his superior genius. He held up before his nation the mirror, in which they were to behold the world of gods and heroes no less than of feeble mortals, and to behold them reflected with purity and truth. His poems are founded on the first feelings of human nature ; on the love of children, wife, and country ; on that passion which outweighs all others, the love of glory. His songs were poured forth from a breast, which sympathized with all the feelings of man ; and therefore they enter, and will continue to enter, every breast, which cherishes the same sympathies. If it is granted to his immortal spirit, from another heaven than any of which he dreamed on earth, to look down on his race, to see the nations from the fields of Asia to the forests of Hercynia, performing pilgrimages to the fountain, which his magic wand caused to flow ; if it is permitted him to overlook the whole harvest of grand, of elevated, of glorious productions, which have been called into being by means of his songs ; wherever his immortal spirit may reside, nothing more can be required to complete his happiness.

Wherever writing is known, where it is used for the purpose of preserving poems, and thus a poetic litera-

ture is formed, the muse loses her youthful freshness. Works of the greatest merit may still be produced ; but poetry exerts its full influence only so long as it is considered inseparable from recitation. The Homeric poems were therefore so far from having produced a less considerable effect, because they for a long time were not written down, that the source of their power lay in this very circumstance. They entered the memory and the soul of the nation. If we were better acquainted with the forms of social life, which were prevalent in the cities of Ionia, and with which poetry necessarily stood in the closest union, we should be able to judge more definitely of its effects. The nature of things seems to show, that there, as in the mother country, they must have been sung at festivals and assemblies, whether public or private. This custom was so deeply fixed in the nation, that it continued long after these poems were committed to writing, and were thus accessible to a reader, and in fact, that it was declamation, which continued to give them their full effect. We need but call to mind the remark, which Ion, the rhapsodist, makes to Socrates ;<sup>1</sup> “ I see the hearers now weep and now rise in passion, and appear as if deprived of sensation.” If the rhapsodists in an age, when all that was divine in their art, had passed away, and when they sung only for money, could produce such effects, how great must have been their influence in the period of their greatest glory.

Since the time of Homer, and chiefly through him, great changes in the relations of the class of bards neces-

<sup>1</sup> Plat. Op. iv. p. 190.

sarily took place; and the traces of such changes are still distinct. Originally they sang only their own compositions, but now it became the custom to sing those of others, which they had committed to memory. In that part of Asia which was inhabited by Greeks, and especially at Chios, where Homer is said to have lived,<sup>1</sup> a particular school of bards was formed which, even among the ancients, were known by the name of the Homeridæ. Whether these consisted originally of the family relations of the poet, is a question of no interest; it became the name of those rhapsodists, who sang the poems of Homer, or those attributed to him. They are therefore distinguished from the earlier rhapsodists by this, that they sang not their own works, but those of another; and this appears to have been the first change, which was effected, though without design, by Homer. But we may find in the gradual progress of the cities, and the modes of living in them, a chief cause of a change in the rhapsodists, which could not be very advantageous for them. In these cities, there may have been houses of the opulent, and public halls,<sup>2</sup> in which they could recite; but they found no longer the dwellings of heroes and

<sup>1</sup> According to the well-known passage in the hymn to Apollo, cited by Thucydides, iii. 104. "A blind man; he dwells on the rocky Chios; and his songs are the first among men." Even if this hymn be not by Homer (the age of Thucydides esteemed it certainly his), it must have been composed in an age, which approached that of Homer. That Homer was an inhabitant of Chios, is an account, for the truth of which we have no guaranty but tradition. But that tradition is a very ancient one, and the account contains nothing which is in itself improbable, or which should induce us to doubt its accuracy.

<sup>2</sup> The *λίσχαι*. We are almost involuntarily reminded of similar appearances, which marked the decline of the poetry of chivalry, in the age of those whom we commonly call master-singers. The inquiry might be made, whether the relations of city life had an equal influence on the school or fraternity of rhapsodists, who separated themselves still more observably from the rest of society?

kings. Little confidence as we may place in the life of Homer attributed to Herodotus, and several other writings; it is still remarkable, that all unite in describing the fortunes of the poet during his lifetime, as by no means splendid. But his songs continued to live, and, probably in the very first century after the poet, were carried by Lycurgus into the Peloponnesus; and from the same school, other epic poets also started up, whose works have been overwhelmed by the stream of time.<sup>1</sup> A happy accident has preserved for us the general contents of a few of them;<sup>2</sup> but, though these accounts are meagre, we may still infer from them, that even among the ancients, they were chiefly of interest to the professed student of literature, and that they never gained any claim to be called national poems. But the works of these, and so many others, of whom we know only the names, show how generally epic poetry was extended among the nation. After the epic language had once

<sup>1</sup> The Cyclic poets, as they are called, who treated subjects of mythological tradition, or the cyclus of traditions respecting the Trojan expedition. See on this subject, *Excurs. i. ad Æneid. L. ii. ed. Heynii.*

<sup>2</sup> In the selections of Proclus, in *Bibl. d. alten Litt. und Kunst. St. i. Inedita*, p. 1. etc. These are, 1. The Cyprian poem, probably by Stasinus of Cyprus. It contained, in eleven books, the earlier events of the Trojan war before the action of the *Iliad*. 2. The *Æthiopis* of Arctinus the Melesian; containing, in five books, the expedition and death of Memnon. 3. The small *Iliad* of Lesches of Mitylene: embracing, in four books, the contention of Ajax and Ulysses, till the preparation of the Trojan horse. 4. The destruction of Troy (*Ἰλίου πύργου*) of Arctinus, in two books. 5. The return of the heroes (*ἠοοί*) of Augias, in five books. 6. The *Telegoniad*, or fates of Ulysses after his return, by Eugammon, in two books. The contents of these poems, as here given, show, that no one of them can be compared, in point of plan, with the epopees of Homer. But these poems also must for a long time have been preserved by song alone; for their authors, although somewhat younger than Homer, still lived in times, when, according to all that we know, letters were but little used, or perhaps entirely unknown.



been perfected by Homer, it remained peculiar to this kind of poetry; and when we read the works of much later poets, of Quintus, or of Nonnus, we might believe ourselves employed on authors many centuries older than they, had we not other evidence beside their language to fix the period in which they lived. That the dialect of Homer remained the principal one for this class of poetry, had an important influence on Grecian literature. Amidst all the changes and improvements in language, it prevented the ancient from becoming antiquated, and secured it a place among the later modes of expression. This was a gain for the language and for the nation. With the dialect of Homer, his spirit continued in some measure to live among the epic poets. Language cannot of itself make a poet; but yet how much depends on language. If in those later poets we occasionally hear echoes of Homer, is it not sometimes his spirit which addresses us?

But his influence on the spirit of his countrymen was much more important, than his influence on their language. He had delineated the world of heroes in colors which can never fade. He had made it present to posterity; and thus the artist and the tragic poet found a sphere opened for the employment of their powers of representation. And the scenes from which they drew their subjects, could not have remained foreign to their countrymen. We do but touch on this subject, in order to say something on the point, which lies particularly within the circle of our inquiries; the influence which Homer and the epic poets exercised on the political character of their countrymen.

When we compare the scanty fragments which are

still extant, respecting the circulation and preservation of the poems of Homer, it is remarkable that in Hellas itself, the lawgivers and rulers were the most active in making them known and in saving them from perishing. Lycurgus, we are told, was the first who introduced them into the Peloponnesus by means of the rhapsodists; Solon esteemed the subject so important, that in his code of laws, he formed distinct regulations, in conformity to which it seems probable that the several rhapsodies were recited, not as before without method, but in their natural order by several rhapsodists, who relieved each other. All this prepared for the undertaking of Pisistratus; who, according to the accounts of the ancients, not only arranged the poems of Homer, but gained a claim to the eternal gratitude of posterity, by committing them to writing.<sup>1</sup>

This care in those illustrious men did not result from a mere admiration of poetry. That it was connected with political views, if such confirmation were needed, appears from the circumstance, that Solon took notice of it in his laws. Were we to form a judgment on this subject from the narrow views of our own times, it would seem strange, that they who founded or confirmed the government of a number, even a democracy, should have labored to extend the productions of a bard, who was opposed to their principles, and declares his political creed without disguise;<sup>2</sup> “no good comes of the government of the many; let one be ruler, and one be king;” and in whose works, as we have already remarked, re-

<sup>1</sup> The passages in proof of this are collected and duly weighed in the *Prolegomena* of Wolf, p. 139, &c.

<sup>2</sup> H. ii. 204.

publicanism finds no support. But their views were not so limited. Their object was not to confirm, by means of the poet, their own institutions and their own laws. They desired to animate their nation with a love for excellence and sublimity. Poetry and song, indissolubly united, seemed to them the fittest means of gaining that end. These had the greatest influence on the intellectual culture of the people. And if that culture lay within the sphere of the Grecian lawgivers (and it always did, though in different degrees), of what importance in their eyes must that poet have been, whose poems, above all others, were recited by the class of rhapsodists, that lent a glory to the national festivals and assemblies? Solon, himself one of the first of moral poets, could not but perceive, how much experience and knowledge of the world are contained in those books, with which youth is begun, and to which age returns. No fear was entertained, lest the narrations respecting the gods should be injurious to morals; although that fear afterwards induced Plato to banish them from his republic; the philosopher, who but for Homer, never could have become Plato. For, as we have already remarked, the gods were not held up as models for imitation. But whilst the people was enriching itself with that infinite treasure of practical wisdom, it continued at the same time to live in a world of heroes, and to preserve living sensibility to the great and the noble. Of this it is impossible to estimate the consequences, the gain of the nation as a nation, by the encouragement of its warlike spirit, by the preservation of its love of liberty and independence. In one respect, those lawgivers were unquestionably in the right; a nation, of which the culture rested on the Iliad and Odyssey, could not easily be reduced to a nation of slaves.

## CHAPTER VII.

## MEANS OF PRESERVING THE NATIONAL CHARACTER.

THE Greeks, though divided at home, and extended widely in foreign countries, always considered themselves as forming but one nation. The character of the Hellenes was nowhere obliterated; the citizen of Massilia and Byzantium, retained it no less than the Spartan and Athenian. The name barbarian, although it was applied to all who were not Greeks, conveyed a secondary idea, which was closely interwoven with the Grecian character; that they esteemed themselves more cultivated than the rest of the world. It was not that gross kind of national pride, which despises all foreigners because they are foreigners; even where it was in itself unjust, its origin was a just one.

But this higher culture could never have remained a bond of national union, the different tribes of the Hellenes possessed it in such different degrees. External marks were therefore needed. These were afforded by two things; by language, and certain institutions sanctioned by religion.

Various and different as were the dialects of the Hellenes,<sup>1</sup> — and these differences existed not only among the various tribes, but even among the several neighboring cities, — they yet acknowledged in their language,

<sup>1</sup> See what Herodotus says of the dialects of the Grecian cities in Asia; i. 142.

that they formed but one nation, were but branches of the same family. Those who were not Greeks, were described even by Homer,<sup>1</sup> as “men of other tongues;” and yet Homer had no general name for the nation. But though the bond of a common language may be a natural and an indissoluble one, something more is required to make it serve as the bond of national union. The language must be not merely the instrument of communicating thoughts; for it is that to every savage; something must exist in it, which may be regarded as the common property of the nation, because it is precious and dear to them; the works of poets, and next to them, of prose writers, which are admired, listened to, and read by all. It is such productions which make a language peculiarly valuable to a nation. The national spirit, and manner of thinking and feeling, are expressed in them; the nation beholds in them its own portrait; and sees the continuance of its spirit among future generations secured. They form not only its common property, in which, according to the fullest meaning of the phrase, each tribe has its undisputed share; they form its most sublime, its noblest, its least perishable property.<sup>2</sup> In what a light, therefore, do Homer, and those who trod in his footsteps appear, when they are considered from this point of view. Their poems, listened to and admired by all who used the Greek language, reminded the inhabitants of Hellas, of Ionia, and of Sicily, in the liveliest manner, that they were brothers. When we consider the long series of ages, during which the poems of Homer and the Homer-

<sup>1</sup> Βαρβαρῶν. Il. ii. 867.

<sup>2</sup> See Heeren's Essay on the means of preserving the nationality of a conquered people. Historische Werke, B. ii. 1. 1, &c.

idæ were the only common possession of the Hellenes, it may even be made a question, whether without them they would have remained a nation.<sup>1</sup> National poetry was therefore the bond, which held them together ; but this bond was strengthened by another ; by that of religion.

Unlike the religions of the East, the religion of the Hellenes was supported by no sacred books, was connected with no peculiar doctrines ; it could not, therefore, serve like the former, to unite a nation by means of a common religious creed ; but it was fitted for gaining that end, in so far as the external rites of religion afforded opportunities. But as the nation had no cast of priests, nor even a united order of priesthood, it naturally followed, that though individual temples could in a certain degree become national temples, this must depend, for the most part, on accidental circumstances ; and where every thing was voluntary, nothing could be settled by established forms like those which prevailed in other countries. The temples at Olympia, Delos, and Delphi, may justly be denominated national temples, although not in the same sense in which we call those of the Jews and the Egyptians national ; but their effects were perhaps only more considerable and more secure, because every thing connected with them was voluntary. The fruits of civilization came forth, and were matured, under the protection of these sanctuaries also ; though not in the same manner as in Egypt and Ethiopia ;<sup>2</sup> and when we hear of national festivals,<sup>3</sup> oracles, and Amphictyonic

<sup>1</sup> And how would the Greeks constitute a nation but for their poetry and literature ?

<sup>2</sup> Heeren. *Ideen. etc.* Th. ii. 487, &c.

<sup>3</sup> The Greek word for them, is *πανηγυρεις*.

assemblies, other ideas are connected with them, than were awakened by the temples in the countries just named. But let it not be forgotten, that all these fruits, of which we must make mention separately, ripened on one and the same branch; that they, therefore, closely united, could ripen only together; that by this very means they gained a higher value in the eyes of the nation; and that this value must be estimated by their influence, rather than by what they were in themselves.

We shall hardly be mistaken, if we consider those sanctuaries the most ancient, which were celebrated for their oracles. Those of Dodona and Delphi were declared to be so by the voice of the nation; and both of them, especially that of Delphi, were so far superior to the rest, that they are in some measure to be esteemed as the only national oracles.<sup>1</sup> Olympia, it is true, had originally an oracle also;<sup>2</sup> but from unknown causes, it became hushed, probably just after the distinguished success of the oracles of Apollo. We leave to others all farther investigation of these institutions; the question which claims our attention, is, how far they contributed to preserve the spirit and the union of the nation. They did not effect this by being regarded as intended only

<sup>1</sup> The number of Grecian oracles, constantly increasing, became, as is well known, exceedingly numerous. With the exception of that of Dodona, which was of Egyptian-Pelasgic origin, the oracles of the Greeks were almost exclusively connected with the worship of Apollo. We know of more than fifty of his oracles; (see *Bulenger de oraculis et vatibus*, in *Thes. Ant. Gr.* vol. vii.) of the few others, the more celebrated owed their origin to the same god, as those of Mopsus and Trophonius to whom he had imparted the gift of prophesying. How much of the rites of religion among the Hellenes depended on the religion of Apollo. New light is shed on this subject by C. O. Müller, in his volume on the Dorians: i. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, viii. p. 542.

for the Hellenes. Foreigners also were permitted to consult the oracles; and to recompense the answers which they received by consecrated presents. But this took place only in individual cases; and was done probably by none but rulers and kings, from the time when Alyattes first made application at Delphi.<sup>1</sup> In other cases, the difference of language was alone sufficient to keep foreigners away, as the Pythian priestess spoke always in Greek. These institutions belonged, if not exclusively, yet principally to the Hellenes; of whom both individuals and cities could always have access to them. They formed the connecting link between politics and the popular religion. Their great political influence, especially in the states of the Doric race, is too well known from history to make it necessary for us to adduce proofs of it. That influence doubtless became less after the Persian wars. Whether this diminution of influence was injurious or advantageous cannot easily be decided. When the reciprocal hatred of the Athenians and Spartans excited them to the fury of civil war, how much suffering would have been spared to Greece, if the voice of the gods had been able to avert the storm. But the affairs of the Delphic temple were still considered as the concern of the Grecian nation; and even after infidelity had usurped the place of the ancient superstition, the violation of the sanctuary gave the politicians a pretence, sufficient to kindle a civil war, which was destined to cost Greece its liberties.

Among the numerous festivals which the several Grecian cities were accustomed to celebrate, there were

<sup>1</sup> Herod. i. 9.



some, which, from causes that are no longer well known, or were perhaps quite accidental, soon became really national. At these, foreigners could be spectators; but the Hellenes alone were permitted to contend for the prizes. The right to do so belonged to the inhabitant of the farthest colony, as well as of the mother country, and was esteemed inalienable and invaluable. Even princes were proud of the privilege, for which the Persian king himself would have sued in vain, of sending their chariots to the races of Olympia. Every one has learned from the hymns of Pindar, that, beside the Olympic contests, the Pythian games at Delphi, the Nemean at Argos, and the Isthmian at Corinth, belong to the same class. As to the origin of these games, Homer does not make mention of them, which he would hardly have neglected to do, if they had existed or been famous in his day. Yet the foundation of them was laid in so remote a period of antiquity, that it is attributed to gods and heroes. Uncertain as are these traditions, it is remarkable, that a different origin is attributed to each one of them. Those of Olympia were instituted by Hercules, on his victorious return, and were designed as contests in bodily strength; those of Delphi were in their origin nothing but musical exercises; although others were afterwards added to them. Those of Nemea were originally funeral games; respecting the occasion of instituting those of the Isthmus, there are different accounts.<sup>1</sup>

But whatever may have been the origin of the games,

<sup>1</sup> All the passages on the origin and the arrangements of the games, may be found collected in Schmidtii Prolegomenis ad Pindarum; Potter's *Archaeologia*; and Corsini *Dissertationes agonisticæ*; and others.

they became national ones. This did not certainly take place at once ; and we should err, if we should apply the accounts given us of the Olympic games in the flourishing periods of Greece, to the earlier ages. On the contrary, from the accurate registers which were kept by the judges, we learn most distinctly, with respect to these games, that they gained their importance and character by degrees.<sup>1</sup> They have not forgotten to mention, when the different kinds of contests (for at first there were none but in racing), were permitted and adopted. But still these games gained importance, although it was only by degrees ; and the time came, when they merited to be celebrated by a Pindar.

In this manner, therefore, these festivals and the games connected with them, received a national character. They were peculiar to the Grecians ; and on that account also were of great utility. “ Those are justly praised,” Isocrates<sup>2</sup> very happily observes, “ who instituted these famous assemblies, and thus made it customary for us to come together as allies, having set aside our hostilities ; to increase our friendship by recalling our relationship in our common vows and sacrifices ; to renew our ancient family friendships, and to form new ones. They have provided, that neither the unpolished nor the well educated should leave the games without profit ; but that in this assembly of the Hellenes in one place, some may display their wealth, and others observe the contests, and none be present without a purpose, but each have something of which to boast ; the one part, while they see those engaged in the contests making exertions on their

<sup>1</sup> See Pausanias in *Eliacis*, l. v. 9

<sup>2</sup> Isocrates. *Panegy.* Op. p. 43, Steph.

account ; the other, when they consider that all this concourse of people has assembled, to be spectators of their contests.”

The accounts which we read of the splendor of these games, especially of the Olympic, where the nation of the Hellenes appeared in its glory, give a high idea of them. And yet it was public opinion, far more than the reality, which gave to the crown of victory its value. The glory of being conqueror in them, was the highest with which the Grecian was acquainted ; it conferred honor, not only on him who won the palm, but on his family and on his native city. He was not honored in Olympia alone ; his victory was the victory of his native place ; here he was solemnly received ; new festivals were instituted on his account ; he had afterwards a right of living at the public charge in the prytanea. A victory at Olympia, says Cicero with truth,<sup>1</sup> rendered the victor illustrious, no less than his consulate the Roman consul. The tournaments of the middle age were something similar ; or might have become something similar, if the relations of society had not prevented. But as a distinct line of division was drawn between the classes, they became interesting to but one class. Birth decided who could take a part in them, and who were excluded. There was nothing of that among the Hellenes. The lowest of the people could join at Olympia in the contest for the branch of the sacred olive-tree, as well as Alcibiades, or even the ruler of Syracuse with all the splendor of his equipage.

The influence on the political relations of the Grecian

<sup>1</sup> Cicero. *Quæst. Tusc.* ii. 17.

states, was perhaps not so great as Isocrates represents. A solemnity of a few days could hardly be sufficient to cool the passions and still the mutual enmities of the several tribes. History mentions no peace, which was ever negotiated, and still less which was ever concluded at Olympia. But so much the greater was the influence exercised over the culture of the nation; and if the culture of a nation decides its character, our plan requires of us to pause and consider it.

In all their institutions, when they are considered in the light in which the Greeks regarded them, we shall commonly find proofs of the noble dispositions of the Hellenes. And these are to be observed in the games, where every thing, which was in itself beautiful and glorious; bodily strength and skill in boxing; wrestling, and running; the splendor of opulence, as displayed in the equipages for the chariot races; excellence in poetry, and soon also in other intellectual productions, were here rewarded, each with its prize. But the degree of importance assigned to the productions of mind was not every where the same. Musical contests,<sup>1</sup> in which the Greeks united poetry, song, and music, were common in

<sup>1</sup> The Greeks made a distinction between *ἀγῶνες γυμνασίων* and *μουσικοί*. The former relate to the exercises of the body; the latter to the works of genius; that is, to poetry, and whatever was connected with it. At these festivals it never entered the mind of the Greeks to institute prizes for competitors in the arts of design; at least not in the plastic art. (Pliny, however, mentions a competition of painters, xxxv. 35.) The cause of this may in part be, that those arts were not so soon brought to perfection as the former ones; but the cause was rather that the Greeks conceived it proper to institute competition only in those arts, of which the results were temporary; and not in those, of which the productions are exhibited in public, and are lasting; for in them, as in sculpture for example, there is a constant exhibition, and therefore a constant emulation.

those larger games, as well as in those hardly less splendid ones, which were instituted in the several cities. But there was a difference in their relative importance. At Olympia, though they were not entirely excluded, they were yet less essential;<sup>1</sup> they formed from the beginning the primary object in the Pythian games. They held the same rank in several festivals of the smaller cities, in the Panathenæa at Athens, in Delos,<sup>2</sup> at Epidaurus, Ephesus, and other places. But even where no actual competition took place, every one who felt possessed of sufficient talents, was permitted to come forward with the productions of art. The rhapsodist and the performer on the flute, the lyric poet, the historian, and the orator, had each his place. The hymns of Pindar were chanted in honor of the victors, not in emulation of others; and Herodotus had no rival when he read the books of his history at Olympia. The Hellenes made room for every thing which was glorious and beautiful, and it was especially at Olympia and Delphi, that the observer of the character of the Greeks could justly break forth in exclamations of admiring astonishment.

The Amphictyonic assemblies, as they were called by the Grecians, appear to have exercised a still greater in-

<sup>1</sup> See the instructive *Versuch von den musicalischen Wettstreiten der Alten*, which is to be found in *der neuen Bibl. der Schönen Wissenschaften*, B. vii.

<sup>2</sup> The musical contests in Delos, with which gymnastic exercises soon came to be connected, were the most ancient Ionic national games; as Thucydides, iii. 104, has already proved from the Homeric hymn to Apollo. They were originally connected with the service of that god, and were communicated with it by the Ionians to the Dorians. Hence they were not regarded at Olympia, Nemea, and on the Isthmus, as forming an essential part of the solemnity.

fluence on political union.<sup>1</sup> Under that name the assemblies are signified, that were held in some common temple by several tribes which occupied the territory round it, or by neighboring cities, in order to consult on the affairs connected with the sanctuary, and on others of a more general nature. It was therefore characteristic of these assemblies, first, that a temple or sanctuary formed their central point ; farther, that several tribes or cities participated in them ; thirdly, that assemblies of the people, festivals, and, of course, games were connected with them ; and fourthly, that besides these popular assemblies and festivals, deputies under various names, (Theori, Pylagoræ) were sent by the several states which participated in them, to deliberate on subjects of common interest. We shall be able to see these institutions in their true light, after taking a view of the origin of temples in Greece.

As soon as the manners of cities were distinctly formed with the Greeks, and the individual cities in the mother country, no less than in the colonies, had for the most part become rich by means of commerce and industry in the arts, temples were built by single towns. Beside this, as we shall show more fully in another place, the luxury of the public was connected almost exclusively with these temples, and they were to serve as the measure of the splendor and wealth of the respective cities. The building of temples, therefore, became, especially after the Persian wars, and even a century before them, a matter, in which the honor of the cities was concerned,

<sup>1</sup> The Greek word is sometimes spelt ἀμφικτιόμενος, those, who dwell round about, sometimes ἀμφικτιόωνες from the hero Amphictyon, called by tradition the founder of the same.

and their public spirit was exhibited. In this manner that multitude of temples arose, which still present, in their numerous ruins, masterpieces of architecture. But it was not and could not have been so in the earliest times. The building of a temple was then commonly a joint undertaking; partly because these temples, however they may have been inferior to the later ones,<sup>1</sup> were still too costly to be erected by the separate communities; and partly and chiefly because such common sanctuaries were needed for celebrating the common festivals of each tribe.

Such a sanctuary formed in some measure a point of union. It was an object of common care; it became necessary to watch over the temple itself, its estates, and its possessions; and as this could not be done by the several communities at large, what was more natural, than to depute envoys for the purpose? But in a nation, where every thing was freely developed, and so little was fixed by established forms, it could not but happen, that other affairs of general interest should occasionally be discussed; either at the popular festivals, or in the assemblies of the delegates; and that is the most probable, as the allies considered themselves, for the most part, as branches of the same nation. They became therefore the points of political union; the idea of a formal alliance was not yet connected with them, but might be expected from their maturity.

We find traces of such Amphictyonic assemblies in Greece itself, and in the colonies.<sup>2</sup> Their origin, espe-

<sup>1</sup> See what Pausanias, x. p. 810, says of the temples, which were successively built at Delphi.

<sup>2</sup> A catalogue of them, which might perhaps be enlarged, has been given by

cially in the mother country, is very ancient; and we may in most cases assert, and with justice, that it belongs to the period, when the republican forms of government were not yet introduced, and the constitutions of the tribes were in vigor. For we find that those who shared in them, were much more frequently influenced to assemble by tribes than by cities. And this affords an obvious reason, why they lost their influence as the nation advanced in culture, except where peculiar causes operated to preserve them. In the flourishing period of Greece, most of them had become mere antiquities, which were only occasionally mentioned; or, if they continued in the popular festivals which were connected with them, (and popular festivals are always longest preserved), they were but bodies without soul. This result was a necessary one, since, on the downfall of the constitutions of the tribes, the whole political life of the nation was connected with the cities, the spirit of the tribes had become annihilated by the spirit of the cities, and each of the cities had erected its own temples.

St. Croix, *Des anciens Gouvernements fédératifs*, p. 115, &c. We follow him, as it will afford at the same time, proofs of what has been said above. There was such an Amphictyonia in Bœotia, at Orchestus, in a temple of Neptune; in Attica, in a temple, of which the name is not mentioned; at Corinth, on the isthmus, in the temple of Neptune; in the island Calauria, near Argolis, also in a temple of Neptune; another in Argolis, in the celebrated temple of Juno (*Ἡρακλῆα*); in Elis, in a temple of Neptune; also on the Grecian islands; in Eubœa, in the temple of Diana Amausia; in Delos, in the temple of Apollo, the Panegyris, of which we have already made mention, and which served for all the neighboring islands; in Asia, the Panionium at Mycale, afterwards at Ephesus, for the Ionians; the temple of Apollo Triopius for the Dorians; for the Æolians, the temple of Apollo Grynæus. Even the neighboring Asiatic tribes, the Carians and the Lycians, had similar institutions, either peculiar, or adopted of the Greeks. The proofs of these accounts may be found collected in the abovementioned author.



Yet of these Amphictyonic councils, one rose to a higher degree of importance, and always preserved a certain measure of dignity; so that it was called, by way of eminence, the Amphictyonic council. This was the one held at Delphi and Thermopylæ.<sup>1</sup> When we bear in mind the ideas which have just been illustrated, we shall hardly be led to expect, that the nation, in its whole extent, would ever have been united by any common bond; and still less that this bond should have been more closely drawn with the progress of time, and finally have united all the Grecian states in one political body. But this Amphictyonic assembly contributed much to the preserving of national feeling and national unity, and as such deserves to be considered by us with more attention.

Strabo concedes,<sup>2</sup> that even in his time it was impossible to ascertain the origin of the Amphictyonic assembly; this however was certain, that it belonged to remote antiquity. We must here remark, that Homer does not make any mention of it; and yet Homer speaks of the wealthy Delphi;<sup>3</sup> and although his silence affords no proof that it did not exist, we may at least infer, that the council was not then so important as at a later day. The causes which made this Amphictyonia so much superior to all the rest, are not expressly given; but should we err, if we were to look for them in the ever increasing

<sup>1</sup> According to Strabo, ix. p. 289, it does not appear that the assembly was held alternately at Delphi and Thermopylæ; but the deputies first came together at Thermopylæ to sacrifice to Ceres; and then proceeded to Delphi, where business was transacted.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, l. c. The special inquiries on this subject may be found discussed in the prize Essay of Tittman, on the Amphictyonic League. Berlin, 1812.

<sup>3</sup> Il. ix. 404, 405. Homer calls it Pytho.

dignity and influence of the Delphic oracle? When we call to mind the great importance attached to the liberty of consulting this oracle, scarcely a doubt on the subject can remain. The states which were members of this Amphictyonia, had no exclusive right to that privilege; but had the care of the temple, and therefore of the oracle, in their hands.<sup>1</sup> No ancient writer has preserved for us so accurate an account of the regulations of that institution, that all important questions respecting them can be answered; and those who speak of them do not agree with each other. But from a comparison of their statements, we may infer, that though this Amphictyonia did not by any means embrace the whole of the Hellenes, yet the most considerable states of the mother country and of Asia Minor took part in it. According to Æschines,<sup>2</sup> there were twelve of them (although he enumerates but eleven): Thessalians, Bœotians, (not the Thebans only, he expressly remarks,) Dorians, Ionians, Perrhæbians, Magnesians, Phthiotians, Maleans,<sup>3</sup> Phocians, Cœtæans, Locrians: the twelfth state was probably the Dolopians.<sup>4</sup> Every city belonging to these tribes, had

<sup>1</sup> Individual states obtained the right of being the first to consult the oracle, *πρῶτον ἐκαστὸν*, and this right was valued very highly.

<sup>2</sup> Æschines de Falsa Legatione iii. p. 255, ed. Reisk. This is the most important passage. St. Croix, p. 27, has compared the discrepant accounts of Pausanias x. p. 815, and Harpocration v. *Ἰερόσυλον* &c. The authority of Æschines respecting his own times, seems to me of more weight than all the others: and therefore I follow him alone. No man had better means of information than he. But many changes in the regulations were subsequently made by the Macedonians and the Romans.

<sup>3</sup> The four last were all in Thessaly. The reason of their being thus distinguished from the rest of the Thessalians is probably to be found in the privilege, which they had preserved, of a separate vote. Herodotus vii. 132, divides them in the same manner.

<sup>4</sup> Heeren, p. 39.

the right of sending deputies ; the smallest had an equal right with the largest ; and the votes of all were equal ; of the Ionians, says Æschines, the deputies from Eretria in Eubœa and from Priene in Asia Minor,<sup>1</sup> were equal to those from Athens ; of the Dorians, those from Dorium in Laconia, and from Cytinium on Parnassus, had as much weight as those from Lacedæmon. But the votes were not counted by cities, but by tribes ; each tribe had two votes, and the majority decided.<sup>2</sup>

And how large was the sphere of action, in which this assembly was accustomed to exert its influence ? Its first duty was to take charge of the temple ; its property ; its presents, the offerings of piety ; its sanctity. From this it naturally follows, that the assembly possessed judiciary powers. Persons who had committed sacrilege on the temple, were summoned before its tribunal, where judgment was passed and the acts of penance and punishment decreed.<sup>3</sup> But to these, political objects were added at a very early period ; such as the preservation of peace among the confederates, and the accommodating of contentions, which had arisen. We have, it is true, no proof, that those who participated in the assembly, considered themselves as nearly allied to each other ; but it

<sup>1</sup> It is therefore certain, that the individual colonies in Asia Minor participated in the assembly. We might suggest the question, whether all the Asiatic colonies, and whether colonies in other regions, did the same.

<sup>2</sup> For all farther knowledge which we have of the regulations of the Amphictyonic council, we are indebted to Strabo ix. p. 289. According to him each city sent a deputy. These assembled twice a year, at the equinoxes. We are ignorant of the length of the sessions of the assembly, whether any definite time was fixed for them, or not ; and of many other things respecting them.

<sup>3</sup> As for instance, against the Phocians at the beginning of the last sacred war ; and afterwards against the Locrians. Demosthenes has preserved for us two of these decrees (*δύματα*), Op. i. p. 278. Reisk. From them we learn the forms in which they were written.

is as little doubtful, that under the protection of this sanctuary, certain ideas arose and were diffused, which might be considered as forming, in some measure, the foundation of a system of national law, although it was never brought to maturity. Of this we have indisputable proof in the ancient oaths, which were taken by all the members of the assembly, and which have been preserved by Æschines.<sup>1</sup> "I read," says the orator, "in the assembly the oaths, to which the heaviest imprecations were attached; and by which our ancestors<sup>2</sup> were obliged to promise never to destroy any one of the Amphictyonic cities,<sup>3</sup> nor to cut off their streams,<sup>4</sup> whether in war or in peace; should any city dare, notwithstanding, to do so, to take up arms against it and lay it waste; and if any one should sin against the god, or form any scheme against the sanctuary, to oppose him with hand and foot, and word and deed." This form of oath, it cannot be doubted, was very ancient, and expresses with sufficient clearness, the original objects of the confederation. But it shows equally distinctly, that the attainment of these ends depended much more on the circumstances and condition of the age, than on the members of the council themselves.

To him who measures the value of this assembly, only by the influence which it had in preventing wars among the tribes that took part in it, its utility may seem very doubtful; as history has preserved no proofs of such influence. But even if it had existed in the earliest ages,

<sup>1</sup> Æschines, l. c. p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> *Οἱ πατέρες.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ἀπόστατοι ποιῆσαι*, to render uninhabitable, by removing its inhabitants.

<sup>4</sup> By means of which they would have become uninhabitable.

it must have ceased of itself, when individual states of Greece became so powerful, as to assume a supremacy over the rest. Sparta and Athens referred the decision of their quarrels to Delphi, as little as Prussia and Austria to Ratisbon. But it would be wrong to impute the blame of this to the members of the council. They had no strong arm, except when the god extended his to protect them; or some other power took arms in their behalf. But it is a high degree of merit to preserve principles in the memory of the nations, even when it is impossible to prevent their violation. And when we observe that several ideas relating to the law of nations, were indelibly imprinted on the character of the Greeks; if in the midst of all their civil wars, they never laid waste any Grecian city, even when it was subdued; ought we not attribute this in some measure to the Amphictyonic assembly? They had it not in their power to preserve peace; but they contributed to prevent the Grecians from forgetting, even in war, that they still were Grecians.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE PERSIAN WARS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES.

SINCE the Trojan war, no opportunity had been presented to the Greek nation, of acting as one people in any equal and common undertaking. The institutions which we have just described, preserved, in a certain degree, the national spirit; but they were by no means sufficient to produce political union; any tendency to which was counteracted by the whole condition and internal relations of the nation. Even the colonies were unfavorable to it; not only by their distance, but still more by the independence which they enjoyed. In our days, how soon do colonies which become independent, grow estranged from the mother countries, after having long stood in the closest connection with her.

In the century which preceded the Persian war,<sup>1</sup> the Grecian states, excepting the Asiatic cities, which languished under the Persian yoke, had in many respects made advances in culture. Freedom had been triumphantly established in almost every part<sup>2</sup> of the mother country. The tyrants who had usurped power in the cities, had been overthrown in part by the Spartans, in part by the citizens themselves; and popular govern-

<sup>1</sup> Between the years 600 and 500 before the Christian era.

<sup>2</sup> Thessaly was an exception, where the government of the Aleuadae still continued, although it was tottering; for which reason they, like the Pisistratidae, invited the Persians into Greece. Herod. vii. 6.

ments had been introduced in their stead. Above all, Athens had shaken off the Pisistratidæ; and it came off victorious from the contest which it had been obliged to sustain for its liberty. It enjoyed the full consciousness of its youthful energies; "Athens," Herodotus says,<sup>1</sup> "which before was great, when freed from its usurpers became still greater." At the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, Sparta had, for the first time, undertaken to exert an influence beyond the Peloponnesus; Corinth also had, for eighty-four years,<sup>2</sup> been in possession of freedom; and a similar advantage had been gained by several of the less powerful cities, by Sicyon<sup>3</sup> and Epidaurus. The islands, no less than the continent, were in a flourishing condition; their independence stood at that time in no danger from the Persians or the Athenians. Samos never saw an age like that of Polycrates, who trembled at his own prosperity;<sup>4</sup> the small island of Naxos could muster eight thousand heavy-armed men;<sup>5</sup> the inconsiderable Siphnus, very much enriched by its gold mines, deemed it expedient to consult the Pythian oracle on the duration of its fortunes.<sup>6</sup> The cities of Magna Græcia, Tarentum, Croton, and Sybaris,<sup>7</sup> had attained the period of their splendor; in Sicily, Syracuse, although disturbed by internal dissensions, was yet so powerful, that Gelon, its ruler, claimed in the Persian wars the chief command of all the Grecian forces; Marseilles arose on the shores of Gaul; Cyrene was established on the coast of Lybia.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. v. 66.

<sup>2</sup> The year 584 before Christ.

<sup>3</sup> From about the year 600 B. C. Epidaurus at the same time.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. iii. 72.

<sup>5</sup> Herod. v. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. Phoc. p. 628.

<sup>7</sup> Herod. vi. 127. Yet Sybaris was destroyed just before the Persian wars, by the Crotoniatæ, in the year 510 before Christ.

But some grand object of common interest still was wanting; and as the Spartans were already jealous of Athens, it was the more to be feared, that the consciousness of increasing strength would lead to nothing but the mutual ruin of the cities in civil wars. The Persian wars supplied the object which was needed. Although they by no means resulted in the establishment of that general union of the whole nation of the Hellenes, of which a great man had formed the idea without believing in the possibility of realizing it; the whole condition of Greece in succeeding ages, its foreign and for the most part its domestic relations, were all a consequence of them; and we do not say too much, when we assert, that the political character of Greece was formed by them.

There never was any general union of the Greeks against the Persians; but the idea of such a confederation had been called up; and was, if not entirely, yet in a great measure, carried into effect. What is more arduous, than in times of great difficulty, when every one fears for himself, and is chiefly concerned for self-preservation, to preserve among a multitude of small states, that public spirit and union, in which all strength consists. The Athenians were left almost alone to repel the first invasion of Darius Hystaspes; but the glory won at Marathon was not sufficient to awaken general enthusiasm, when greater danger threatened from the invasion of Xerxes. All the Thessalians, the Locrians, and Bœotians, except the cities of Thespiæ and Plateæ, sent earth and water to the Persian king at the first call to submit; although these tokens of subjection were attended by the curses of the rest of the Greeks, and the



vow that a tithe of their estates should be devoted to the deity of Delphi.<sup>1</sup> Yet of the rest of the Greeks, who did not favor Persia, some were willing to assist only on condition of being appointed to conduct and command the whole ;<sup>2</sup> others, if their country could be the first to be protected ;<sup>3</sup> others sent a squadron, which was ordered to wait till it was certain which side would gain the victory ;<sup>4</sup> and others pretended they were held back by the declarations of an oracle.<sup>5</sup> So true is the remark of Herodotus, that, however ill it might be taken by others, he was constrained to declare, that Greece was indebted for its freedom to Athens.<sup>6</sup> Athens, with Themistocles for its leader, gave life to the courage of the other states ; induced them to lay aside their quarrels ; yielded, where it was duty to yield ;<sup>7</sup> and always relied on its own strength, while it seemed to expect safety from all. Hope was not disappointed in the result ; the battle of Salamis gave a new impulse to the spirit of the

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vii. 132.

<sup>2</sup> Gelon of Syracuse ; Herod. vii. 158. On this condition, he promised to produce an army of 23,000 men, well equipped ; a fleet of 200 triremes, and as much grain as was desired. "Of truth," answered the Lacedæmonian ambassador, "Agamemnon, the descendant of Pelops, would remonstrate loudly, were he to hear that the chief command had been taken from the Spartans, by Gelon the Syracusan." And when Gelon declared, that he would be content with the command by sea, the Athenian envoy quickly replied, "King of Syracuse, Hellas has sent us to you, not because it needs a general, but because it needs an army."

<sup>3</sup> The Thessalians, who had however already surrendered. Herod. vii. 172.

<sup>4</sup> The Coreyræans ; Herod. vii. 168.

<sup>5</sup> The Cretans ; Herod. vii. 169.

<sup>6</sup> Herod. vii. 139. A noble testimony in favor of Athens, and at the same time, of the free spirit and impartiality of Herodotus. "I must here," says this lover of truth, "express to all Greece, an opinion, which to most men is odious ; but yet that, which to me seems the truth, I will not conceal."

<sup>7</sup> As at Artemisium ; Herod. viii. 3.

Greeks ; and when in the following year<sup>1</sup> the battle of Plateæ gave a decision to the contest, the greater part of Hellas was assembled in the field of battle.<sup>2</sup>

We would give no description of those glorious days, but only of the consequences which they had for Greece. In the actions of men, greatness is seldom or never quite unmixed with meanness ; and he who investigates the actions of those times with care, will find many and various proofs of it. And yet in the whole compass of history, we can find no series of events, which deserve to be compared with the grand spectacle, then exhibited ; and with all the exaggerations of the orators and poets the feeling of pride, with which the Greek reflected on his achievements, was a just one. A small country had withstood the attack of half a continent ; it had not only saved the most costly possessions, which were endangered, its freedom, its independence ; it felt itself strong enough to continue the contest, and did not lay aside its arms, till it was permitted to prescribe the conditions of peace.

The price of that peace was the emancipation of the Greek colonies in Asia, from Persian supremacy. Twenty years before the invasion of Xerxes, when those cities had attempted to throw off the Persian yoke, the Athenians had boldly ventured to send a squadron with troops to reinforce them ; and that expedition occasioned the burning of Sardis, which was the capital of the Persian dominions in Asia Minor. “These ships,” says Herodotus,<sup>3</sup> “were the origin of the wars between the Hellenes and the barbarians.” This interference was deeply resented by the Persians ; and their resentment

<sup>1</sup> In the year 479 B. C.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. ix. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. v. 97.

would have been reasonable, if they had possessed the right of reducing free cities to a state of dependence. Herodotus has given a copious narration of the ill success of the revolt, and of the manner, in which Miletus suffered for it. Even in the subsequent expeditions of the Persians against Europe, the ruling idea was the desire of taking revenge on Athens; and when Xerxes reduced that city to ashes, he may have found in it no small degree of satisfaction.<sup>1</sup> But when the victory remained in the hands of the Greeks, they continued with spirit a war, which for them was no longer a dangerous one; and if the emancipation of their countrymen became from that time nothing more than an ostensible reason,<sup>2</sup> it was still a proof of the reviving national spirit. When the war after fifty-one years was terminated by the first peace with the Persians,<sup>3</sup> it was done under the conditions, that the Grecian cities in Asia should be free; that the troops of the Persians should keep two days' march distant from them; and that their squadron should leave the Ægean sea.<sup>4</sup> In a similar manner, after a long and similar contest, emancipated Holland, in a more recent age, prescribed the conditions of peace to the ruler of both the Indies, and blockaded the mouths of his rivers, while it preserved the ocean open to itself.

Thus the people of Hellas, by means of this war, ap-

<sup>1</sup> Herod. viii. 54.

<sup>2</sup> The Asiatic Greeks, however, during the expedition of Xerxes, in which they were compelled to take a part with their ships, had entreated the Spartans and Athenians to free them. Herod. viii. 132.

<sup>3</sup> In the year 449 B. C. reckoning from the participation of the Persians in the insurrection of the Asiatic Greeks, under Aristagoras in the year 500 B. C.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch in Cimon. Op. iii. p. 202, quotes the decree of the people, containing the conditions. The formal treaty has in later days been questioned. Dahlman's Historical Inquiries, I. Yet war certainly ceased.

peared among the nations in the splendor of victory. They were now permitted to look around in tranquil security ; for who would venture to attack them. The eastern world obeyed the humbled Persian ; in the North, the kingdom of Macedonia had not yet begun its career of conquest ; and Italy, still divided into small states, did not as yet contain a victorious republic. The period was therefore come, in which Greece could unfold all its youthful vigor ; poetry and the fine arts put forth their blossoms ; the philosophic mind contemplates itself in tranquillity ; and in public spirit, the several cities vie with each other in generous competition. A nation does not need peace and tranquillity, to become great ; but it needs the consciousness that it is possessed of strength, to gain peace and tranquillity.

The Persian wars gave a character, not only to the relations of Greece with foreign countries, but also to its internal condition ; and were of hardly less importance to the nation by means of the latter, than of the former. During that contest, the idea of a supremacy, or *ἡγεμονία*, as the Greeks termed it, entrusted to one state over the rest, or usurped by that state, became current throughout Greece.

Even before the Persian war, the idea had been faintly expressed ; Sparta had always, as the strongest of the Dorian tribes, asserted a sort of supremacy over the Peloponnesus ; and had in some measure deserved it, by banishing the tyrants from the cities of that peninsula.<sup>1</sup>

In the common opposition, made by so many of the

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 18. 76.

Grecian cities, to the attack of Xerxes, the want of a general leader was felt; but according to the Grecian rules, this command could not so well be committed to one man, as to one state. We have already observed, that several laid claims to it; those of Syracuse were at once rejected; and Athens was at once prudent and generous enough to yield. At that time, therefore, the honor was nominally conferred on Sparta; it was actually possessed by the state, of which the talents merited it; and Sparta had no Themistocles. But Athens soon gained it nominally also; when the haughtiness of Pausanias exasperated the confederates; and Sparta was deprived by his fall of the only man, who in those days could have reflected any lustre upon the state.<sup>1</sup>

In this manner, Athens was placed at the head of a large part of Greece, confederated against Persia; and from this moment its supremacy begins to have a practical importance for Greece. The circumstances under

<sup>1</sup> Of this we have accurate accounts in Thucydides, i. 95. The Spartans, Athenians, and many of the confederates, had undertaken a naval expedition against Cyprus and Byzantium, 470 years before Christ. Offended with Pausanias (who about this time was recalled by Sparta herself,) the allies, especially the Ionians, entreated the Athenians, as being of a kindred tribe, to assume the supreme command. Those who were of the Peloponnesus, took no part in this act. The Athenians were very willing to comply with the request; and the confederates never received another Spartan general. From this account, the following points are to be inferred: 1. The Athenians obtained the same chief command, which had been exercised by the Spartans. 2. The states which conferred that command on Athens, must have been islands and maritime towns, as the whole expedition was a naval one. 3. Although not all who shared in it, were Ionians, yet the relationship of tribes had a great influence on the choice. 4. The command conferred on the Athenians, embraced therefore by no means all the Grecian cities, nor even all, which had been united against Persia; as the Peloponnesians expressly withdrew from it, and the other states of the interior took no part in the matter.

which this chief command was conferred on Athens, showed that nothing more was intended to be given, than the conduct of the war that was still to be continued with united efforts against the Persians. No government of the allied states, no interference in their internal affairs, was intended. But how much was included in the conduct of a war against a very powerful enemy from the very nature of the office ; and how much more for them who knew how to profit by it ! As long as the war against the Persian king was continued, could it be much less than the guidance of all external affairs ? For in a period like that, what other relations could have employed the practical politics of the Greeks. Or if any others existed, were they not at least intimately connected with that war ? And as for the grand questions respecting the duration of the war and the conditions of peace, did they not depend on those who stood at the head of the undertaking ?

The first use which Athens made of this superior command, was the establishment of a general treasury, as well as a common fleet, for the carrying on of the war ; while it was fixed, which of the allies should contribute money and ships, and in what proportion. The Athenians, says Thucydides,<sup>1</sup> now first established the office of treasurers<sup>2</sup> of Greece ; who were to collect the tribute, as the sums which were raised, were denominated, (and names are not matters of indifference in politics) ; the amount of which was then fixed at four hundred and sixty talents.<sup>3</sup> Yet to avoid everything which could seem odious, the treasury was not directly fixed at

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Ἑλληνοταμίαι.

<sup>3</sup> Full \$350,000.

Athens, but at Delos, in the temple of Apollo; where the assemblies also were held. But the most important circumstance was, that the most just of the Grecians, Aristides, was appointed treasurer; and the office of assigning to each state its proportion of the general contribution, was entrusted to him.<sup>1</sup> No one in those days made any complaint; and Aristides died as poor as he had lived.

Two remarks are here so naturally suggested, that they hardly need any proof; the first is, that Athens, by means of this regulation, laid the foundation of its greatness; the second is, that hardly any government, and how much less a popular government, could long withstand the temptation to abuse this power. But a third remark must be made in connection with the preceding observation; Athens gained the importance which she had for the world, by means of her supremacy over the other states. It was that, which made her conspicuous in the history of mankind. The importance which she gained, was immediately of a political nature; but every thing of a vast and noble character, for which Athens was distinguished, was inseparably connected with her political greatness. We will disguise no one of the abuses, of which the consequences were finally most fatal to Athens herself; but we cannot limit our view to the narrow range adopted by those, who make the abuses the criterion of their judgment.

The allies, by committing the conduct of the war to Athens, expressly acknowledged that city to be the first in Greece, and this was silently acknowledged by the

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. Aristid. Op. ii. p. 535.

other states ; for Sparta, which alone was able to rival it in strength, voluntarily withdrew into the background.<sup>1</sup> Athens had the consciousness of deserving this rank ; for the freedom of Greece had had its origin there. But it was desirous of preserving its high station, not by force alone, but by showing itself to be the first in everything, which according to the views of the Greeks could render a city illustrious. Its temples were now to be the most splendid ; its works of art the noblest ; its festivals and its theatres the most beautiful and the most costly. But for the supremacy of Athens, Pericles never could have found there a sphere of action worthy of himself ; no Phidias, no Polygnotus, no Sophocles could have flourished. For the public spirit of the Athenian proceeded from the consciousness, that he was the first among the Grecians ; and nothing but that public spirit could have encouraged and rewarded the genius, which was capable of producing works like theirs. Perhaps their very greatness prepared the fall of Athens ; but if they were doomed to suffer for it, the gratitude due to them from mankind, is not on that account diminished.

The supremacy of Athens was, as the nature of the whole confederation makes apparent, immediately connected with its naval superiority ; for the allied states were all islands or maritime cities. Thus the expressions of supreme command (*ἡγεμονία*) and dominion of the sea,<sup>2</sup> that is, the dominion of the Ægean and Ionian seas (for the ambition of the Athenians extended no farther), came to signify the same thing. This dominion of the sea was therefore, in its origin, not only not blamable,

<sup>1</sup> Thueyd. i. 95.

<sup>2</sup> *Θαλασσοκρατία.*



but absolutely essential to the attainment of the object proposed. The security of the Greeks against the attacks of the Persians depended on it ; and so too did the continuance of the confederacy. We cannot acquit Athens of the charge of having afterwards abused her naval superiority ; but he who considers the nature of such alliances and the difficulty of holding them together, will concede, that in practice it would be almost impossible to avoid the appearance of abusing such a supremacy ; since the same things which to one party seem an abuse, in the eyes of the other are only the necessary means to secure the end.

When the sea was made secure, and no attack was farther to be feared from the Persians, — how could it be otherwise, than that the continuance of the war, and consequently the contributions made for that purpose, should be to many of them unnecessarily oppressive ? And how could it be avoided, that some should feel themselves injured, or be actually injured in the contributions exacted of them. The consequences of all this were, on the one side a refusal to pay the contributions, and on the other, severity in collecting them ;<sup>1</sup> and as they continued to be refused, this was considered as a revolt, and wars followed with several of the allies ; at first with the island Naxos ;<sup>2</sup> then with Thasus,<sup>3</sup> with Samos,<sup>4</sup> and others.<sup>5</sup> But those who had been overcome, were no

<sup>1</sup> "The Athenians," says Thueydides, i. 99, "exacted the contributions with severity ; and were the more oppressive to the allies, as these were unaccustomed to oppression." But if the Athenians had not insisted on the payment of them with severity, how soon would the whole confederacy have fallen into ruin.

<sup>2</sup> Thueyd. i. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Thueyd. i. 100. 101.

<sup>4</sup> Thueyd. i. 116.

<sup>5</sup> The difference of the allies, and also the view taken by the Athenians of their supremacy, and of the oppression, with which they were charged, are nowhere

longer treated as allies, but as subjects ; and thus the relation of Athens to the several states was different ; for a distinction was made between the voluntary confederates and the subjects.<sup>1</sup> The latter were obliged to pay in money an equivalent for the ships, which they were bound to furnish ; for Athens found it more advantageous to have its ships built in this manner, by itself. But the matter did not rest here. The sum of the yearly tribute, fixed under Pericles at four hundred and sixty talents, was raised by Alcibiades<sup>2</sup> to six hundred. When, during the Peloponnesian war, Athens suffered from the want of money, the tribute was changed into duties of five per centum on the value of all imported articles, collected by the Athenians in the harbors of the allies.<sup>3</sup> But the most oppressive of all was perhaps the judiciary power, which Athens usurped over the allies ; not merely in the differences, which arose between the states, but also in private suits.<sup>4</sup> Individuals were obliged to go to Athens to transact their business, and in consequence, to the great advantage of the Athenian householders, inn-keepers, and the like, a multitude of foreigners were con-

more clearly developed, than in the speech of the Athenian ambassador in Camarina. Thucyd. vi. 83, etc. "The Chians," says he, "and Methymnæans (in Lesbos) need only furnish ships. From most of the others, we exact the tribute with severity. Others, though inhabitants of islands, and easy to be taken, are yet entirely voluntary allies, on account of the situation of their islands round the Peloponnesus."

<sup>1</sup> The ἀπόδοτοι and the ἑταίχοι, both of whom were still bound to pay the taxes, (ἐπιτολισίαι). Manso, in his acute illustration of the *Hegemonia*, Sparta B. iii. Beilage 12. 13 distinguishes three classes ; those who contributed ships, but no money ; those who contributed nothing but money ; and those who were at once subject and tributary. The nature of things seems to require, that it should have been so ; yet Thucydides vi. 69. makes no difference between the two last.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. Op. ii. p. 535.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. vii. 28.

<sup>4</sup> See, upon this subject, Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. Op. 694. ed. Leunclav.

stantly in that city, in order to bring their affairs to an issue.

It is therefore obvious, that the nature of the Athenian supremacy was changed. It had been at first a voluntary association, and now it had become, for far the larger number of the states that shared in it, a forced one. That several of the confederates were continually striving to break free from the alliance, has been shown by the examples cited above ; but it is easy to perceive, how difficult, or rather how impossible it was, to effect a general union between them against Athens. If they had been desirous of attempting it, how great were the means possessed by Athens, of anticipating them. Yet there was one moment, when, but for their almost inconceivable want of forethought, an attempt might have justly been expected from them ; and that period was the close of the war with Persia.<sup>1</sup> The Greeks framed their articles in the treaty of peace ; and had nothing farther to fear from the Persians. The whole object of the confederacy was therefore at an end. And yet we do not hear that any voices were then raised against Athens. On the other side, it may with propriety be asked, if justice did not require of the Athenians, voluntarily to restore to the allies their liberty. But this question will hardly be put by a practical statesman. To free the allies from their subordination would have been to deprive Athens of its splendor ; to dry up a chief source of the revenues of the republic ; perhaps to pave the way to its ruin. What Athenian statesman would have dared to make such a proposition ? Had he made

<sup>1</sup> In the year 449 before Christ ; be it that peace was formally concluded or not.

it, could he have carried it through? Would he not rather have ensured his own downfall? There are examples where single rulers, weary of power, have freely resigned it; but a people never yet voluntarily gave up authority over subject nations.

Perhaps these remarks may contribute to rectify the judgments of Isocrates,<sup>1</sup> in his celebrated accusation of the dominion of the sea;<sup>2</sup> which he considered as the source of all the misery of Athens and of Greece. The views which he entertained were certainly just; but the evils proceeded from the abuses; and it were just as easy to show, that his celebrated Athens, but for that dominion, never would have afforded him a subject for his panegyrics.

But how those evils could result from that abuse; how they prepared the downfall of Athens, when Sparta appeared as the deliverer of Greece; how the rule of these deliverers, much worse than that of the first oppressors, inflicted on Greece wounds, which were not only deep, but incurable; in general, the causes which produced the ruin of that country, remain for investigation in one of the later chapters, to which we must make our way through some previous researches.

<sup>1</sup> We shall be obliged to recur frequently to Isocrates. It is impossible to read the venerable and aged orator, who was filled with the purest patriotism which a Grecian could feel, without respecting and loving him. But he was a political writer, without being a practical statesman; and, like St. Pierre and other excellent men of the same class, he believed much to be possible which was not so. The historian must consult him with caution. This panegyrist of antiquity often regarded it in too advantageous a light, and is, besides, little concerned about the accuracy of his historical delineations.

<sup>2</sup> Isocrat. Op. p. 172. ed. Steph.

## CHAPTER IX.

## CONSTITUTIONS OF THE GRECIAN STATES.

IN the present chapter, we do not undertake to give an outline of the several Grecian states ; but rather to delineate the general characteristics of the Grecian forms of government. Such a general investigation seems the more essential, as, in the obvious impossibility of analyzing each one of them, it will throw light on those, which may hereafter be selected for particular description.

With respect to a nation, in which every thing that could be done in public, was public ; where every thing great and glorious was especially the result of this public life ; where even private life was identified with that of the public ; where the individual did but live with and for the state, this investigation must have a much higher degree of interest, than if it related to any other, in which the line of division is distinctly drawn between public and private life. He who will judge of the Grecians, must be acquainted with the constitutions of their states ; and he must not only consider the inanimate forms, as they are taught us by the learned compilers and writers on what are called Grecian antiquities ; but regard them as they were regarded by the Greeks themselves.

If the remark, which we made above,<sup>1</sup> that the Grecian states, with few exceptions, were cities with their districts, and their constitutions, therefore, the constitutions of cities ; if this remark needed to be farther confirmed, it could be done by referring to the fact, that the Greeks designate the ideas of state and of city, by the same word.<sup>2</sup> We must therefore always bear in mind the idea of city constitutions, and never forget that those of which we are treating, not only had nothing in common with those of the large empires of modern times, but not even with those of the smaller principalities. If for the sake of giving a distinct representation, we were to compare them with any thing in modern history, we could best compare them, as the character of the Italian cities of the middle age is hardly more familiar than that of the Grecian, with the imperial towns in Germany, especially in the days of their prosperity, previous to the thirty years' war, before they were limited in the freedom of their movements by the vicinity of more powerful monarchical states ; were it not that the influence of the difference of religion created a dissimilarity.

And yet this comparison may throw some light on the great variety, which is observed in those states, in spite of the apparent uniformity which existed among the Grecian states (as all were necessarily similar in some respects), and which equally existed in those German cities. And the comparison will be still more justified,

<sup>1</sup> An attempt to collect and arrange the separate accounts has been made by F. W. Tittman. His work on the Grecian Constitutions proves his industry, and the paucity of the accounts that have come down to us.

<sup>2</sup> *Πόλις, civitas.* Respecting the meaning of *πόλις*, and the difference between *πόλις* and *ἔθνος*, *state* and *nation*, consult Aristot. Polit. Op. ii. p. 235, ed. Casaub.

if we add, that the extent of territory was as different among the Grecian cities, and yet on the whole was nearly the same. There were few, which possessed a larger territory, than formerly belonged to Ulm or Nuremberg; but in Greece as in Germany, the prosperity of the city did not depend on the extent of its territory. Corinth hardly possessed a larger district than that of Augsburg; and yet both rose to an eminent degree of opulence and culture.

But great as this variety in the constitutions may have been (and we shall illustrate this subject more fully hereafter), they all coincided in one grand point. They all were free constitutions; that is, they allowed of no rulers, whom the people as a body, or certain classes of the people, could not call to account;<sup>1</sup> he, who usurped such authority, was, in the language of the Greeks, a tyrant. In this the idea is contained, that the state shall govern itself; and not be governed by an individual; and of course a very different view of the state was taken from the modern European notion. The view of the Greeks was entirely opposed to that of those modern politicians, who conceive of the state as a mere machine; and of those also, who would make of it nothing but an institution of police. The Greeks regarded the state, no less than each individual, as a moral person. Moral powers have influence in it, and decide its plans of operation. Hence it becomes the great object of him who would manage a state, to secure to reason the superiority over passion and desire; and the attainment of virtue

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. Op. ii. p. 251, 252. The magistrates must be responsible for their administration, ἐπεθύνοιο as the Greeks expressed it.

and morality, is in this sense an object of the state, just as it should be of the individual.

If with these previous reflections we proceed to investigate the laws of the Greeks, they will present themselves to our view in their true light. The constitutions of their cities, like those of the moderns, were framed by necessity, and developed by circumstances. But as abuses are much sooner felt in small states and towns, than in large ones, the necessity of reforms was early felt in many of them; and this necessity occasioned lawgivers to make their appearance, much before the spirit of speculation had been occupied on the subject of politics. The objects therefore of those lawgivers, were altogether practical; and, without the knowledge of any philosophical system, they endeavored to accomplish them by means of reflection and experience. A commonwealth could never have been conceived of by them, except as governing itself; and on this foundation they rested their codes. It never occurred to them, to look for the means of that self-government, to nothing but the forms of government; and although those forms were not left unnoticed in their codes, yet they were noticed only to a certain degree. No Grecian lawgiver ever thought of abolishing entirely the ancient usage, and becoming, according to the phrase now in vogue, the framers of a new constitution. In giving laws, they only reformed. Lyenrgus, Solon, and the rest, so far from abolishing what usage had established, endeavored to preserve every thing which could be preserved; and only added, in part, several new institutions, and in part made for the existing ones better regulations. If we possessed therefore the whole of the laws of Solon, we should by



no means find them to contain a perfect constitution. But to compensate for that, they embraced, not only the rights of individuals, but also morals, in a much higher degree, than the latter can be embraced in the view of any modern lawgiver. The organization of private life, and hence the education of youth,<sup>1</sup> on which the prevalence and continuance of good morals depend, formed one of their leading objects. They were deeply convinced, that that moral person, the state, would otherwise be incapable of governing itself. To this it must be added, that in these small commonwealths, in these towns with their territories, many regulations could be made and executed, which could not be put into operation in a powerful and widely extended nation. Whether these regulations were always good, and always well adapted to their purpose, is quite another question; it is our duty at present to show, from what point of view those lawgivers were accustomed to regard the art of regulating the state, and the means of preserving and directing it.<sup>2</sup>

Whenever a commonwealth or city governs itself, it is a fundamental idea, that the supreme power resides with its members, with the citizens. But it may rest with the citizens collectively, or only with certain classes, or perhaps only with certain families. Thus there naturally arose among the Greeks that difference, which they designated by the names of Aristocracies and Democracies; and to one of these two classes, they referred all their constitutions. But it is not easy to draw a distinct line

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. Op. ii. p. 301, 336.

<sup>2</sup> This taken together, forms what the Greeks called *political science* — πολιτική ἐπιστήμη.

between the two. When we are speaking of the meaning which they bore in practical politics, we must beware of taking them in that signification, which was afterwards given them by the speculative politicians, by Aristotle<sup>1</sup> and others. In their practical politics, the Greeks no doubt connected certain ideas with those denominations; but the ideas were not very distinctly defined; and the surest way of erring would be, to desire to define them more accurately than was done by the Greeks themselves. The fundamental idea of the democratic constitution was, that all citizens, as such, should enjoy equal rights in the administration of the state; and yet a perfect equality existed in very few of the cities. This equality was commonly limited to a participation in the popular assemblies and the courts.<sup>2</sup> A government did not cease to be a democracy, though the poorer class were entirely excluded from all magistracies, and their votes of less weight in the popular assemblies. On the other hand, an aristocracy always presupposed exclusive privileges of individual classes or families. But these were very different and various. There were hereditary aristocracies, where, as in Sparta, the highest dignities continued in a few families. But this was seldom the case. It was commonly the richer and more distinguished class, which obtained the sole administration of the state; and it was either wealth, or birth, or both together, that decided.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If here, in investigating the practical meaning of those words, we can make no use of the theoretical definitions of Aristotle in his *Politics*, we would not by any means give up the right of citing him as of authority in the history of the Greek constitutions, in so far as he himself speaks of them. And whose testimony on these subjects deserves more weight than that of the man, who, in a work which has unfortunately been lost, described and analyzed all the known forms of government of his time, two hundred and fifty-five in number.

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. *Polit.* iii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. *Polit.* iv. 5.

But wealth consisted not so much in money, as in land ; and it was estimated by real estate. This wealth was chiefly exhibited, in ancient times, in the sums expended on horses. Those whose means were sufficient, constituted the cavalry of the citizens ; and these formed the richer part of the soldiery, which consisted only of citizens or militia. It is therefore easy to understand, how it was possible that the circumstance, whether the district of a city possessed much pasture land, could have had so much influence, in practical politics, on the formation of the constitution.<sup>1</sup> It was therefore these nobles, the Eupatridæ and Optimates, who, though they did not wholly exclude the people from a share in the legislation, endeavored to secure to themselves the magistracies, and the seats in the courts of justice ; and wherever this was the case, there was what the Greeks termed an aristocracy.<sup>2</sup>

In cities, where wealth is for the most part measured by possessions in lands, it is almost unavoidable that not only a class of great proprietors should rise up ; but that this inequality should constantly increase ; and landed estates come finally into the hands of a few families.<sup>3</sup> In an age, when there were much fewer mechanic professions, and when those few were carried on chiefly by slaves, the consequences of this inequality were much

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle cites examples of it in Eretria, Chalcis, and other cities. Polit. iv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Oligarchy was distinguished from this. But though both words were in use, no other line can be drawn between them, than the greater or smaller number of Optimates, who had the government in their hands. That this remark is a true one appears from the definitions, to which Aristotle, Polit. iii. 7, is obliged to have recourse, in order to distinguish them.

<sup>3</sup> This was the case in Thurii, Aristot. Polit. v. 7.

more oppressive ; and it was therefore one of the chief objects of the lawgivers, either to prevent this evil, or, where it already existed, to remedy it ; as otherwise a revolution of the state would sooner or later have inevitably followed. In this manner we may understand why a new and equal division of the land among the citizens was made ;<sup>1</sup> why the acquisition of lands by purchase or gift was forbidden, and only permitted in the way of inheritance and of marriage ;<sup>2</sup> why a limit was fixed to the amount of land, which a single citizen could possess.<sup>3</sup> But with all these and other similar precautions, it was not possible to hinder entirely the evil, against which they were intended to guard ; and hence were prepared the causes of those numerous and violent commotions, to which all the Grecian states were more or less exposed.

In the constitutions of cities, however they may be formed, the right of citizenship is the first and most important. He who does not possess it, may perhaps live in the city under certain conditions, and enjoy the protection of its laws ;<sup>4</sup> but he is not, properly speaking, a member of the state ; and can enjoy neither the same rights, nor the same respect, as the citizen. The regulations, therefore, respecting sharing in the right of citizenship, were necessarily strict ; but they were very different in the several Grecian cities. In some, the full privileges of citizenship were secured, if both the parents had been citizens ;<sup>5</sup> in others, it was necessary to trace

<sup>1</sup> As in Sparta, by the laws of Lycurgus.

<sup>2</sup> As in Sparta, and also among the Locrians, Aristot. Polit. ii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. l. c.

<sup>4</sup> These *μετοικοι*, *inquilini*, were formed in almost all the Grecian cities. It was common for them to pay for protection, and to bear other civil burdens.

<sup>5</sup> As, for example, at Athens.

such a descent through two or three generations ;<sup>1</sup> whilst in others, no respect was had, except to the descent from the mother.<sup>2</sup> There were some cities which very rarely and with difficulty could be induced to confer the right of citizenship ; whilst in others foreigners were admitted to it with readiness. In these cases, accidental circumstances not unfrequently decided ; and the same city was sometimes compelled to exchange its early and severe principles, for milder ones, if the number of the ancient citizens came to be too small.<sup>3</sup> In colonies, the milder principles were of necessity followed ; since there might arrive from the mother country a whole company of new emigrants, whom it would either be impossible or inexpedient to reject. And hence we may explain what is so frequently observable in the colonies, that the wards of the citizens were divided according to their arrival from the different mother countries ; one of the most fruitful sources of internal commotions, and even of the most violent political revolutions.<sup>4</sup>

In free cities, the constitution and the administration are always connected in an equally eminent degree with the division of the citizens. But here again we find a vast difference among the Greeks. We first notice those states, which made a distinction in the privileges of the inhabitants of the chief town, and of the villages and country. There were some Grecian states, where the inhabitants of the city enjoyed great privileges ; and the

<sup>1</sup> As in Larissa, Aristot. Polit. iii. 2. So too in Massilia.

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. Polit. iii. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Thus at Athens, Clisthenes received a large number of foreigners into the class of citizens. Aristot. iii. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Examples of it at Sybaris, Thurium, Byzantium, and other places, are cited Aristotle, Polit. v. 3.

rest of their countrymen stood in a subordinate relation to them ;<sup>1</sup> whilst in others there was no distinction of rights between the one and the other.<sup>2</sup> The other divisions of the citizens were settled partly by birth, according to the ward to which a man happened to belong ;<sup>3</sup> partly from his place of residence, according to the district in which he resided ;<sup>4</sup> and partly from property or the census, according to the class in which he was reckoned. Though not in all, yet in many states, the ward, and the place of residence, were attached to the name of each individual ; which was absolutely necessary in a nation, that had no family names, or where they at least were not generally introduced. There is no need of mentioning how important was the difference in fortune ; as the proportion of the public burden to be borne by each one was decided according to his wealth ; and the kind of service to be required in war, whether in the cavalry or the infantry, and whether in heavy or light armor, was regulated by the same criterion ; as will ever be the case in countries, where there is no other armed force than the militia formed of the citizens.

On these divisions of the citizens, the organization of their assemblies (*ἐκκλησίαι*) was founded. These assemblies, which were a natural result of city governments, were, according to the views of the Greeks, so essential an institution, that they probably existed in every Grecian city, though not always under the same regulations. Yet the manner in which they were held in every city

<sup>1</sup> Hence in Læonia, the difference between Spartans and Lacedæmonians, (*τερόιστοι*). So also in Crete and in Argos.

<sup>2</sup> As at Athens.

<sup>3</sup> According to the *γείλαι*, (or wards.)

<sup>4</sup> According to the *δήμοι*, (or cantons.)

except Athens and Sparta, is almost wholly unknown to us. The nature of the case required, that the manner in which they were to be held, should every where be established by rule. It was the custom to give to but one magistrate, the right of convoking and opening them.<sup>1</sup> But we do not know in what manner the votes were taken in the several cities, whether merely by polls, or by the wards and other divisions of the people. And in this too, there was a great difference, whether all citizens had the right of voting, or whether a certain census was first requisite.<sup>2</sup> In most of the cities, regular assemblies on fixed days, and extraordinary meetings also, appear to have been held.<sup>3</sup> To attend was regarded as the duty of every citizen; and as the better part were apt to remain away, especially in stormy times, absence was often made a punishable offence.<sup>4</sup> It may easily be supposed, that the decisions were expressed in an established form, written down and preserved, and sometimes engraved on tables. But although the forms were fixed, the subjects which might come before the assembly were by no means so clearly defined. The principle which was acted upon, was, that subjects which were important for the community, were to be brought before it. But how uncertain is the very idea of what is, or is not important. How much, too, depends on the form which

<sup>1</sup> In the heroic age, it was the privilege of the kings to convoke the assembly. See above, in the fourth chapter.

<sup>2</sup> That a great variety prevailed in this respect, is clear from Aristot. Polit. iv. 13.

<sup>3</sup> This was the case in Athens and Sparta.

<sup>4</sup> This is the case, says Aristotle, Polit. iv. 13, in the oligarchic, or aristocratic cities; while on the contrary, in the democratic, the poor were well paid for appearing in the assemblies.

the constitution has taken at a certain period ; whether the power of the senate, or of certain magistrates preponderates. We find even in the history of Rome, that questions of the utmost interest to the people, questions of war and peace, were sometimes submitted to the people, and sometimes not. No less considerable difference prevailed in the Grecian cities. Yet writers are accustomed to comprehend the subjects belonging to the common assemblies in three grand classes.<sup>1</sup> The first embraces legislation ; for what the Greeks called a law (*νόμος*), was always a decree passed, or confirmed by the commons ; although it is difficult, we should rather say impossible, to define with accuracy the extent of this legislation. The second embraces the choice of magistrates. This right, although not all magistrates were appointed by election, was regarded, and justly regarded, as one of the most important privileges. For the power of the commons is preserved by nothing more effectually, than by making it necessary for those who would obtain a place, to apply for it to them. The third class was formed by the popular courts of justice, which, as we shall hereafter take occasion to show, were of the highest importance as a support of the democracy.

The consequences which the discussion and the decision of the most important concerns in the assemblies of the whole commons must inevitably have had, are so naturally suggested, that they hardly need to be illustrated at large. How could it have escaped those law-givers, that to entrust this unlimited power to the commons, was not much less than to pave the way for the

<sup>1</sup> The chief passage on this subject is in Aristot. Polit. iv. 14.



rule of the populace, if we include under that name the mass of indigent citizens.

The most natural means of guarding against this evil, would without doubt have been the choice of persons, possessed of plenary powers, to represent the citizens. But it is obvious, that the system of representation has the least opportunity of coming to perfection in city governments. It is the fruit of the enlarged extent of states; where it is impossible for all to meet in the assemblies. But in cities with a narrow territory, what could lead to such a form; since neither distance nor numbers made it difficult for the citizens to appear personally in the assemblies. It is true, that the alliances of several cities, as of the Bœotian or the Achæan, led to the idea of sending deputies to the assemblies; but in those meetings, the internal affairs of the confederates were never discussed; they were reserved for the consideration of each city; and the deliberations of the whole body, related only to general affairs with respect to foreign relations. But a true system of representation can never be formed in that manner; the true sphere of action of a legislative body, is to be found in the internal affairs of the nation.

It was therefore necessary to think of other means of meeting the danger apprehended from the rule of the populace; and those means were various. Aristotle expressly remarks,<sup>1</sup> that there were cities, in which no

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. iii. 1. A similar regulation existed in several German imperial towns; as, for example, in Bremen, where the most distinguished citizens were invited by the senate to attend the convention of citizens; and of course no uninvited person made his appearance. It is to be regretted, that Aristotle has cited no Grecian city as an example.

general assemblies of the citizens were held ; and only such citizens appeared, as had been expressly convoked or invited. These obviously formed a class of aristocratic governments. But even in the democracies, means<sup>1</sup> were taken, partly to have the important business transacted in smaller divisions, before the commons came to vote upon it ; partly to limit the subjects, which were to be brought before them ; partly to reserve the revision, if not of all, yet of some of the decrees, to another peculiar board ; and partly, and most frequently, to name another deliberate assembly, whose duty it was to consider every thing which was to come before the commons, and so far to prepare the business, that nothing remained for the commons, but to accept or reject the measures proposed.

This assembly was called by the Greeks, a council (*βουλή*). We are acquainted with its internal regulations only at Athens ; but there is no reason to doubt, that in several Grecian states, a similar assembly existed under the same name.<sup>2</sup> If we may draw inferences respecting its nature in other states from what it was at Athens, it consisted of a numerous committee of the citizens annually chosen ; its members, taken after a fixed rule from each of the corporations, were chosen by lot ; but they could not become actual members without a previous examination. For in no case was it of so much importance as here, to effect the exclusion of all but honest men : who, being themselves interested in the preservation of the state and its constitution, might decide on the

<sup>1</sup> See in proof what follows, Aristot. Polit. iv. 14, Op. ii. p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> As at Argos and Mantinea. Thuecyd. v. 47. So too in Chios. Thuecyd. viii. 14.

business presented to them, with prudence and moderation. In Athens at least, the greatest pains were taken with the internal organization of this body; so that it seems to us, as will appear from the investigations respecting this state, to have been almost too artificial. Regulations, similar in kind, though not exactly the same, were probably established in the other cities, where similar wants and circumstances prevailed. It is easy to perceive, that the preservation of the internal liberties of such a body against the encroachments of parties and too powerful individuals, made such regulations essential. It was probably to promote this end, that the appointments to the council were made only for the year.<sup>1</sup> It prevented the committee from becoming a faction, and thus assuming the whole administration of the state. But beside this, another great advantage was gained; for in this manner, by far the larger number of distinguished and upright citizens became acquainted with the affairs and the government of the state.

In other cities, instead of this annual council, there was a senate (*γεγονυια*), which had no periodical change of its members, but formed a permanent board. Its very name expresses that it was composed of the elders; and what was more natural, than to look for good counsel to the experience of maturity? The rule respecting age may have been very different in the several cities, and perhaps in many no rule on the subject existed. But in others, it was enforced with rigorous accuracy. The immediate object was to have in it a board of counsel;

<sup>1</sup> This explains why Aristotle, *Polit.* iv, 15, calls the *βουλῆ* an institution favorable to the form of government.

but its sphere of action was by no means so limited. In Sparta, the assembly of elders had its place by the side of the kings. The senate of Corinth is mentioned under the same name;<sup>1</sup> that of Massilia<sup>2</sup> under a different one, but its members held their places for life; and in how many other cities may there have been a council of elders, of which history makes no mention, just as it is silent respecting the internal regulations in those just enumerated.<sup>3</sup> Even in cities which usually had no such senate, an extraordinary one was sometimes appointed in extraordinary cases, where good advice was needed. This took place in Athens after the great overthrow in Sicily.<sup>4</sup>

Besides an assembly of citizens, or town meeting, and a senate, a Grecian city had its magistrates. Even the ancient politicians were perplexed to express with accuracy, the idea of magistrates.<sup>5</sup> For not all to whom public business was committed by the citizens, could be called magistrates; for otherwise the ambassadors and priests would have belonged to that class. In modern constitutions, it is not seldom difficult to decide, who

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. Op. ii. p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, iii. p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> There was perhaps no one Grecian city, in which such a council did not exist, for the nature of things made it almost indispensable. They were most commonly called *βουλή* and *γεροισία*, and these words may often have been confounded. For although the *βουλή* in Athens was a body chosen from the citizens but for a year, and the *γεροισία* of Sparta was a permanent council, we cannot safely infer, that the terms, when used, always implied such a difference. In Crete, e. g. the council of elders was called *βουλή*, according to Aristot. Polit. ii. 10, though in its organization it resembled the *γεροισία* of Sparta.

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. viii. i.

<sup>5</sup> See, on this subject, Aristot. Polit. iv. 15. The practical politicians, no less than the theorists, were perplexed in defining the word. An important passage may be found in Æschin. in Ctesiphont. iii. p. 397, &c., Reisk.

ought to be reckoned in the number of magistrates, as will be apparent from calling to mind the inferior officers. But no important misunderstanding can arise, if we are careful to affix to the word the double idea of possessing a part of the executive power; and of gaining, in consequence of the importance of the business entrusted to them, a higher degree of consideration, than belonged to the common citizen.

In the republican constitutions of the Greeks a second idea was attached to that of a magistracy; it was necessary to call every magistrate to account respecting the affairs of his office.<sup>1</sup> He who went beyond this rule, ceased to be a magistrate and became a tyrant. The magistrate was therefore compelled to recognise the sovereignty of the people. This certainly implied, that an account was to be given to the commons; but as in such constitutions not every thing was systematically established, there were some states, in which separate boards, as that of the Ephori in Sparta, usurped the right of calling the magistrates to account.<sup>2</sup>

In the inquiry respecting magistrates, says Aristotle,<sup>3</sup> several questions are to be considered: How many magistrates there are, and how great is their authority? How long they continue in office, and whether they ought to continue long? Farther, — Who ought to be appointed? and by whom? and how? These are questions, which of themselves show, that republican states are had in view; and which lead us to anticipate that

<sup>1</sup> They were of necessity *ἰλεῖσθαι*. Aristot. Polit. ii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> There were magistrates appointed on purpose, called *εὐνολογοῖται*. Aristot. Polit. vi. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. Polit. iv. 15.

great variety, which prevailed on these points in the Grecian constitutions. We desire to treat first of the last questions.

According to the whole spirit of the Grecian constitutions, it cannot be doubted, that their leading principle was, that all magistrates must be appointed by the people. The right of choosing the magistrates, was always regarded, and justly regarded, as an important part of the freedom of a citizen.<sup>1</sup> But although this principle was predominant, it still had its exceptions. There were states, in which the first offices were hereditary in certain families.<sup>2</sup> But as we have already taken occasion to observe, this was a rare case; and where one magistracy was hereditary, all the rest were elective; at Sparta, though the royal dignity was hereditary, the Ephori were chosen. But beside the appointment by election, the custom very commonly prevailed of appointing by lot. And our astonishment is very justly excited by this method, which not unfrequently commits to chance, the appointment to the first and most weighty employments in the state. But even in several of the German imperial towns, the lot had an important share in the appointment to offices. It is uninfluenced by favor, birth, and wealth. And therefore the nomination of magistrates by lot, was considered by the Grecian politicians as the surest characteristic of a democracy.<sup>3</sup> But where the appointment was left to be decided by that method, the decision was not always made solely by it. He on

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. ii. 12. *Μηδε γὰρ τοῦτον, τοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀρχαῖοσαι καὶ εὐδύειν, κίριος ἢ ἡ δημοκρατία, δοῦναι τὰ εὐκαί, καὶ πόλιμος.*

<sup>2</sup> As the kings in Sparta.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. Polit. iv. 15.

whom the lot fell, could still be subjected to a severe examination, and very frequently was so. And where some places were filled in this way, it was by no means pursued in the appointment to all.

But in the election also, the greatest differences prevailed; since sometimes all classes, and sometimes only particular ones took part in them.<sup>1</sup> To admit all citizens to vote, is one of the chief characteristics of a democracy; and we know this was done not only in Athens, but in many other cities. But when the aristocratic and democratic party had once become distinct, endeavors were almost inevitably made to exclude the mass of the people from any share in the elections. For the aristocrat found nothing more humiliating, than to approach the common citizen as a suppliant, before he could arrive at places of honor. Where the first step succeeded, the second soon followed; and the magistrates themselves supplied any vacant places in their board. This, says Aristotle,<sup>2</sup> is the peculiar mark of oligarchy, and leads almost always to revolutions in the states.

And who was eligible to office? This question is still more important, than that respecting the electors; and an equally great difference prevailed on this point in the various states. The maxim, that men, to whom the control of the public affairs should be committed, must not only possess sufficient capacity, but must also be interested in the support of existing forms, is so obvious, that the principle of excluding the lower orders of the people from participating in the magistracies, could hardly seem otherwise than judicious and necessary.<sup>3</sup> But when it

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, l. c. classifies these varieties.

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. l. c.

<sup>3</sup> That not only Solon, but other lawgivers had adopted this regulation, is remarked by Aristotle, Polit. iii. 11.

was adopted, it could seldom be preserved. When a state became flourishing and powerful, the people felt it itself to be of more importance;<sup>1</sup> and it was not always flattery of the populace, which in such times induced its leaders to abolish those restrictive laws, but a conviction of the impossibility of maintaining them. In an individual case, such an unlimited freedom of choice can become very injurious; but it is, on the whole, much less so, than it appears to be; and the restrictions are apt to become pernicious. If it be birth, which forms the limiting principle, if a man must belong to certain families in order to gain an office, it would be made directly impossible for men of talents to obtain them; and this has often produced the most violent revolutions. If fortune be made the qualification,<sup>2</sup> this is in itself no criterion of desert. If it be age, want of energy is too often connected with riper experience.

In most of the Grecian cities, there certainly existed a reason, why regard should be had to wealth; because that consisted almost always in real estate. But where the poor were excluded by no restrictive laws, they were obliged of their own accord, to retire from most of the magistracies. These offices were not lucrative; on the contrary, considerable expenses were often connected with them.<sup>3</sup> There were no fixed salaries, as in our states; and the prospect, which in Rome in a later period was so inviting to the magistrates, the administration of a province, did not exist in Greece. It was therefore impossible for the poorer class to press forward with

<sup>1</sup> See, on this subject also, *Aristot.* l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Many places in Aristotle show, that this was the case in a large number of cities; and under the most various regulations; e. g. iv. 11.

<sup>3</sup> As for banquets, public buildings, festivals, &c. *Aristot. Polit.* vi. 8.



eagerness to these offices ; in many cities there even existed a necessity of imposing a punishment, if the person elected would not accept the office committed to him.<sup>1</sup> It was far more the honor and the glory, than the gain, which gave a value to the magistracies. But the honor of being the first, or one of the first, among his fellow-citizens, is for many a more powerful excitement, than that which can be derived from emolument.

In small republics, no other fear needs be entertained respecting the offices of magistrates, than lest certain families should gain the exclusive possession of them. This is what the Greeks meant by an oligarchy,<sup>2</sup> when the number of such families remained small. These were with justice regarded as a corruption of the constitutions. There may have been exceptions, and we find in history examples, both within and without Greece, where such states have been administered with moderation and wisdom. But more frequently experience has shown the contrary result. The precautions taken against this evil by the Grecians, were the same with those adopted in many of the German imperial towns ; persons connected by blood, as father and son, or several brothers, could not at the same time be magistrates.<sup>3</sup> Connections by marriage are nowhere said to have excluded from office ; on the contrary, it would be easier to find examples of brothers-in-law filling magistracies at the same time.<sup>4</sup>

Most of the magistrates were chosen annually ; many

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. iv. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Not only Aristot. iv. 6, but many passages in Thucydides ; as, e. g. viii. 82.

<sup>3</sup> It was so in Massilia and in Cnidus. Aristot. Polit. v. 6.

<sup>4</sup> As Agesilaus and Pisander in Sparta.

for but half a year.<sup>1</sup> This frequent renewal had its advantages, and also its evils. It is the strongest pillar of the rule of the people; which is by nothing so much confirmed, as by the frequent exercise of the right of election. This was the point of view taken by the politicians of Greece, when they considered the authority of the people to reside in the elections.<sup>2</sup> That these frequent elections did not tend to preserve internal tranquillity, is easy to be perceived. But on the other side, the philosopher of Stagira has not failed to remark, that the permanent possession of magistracies might have led to discontent.<sup>3</sup>

An enumeration of the different magistracies usual among the Greeks, is not required by our purpose; neither would it be possible, as our acquaintance with the several constitutions of the cities is incredibly limited.<sup>4</sup> The little that we know of the regulations in the individual states, especially in Athens, proves that the number of such offices was very considerable; and the same appears from the classification, which Aristotle has attempted to make of them.<sup>5</sup> Their duties are commonly indicated by their names; but these again were entirely different in the various cities; even in cases where the duties were the same. The *Cosmi* were in Crete, what the *Ephori* were in Sparta. Most of the cities must have had a magistrate like the *Archons* in Athens; and yet it would not be easy to find the name in any other. The numerous encroachments made by the lawgivers on

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. iv. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. viii. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. Polit. ii. 5.

<sup>4</sup> See Titman on the Grecian Constitutions.

<sup>5</sup> See the instructive passage, Polit. iv. 15.

domestic life, contributed much to multiply the offices of magistrates and extend their sphere of action. The Grecians had formed no idea of a police, as a general branch of the administration of the state; but they were acquainted with several of its branches; and although they had no general board of police, the circumstances just mentioned led them to establish several particular branches; and even some, which are not usual in our times. The superintendence of women, the superintendence of children, was in many cities entrusted to particular magistrates;<sup>1</sup> and as the Areopagus of Athens had in general the care of morals, there were undoubtedly similar tribunals in other Grecian cities.

Thus then it appears, that amidst an almost infinite variety of forms, assemblies of the citizens, senates, and magistracies, are the institutions which belonged to every Grecian commonwealth. The preservation of freedom and equality among the commons,<sup>2</sup> formed their chief object. It was not considered unjust to take from any one, of whom it was only feared that he might become dangerous to this freedom, the power of doing injury, by a temporary banishment from the city; and this took place at Athens and Argos<sup>3</sup> by ostracism, and by petalism in Syracuse. Nothing can be more jealous, than the love of liberty; and unfortunately for mankind, experience shows but too clearly, that it has reason to be so.

Nevertheless, neither these, nor other precautions were able to save the Grecian cities from the usurpations of tyrants, as they were termed. Few cities, in the

<sup>1</sup> The *γυναικονόμοι* and the *παιδονομοί*. Aristot. l. c.

<sup>2</sup> The *αἰτιονομία* and *ἰσονομία*.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. Polit. v. 3.

mother country, and in the colonies, escaped this fate. The Grecians connected with this word the idea of an illegitimate, but not necessarily of a cruel government. It was illegitimate, because it was not conferred by the commons; but usurped without, or even against their will. A demagogue, however great his power may have been, was never, as such, denominated a tyrant; but he received the name, if he set himself above the people; that is, if he refused to lay before the people the account which was due to them.<sup>1</sup> The usual support of such an authority, is an armed power, composed of foreigners and hirelings; which was therefore always regarded as the sure mark of a tyrant.<sup>2</sup> Such a government by no means necessarily implied, that the existing regulations and laws would be entirely set aside. They could continue; even an usurper needs an administration; only he raises himself above the laws. The natural aim of these tyrants usually was, to make their power hereditary in their families. But though this happened in many cities, the supreme power was seldom retained for a long time by the same family. It continued longest, says Aristotle,<sup>3</sup> in the house of Orthagoras in Sicyon, for as it was very moderate and even popular, it lasted a century; and for the same causes it was preserved about as long in the house of Cypselus in Corinth. But if it could not be maintained by such means, how could it have been kept up by mere violence and terror. Where the love of freedom is once so deeply fixed, as it was in the character of the Grecians, the attempts to oppress it only give a new impulse to its defenders.

<sup>1</sup> By desiring to become ἀντιπεθύσιος. Aristot. Polit. iv. 10. See above p. xxx.

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. Polit. iii. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. Polit. v. 12

And by what criterion shall the historian, who investigates the history of humanity, form his judgment of the worth of these constitutions? By that, which a modern school, placing the object of the state in the security of person and of property, desires to see adopted? We may observe in Greece exertions made to gain that security; but it is equally clear, that it was, and, with such constitutions, could have been, but imperfectly attained. In the midst of the frequent storms, to which those states were exposed, that tranquillity could not long be preserved, in which men limit their active powers to the improvement of their domestic condition. It does not belong to us to institute inquiries into the correctness of those principles; but experience does not admit of its being denied, that in these, to all appearances, so imperfect constitutions, every thing, which forms the glory of man, flourished in its highest perfection. It was those very storms, which called forth master spirits, by opening to them a sphere of action. There was no place here for indolence and inactivity of mind; where each individual felt most sensibly, that he existed only through the state and with the state; where every revolution of the state in some measure inevitably affected him; and the security of person and property was necessarily much less firmly established, than in well regulated monarchies. We leave to every one to form his own judgment, and select his own criterion; but we will draw from the whole one general inference, that the forms under which the character of the human race can be unfolded, have not been so limited by the hand of the Eternal, as the wisdom of the schools would lead us to believe.

But whatever may be thought of the value of these

constitutions, the reflection is forced upon us, that they surpassed all others in internal variety ; and therefore in no other nation could so great an abundance of political ideas have been awakened, and preserved in practical circulation. Of the hundreds of Grecian cities, perhaps there were no two, of which the constitutions were perfectly alike ; and none, of which the internal relations had not changed their form. How much had been tried in each one of them, and how often had the experiments been repeated ! And did not each of these experiments enrich the science of politics with new results ? Where then could there have been so much political animation, so large an amount of practical knowledge, as among the Greeks ? If uniformity is, in the political world, as in the regions of taste and letters, the parent of narrowness, and if variety, on the contrary, promotes cultivation, no nation ever moved in better paths than the Greeks. Although some cities became preëminent, no single city engrossed every thing ; the splendor of Athens could as little eclipse Corinth and Sparta, as Miletus and Syracuse. Each city had a life of its own, its own manner of existence and action ; and it was because each one had a consciousness of its own value, that each came to possess an independent worth.

## CHAPTER X.

## THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE GREEKS.

THE increasing wants of modern states have not only employed practical statesmen, but have led to the formation of many theories, of which the truth and utility are still subjects of discussion. Among the ancients, the finances of the nation were not regarded from so high a point of view, and therefore could not have been, in the same degree, an object of speculation. Whether the world has lost by this, or not, is a question which we prefer to leave unanswered. If the ancients knew less of the importance of the division of labor, they were also less acquainted with the doctrine of the modern schools, which transforms nations into productive herds. The Greeks were aware, that men must have productive arts, if they would live; but that it is the end of life to be employed in them, never entered their minds.

But the modern should not look with absolute contempt on the state of political science among the ancients. The chief question now agitated between theorists and practical statesmen, whether the mere gain in money decides on the wealth of a nation, and should form the object of its industry, was correctly understood and answered by the illustrious Stagirite. "Many," says he,<sup>1</sup> "suppose wealth to consist in the abundance of

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. i. 9.

coined money, because it is the object of usury and commerce. Money is of itself without value, and gains its utility only by the law; when it ceases to be current, it loses its value,<sup>1</sup> and cannot be employed in the acquisition of necessaries; and therefore he who is rich in money, may yet be destitute of a necessary support. But it is ridiculous to say, that wealth consists in anything, of which a man may be possessed, and yet die of hunger; as the fable relates of Midas, at whose touch every thing became gold.”<sup>2</sup>

In a nation, in which private existence was subordinate to that of the public, the industry employed in the increase of wealth, could not gain the exclusive importance, which it has with the moderns. With the ancients, the citizen was first anxious for the state, and only next for himself. As long as there is any higher object than the acquisition of money, the love of self cannot manifest itself so fully, as where every more elevated pursuit is wanting. While religion in modern Europe primarily engaged the attention of states, as of individuals, the science of finances could not be fully developed, although pecuniary embarrassment was often very sensibly felt. Men learned to tread under foot the most glorious productions of mind, to trample upon the monuments of moral and intellectual greatness, before they received those theories, which assign to the great instructors of mankind in philosophy and in religion, a place in the

<sup>1</sup> “Οἱ τε μεταδεδειγμένον τῶν χρυσαίων ἀλλοτρίως ἄξιον καὶ χρῆσιμον πρὸς οὐδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων γινῆσι. I refer χρυσαίων to cities or states. “If the cities which hitherto made use of it, change it.”

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle found in the traditions of Greece, a more suitable example, than that which the French government usually cited respecting the man, who had abundance of gold on a desert island.



unproductive class. In the states of Greece, each individual was obliged of himself to say, that his own welfare was connected with the welfare of the state; that his private welfare would be ruined by a revolution in the existing order of things, by the rule of the populace, or by subjection to a foreign power; that all his industry was of advantage to him only while the state should continue to subsist. Although the patriotism, thus produced, proceeded frequently from selfishness, it had as a consequence, that the exertions of the individual were directed to something besides his private advantage, and that his private welfare was less regarded than that of the public. The times arrived, in which this too was changed; but they were the precursors of the ruin of liberty.

There was still another reason, which contributed to make the Greeks regard the arts of industry in general, and some of them in particular, in a very different light from that in which they are now considered. And this was slavery, which was generally prevalent, either under the form of domestic servitude, or, in some states, of villanage.

To be convinced of this, we need only look at the variety of employments, which were carried on by slaves and villains. Such were all those household duties, which with us are committed to footmen; and besides them, several other charges, as the superintendence, and, in part, the early education and instruction of children. Vanity, still more than necessity, increased the number of those who were held in bondage, after it became the custom to be served by a numerous retinue of beautiful slaves. In the same manner, all labors were performed, which are now done by journeymen and lacqueys. Some

of the rich Grecians made a business of keeping slaves to let for such services. All kinds of labor in the mines were performed by slaves; who, as well as the mines, were the property of individual citizens.<sup>1</sup> The sailors on board of the galleys, consisted, at least in part, of slaves. Most if not all trades were carried on by slaves; who were universally employed in the manufacturing establishments. In these, not only the laborers, but also the overseers were slaves; for the owners did not even trouble themselves with the care of superintending; but they farmed the whole to persons, who were perhaps often the overseers also, and from whom they received a certain rent, according to the number of slaves, which they were obliged to keep undiminished.<sup>2</sup> In those states, where there were slaves attached to the soil, as in Laconia, Messenia, Crete, and Thessaly, agriculture was conducted exclusively by them. In the others, the masters may have bestowed more attention on the subject; but as the *Strepsiades* of the comedian shows, they did little more than superintend; and the work was left to the slaves.

If we put all this together, we shall see how limited were the branches of industry, which remained for the free. But the most unavoidable, and at the same time the most important consequence of it was, that all those employments which were committed to slaves, were regarded as mean and degrading;<sup>3</sup> and this view of them was not only confirmed by prevailing prejudices, but ex-

<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. de Redit. speaks of this point at large.

<sup>2</sup> See Petit. de Leg. Att. ii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Βίναροι, artes illiberales.* We have no word which exactly expresses this idea, because we have not the thing itself.

pressly sanctioned by the laws. To this class belonged especially the mechanics, and even the retailers. For although all mechanic employments were by no means conducted by slaves, a shade was thrown on them all. "In well regulated states," says Aristotle,<sup>1</sup> "the lower order of mechanics are not even admitted to the rights of citizens;" and now we cease to wonder at the proposition of another statesman,<sup>2</sup> who would commit all mechanic labors to public slaves. This was not merely a theory; it was once actually put in practice at Epidamnus.<sup>3</sup> In the cities which were democratically governed, the condition of the mechanics was somewhat more favorable. They could become citizens and magistrates, as at Athens during the period of the democracy.<sup>4</sup> The inferior branches of trade were not looked upon with much more favor. In Thebes, there was a law, that no one, who within ten years had been engaged in retail dealings, could be elected to a magistracy.<sup>5</sup>

As the Grecian cities were very different in character, the ideas which prevailed on this subject, could not be the same. In those states where agriculture was the chief employment, the other means of gaining a livelihood may have been despised. In maritime and commercial towns, of which the number was very considerable, the business of commerce must have been esteemed. But those who were employed in manufacturing and selling goods, were never able to gain that degree of re-

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. iii. 5. *Ἡ δὲ βελτίστη πόλις οὐ ποιήσει βίβανυσον πολίτην.*

<sup>2</sup> Phaneas of Chalcedon. Aristot. Polit. ii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. Polit. l. c.

<sup>4</sup> Aristot. Polit. iii. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Aristot. l. c.

spectability, which they enjoy among modern nations.<sup>1</sup> Even in Athens, says Xenophon,<sup>2</sup> much would be gained by treating more respectfully and more hospitably the foreign merchants, brought by their business to that city. The income derived from landed estate, was most esteemed by the Greeks. "The best nation," says Aristotle,<sup>3</sup> "is a nation of farmers."

From the little esteem in which the other means of gaining a livelihood were held, it followed that a wealthy middling class could not be formed in the Grecian states; and this is censured by those who have criticised their constitutions, as the chief cause of their unsettled condition. But this censure rests, for the most part, on an erroneous representation. It was degrading for a Grecian to carry on any of those kinds of employment with his own hands; but it by no means lessened his consideration to have them conducted on his account. Work-shops and manufactures, as well as mines and lands, could be possessed by the first men in the country. The father of Demosthenes, a rich and respectable man, left at his death a manufactory of swords; which was kept up by his son;<sup>4</sup> and examples could be easily multiplied, from the orators and the comedian. When this circumstance is kept in view, the blame attached to the Grecian constitutions is, in a great measure, though not entirely removed. The impediments which public opinion put in the way of industry, did not so much injure those concerned in any large enterprise, as those engaged in the

<sup>1</sup> Compare on this subject, first of all, Aristot. Polit. i. 11, where he analyzes and treats of the several branches of industry.

<sup>2</sup> Xen. de Redit. Op. p. 922, Leunclav.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. Polit. vi. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Demosth. adv. Aphob. Op. ii. p. 816.

smaller occupations. The latter did really feel the evil, and we are not disposed to represent it as inconsiderable.

But we must return once more to the remark which explains the true cause of this regulation ; that in the Grecian states, public life was placed above private life. "All agree," says Aristotle,<sup>1</sup> "that in every well regulated state, sufficient leisure must be preserved from the wants of life for the public business ; but a difference of opinion exists as to the manner in which this can be done. It is effected by means of slaves ; who are not, however, treated in all places alike." Here we have the point of view, from which the politician should consider slavery in Greece. It served to raise the class of citizens to a sort of nobility, especially where they consisted almost entirely of landed proprietors. It is true, that this class lived by the labors of the other ; and every thing, which in modern times has been said respecting and against slavery, may therefore so far be applied to the Grecians. But their fame does not rest on the circumstance of their obtaining that leisure at the expense of the lower order ; but in the application, which the noblest of them made of that leisure. No one will deny, that without their slaves, the character of the culture of the upper class in Greece could in no respects have become what it did ; and if the fruits which were borne, possess a value for every cultivated mind, we may at least be permitted to doubt, whether they were too dearly purchased by the introduction of slavery.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle ii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> This may be the more safely asserted, because it is hardly possible to say any thing in general on the condition of slaves in Greece ; so different was it at different times ; in different countries ; and even in the same country. On this subject I would refer to the following instructive work ; *Geschichte und Zustand*

The free exertions of industry were in some measure limited by the regulations of which we have spoken ; but in a very different manner from any usual in our times. They were the result of public opinion ; and if they were confirmed by the laws, this was done in conformity to that opinion. In other respects, the interference of government in the matter was inconsiderable. No efforts were made to preserve the mass of species undiminished, or to increase it ; nothing was known of the balance of trade ; and consequently all the violent measures resulting from it, were never devised by the Greeks. They had duties, as well as the moderns ; but those duties were exacted only for the sake of increasing the public revenue, not to direct the efforts of domestic industry, by the prohibition of certain wares. There was no prohibition of the exportation of raw materials by way of protection ;<sup>1</sup> no encouragement of manufactures at the expense of the agriculturists. In this respect, therefore, there existed freedom of occupations, commerce, and trade. And such was the general custom. As every thing was decided by circumstances and not by theories, there may have been single exceptions ; and perhaps single examples,<sup>2</sup> where the state for a season usurped a

der *Sclaverey und Leibeigenschaft in Griechenland*, von J. F. Reitemeyer. Berlin, 1789. *History and Condition of Slavery and Villanage in Greece*, by J. F. Reitemeyer.

<sup>1</sup> The exportation of articles of food, especially of corn, may have been prohibited at Athens and elsewhere, when a scarcity was apprehended. Such prohibitions were natural, and could not well fail of being made. The remark in the text refers to prohibitions to favor domestic industry ; as of the export of unmanufactured wool. This explanation is in answer to the remarks of Professor Boeckh in his work on the Public Economy of the Athenians, i. 56.

<sup>2</sup> *Aristot. de Re Famil.* l. ii.

monopoly. But how far was this from the mercantile and restrictive system of the moderns !

The reciprocal influence between national economy, and that of the state, is so great and so natural, that it was necessary to premise a few observations respecting the former. Before we treat of the latter, it will be useful to say a few words on a subject, which is equally important to both ; the money of the Greeks.

National economy can exist without money, but finances cannot. It would be important to fix the time, when coined money first became current in Greece, and when money was first coined in the country itself. But it is difficult to give an exact answer to either of these questions, especially to the first. Homer never speaks of money ; and his silence is in this case valid as evidence ; for in more than one passage where he speaks of a barter,<sup>1</sup> he must necessarily have mentioned it, if he had been acquainted with it. On the other hand, we may confidently affirm on the authority of Demosthenes, that in the age of Solon,<sup>2</sup> coined silver money was not only known in the cities of Greece, but had been in circulation for a length of time ;<sup>3</sup> for the punishment of death

<sup>1</sup> As for example, *Il.* vi. 472. *Od.* i. 430.

<sup>2</sup> About 600 years before the Christian era.

<sup>3</sup> "I will relate to you," says the orator, while opposing a bill brought in by Timocrates, "what Solon once said against a man who proposed a bad law. The cities, said he to the judges, have a law, that he who counterfeits money, shall be put to death. He thought this law was made for the protection of private persons, and their private intercourse ; but the laws he esteemed the coin of the state. They, therefore, who corrupt the laws, must be much more heavily punished, than they who adulterate the coinage or introduce false money. Yea, many cities exist and flourish, although they debase their silver money with brass and lead ; but those which have bad laws, will certainly be ruined." Demosth. in *Timocrat.* *Op.* i. p. 763, 764. Compare with this what Herod. iii. 56, remarks of the counterfeit money, with which Polycrates is said to have cheated the Spartans.

had already been set upon the crime of counterfeiting it; Solon mentioned it as in general use throughout the Grecian cities; and many of them had already supplied its place with the baser metals. The Grecian coins, which are still extant, can afford us no accurate dates, as the time of their coinage is not marked upon them; but several of them are certainly as ancient as the age of Solon; and perhaps are even older. The coins of Sybaris, for example, must be at least of the sixth century before the christian era; as that city was totally destroyed in the year 510 B. C. The most ancient coins of Rhegium, Croton, and Syracuse, seem from the letters in the superscriptions to be of far higher antiquity.<sup>1</sup> If the account that Lycurgus prohibited in Sparta, the use of money of the precious metals, is well supported,<sup>2</sup> we should be able to trace the history of Grecian coins to a still more remote age; and this opinion is corroborated at least by the narration of the Parian chronicle,<sup>3</sup> that Phidon of Argos in the year 631 (i. e. 895 years B. C.) first began to coin silver in the island of Ægina.

But although we cannot at present trace the history of coined money in Greece any farther,<sup>4</sup> we may from the preceding observations infer one general conclusion; the founding of colonies and the intercourse kept up with

<sup>1</sup> Ekkel. *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, i. p. 170—177. 242.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. in *Lycurg.* Op. i. p. 177. His code is computed to have been given about 850 years B. C.

<sup>3</sup> *Marmor Parium.* Ep. xxxi. cf. Strabo viii. p. 563. This was about 15 years before the legislation of Lycurgus. It might, therefore, not without probability be supposed, that Lycurgus wished and was able to prohibit money of the precious metals, because it at that time was just beginning to circulate in Greece.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Wachteri *Archæologia Nummaria*, Lips. 1740; and the introductory inquiries in Ekkel. *D. N. V.*



them, caused coined money to be introduced and extensively used in Greece. Before their foundation, the Greeks knew nothing of coined money. When money was first coined in Ægina, the colonies of Asia Minor and of Magna Græcia<sup>1</sup> were already established and flourishing; and we are expressly informed, that money was coined in that island, in order to carry on commerce beyond the sea.<sup>2</sup> It cannot be proved with certainty, that money was coined in the Asiatic colonies sooner than in the mother country. But when we call to mind the well known relation of Herodotus,<sup>3</sup> that the Lydians were the inventors of money coined of gold and silver, (a thing in itself not improbable, as it is known that Lydia abounded in gold,<sup>4</sup>) and that the most flourishing Grecian colonies were situated on the Lydian coasts, we cannot but find it highly probable, that the Greeks received the art of coining, like so many other inventions, from Asia; and here too, the remark is valid, that in their hands every thing received a new form and a new beauty. For no nation has ever yet had coins, of which the stamp equalled in beauty those of the Grecian, and especially of the Sicilian cities.

The right of minting gold was regarded in Greece as the privilege of the state, which superintended it. Hence arose that variety and multitude of city coins, which are easily distinguished by their peculiar stamp. Coins were also struck by several of the tribes, the Thessalians, the Bœotians, and others, as they formed by their alliances one political body.

<sup>1</sup> As e. g. Cumæ.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo viii. p. 577. He refers to Ephorus.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. i. 94.

<sup>4</sup> Nor is there any other nation, which disputes this honor with the Lydians. For the Egyptians e. g. are named without any reason. See Wachter, l. c. cap. iv.

Though the Grecian coins were of both precious and base metals, they were originally struck of precious metal only, and probably at first of nothing but silver. So few of the gold coins have been preserved, that we cannot certainly say, whether they are altogether as ancient; but those of base metal are certainly of a later period. That even before the time of Solon, silver money had in many cities a large proportion of alloy, appears from the passage which we cited from Demosthenes.<sup>1</sup> In Hellas itself, we know of no silver mines except those of Laurium, which were very ancient;<sup>2</sup> but the gold mines of Thrace and the neighboring island Thasos were quite as ancient, for they were wrought by the Phœnicians. Yet the Greeks received most of their gold from Lydia. And still there was not species enough in circulation, especially in the commercial towns; and although the Greeks knew nothing of paper money, several cities made use of the same resource, which had been introduced at Carthage,<sup>3</sup> the use of nominal coins, which possessed a current value, not corresponding to their intrinsic one.<sup>4</sup> Such was the iron money (if my view is a just one) which was adopted in Byzantium, Clazomene,<sup>5</sup> and perhaps in some other cities.<sup>6</sup> It is certain, therefore, that the Greeks

<sup>1</sup> Yet the ancient gold coins which we still possess, have almost no alloy, and the silver ones very little.

<sup>2</sup> So old, that it was impossible to fix their age. Xenoph. de Redit. Op. p. 924.

<sup>3</sup> Heeren's Ideen ii. S. 164.

<sup>4</sup> Pollux ix. 78.

<sup>5</sup> Aristot. Œcon. ii. Op. ii. p. 383. A decisive passage.

<sup>6</sup> Most of the cities, says Xenophon, Op. p. 922, have money, which is not current except in their own territory; hence merchants are obliged to barter their own wares for other wares. Athens makes a solitary exception; its silver drachmas had universal currency. It was therefore quite common for cities to have two kinds of money, coins of nominal value, current only in the city which

had money which was current only in the state, and out of it was of no value ; as we learn also from a passage in Plato.<sup>1</sup> It is much to be regretted, that we do not know by what means its value was kept from falling.

The inquiry into the economy of a nation, intricate as it may be, can be reduced to the following points ; What were the wants of the state ? What means were adopted to supply them ? How were those means brought together ? How administered ? The inquiry respecting the economy of the Grecian states will be conducted with reference to these questions.

The small republics of that people appear at the first view, according to the modern criterion, to have hardly had any wants, which could make a financial system necessary ; and in fact there were some states, as Sparta during a long period, without any finances. The magistrates were rewarded with honor, not with a salary. The soldiers were citizens and not hirelings ; and many of those public institutions, which are now supported by the governments for the most various purposes, and in part at very great expense, were then entirely unknown, because they were not felt to be necessary.

And yet we find that the burdens which the citizens of those republics had to support, continued gradually to increase ; especially at the epochs of the Persian wars, and the Peloponnesian, and in the later period of Grecian liberty, they became very oppressive. States can create

struck them ; and metallic money, of which the value depended on its intrinsic worth, and which circulated in other places. Hence Plato de Legg. v. p. 742, permits this in his state.

<sup>1</sup> Plato l. c. The current silver money consisted in drachmas, and pieces of money were struck of as much as four drachmas. Ekhel i. p. lxxxv. thinks it probable, that the other cities, in their silver coin, followed the Attic standard.

wants, no less than individuals. Even in Greece, experience shows that necessities are multiplied with the increase of power and splendor. But when we call them oppressive, we must not forget, that the heaviness of the contributions paid to the state, is not to be estimated by their absolute amount ; nor yet by the proportion alone, which that amount bears to the income. In our present investigations, it is more important to bear in mind, what our modern economists have entirely overlooked, that in republican states (or at least more especially in them) there exists beside the criterion of money, a moral criterion, by which a judgment on the greater or less degree of oppression is to be formed. Where the citizen exists only with and for the state ; where the preservation of the commonwealth is every thing to the individual ; many a tax is easily paid, which under other circumstances would have been highly oppressive. But in the theories of our modern political artists, there is no chapter, which treats of the important influence of patriotism and public spirit on the financial system ; probably because the statistical tables have no rubric for them as sources of produce.

The wants of states are partly established by their nature ; but still more by opinion. That is a real want, which is believed to be such. The explanation of the management of the affairs of any nation would necessarily be very imperfect, if we should pay no regard to the ideas, which it entertained respecting its necessities. On this point the Greeks had very different notions from ours. Many things seemed essential to them, which do not appear so to us : many things are needed by us, of which they did not feel the necessity.

The first object with the Greek was 'the honor and splendor of his city. In that world of small republics, each wished to make itself remarkable; each to be distinguished for something. Now there were two things, which in the eyes of the Greeks, rendered a city illustrious; its public monuments and its festivals. These objects were therefore politically necessary, in a different sense from that in which they can be called so in modern states. Among these the first place belongs to the temples. No Grecian city was without gods, of whom it honored some as its guardian deities. How could these gods be left without dwelling-places? The art of sculpture was very naturally exerted in connection with that of architecture; for the statues of the gods did not merely adorn the temples, but were indispensably necessary as objects of adoration. The same may be said of the festivals. Life without holidays would have ceased to be life to a Greek. But these holidays were not passed exclusively in prayers, or at banquets. Processions, music, and public shows, were an essential part of them. These were not merely the diversions of the people during the festival, they constituted the festival itself.

All this was intimately connected with religion. The Greeks had almost no public festivals except religious ones. They were celebrated in honor of some god, some hero; above all in honor of the patron deities of the place.<sup>1</sup> By this means, many things which we are accustomed to regard as objects of amusement, received a much more elevated character. They became

<sup>1</sup> Meursii Græcia Feriata, in Gronov. Thes. Ant. Græc. vol. vii. is one of the richest compilations on the subject of the Grecian festivals.

duties enjoined by religion ; which could not be neglected without injury to the honor and reputation, and even to the welfare of the city. The gods would have been incensed ; and the accidental evils, which might have fallen on the city, would infallibly have been regarded as punishments inflicted by the gods. We need not therefore be astonished, when we hear that a city could be very seriously embarrassed for want of sufficient means to celebrate its festivals with due solemnity.<sup>1</sup>

Thus an almost immeasurable field was opened for public expenses of a kind, hardly known to modern states. Even in cases where the governments believe it necessary to expend something on public festivals, little is done except in the capital ; and this expenditure has never, to our knowledge, made an article in a budget. It would have made the very first in Grecian cities, at least in times of peace. And he who can vividly present those states to his mind, will easily perceive how many things must have combined to increase these expenditures. They were prompted not by a mere regard for the honor of the state ; jealousy and envy of the other cities were of influence also. And still more is to be attributed to the emulation and the vanity of those, who were appointed to the charge of the expenditures. One desired to surpass another. This was the most reputable manner of displaying wealth. And although, as far as we know, public shows were not, in the Grecian cities, so indispensably the means of gaining the favor of the people as at Rome, (probably because what in Rome was originally voluntary, had ever been considered in Greece as one of the duties and burdens of a

<sup>1</sup> Consult what Aristotle relates of Antissæus, *Op. ii. p. 390.*

citizen, which did not merit even thanks,) political ends may have often been of influence with individuals.

The Grecian temples had, for the most part, possessions of their own, with which they met the expenses incurred in the service of the god. Their possessions consisted partly in votive presents, which, especially where the divinities of health and prophecy were adored, had been offered by the hopes or the gratitude of the suppliants for aid and counsel. We know from several examples, especially from that of the Delphic temple, that treasures were there accumulated, of more value probably than those of Loretto, or any other shrine in Europe.<sup>1</sup> But as they were sacred to the gods, and did not come into circulation, they were, for the most part, but unproductive treasures, possessing no other value than what they received from the artist. We could desire more accurate information respecting the administration of the treasures of the temples; for it seems hardly credible, that the great stores of gold and silver, which were not wrought, should have been left entirely unemployed. But besides these treasures, the temples drew a large part of their revenue from lands;<sup>2</sup> which were not un-

<sup>1</sup> The consequences with which the profanation of the Delphic treasures in the Sacred war, was fraught for Greece, may be learned from Athen. vi. 231, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Not only single fields, but whole districts were consecrated to the gods. Beside the fields of Cirrha, it was desired to consecrate the whole of Phoeis to Apollo of Delphi. Diod. xvi. p. 245. Brasidas devoted to Pallas the territory of Leeythus, which he had conquered. Thucyd. iv. cap. 116. It is a mistake to believe that the consecrated land must have remained uncultivated. That of Cirrha remained so, because a curse rested on it. Pausan. p. 894. In other cases it was used sometimes for pasture land, especially for the sacred herds; Thucyd. v. 53; sometimes it was tilled; Thucyd. iii. 65; but for the most part let for a rent. Whoever did not pay the rent, *μοσδόσεις τῶν τεμνίων*, was considered destitute of honor. Demosth. in Macart. Op. ii. p. 1069. In another passage, the orator complains of the number of enemies he had made by collecting

frequently consecrated to their service. When a new colonial city was built, it was usual to devote at once a part of its territory to the gods.<sup>1</sup> But although these resources were sufficient for the support of the temple, the priests, the various persons employed in the service of the temple, and perhaps the daily sacrifices, yet the incense and other expenses, the celebration of the festivals with all the costs connected with it, still continued a burden to be borne by the public.

Beside the expenses which were required by religion and the honor of the city, there were others which the administration made necessary. The magistrates, in the proper sense of the word, were without salaries; but the state needed many inferior servants for the taxes, the police, etc.; and these must certainly have been paid.<sup>2</sup> Add to this, that several of the duties of citizens were of such a nature that it subsequently became necessary to pay for the performance of them, though it had not been done at an earlier period. To this class belongs the duty of attending in the courts; and the investigation of the Attic state will prove to us, that the number of those who were to be paid, caused this expense to be one of the heaviest.

But as the states increased in power, the greatest expenditures were occasioned by the military and naval establishments. These expenditures, were, for the most

these rents when he was Demarch. Or. in Eubulid. Op. ii. p. 1318. Two contracts for similar rents have been preserved. Mazochi Tabb. Heracleens, p. 145, etc., and 257, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Plato de Legg. iv. p. 717.

<sup>2</sup> But though the magistrates were not paid, there were certain offices (especially such as were connected with the care of any funds), which could be made very productive to those who held them. An example of this kind is found in Demosth. in Mid. Op. i. p. 570.



part, extraordinary ; since the state in times of peace had no standing army, and no mariners to pay. But even in times of peace, large appropriations were needed for the support of the magazines and the ships ; and unfortunately for Greece, the common condition of the more powerful states came at last to be that of war rather than of peace. If wars under any circumstances are costly, two causes contributed to make them especially so in Greece. The first was the custom which arose of employing hired troops. As long as wars were carried on by the militia of the country, which required no pay, the costs of them were not very considerable, as each one served at his own expense. But when hired troops began to be used, every thing was changed. We shall take another opportunity of showing how this custom, by which the whole political condition of Greece was most deeply and incurably disordered, continued to gain ground from the first moment of its introduction. Hence proceeded the pecuniary embarrassment of so many Grecian cities during the Peloponnesian war. The second leading cause is to be found in the progress of naval forces, and their increasing importance to the ruling states. The building, support, and fitting out of squadrons, which are always so expensive, must have been doubly so to the Greeks, who were obliged to import their timber and many other articles from a distance. The expense became still greater, when the cities began to outbid each other in the pay of their mariners ; which they did, as soon as the Spartans were enabled by the Persian supplies to cope in this matter with their rivals.<sup>1</sup> Need we

<sup>1</sup> This is known to have been done during the Peloponnesian war as well by the Corinthians, Thucyd. i. 31, as by Sparta, which state received of the Persians

be astonished, then, at finding under such circumstances, that the trierarchies, or contributions of the rich towards the fitting out of the galleys, were the most oppressive of all the public burdens?<sup>1</sup>

Different, therefore, as was the list of public expenses from that of modern states, we still find points of agreement. We have now to inquire, What were the sources of the public revenue? What in particular was the system of taxation?

There is but one state in Greece, that of Athens, respecting which, any accurate information on this subject has been preserved. It would be too hasty an inference to say, that what was usual in that city was usual in the others. But though the particular regulations may have been very different, a great general similarity must certainly have prevailed; and it is that, which we are now to consider. Such a resemblance was a natural consequence of the great preponderating power and political influence of Athens. In the states which were its allies, how much must necessarily have been regulated by its example! And the little information which we are able to collect respecting their revenues, appears to prove the general resemblance beyond a doubt. Special differences certainly existed.

It is to Aristotle once more, that we owe a general view of this subject.<sup>2</sup> After classifying the sources of

more than 5000 talents (nearly five million dollars) for that purpose. Isocrat. de Pace, Op. p. 179.

<sup>1</sup> We do not find it mentioned, that the trierarchies, which were common in Athens, were usual in the other maritime cities; but the rich doubtless bore the burden of fitting out the ships. See, respecting Corinth, Thucyd. l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. de Re Familiari, ii. 1. This little work is, probably, not by the Stagirite. It is a collection of examples or excerpts, where less depends on the author than on the age in which it was written. Even its editor, Schneider,

revenue in monarchies, with respect to the general no less than the provincial administration,<sup>1</sup> he continues; “The third kind of administration, is that of free states. For them, the principal source of revenue is from the produce of their own soil; the second from merchandise and the markets; the third from the contributions paid by the citizens in turn.”<sup>2</sup> When we learn, that these last were a sort of property tax for the richer class, and that the second could have been nothing but duties on articles of consumption, we perceive at once, what we are soon to prove, that in the Grecian states, our direct and indirect taxes were known and introduced, though in technical language the distinction was differently made. The subject deserves to be treated with closer attention.

In the political economy of the moderns, the taxes on lands and houses are considered the most important of all direct taxes. How far had the Greeks the one and the other? They certainly were acquainted with both. “In Menda,” says Aristotle, “the common expenses of the administration are paid from the revenue derived from the harbors and duties; the taxes, on the contrary, on

concedes that it bears marks of belonging to the period of the Persian empire, being at least as old as Aristotle or Alexander. And yet Aristotle himself may have made such collections: of which one may have reached us.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἡ βασιλεία*, and *ἡ σατραπεία*. When the Greeks spoke of an empire, they always had in mind the empire of Persia.

<sup>2</sup> *Τῶντιν δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν. Ταῦτις δὲ χρησιμὴ μὲν πρόσοδος, ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἐν τῇ πόλει γινώσκων, εἴτε ἀπὸ ἐμπορίας καὶ δὲ ἀγῶων, εἴτε ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων.* It is known from the orators, that these last are the burdens borne in turn by the rich, *ἐπιτροπῆ*. Demosth. in Leptin. Op. i. p. 163. If the words *δὲ ἀγῶων* are correct, the public games and assemblies are intended, with which fairs were commonly connected, otherwise it would be natural to conjecture *ἀγορῶν* instead of *ἀγῶων*. The sense remains the same.

lands and houses are regularly assessed ; but they are collected from those who are bound to pay them, only in times of a great want of money."<sup>1</sup> This example shows very clearly, that the Greeks knew the practical difference between direct and indirect taxes ; but it still remains doubtful, whether the tax on the soil was a land tax in the modern sense, according to its square contents and quality ; or whether it was a tax on the raw produce. The first is not probable. We hear nothing of a register of landed estates in Greece ; though there existed such an one in the great empire of Persia. Where the taxes are treated of, the expressions appear rather to indicate, that a proportion of the produce was paid. It was commonly tithes, which were taken of fruits and of cattle ; as Aristotle expressly mentions in the passages first cited.<sup>2</sup> In what degree these taxes were usual in the Grecian cities, is nowhere expressly related ; nor do we know whether they were levied on certain estates, or on all lands. That they were very common, is hardly doubtful, since the remark of Aristotle is a general one.

Poll taxes were less frequently levied on the citizens (though we would not assert, that they did not in any degree exist with respect to them), than on the inquilini or resident foreigners. These formed in most of the Grecian cities a numerous class of inhabitants, and were obliged to pay for protection, a sum<sup>3</sup> which was sometimes a poll tax, and sometimes an impost on property.

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. de Re Famil. Op. ii. 393. Menda was a Grecian city on the coast of Macedonia not far from Potidæa.

<sup>2</sup> Compare de Re Famil. ii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Τὸ ἀσφάλιον*. The regulations respecting this, and its amount, may be found in Harpocration, h. v.

We know with certainty, that such sums were paid by the foreigners at Athens.

However much the practical politician may be excited by increasing wants, to exert his inventive powers, the character of the state settles in a certain measure the kinds of taxes. Where a community imposes its own taxes, the direct taxes, and among them those on property, will have the first rank. That each citizen, or rather, that the richer citizens (for the rule does not of course apply to the poorer classes) should share in the public burdens in proportion to their means, is so natural an idea, that it cannot but occur of itself. But when we consider the taxes on property as forming the chief division, we must premise two observations in connexion with that remark.

First: The taxes on property were not so regular, that they were paid from year to year according to the same fixed measure. The necessary sums were rather voted, as circumstances required; which also decided the degree of rigor, with which they were collected. Of this we have proof in very many examples in Demosthenes and others.<sup>1</sup> In times of peace, whole years might pass away, in which no such taxes were required to be paid; while in others they increased so much, that Isocrates could say, it was almost better to be a poor man than a rich one; because the poor were not exposed to them.<sup>2</sup>

Secondly: There were certain kinds of expenses, which were not estimated at a fixed amount, but were

<sup>1</sup> They were called in Athens the *εἰσφοραὶ*; not known, at least by that name in Athens, before the Peloponnesian war. Boeckh ii. 4. No one will doubt, that they were introduced into other cities, though under different names

<sup>2</sup> Isocrat. de Pace. Op. p. 185.

too considerable to be borne by any but the opulent ; we mean those offices which each citizen was obliged to perform in his turn, and at his own expense, (*λειτουργίαι*).<sup>1</sup> To this class belonged partly the charge of the public festivals and shows, banquets and bands of music connected with them ; and partly, at least in Athens, and probably in other maritime towns, the fitting out of the galleys. The first class of these expenses, was by its nature a permanent one ; and the other was almost, though not perfectly so. They were borne by the citizens in rotation ; and those who were free one year, were obliged to defray them the next. But they, especially the first, were the more oppressive, as they were not fixed at any certain amount ; but depended not merely on the wants of the state, but the pride of him who supplied them.

Taxes on property are attended with one great difficulty, that they cannot be apportioned out without a knowledge of the fortunes of each contributor. But they depend also more than any other on correctness of moral sentiment and on public spirit. Where these exist, (and they can nowhere more prevail, than in such civil communities as the Grecian states,) there is no need of returns on the part of those who are to be taxed, nor of any inquisition on the part of the state. Confidence is reposed in the conscience of the contributor ; and examples may be found in history, of states in which even a suspicion of any insincerity was almost unheard of.<sup>2</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> In the broadest sense ; in so far as the word comprehends not only the fitting out of the ships (*τριηραρχίαι*), but also the charge of the chorus (*χορηγίαι*), and the gymnastic games (*γυμναστικαί*).

<sup>2</sup> As in several of the late German imperial towns. The author is acquainted with one, in which the contributions were thrown into a box, unexamined ; and

the Grecian cities, at least in Athens, very severe measures were in the later periods made use of against those, who were suspected of concealing the true state of their fortunes, or whom it was desired to vex in that manner. They could be compelled to exchange their property for the sum at which they had estimated it.<sup>1</sup> But in better times, such measures, though perhaps permitted, seem never to have been usual. A division was made into classes according to the income; such as had been established in Athens, by the regulations of Solon. These classes presupposed an estimate of property;<sup>2</sup> but whether this was made in the Grecian cities as accurately as the census of the Romans, is a question which we must leave undecided.<sup>3</sup>

The indirect taxes, by which we mean the duties paid on the importation and exportation of articles, as also on their consumption, were probably as common in the Grecian cities, as those above mentioned. The instance of the city Menda, which we have already cited, shows that they were preferred, at least in some instances to the direct taxes. Much that related to them, was decided by the situation and chief employment of the cities. The duties were naturally a much more productive source of

yet the amount of the whole was previously known, with almost perfect exactness.

<sup>1</sup> The *ἀντιδόσεις*. See, on this subject, the speech of Isocrates, Op. p. 312, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *τιμίαι*, Demosth. in Aphob. Orat. i. Op. ii. p. 3, etc.

<sup>3</sup> In some of the cities, great accuracy seems to have prevailed in this business. Thus in Chios, all private debts were entered in a public book, so that it might be known, what capital was lent out. Aristot. Op. ii. p. 390. In the Athenian colony Potidæa, in a time of war, when money was wanting, every citizen was obliged to specify his property with exactness, and the contributions (*εὐφοροίαι*) were apportioned out accordingly. He who possessed no property, *τιμίαν οὐδέεν*, paid a poll tax; his person being reckoned as a capital of two minæ (about thirty dollars), he paid the tax due on such a sum. Aristot. l. c.

revenue to the maritime and commercial towns, than to the cities of the interior. But where these taxes were introduced, they were a constant source of income ; while the taxes on property were each time imposed anew. From this it naturally resulted, that they were chiefly destined to meet the usual expenditures.

Our knowledge of the organization of the Grecian customs, is very imperfect. Yet we cannot doubt, that duties were almost universally common. But they were most probably limited to the seaports and harbors ; in connexion with these, they are almost always mentioned ;<sup>1</sup> I know of no instance of customs in the interior. They were, according to Aristotle, levied on imported and exported articles.<sup>2</sup> In Athens, the customs are frequently mentioned by the orators ; in Thessaly they formed the chief source of the revenue ;<sup>3</sup> and they were not of less moment in Macedonia.<sup>4</sup> When the Athenians became the masters of the Ægean sea, they appropriated to themselves, in all subject islands, the collecting of the customs, instead of the tribute which had before been usual.<sup>5</sup> The same was done with the very productive customs of Byzantium, which all the commerce to the Black sea was obliged to discharge,<sup>6</sup> just as the commerce to the East sea has hitherto been obliged to pay a tribute in the Sound. This comparison is the more just, as the duties of Byzantium, no less than those in the sound, have been the occasion even of a war.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hence the phrase *λιμένας κατοισθαί*, to collect the customs in the harbors, Demosthen. i. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. l. c. *τὰ εἰσαγώγιμα καὶ τὰ ἐξαγώγιμα.*

<sup>3</sup> Demosth. l. c.

<sup>4</sup> They were commonly rented out in that country for twenty talents ; which sum Callistratus knew how to double. Aristot. Op. ii. p. 393.

<sup>5</sup> Thucyd. iv. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Demosth. Op. i. p. 475.

<sup>7</sup> Namely between Byzantium and Rhodes.



These examples, of which the number could easily be increased, are quite sufficient to prove, that duties were very generally exacted in the seaports. The principle, according to which the customs were regulated, had nothing in view but the increase of the public revenue ; and no design was connected with them, of encouraging and directing domestic industry. At least we have never been able to find any hint to that effect. But the tariff seems to have been very different in the several cities, and for the different articles of merchandise. At Byzantium, the duty was ten per cent. on the value of the wares.<sup>1</sup> The Athenians, on the contrary, when they imposed duties in the harbors of their allies during the Peloponnesian war, exacted only five per cent.<sup>2</sup> In Athens itself, there were, at least in the time of Demosthenes, several articles which paid a duty of but two per cent.<sup>3</sup> To this class belonged all corn introduced into Athens ;<sup>4</sup> and several other objects, such as fine woollen garments and vessels of silver.<sup>5</sup>

We distinguish in our system of finances between duties on importation and exportation, and taxes on domestic consumption.<sup>6</sup> It may be asked, if this was also the case in Greece ? I do not doubt that it was ; but in the Grecian cities, as in Rome and perhaps in the whole of the ancient world, these taxes were imposed in but one very simple form. They were connected with

<sup>1</sup> Demosth. Op. i. p. 475.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. vii. 28.

<sup>3</sup> This is the *πεντηχοστολόγος ἀπογραφή*, the tariff of the fiftieth penny. Demosth. in Mid. Op. i. p. 558.

<sup>4</sup> Demosth. in Near. Op. ii. p. 1353.

<sup>5</sup> Demosth. in Mid. Op. i. p. 568, enumerates several.

<sup>6</sup> Such as the excise, licenses, etc.

the markets. Whatever was there offered for sale, paid a duty ; and hence this duty is mentioned only with reference to the markets.<sup>1</sup> And I find no proof, that the system of taxing consumption, was carried so far in any ancient state, as it has been in several modern countries.<sup>2</sup>

Beside the taxes already enumerated, there were other particular ones on various articles of luxury. Thus in Lycia a tax was paid for wearing false hair ;<sup>3</sup> in Ephesus, ornaments of gold were prohibited and the women ordered to give them up to the state. Examples are preserved by Aristotle, where in cases of necessity, single cities adopted various extraordinary measures, such as the sale of the public estates,<sup>4</sup> the sale of the privilege of citizenship, taxes on several professions and employments,<sup>5</sup> as of soothsayers and quacks, and monopolies, of which the state possessed itself for a season.

In all the Grecian cities, the indirect taxes, especially the duties, were most probably farmed. The custom of farming the revenue prevailed in a much greater degree in several of the monarchical states of antiquity ; in the Grecian republics, it seems to have been restricted to the

<sup>1</sup> In Aristot. ii. p. 388. *ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ ἀγοραίων τελῶν πρόσδοσις.* Hence the expression ; *τὰς ἀγορὰς καταλοῦσθαι* to collect the revenue from the markets. Demosth. Olynth. i. Op. i. p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> In Babylon, there existed an antiquated law which was renewed by the governor appointed by Alexander, and which required that a tithe should be paid of every thing brought into the city. Aristot. Op. ii. p. 335.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. Geon. ii. Op. ii. p. 385.

<sup>4</sup> By the Byzantians. Aristot. l. c. p. 389. That which follows is also related by him in the same place.

<sup>5</sup> A general income tax of ten per cent. on all employments, was laid by king Tachus in Egypt, at the instance of Chabrias. Aristot. l. c. p. 394. Though executed in Egypt, the idea was that of a Greek ; and Pitt must resign his claim to the invention of the Income tax.

indirect taxes. It is generally known, that in Athens the duties were farmed; but the same was the case in Byzantium, in Macedonia, and in other places.<sup>1</sup> Demosthenes distinguishes three classes of persons who were interested in this transaction; those who rented this branch of the revenue; their bondsmen; and the inspectors and receivers.<sup>2</sup> It would be superfluous to speak of the great evils of this arrangement; but has it not been preserved by much larger states in modern Europe?

One important question still remains: In the Grecian cities, who had the right of fixing the taxes? The political science of the moderns has regarded it as one of the most important points, as the peculiar characteristic of a free constitution, that the government should not be permitted to impose taxes without the consent of the people, given directly, or by consent of its deputies. In most of the ancient republics, the same custom probably prevailed; yet it is remarkable that no particular value was ever set upon this privilege; and much less was it ever considered a criterion of political liberty. The whole system of taxation, we have already remarked, was not viewed from the same elevated point which is now taken; nor can this principle be fully developed, except where the representative system is introduced. But properly speaking, the whole subject was considered by the Greeks from a very different side. Their magistrates were bound to acknowledge the obligation of laying their accounts before the people. This was the

<sup>1</sup> See the passages cited above, which prove this.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. Op. i. p. 745. *τάλος τι ποιούμενος, ἢ ἐγγυρησόμενος, ἢ ἐκλέγων.* Those who rented the taxes of the state, were of course obliged to procure safe bondsmen.

characteristic of freedom.<sup>1</sup> Where this right is preserved by the people, it is of much less importance by whom the taxes are imposed.

But this question hardly admits of a general answer in the Grecian cities. It cannot be doubted that the difference of constitutions produced differences in this matter ; but if from the want of documents this is only a conjecture, it is on the other hand certain, that the difference of the taxes must have produced such a variety.

The regular and abiding taxes were fixed by laws ; which in part were expressly called ancient laws.<sup>2</sup> The sum which was allotted in Athens for the annual expense of the public sacrifices, was fixed by the laws of Solon at six talents.<sup>3</sup> For this purpose, no other appropriations were needed. The tariffs of the duties and taxes on consumption were in like manner permanent laws, which, as their very names indicate,<sup>4</sup> were doubtless granted by the people ; who of course had the right of making alterations in them. Those public charges, which were borne in turn, the trierarchies and the providing of the Chorus, were also established by ancient laws ;<sup>5</sup> although these offices, especially the first, were, from their very nature, much influenced by the circumstances of the times ; and hence they underwent greater and more frequent changes than any other imposts. That these regulations and their changes could not be made without the consent of the people, will not be doubted by any one, who knows that every thing which the Greeks called a law, νόμος, could proceed from no other fountain.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. Op. i. p. 462.

<sup>3</sup> See Lysias in Nicomach. Or. Gr. v. p. 856.

<sup>4</sup> *Νέων τελευτησάντων*. Demosth. i. p. 732.

<sup>5</sup> Demosth. p. i. 462.

But what were the regulations respecting those extraordinary imposts, which were hardly less than permanent, those taxes on property, which we comprehend under the name of tribute (*εἰσφοραὶ*)? That these should have been fixed exclusively by the people, seems so natural in states where the highest authority is possessed by a popular assembly, that it may be thought superfluous to suggest this question. Yet we know that it was not so in Rome; where the taxes were fixed, not by the people, but solely by the senate. But in Athens, as we may learn from any one of the political orations of Demosthenes, the taxes needed always to be confirmed by the people. It would be too hasty to infer from Athens, that the same was true of all the other Grecian states. But wherever the financial regulations of the other states are mentioned (unless they were in subjection to a tyrant<sup>1</sup>), it is always done in expressions which authorize the conclusion, that the consent of the people or the assembly of the citizens was necessary.<sup>2</sup>

So much the greater variety seems to have prevailed in the administration of the public revenue, not only in the several states, but also at different periods in the same state. Those places and offices which were connected with that administration, were naturally the

<sup>1</sup> Where tyrants had possessed themselves of the government, they imposed taxes at their own pleasure, as they were not *ἐπαύθητοι*; they also adopted various artifices to increase their revenue, such as debasing the coin, &c. of which Aristotle, *Œcon.* L. ii. has preserved various examples. But where they desired to preserve an appearance of decency, as Dionysius I. in Syracuse, who in other respects took so many liberties, this matter was laid by them before the *ἔκκλησια*. Aristot. l. c.

<sup>2</sup> In the examples which Aristot. l. c. cites of Clazomene, Potidæa, and other places, his phrase is *ἐψηφίσαιτο*, or sometimes *ῥήσασθαι*, which, it is well known, can be understood only of the decrees of the people.

objects of the greatest competition ; and this alone would be sufficient to explain the changes which were made. But must not the difference of the constitutions have exercised its influence ? In states, of which certain families, distinguished for their wealth and descent, had made themselves the leaders, what could be expected, but that they should obtain the management of the public money ? In the two principal cities of Greece, the most remarkable difference is perceptible. At Athens, the council of five hundred had the care of the public money ; in Sparta, this had been secured by the Ephori. A great difference may be supposed to have prevailed in the other Grecian cities ; certainly with respect to the persons who held the offices of collectors and accountants. But we have almost no historical information respecting any place but Athens.

Of all forms of government, those of free cities are perhaps the least adapted to the developing of an artificial system of finances. For in them the wants, and the means of satisfying those wants, are commonly very simple. Changes are difficult ; for they presuppose the consent of the commonalty. They who propose them, can hardly expect thanks ; but rather hatred, and even persecution. Hence ancient usage is preserved as much as possible ; and when extraordinary wants occur, recourse is had to extraordinary measures, concerted for the moment, rather than to any change in the existing institutions. It is different in extensive monarchies, where every thing moves more firmly and more regularly : and though their practice is not so much founded on scientific views as on certain maxims ; still it is in them, that an artificial system of finances can be formed.

## CHAPTER XI.

## THE JUDICIAL INSTITUTIONS.

UNLIKE the regulations of our modern states, the judiciary department did not form in Greece a distinct, independent branch of the constitution. On the contrary, it was so intimately connected with the rest, that it can with difficulty be made a separate object of investigation. Hardly any subject in Grecian antiquities is so intricate, or so difficult of explanation; and yet without a knowledge of it, no correct view of the ancient states can possibly be formed. Our present object is, to develop the general character of the judicial institutions, without entering into particulars respecting the organization of the Attic courts. All that we have to say upon this subject, will find a place in our inquiries concerning that state.

The want of accounts is the chief but not the only source of the difficulty, which attends this investigation with respect to every state but Athens. From the want of uniformity, as well as the foreign character of many of the regulations, it would be arduous to take a general survey of the subject, even if the historical documents were abundant. To gain a correct view of it, some attention must be paid to its history.

The judicial institutions of the Greeks, were the creation of time and circumstances. The form, therefore, which they eventually assumed, could not well corres-

pond to the requisitions of a theory. We are forced to content ourselves on many points with saying that it was so; without being able to give any satisfactory reasons why it was so.

The judicial institutions of a nation proceed from very simple beginnings. Where they are left to be developed by circumstances and the necessities of the times, they cannot but become more and more intricate; since with the progress of culture, new relations arise, both at home and with foreign countries. In the heroic age, kings sat on the tribunals of justice, though even then arbitrators were not unusual. There existed at that time no written laws; questions were decided by prescription, and good common sense, directed by a love of justice.

When nations begin to emerge from the rude condition of savages, the first necessity which is felt, is that of personal security, and next the security of property. National legislation has always commenced with the criminal code and the police laws; the rights of citizens were defined more slowly, and at a later period; because it was not sooner necessary. The oldest courts of justice were established very early, probably in the times of the kings. Their immediate object was to pass judgment on the crime of murder, and other heinous offences. This was the case with the Areopagus, the most ancient court with which the Greeks were acquainted; and others were of almost as great an age.

The royal governments passed away; and the popular assemblies took their place. The existing courts of justice were then by no means abolished; although



in the progress of time, and amidst the revolutions in the forms of government, they could not but undergo various modifications.

In the states of modern Europe, the form of the judicial institutions was in a great measure the result of the form of the feudal. In the latter there were different degrees of fealty and submission; and hence arose the principle, that no man can be tried by any but his peers. Thus a difference in the courts was necessarily produced. The immediate vassal of the crown recognised only those for his judges, who stood in the same rank with himself, and owed fealty to the same master. The freeman and the villain could not stand before the same tribunal.

The same principle, that a man must be tried by his peers, prevailed among the Greeks. But its application must have produced very different results. The community consisted of citizens, who either were or claimed to be equal. It discussed all affairs relating to itself, and hence actions at law among the rest. Thus the common assembly performed the office of judges; and the foundation of the popular courts of justice was laid. A political notion now prevailed, a notion never adopted in our modern constitutions; that it was essential for a citizen to take a part in the administration of justice. Even in those of our modern states which in so many things resemble the Grecian, the German imperial cities, this idea could never have been suggested and applied. They had adopted the laws of an ancient nation, written in an ancient language; and to understand them, much learning was required, of which not every one could be possessed. It was not so in Greece. The laws were in the language of the country; and although their number

gradually increased, they were still accessible to all. Neither was it necessary to retain them in memory, and have them always present to the mind. The orator during his speech, had a reader at his side with a copy of them. Whenever he referred to any law, it was read aloud; as is proved by a multitude of examples in Demosthenes and others. Every thing was, however, transacted orally. The judges were not obliged to peruse written documents; they listened, and gave in their votes.

All this appears very simple, and easy to be understood. And yet the judicial institutions of Greece, if we should form our opinion from one state, were so confused, that it is difficult for the most learned antiquarians to find their way out of the labyrinth. The greatest errors are made by those, who, forgetting that the institutions in question were not formed systematically, but practically with the progress of time, endeavor to find the means of explanation in speculative ideas.

The first and most important difficulty is presented when we attempt to fix the characteristic difference between the public and private courts. This difference was not only general in the existing states, but was adopted by Plato himself in his sketch of a perfect colony.<sup>1</sup> These two classes were so distinctly separated, that different expressions were appropriated, not only for the general, but even the particular relations of the one and the other.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plato de Legg. L. vi. vol. iv. p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> A public accusation was called *γῤαφῆ* and *κατηγορία*, to accuse any one *διώζειν*, to be accused *γείγχειν τῆν γῤαφῆν*. A private suit was called *δίκη*, to bring an action *εἰσαγγεῖν* and *εἰσαγγεῖν τινὶ δίκην*, to be defendant *ἀφείλεται τινὶ δίκην*. Such were the expressions at least in Athens.

Certain general ideas, according to which Plato makes the distinction, lay at the bottom of this division. "One class of judicial processes," says he,<sup>1</sup> "is formed of the suits which one private man, complaining of injustice, brings against another. The second class, on the contrary, is, when the state believes itself injured by one of the citizens, or when a citizen comes forward to its assistance." According to this explanation, nothing would seem simpler, than the difference between public and private processes. But if we compare the objects comprehended under each of the two classes, we shall find many things enumerated as affairs of the state, which to us do not seem to belong to this class.<sup>2</sup> Of this, two causes may be mentioned.

The first is the view which the Greeks entertained of the relation of the individual citizen to the state. The person of the citizen was highly valued; and could not but be highly valued, because the whole personal condition was affected by the possession of citizenship. An injury done to a private citizen, was therefore in some measure an injury inflicted on the state; and so far, almost every injustice suffered by the individual, was a public concern. Yet a difference existed even here, according to the degree of the injury; nor was it indifferent, whether the rights of person, or only those of property had been violated.

A second circumstance also had its influence; pre-

<sup>1</sup> Plato l. c.

<sup>2</sup> In Athens, e. g. there belonged to this class, besides several other offences, murder, intentional wounds, adultery, &c. The public and private processes are enumerated in Sigonius de Reput. Athen. L. iii., and may be found also in Potter's Archæol. Græc. The subject is investigated by Otto: De Atheniensium Actionibus forensibus; Specimen I. ch. ii. Leipsiæ, 1c20.

scription for the most part determined what was a crime against the public, and what was but a private concern. But what had once been established by prescription, was ever after valid as a law. Yet who can discover all the causes, perhaps frequently accidental, by which various suits came to be considered in one age or another, as affairs of the public?

It would be ineffectual to attempt to draw very accurately the line of division according to the subjects. The most numerous and the most important, but not all criminal cases were regarded as public concerns. This class embraced not merely offences against the state; though this idea lay at the foundation. We must rather be content with saying, that prescription had caused certain offences to be regarded as public, and others as private matters. The regulations respecting them, were, however, in the Attic law very exact; and it was firmly established, which processes belonged to the state, and which to individuals.

The character of the two classes was essentially distinguished by this; that in the public affairs, a complaint might be made by any citizen; and in the private, it could be made only by the injured person, or his nearest relation;<sup>1</sup> for in the one case, the state or the whole community was regarded as the injured party; in the other, only the individual.

But whoever brought the suit, it was necessary in private and public concerns for the complainant to enter his complaint before a magistrate, and definitely state the offence, which he charged against the accused. The

<sup>1</sup> See the proofs in Sigonius, l. c.

magistrate, before whom the suit was thus commenced, was now obliged to prepare the action, so that it could be submitted to the judges. These judges were either the whole community, or some particular courts, which may perhaps be best denominated, committees of the people. For the tribunals consisted for the most part of very numerous assemblies, the members of which were selected from the citizens by lot, and were required to be thirty years old, of a good reputation, and not indebted to the state. They were sworn to do their duty; they listened to the orators, both the accusers and the defendants, to whom a limited time was appointed; the witnesses were examined, and the affair so far brought to a close, that the court could pronounce its sentence of guilty or not guilty.<sup>1</sup> In the first case, the nature of the punishment remained to be settled. Where this was fixed by law, sentence was immediately passed; did the nature of the offence render that impossible, the defendant was permitted to estimate the punishment, of which he believed himself deserving; and the court then decided.

Those courts were therefore similar both in their organization and design to our juries; with this difference, that the latter are with us but twelve in number, while the former were not unfrequently composed of several hundreds. And this is not astonishing, for they occupied the place of the whole community, or might be regarded as committees of the same; for when suits began to grow frequent, the community could not always be assembled. But where the members that constituted

<sup>1</sup> This was done in Athens partly by votes written on small tablets, and partly by white and black beans.

the tribunal were so numerous, as in the *Heliaëa* at Athens, it is hardly credible, that every action was tried before the whole assembly. It is much more probable, especially when suits were multiplied, that the same court of judicature had several divisions, in which the trial of several causes could proceed simultaneously.<sup>1</sup>

As a difference was made between private and public actions, we might expect to find different tribunals for the one and the other. Yet this was not the case; suits of both kinds could be entered in the same courts. The difference must therefore have lain in the methods of trial and the legal remedies,<sup>2</sup> which the two parties could employ. We are astonished to find, that the rules respecting what suits should come before each particular court were so uncertain, that it would be vain for us to attempt to settle any general principles on the subject. But at this moment we have in England an example, which shows how vain it is to expect exact regulations, where courts of justice have been formed and enlarged by circumstances. Criminal cases, it is true, belong exclusively to the court of the King's Bench; but it shares civil actions with the court of Common Pleas, and the court of Exchequer, in such a manner, that, with few exceptions, certain classes of suits cannot be said to belong exclusively to either of these tribunals.

Our remarks thus far on the organization of the courts apply immediately to Athens; but they will, without

<sup>1</sup> We would not say, that all trials were necessarily brought before those courts. In Athens the police officers had a jurisdiction of their own; and affairs belonging to their department appear to have been immediately decided by them.

<sup>2</sup> As e. g. the *παραγωγῆ*, the *ἐπιτροπία*, and others, in the public trials. Sigon. l. c. iii. c. 4.

doubt, admit of a much wider application to the other Grecian cities. Yet on one point there existed a remarkable difference. Though the popular tribunals were generally introduced, they did not prevail in every state. For if I understand Aristotle rightly, there were no popular tribunals in Sparta, but all processes were there, as in Carthage, decided by magistrates.<sup>1</sup> If Sparta had had such courts, would they not have been mentioned? But when Aristotle says in general, that it is the leading characteristic of a democracy, that the citizens should be the judges of one another,<sup>2</sup> may we not infer, and is it not evident from the nature of things, that popular tribunals disappeared, wherever the sway of the few was established?

The example of Athens shows in a remarkable manner, how the institution of these popular tribunals could affect the whole character of a state. Such could be the case in Athens, where the greatest extent was given to the public trials, by permitting any who desired, to appear as accusers. The whole organization of the Grecian city governments leads us to believe, that most of the other cities had popular tribunals, which, without having exactly the same form, must have been similar to those of Athens. Such tribunals must have existed in Argos, before the introduction of ostracism, and in Syracuse before the similar method of banishment by petalism came into vogue. But whether the public processes

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. ii. 11. καὶ τὰς δίκας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχέων δικάζεσθαι πάσας, καὶ αὐτὴν ἄλλας ὑπὸ ἄλλων, ὥσπερ ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ. Is δίκας in this passage to be understood of all suits at law, or, according to the more strict use of the word, only of private suits?

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. Polit. vi. 2.

embraced elsewhere as many subjects as at Athens, and as many things, which to us seem to regard the private citizen alone, is a question which we cannot decide for want of information.

This point has been entirely overlooked by those, who have written on the judicial institutions of Greece; for they had Athens only in view, and treated the subject more as one of jurisprudence than of politics. And yet it is of all the most important. The more limited was the number of public suits, the smaller was the possibility of instituting them, unless some personal injury had previously been sustained. In the list of public offences at Athens, there were many, which, by their very nature, were indefinite. Hence it was easy to bring a public action against almost any one. We need but think of an age of corruption, to understand how Athens, after the Peloponnesian war, could teem with the brood of sycophants, against whom the orators are so loud in their complaints; and whom all the measures, first adopted in consequence of the magnitude of the evil, all the danger and punishments to which false accusers were exposed, were never sufficient to restrain.

Were other cities, at least the democratic ones, in as bad a condition as Athens? Here we are deserted by history; which has preserved for us almost nothing respecting the extent of the public processes and the popular tribunals. But if in Athens several adventitious causes, lying partly in the national character, and partly in the political power of Athens (for the importance of state trials increases with the importance of the state), contributed to multiply this class of processes;



it by no means follows, that the number was much smaller in most of the other Grecian cities. Popular tribunals are the sources of political revolutions; and what states abounded in them more than the Grecian? The man of influence, always an object of envy, was the most exposed to accusations, where it was so easy to find a ground of accusation; but the man of influence had the greatest resources without the precincts of the court. He with his party, if he is conscious of possessing sufficient strength, has recourse to arms, and instead of suffering himself to be banished from the city, prefers to terminate the action by driving away his enemies. Were we more intimately acquainted with the history of the numberless political revolutions in Greece, how often would this same succession of events recur? But though we are not always able to establish them by historical evidence, they cannot on the whole be doubted; and they distinctly exhibit the close connection which existed between the states and their judicial institutions.

## CHAPTER XII.

## THE ARMY AND NAVY.

THOUGH wars were so frequent in Greece, the art of war did not make any considerable advances. The constitutions and the whole political condition opposed too many obstacles; and war never became a science, in the full sense of the word, till standing armies were introduced. This has already been satisfactorily proved by history. There were some individual commanders of great merit, who did all that talents could do; but all that they effected was personal. Besides, the extent of states sets limits to improvement. These bounds cannot be accurately marked, where genius and circumstances exercise so much influence; but the absolute strength must also necessarily be considered. The advancement and perfecting of the art of war require experiments on so large a scale, that small states cannot perform them.

After the republican constitutions of the Greeks were established, their armies consisted chiefly of militia. Every citizen was obliged to serve in it, unless the state itself made particular exceptions. In Athens, the obligation continued from the eighteenth to the fifty-eighth year; we do not know whether it was elsewhere the same; but a great difference could hardly have existed. Each citizen was therefore a soldier; even the *inquilini*,

the resident strangers, were not always spared;<sup>1</sup> and there were times of distress, when the very slaves were armed, usually under the promise of their freedom, if they should do their duty.<sup>2</sup>

The militia of a country may, under certain circumstances, very nearly resemble a standing army. Yet the principles on which the two are founded, are very different. The citizen who serves as a soldier, has for his object the defence of his family and his property; and hence the maxim in states, where the army is composed of citizens, that he who has the most to lose, will make the best soldier. In Rome the poorer class (*capite censi*), till the times of Marius, was excluded from military service; and it seems to have been hardly otherwise in Athens.<sup>3</sup> Yet this poorer class was or grew to be the most numerous; accustomed to privations, those who composed it were perhaps for that reason the best fitted for the duties of war. When, on the contrary, standing armies are formed, property ceases to be regarded; and the greatest number of enlistments is made from the needy part of the community. What a contrast between this and the Grecian institutions!

Considering therefore the moderate extent of the Grecian states, it was the less to be expected that any of them could assemble a large army, if the slaves were not enrolled. Even where every one was put in motion, the number remained limited; not more than ten thousand

<sup>1</sup> They were at least obliged sometimes to do naval service. Demosth. Phil. i. Op. i. p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. iv. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Harpocration in *Θητικῆς*. Yet it is evident from the passage, that the case was different in the time of Demosthenes.

Athenians fought on the plain of Marathon. Large armies could be collected only by the union of many states; the most numerous ever collected in Greece, during its independence, was in the battle of Plataeæ.<sup>1</sup> But these considerable alliances were commonly of a temporary nature; and for that reason the art of war could not be much advanced by them. From the battle of Plataeæ till the age of Epaminondas, that is, during the most flourishing period of Greece, a Grecian army of thirty thousand men was probably never assembled in one place.

The Persian wars seem to have been suited to promote the improvement of military science. But after the battle of Plataeæ, it was the navy and not the land forces which became of decisive influence. After that battle, no considerable one was fought by land; no large Grecian army was again brought together. By maintaining the ascendancy in the Ægean sea, Greece was protected.

The petty wars, which, after the victories over the Persians, were carried on between the several states, could not contribute much to the advancement of the art. They were nothing but single expeditions, decided by single insignificant engagements.

No such advancement could therefore be expected till the time of the Peloponnesian war, which involved all Greece. But this war soon came to be carried on more by sea than by land; and the military operations consisted principally in sieges. No single great battle

<sup>1</sup> About 111,000 men. But only 32,000 were heavily armed; and of the light armed troops, 37,000 were Spartan Helots. Herod. ix. 29, 30.

was fought on land during its whole course ; besides naval science, therefore, the art of besieging may have made some progress, especially in the expedition against Syracuse. But as this expedition terminated in the total destruction of the army, it could have no abiding consequences.

Till the age of Epaminondas, Sparta and Athens are the only states which attract our attention. In Sparta, where the militia resembled a standing army, it would seem that the art of war might have made advances. But two causes prevented. The one was the obstinate attachment to ancient usage, which rendered changes and improvements difficult. The other was the remarkable scarcity of great commanders, a scarcity to have been least expected in a warlike state ; but which may have proceeded from the former cause. If we possessed a history of Pausanias, written by himself, it would perhaps show us how his talents, limited in their exercise by the regulations of his native city, proved ruinous to himself, as in the case of the German Wallenstein, by making him a traitor. Leonidas has our admiration for his greatness as a man, not as a general ; and the fiery Brasidas, well fitted to be the hero of a revolutionary war, like the Peloponnesian, fell in the very beginning of his career,<sup>1</sup> and no worthy successors appeared till Lysander and Agesilaus. And of the first of these two, it is known that he trusted rather in the Persian subsidies than in himself.

More could then have been expected from Athens. But

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. v. 10. When we read his proclamation, addressed to the Acathians, Thucyd. iv. 85, we believe ourselves brought down to the years 1793 and 1794.

here, as our preceding remarks have made apparent, the army was subordinate to the navy. From the commencement of the splendid period of that republic, its political greatness rested on the latter. This preserved to it the ascendancy; its allies were maritime cities, and assisted with ships rather than with troops; and the destiny of Athens was decided on the sea, gloriously at Salamis, and tragically on the Hellespont.<sup>1</sup> In Athens, therefore, no strong motive could exist, to perfect the art of war by land.

Such were the obstacles in general; others lay in the manner in which the military affairs of the Grecians were organized. We mention first the situation of the commanders; at least in Athens and in several other cities;<sup>2</sup> in which not one, but several generals shared the chief command with one another, and even that usually for a short period of time.

Where a militia exists, the political divisions are usually military in their origin. Such was the case with the tribes in Rome and in Athens.<sup>3</sup> The ten wards of this last city had each its own leader; and these together were the generals.<sup>4</sup> So it was in the Persian, so in the Peloponnesian war.<sup>5</sup> That a similar regulation existed in Bœotia, is evident from the number of their commanders; and we learn the same respecting Syracuse, as well from the history of its war with Athens,<sup>6</sup> as from the ele-

<sup>1</sup> In the year 480 B. C. near Ægospotamos.

<sup>2</sup> As e. g. in Thebes and in Syracuse.

<sup>3</sup> These were called *tribus* in Rome, *φύλαι* in Athens.

<sup>4</sup> The *στρατηγοί*, of whom ten were annually appointed.

<sup>5</sup> Compare the instructive narration in Herod. vi. 109, respecting the consultation previous to the battle of Marathon.

<sup>6</sup> Thucyd. vi. 63.

vation of Dionysius. In Athens, a kind of destiny secured in the decisive moment, the preponderance to a superior mind, a Miltiades; but where the command was shared by so many, it is obvious that existing institutions could receive but little improvement.

Another still greater obstacle lay in the circumstance, that the troops were not paid. Before the Peloponnesian war, or at least before the administration of Pericles, no pay was given in Athens or in any Grecian city, except, perhaps, Corinth. Military service was the duty of a citizen; and he who served, was obliged to provide for himself. But he who receives nothing from the state, will the less submit to its commands. From that period, the custom of paying was so far introduced, that those who had actually taken the field, received a very small compensation.<sup>1</sup> With such a constitution, moral causes must have outweighed commands. Courage and patriotism can animate an army of citizens, but can hardly make a machine of them; and what fruits would have been gathered by him, who should have succeeded in the attempt?

Beside these difficulties, there existed in many states another arising from the weakness of their cavalry, or a total want of it. Homer knows nothing of cavalry. It does not seem to have been introduced into the Grecian states till after the establishment of republican forms of government; since, according to the remark of Aristotle, the opulent citizens found in it at once a support of their power and a gratification of their vanity.<sup>2</sup> But whether a city could have cavalry, depended on the nature of its

<sup>1</sup> The Athenians paid from two to four oboli daily.

<sup>2</sup> On Sparta, consult Xenoph. Op. p. 596.

territory, and the quantity of pasture which it possessed. Where the territory was not favorable, the cavalry was not strong. Athens, where so much attention was paid to this subject, never had more than a thousand men; Sparta appears, before Agesilaus, to have had few, or, perhaps originally none at all; the Peloponnesus was little adapted to it; and Thessaly, the only state of the mother country which possessed any considerable body of it, was not remarkably skilful in making use of it.<sup>1</sup> Where it existed, none but wealthy citizens could serve in it, for the service was expensive. This was the case in Athens;<sup>2</sup> and yet here the state provided for the support of the horses even in time of peace; and the weak but splendid cavalry formed no inconsiderable article in the sum of the yearly expenditures.<sup>3</sup>

Previous to the Macedonian times, the distinction between heavy and light horse seems to have been unknown in Greece; though it would be too much to assert that a difference in the equipments nowhere prevailed. The Athenian horsemen were equipped much like a modern cuirassier, with breastplate, helmet, and greaves; and even the horses were partly covered.<sup>4</sup> From the exercises which Xenophon prescribes, to leap over ditches and walls, we must not conceive the armor as too cumbersome.<sup>5</sup> I find no accounts of that of the Thessalian

<sup>1</sup> See the account of their war with the Phocians. Pausan. p. 798. The forces of Thessaly seem to have consisted chiefly in cavalry; at least nothing else is mentioned. The surest proof of their little progress in the art of war.

<sup>2</sup> The knights, ἑταῖροι, formed the second class according to property.

<sup>3</sup> According to Xenoph. de Magist. Equit. Op. p. 956, it cost forty talents annually.

<sup>4</sup> Xenoph. de Re Equestri, Op. p. 951, has described them minutely.

<sup>5</sup> Xenoph. Op. p. 944.



cavalry ; but from what Pausanias says, it could not have been very light.<sup>1</sup>

With respect to the infantry, the difference between heavy and light-armed troops<sup>2</sup> prevailed throughout all Greece. The former were armed for the attack and close conflict. They wore a coat of mail and helmet ; the rest of the body was protected by the shield. For the attack they had both spear and sword. The light troops, unincumbered with that heavy armor, carried the javelin, with bow and arrows.<sup>3</sup>

The weapons continued, therefore, the same as those which we find used in the Homeric age. But many inquiries and many attempts were made to improve them in various respects. Whether a straight or curved sword was the best ;<sup>4</sup> whether a longer or a shorter shield deserved the preference ;<sup>5</sup> above all, how the weight of the coat of mail could be diminished, and whether it should be made of metal or of some lighter substance,<sup>6</sup> were questions of no little importance. Yet previous to the Macedonian age, we hear of no changes which could give a new character to the whole ; and therefore we must leave to the antiquarian all farther particular researches.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. p. 797. The horsemen who had been thrown down, being unable to rise, were slain by the Phocians.

<sup>2</sup> *Οπλίται* and *ψιλοί*. See Potter's *Archæolog.*

<sup>3</sup> Bow and arrows do not seem to have been favorite weapons ; they are seldom mentioned, and only in connection with certain tribes, as the Cretans. Javelins were preferred. These were carried by the cavalry, as appears from Xenoph. ll. cc.

<sup>4</sup> Xenoph. Op. p. 953.

<sup>5</sup> Hence the different names *ἀνεκτός* and *σάκος*, the large shield, *ἀσπίς* and *πέλιτη*, the small one, &c.

<sup>6</sup> The invention of the lighter coat of mail distinguishes Iphierates. Cornel. Nep. in Iphic. c. 1.

On the other hand, we ask leave, so far as one who has not been initiated into the art of war may venture his opinions, to offer some remarks respecting the progress made by the Greeks in the art which relates to the positions and evolutions of armies, all which we comprehend under the word tactics. We the more desire to do this, because it will afford us a favorable opportunity of expressing an opinion on some of their most distinguished generals. It can with truth be said, that the art of tactics is in some respects independent of the progress of the other branches of military science; and in others is necessarily dependent on them. It is independent, so far as we speak of taking advantage of situation and the ground. The leader of a savage horde may profit by his position, no less than the commander of the best disciplined army. Each will do it in his own way. It is an affair of genius, and rules cannot be given on the subject. He can do it, to whom nature has given the necessary keenness and quickness of view. This art is therefore always the property of individuals; it cannot be propagated or preserved by instructions. Entirely the reverse is true of the drawing up of an army and the evolutions dependent thereupon. They rest upon rules and knowledge, which are lasting; though we readily concede that this is but as it were the inanimate body of the art, into which genius must breathe life. Modern history has shown by a great example, how those forms may continue in the most courageous and best-disciplined army, and yet produce no effect when the spirit of them has passed away. But here a subject is proposed to the historian, of which he can treat. Can this be done better than by comparing together several of the principal

engagements, of which detailed accounts have been preserved? Inferences which may thus be drawn respecting the progress of tactics, can hardly be exposed to any considerable errors.

In the Persian wars, the victory of Marathon was the first splendid military action of the Greeks, or rather of the Athenians. Athens owed it to the heroic spirit of her Miltiades. It was he who turned the scale, when it was still a question, whether a battle should be ventured or not. The voices of the ten leaders, of whom Miltiades was one, were divided; the eleventh vote of the Polemarch was to decide. At this moment Miltiades arose and addressed the Polemarch Callimachus.<sup>1</sup> "It now rests with you to reduce Athens to slavery, or, setting it free, to leave a reputation among men, such as neither Harmodius nor Aristogiton has left; for long as the city of Athens has existed, it has never been in any danger like the present. If it should submit to the Persians, it is already determined what it will suffer under its tyrants; should it be saved, it can become the first of Grecian cities. If we do not join battle, I fear a faction will confuse the minds of the Athenians, and make them Persian; if we fight, victory will be ours with the gods." History can relate of a great man, nothing more important than his conduct in the most decisive moment of his life. Miltiades himself could not have foreboded how much depended on that moment; yet he gained his end, and Callimachus adopted his opinion. But besides the talent of the general, who knew how to avail himself of his position to cover his wings, the victory was not less

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vi. 109.

decided by the discipline of the Athenian militia, accustomed to preserve their ranks even while advancing with rapidity. They ran to the encounter ;<sup>1</sup> the first of the Greeks, who did so. The wings of the enemy were discomfited ; and the name of Marathon became immortal among men.

The battle of Plataeæ, which happened eleven years later,<sup>2</sup> is one of those, respecting which we have the most accurate accounts.<sup>3</sup> The motions of the army on the preceding days, give it an importance for the student of tactics. In his evolutions the Persian general seems to have been superior to the Grecian ; for he cut off all communication with them, and all supplies of water, and compelled them to change their encampment. But the want of cavalry in the face of an army which abounded in it, made every motion of the Greeks difficult ; and when we remember the internal organization of the army, and the little power possessed by the commander, not only over the allies, but even over his own Spartans,<sup>4</sup> we shall discover still greater difficulties, with which Pausanias had to contend. And yet the Grecians obtained a splendid victory ; but it was far more the result of the desperate attack made by the Tegeans and the

<sup>1</sup> ἐν ἀγῶσι. Herod. vi. 112. Herodotus says expressly, that they made the attack with closed ranks, ἀγῶσι ; we must not therefore think of a wild onset. They had neither cavalry nor archers ; just as the Swiss at Novara in 1513 were without cavalry and artillery ; in each case the result was the same. When enthusiasm attacks, computation fails.

<sup>2</sup> In the year 479 B. C.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. ix. 23, etc. Plutarch. in Aristide. Op. ii. p. 510, etc. has made use of Herodotus.

<sup>4</sup> See in Herodotus, and Plutarch li. cc. p. 517, the relation of the disobedience of Amompharetus, in confirmation of the remark which we made above, p. 233, on Pausanias.

Spartans, than of artful evolutions. In the days which preceded the battle, Pausanias appears as a general of prudence and sound judgment; he owed the victory not to himself, but to a part of his army and to fortune.

Of the battles which the able and successful Cimon won of the Persians, history has preserved no details; but yet enough to show, that the science of tactics was not advanced by them. They were for the most part naval engagements; those which took place on land, were only unexpected attacks. After his death, Plutarch tells us expressly, nothing great or considerable was executed.<sup>1</sup>

The first campaigns of the Peloponnesian war show beyond dispute, that the art of war, in a higher sense, had made but little progress. They were only inroads followed by nothing decisive. We have already remarked, why, in the progress of that long and weary war, tactics gained so little.

The case was changed, when, after this war, Sparta, contending for the rank she had won, found her Agesilaus, and was yet obliged to yield the ascendancy to Thebes. Here the decision was made by armies and not by navies. In the view of those states, therefore, armies rose in importance.

We will not refuse to Agesilaus any of the praises which Xenophon has lavished on him. He was a model not only of a Spartan, but of a Grecian general. In the Spartan method of war, he made one change; in his wars against the Persians in Asia, he was the first to form a numerous cavalry; and to show that he knew

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. in Cimone, Op. iii. p. 217.

the use of it.<sup>1</sup> Except this he made no essential alteration in tactics. The proof of this is found in the description which Xenophon has given<sup>2</sup> of the battle of Coronea. The same usual position was taken; the usual method of attack, by opposing a straight line to a straight line; without any artificial evolutions, either before or during the battle.

If it should appear from all this, that the higher branches of the art of war, including tactics, had not made so considerable progress as might have been expected, from the greatest of commanders, we would not in any degree diminish the fame of those distinguished men. Their glory rests on something independent of the mere evolutions of their armies. The Grecian leader was more closely united to his soldiers; he was obliged to know how to gain the confidence of his fellow-soldiers, who at the same time were his fellow-citizens. This could not be done by commands; rank and birth were here of no avail; every thing depended on personal character; and to be esteemed a great man it was necessary to give proofs of greatness.

It is the glory of the Greek nation, that it produced in almost every science and art the man, who first clearly recognised the eternal principles on which it rests, and by the application of them, unconsciously became the instructor of posterity. In the art of war, such a man appeared in Epaminondas. His fame as a warrior is his least glory; the world should behold in him the noblest character of his nation. He was for his age, what Gus-

<sup>1</sup> But that too was only temporary. The battle of Leuctra shows how bad the Spartan cavalry was at a subsequent period. See Xenoph. Op. p. 636.

<sup>2</sup> Xenoph. in Agesil. Op. p. 659.

tavus Adolphus was for a later one. If we take from each of these great men, the peculiarities of their times, it will be difficult to find two more congenial spirits, two characters more nearly resembling each other. The parallel we leave for others to draw; of both we never can hear too much; it is Epaminondas, the skilful soldier, whom we are now to consider. The idea on which his change in the method of war was founded, was as simple as the man himself; and we can hardly fail of observing, that it proceeded from his peculiar situation. With an inferior force he had to cope with a more powerful adversary;<sup>1</sup> and this is the true criterion of military genius. It did not escape him, that he could not succeed with the former order of battle, according to which one line was drawn up in front of the other. Hence he determined to concentrate the attack in one point with a part of his army, whilst he withdrew the rest; and his object was, in that one point to break through the hostile line. In this manner he was triumphant at Leuctra, where he fell upon the right wing of the Spartans. But at Leuctra, the success of the Theban cavalry had led the way to a successful issue; it is at Mantinea, that we see for the first time the full application of the new tactics, which are described to us by one profoundly acquainted with the subject. "Epaminondas," says Xenophon,<sup>2</sup> "advanced with his army like a galley with threatening prow; sure that if he could once break through the line of his adversaries, a

<sup>1</sup> The Spartan forces in the battle of Leuctra were thrice as numerous as the Theban; and besides, till that time, had been reckoned invincible.

<sup>2</sup> Xenoph. H. Gr. vi. Op. p. 596. We learn from the same passage how much the excellent Theban cavalry (formed by Pelopidas) surpassed the Spartan.

general flight would ensue. He therefore determined to make the attack with the flower of his army, while he drew back the weaker part of it." Thus the illustrious Theban solved the great problem in tactics, by means of its position, to use the several parts of an army at will ; the art of war, which was thus invented deserved the name, and was the same which ensured to Alexander the victory on the Granicus, as well as to Frederic at Leuthen. It is easy to be perceived, that the execution of the plan was a still greater effort than its invention. Troops far better trained than the usual armies of the Greeks, were needed. And it is in this very circumstance, that Xenophon, himself an experienced officer, places the great merit of Epaminondas.<sup>1</sup>

We may therefore say with truth, that the higher branches of the art of war began with Epaminondas to be understood. But even before him, a change had gradually taken place in the whole military regulations ; a change of the most decisive importance.

We allude to the custom of paying the troops. In states which originally made exclusive use of militia, the form and the spirit of their military institutions must have been changed by the introduction of mercenary troops. These could not have the internal regulations of the militia ; which were founded on the division of the citizens ; and although the Swiss mercenaries of the sixteenth century have proved that battles can be gained even with hired soldiers, yet the examples of those times have also proved that evils are inseparable from the custom.

The use of mercenaries in Greece, may be traced to a

<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. Op. p. 645.



very remote period. The tyrants, those usurpers who made their appearance in the cities at so early a date, were doubtless the first to introduce it; because they needed an armed force to protect their usurped authority. But this force did not always consist of foreigners; but rather, especially in the early times, of an armed party of the citizens, or was selected from among the partisans of the tyrant;<sup>1</sup> and further, an institution which was regarded as unjust, could not continue, still less be adopted and regularly established.

Hired troops, of which we would here treat, began to be employed in the Grecian cities at a later period. In the beginning of the Persian war, at Marathon and at Plataeæ we hear nothing of them. In the Peloponnesian war, they were commonly,<sup>2</sup> and after these times, almost universally employed. Several causes operated to produce this effect.

The first was the whole condition of private life. When luxury and the comforts of life were introduced after the Persians were known, it is not astonishing that the rich desired to be free from military service. On the other hand, the Peloponnesian war and the almost universal revolutions produced by it, had so increased the number of the poor, that there was a numerous class who made a profession of war, and were ready to serve any

<sup>1</sup> This was done by Pisistratus on his first usurpation; Herod. i. 59. In later times (let the history of Syracuse be called to mind), the hired troops of the tyrants were wholly or chiefly composed of foreigners.

<sup>2</sup> The hired troops of the Spartans, from the Peloponnesus, are mentioned as early as the times of Brasidas; Thucyd. L. iv. 80; those of Athens from Thrace, about the same time; Thucyd. L. v. 6; those of the Corinthians and others we find constantly mentioned. In the Peloponnesus, it was chiefly the Arcadians who served as mercenaries; hence the proverb among the poets; ἰς Ἀρκαδίης ἰπικίζουσι, Athen. i. p. 27, for they did not serve for nothing.

one who would pay them. But still more important was the fact, that with the Persians no less than the Greeks, the same change in domestic life produced the same consequences. The subsidies of the former first enabled the Spartans to hire troops. But they soon hired in their turn, and in greater numbers than the Greeks; and no mercenaries were so acceptable, none so indispensable to them as the Grecian. The high wages which they gave, like those of the British in modern times, allured numerous troops across the sea; and we need but call to mind the ten thousand whom Clearchus led to Cyrus the younger, and with whom Xenophon made his retreat,<sup>1</sup> to be convinced that great multitudes followed this kind of life. The subsequent Phocian war<sup>2</sup> was conducted by the Phocians, who were aided by the treasures of Delphi, almost exclusively with hired troops; and Demosthenes is loud in his complaints and censure of a custom, which all his eloquence was not able to change.<sup>3</sup>

Of all writers, Isocrates has spoken the most distinctly on this subject. His long life continued almost through the whole period in which this custom arose; and the consequences were so distinctly visible in his old age, his patriotism could not but break forth in lamentations. Those very troops of Clearchus and Xenophon, troops which had made the Persians tremble,—who were they? Men, says Isocrates,<sup>4</sup> of such reputation, that they could not reside in their native cities. “Formerly,” says he in another place,<sup>5</sup> “there was no such thing as

<sup>1</sup> In the year 400 B. C.

<sup>2</sup> Called also the Sacred war, from 357 till 347 B. C.

<sup>3</sup> See his Philippic and Olynthiac orations

<sup>4</sup> Isocrat. Panegy. Op. p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> Isocrat. Or. ad Phil. Op. p. 101.

mercenaries; now the situation of Greece is such, that it would be far easier to raise an army of vagabonds than of citizens." The natural consequence of this state of things was, that he who had the most money, had also the most power. He could raise an army at will. But on how uncertain a foundation did this power repose? The rich man can be outbid by the rich; and Greece learned, what Carthage learned also with a more melancholy certainty,<sup>1</sup> that a state which trusts to mercenary troops, must finally tremble before them. "Unless," says Isocrates to Philip,<sup>2</sup> "to provide for the support of these people by establishing colonies of them, they will soon collect in vast troops, and be more formidable to the Hellenes, than the barbarians."<sup>3</sup>

We have already remarked, that in the eyes of the Greeks, the navy was more important than the army. They very early distinguished ships of war from merchant vessels; of which the consequence was, that, as the former belonged to the state, to build and fit out fleets was entirely a public concern. Yet to judge correctly of the condition and progress of naval science among the Greeks, we must not forget, that the scene of action for their squadrons was and continued to be, limited to the Ægean and Ionian seas. The expedition of Athens against Syracuse, is the most distant which was ever undertaken by any Grecian fleet of the mother country; with what success is known. Even the Black sea, though open to their vessels of commerce, was hardly

<sup>1</sup> In the wars with the mercenaries, 240—237 B. C.

<sup>2</sup> Isocrat. ad Philip. Op. p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> We learn from Xenophon's retreat, that they were formidable to their own commanders; just as were the Swiss at Milan.

visited by their galleys of war, because no occasion ever required it. The seas which they navigated were full of islands; it was never difficult to find landing-places and harbors; and the naval expeditions were not much more than passages by sea. Farther; Greece, especially the most cultivated eastern part of it, did not abound in wood; and though some of the western or inland districts<sup>1</sup> were better provided with it, the rivers, which were hardly more than mountain streams, afforded little opportunity for the transportation of timber. The cities, therefore, which built fleets, were obliged to seek their timber at a distance; we know of Athens, that it imported what it needed from Thrace.<sup>2</sup> The expense was therefore necessarily great; none but the richest cities were able to bear them; and hence it is easy to see, that limitations were produced, which make the exertions of several states for their navy, appear to us in a very extraordinary light. Finally; the manning of the fleets was attended with peculiar difficulties. Two kinds of men, mariners and soldiers, were employed. The latter were citizens, and belonged to the militia; but according to the earlier regulations, the citizens were not obliged to do service on board of the ships. Slaves were used in part, especially for the oars; and in part foreigners were hired. Such is the description given by Isocrates. "Formerly," says he,<sup>3</sup> "in the better times of Athens, foreigners and slaves were used for the management of the vessels; but citizens performed service in arms. Now the case is reversed; those of the city are

<sup>1</sup> As Acarnania and Arcadia.

<sup>2</sup> Thueyd. iv. 108.

<sup>3</sup> Isocrat. de Pace, Op. p. 169 See Scheffer de Milit. Naut. ii. 3.

compelled to serve as mariners,<sup>1</sup> while the soldiers consist of mercenaries.” The manning of the fleets was therefore attended with great expense ; and it is known respecting them from the Peloponnesian war, that Sparta could not have borne them but for the alliance and subsidies of Persia.

These causes are sufficient to limit our expectations of the naval affairs of the Grecians. Yet here, also, the different epochs must be distinguished.

We learn of Homer and of the Argonautic poets, that the Greeks even in the heroic age had ships, which were fitted out for distant voyages. The piracy, which before that period had been so common, must have made it necessary for ships to be prepared, not only for carrying freight, but for fighting. These vessels were called long, by way of distinguishing them from the more ancient, round ones, which were fit only for the transportation of merchandise ; though we would by no means deny, that the former were also used for the purposes of commerce. It was characteristic of them, that all the rowers sat in one line. In such times of insecurity, fast sailing is the chief merit of a vessel ; be it for the attack or for flight. This must have been promoted in the lengthened vessels both by the form itself, and the increased number of rowers ; which gradually rose from twenty to fifty and even more. Hence there was a particular class of ships, which derived their name from that circumstance.<sup>2</sup>

But the incident which made a real and the only epoch in the history of Grecian naval architecture, is the inven-

<sup>1</sup> Especially the Inquilini.

<sup>2</sup> The *πεντηκόντοροι*. See Scheffer de Varietate Nav. in Gronov. Thes. xi. p. 752.

tion of the triremes. They were distinguished by the triple order of benches for rowing, placed one above the other.<sup>1</sup> It thus became necessary to build them much higher; and though swiftness may have been carefully regarded, strength and firmness must have been viewed as of equal importance. But even before the Macedonian times, and always after them, the chief strength of the Grecian fleet lay in the triremes, just as that of modern fleets in ships of the line of the second and third rate.

The structure of the triremes would alone warrant the inference, that a naval force, that is, a squadron destined solely for war, and possessed by the state, did not exist in Greece till after these were invented. But there is in Thucydides<sup>2</sup> a passage, which in my opinion settles this point beyond a doubt. "When, after the abolition of monarchies, the cities became more wealthy, the Greeks began to build fleets, and to pay more attention to the sea. The Corinthians were the first to change the ships according to our present form; for in Greece the first triremes were built at Corinth; and it was the ship-builder Aminocles of Corinth, who built for the Samians four (such) vessels. But it was about three hundred years before the end of this war,<sup>3</sup> that Aminocles came to the Samians. The oldest naval battle with which we are acquainted, was fought between the Corinthians and the Coreyraëans; since that time, two hundred and sixty years have elapsed."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Scheffer de Milit. Naval. ii. 2. I believe this point, once so much contested, is now no longer doubted; although uncertainty still exists respecting the order of the rows. Compare the prints and illustrations in *Antichità d'Ercolano*, T. v. at the end.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. i. 13

<sup>3</sup> About 700 years B. C.

<sup>4</sup> About 640 years B. C.

This testimony, more important than all the accounts of later grammarians and compilers, proves that it was in the seventh century that the Grecian cities began to support fleets. The account of the great historian is made much clearer by the inquiries respecting Grecian commerce, which show that the same period beheld the seeds of Grecian cities, planted on the seacoast from Asia to Sicily, spring up and flourish in the genial beams of liberty. The year, it is true, is not mentioned, in which the first triremes were built in Corinth; but the whole connexion shows, that the invention was still recent in the age of Aminocles; and as the first naval battle between the Greeks was fought forty years later, it is obvious, that they were then but beginning to support fleets.

But at the same time we must confess that naval architecture, after this first great step, made no further considerable advances before the Macedonian age. Thucydides says this expressly; for he observes, that the Corinthians gave the ships the form which they continued to have in his time. Neither did it at once become a general custom to build triremes. Till the Persian wars, the use of the long ships and those of fifty oars was the most usual; the Syracusans and Coreyræans were, about this time, the first to have whole fleets consisting of triremes.<sup>1</sup> In these, many improvements may have been made; but as no essential change took place, we leave this subject and many others relating to naval matters, to the industry of the antiquarian.

We would only add a few remarks on the naval tactics of the Greeks. Did they receive a scientific form earlier

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 14.

than the military? And if so, through whom, and by what means? And here the reader must not forget, that we are treating of the times previous to the dominion of Macedonia.

It is apparent from the preceding observations, that the Greeks had more reason to improve their naval than their military tactics. They were often obliged to contend with fleets, not only superior to theirs in number, but also in the excellence of the vessels; for in the Persian wars, the squadrons of the Phœnicians were arrayed against them. Even when the victory had been gained, the safety of Greece still depended on its maritime force. This formed the foundation of the greatness of the first of the Grecian cities. Naval actions, more than battles by land, decided the destiny of the states. What circumstances and relations could be more favorable to the display of great talents? And where may we indulge greater expectations, especially when we look through the lists of the men to whom Athens and Sparta entrusted the command of their squadrons?

We can best commence the history of the naval tactics of Greece, at the period in which we have descriptions of their engagements at sea. The earliest account which we possess, is of the battle which took place near the island Lada, off Miletus, between the Ionian fleet and that of the Phœnicians in the service of Persia. The navy of the Ionians had then reached its best state; it consisted of not less than three hundred and fifty triremes, while that of the Phœnicians was almost twice as large. We find that a premeditated position was taken in the days before the battle. In the divisions of the first line, there were intervals, through which those of the second could



sail.<sup>1</sup> But the battle itself is not instructive, as the Persians previously succeeded in dividing the fleet of the allies.

When Xerxes invaded Greece, Themistocles gained the glory of being his country's preserver by sea. But it must not be forgotten, that though he was the commander of the Athenians, he had not the general command of the allies. This post he had the prudence and moderation to yield, at least nominally, to Eurybiades the Spartan.<sup>2</sup> Still it was Themistocles who directed the whole, not by commands, but by persuasion; and in this art who was equal to him? Twice he ventured to meet the much superior navy of the Persians; first at Artemisium, then at Salamis. But in both instances he remedied his inferiority, not so much by artful manœuvres, as by choosing his situation. He would not meet the immense Persian fleet in the open sea; where the wings of the enemy would have unavoidably extended beyond his own. Hence he chose his first position at the northern entrance of the strait of Eubœa,<sup>3</sup> and after the indecisive engagements of Artemisium, retreated through those straits to the Saronic bay; where the nook between Attica and the island of Salamis offered a station still more secure. In such a position, where the enemy is expected in close array, manœuvres are not farther needed; but the relation of Herodotus leaves us

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vi. 12, etc. Here too we have an instance of how little could be effected by the commander.

<sup>2</sup> On this and what follows, consult the interesting narrative of Herodotus, viii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The Euripus, as it was called. The Persians sent a part of their squadron round the island, to block up the southern entrance, and thus cut off the retreat of the Greeks; but their squadron was destroyed by a storm. Herod. l. c.

in doubt, whether most to admire the discernment, or the prudence and adroitness of the commander.

Of the later naval engagements which took place in the course of those wars, we have only general accounts. The Greeks beat the Persians too easily. Where an enemy is despised, the art of war cannot make much progress.

We have particular accounts<sup>1</sup> of the naval fight, which, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, took place between the Corcyræans and Corinthians; and after which, both nations erected a trophy. The fleet of the Corinthians formed one line; that of the Corcyræans, on the contrary, was drawn up in three divisions. But the historian remarks, that no manœuvres took place; they grappled at once, and ship fought singly with ship. All that we read of the fleet of the Corcyræans, gives us no high opinion of their skill in naval tactics. In a second naval engagement with the Peloponnesians, they showed still less adroitness, and would have been ruined, had not the division of the Athenians covered their retreat.<sup>2</sup>

The naval tactics which were now known to the Greeks, consisted chiefly in sailing round, and sailing through the enemy's line.<sup>3</sup> The object of the first was, to extend the line beyond the opposite wings; of the second, to break through the hostile line. To prevent this, the other fleet was drawn up in two lines, both with intervals, so that the divisions of the second line could pass through the intervals in the first, and thus assist them, when assistance was needed. This order was

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 47, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. iii. 77, 78.

<sup>3</sup> *Περίπλοισι* and *διεκπλοισίν*. Thucyd. vii. 36. Xenoph. H. Gr. i. Op. p. 446.

particularly understood by the Athenians, who also adopted another method of attack, not with the prow, but obliquely from the side; so that the oars of the enemy's ship were broken, and the ship thus made unmanageable. In those matters, the Athenians were superior not only to the Spartans, but even to the Syracusans.<sup>1</sup>

The two last years of the Peloponnesian war were particularly remarkable for naval encounters; but for a knowledge of tactics, the engagement between the Spartans under Callieratidas, and the Athenians, near Lesbos, alone deserves notice; for it gives us an example of the management of a squadron in a double row. The Athenian fleet was drawn up in two lines, both on the right and the left wing. Each wing consisted of two divisions, each division of fifteen ships; and was supported by equal divisions in the second line; the centre was composed of one line. This order, says Xenophon,<sup>2</sup> was chosen, that the fleet might not be broken through. The Spartan fleet, on the contrary, formed but one line; prepared for sailing round or breaking through the enemy. The battle was obstinate; it was long before the Athenians gained the victory, as Callieratidas fell. His steersman, before the battle, had advised him to retreat, on account of the greatly superior force of the Athenians. "Were I to fall, Sparta could exist as well," was his answer.

The naval tactics of the ancients were further improved in the wars between the Romans and Carthaginians, and under the Ptolemies. In forming an opinion

<sup>1</sup> See the description of the fight in Thucyd. l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Xen. Op. p. 446.

respecting them, two things should not be forgotten. First ; less depended on the winds than in modern tactics ; for the triremes were moved rather by oars than sails. Secondly ; where battles were always fought near at hand, and the ships always ran along side of each other, the manœuvres of the fleets could not be so various or so important, as where the ships remain at a certain distance, and manœuvres are performed during the whole action. But though the naval tactics of the moderns are more difficult and intricate, we must not infer that the naval battles of the ancients were comparatively insignificant. They decided wars in ancient times much more frequently than in modern ; and if the loss of men is to be taken into consideration, it might easily be shown, that one naval battle of the ancients often swept away more men, than three or even more in our age.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## STATESMEN AND ORATORS.

THE character of the statesman in republics like the Grecian must, in many respects, differ from the statesman of the modern European monarchies ; and can be sketched with difficulty. Yet it is necessary to form a distinct conception of the sphere of action, in which those men exerted themselves, who justly form the pride of antiquity. But it may seem the less superfluous to enter into this subject, since we shall thus gain an opportunity of forming more correct opinions respecting several of those men. Though Athens was their home and the theatre of their actions, they were the property of Greece ; and are here to be held up as the representatives of so many others, of who history has preserved for us less information, because they made their appearance in cities of less renown.

The different character of the Grecian states necessarily exercised an influence on the character of the statesmen, who appeared in them. Where the law exercised unlimited power as it did in Sparta, there was no room for demagogues like those of Athens. But difference of time was as influential as the difference of constitutions. How then could it be otherwise expected, than that with the increasing culture of the nation, there should be a change in the influence and the conduct of those who were at its head.

In the age of Solon, men first appeared in the mother country, who were worthy of the name of statesmen. Many had before that period been in possession of power, and not unfrequently had become tyrants ; but none can be called statesmen, as the word itself denotes, except those, who as freemen conduct the affairs of cultivated nations.

In Solon's age,<sup>1</sup> the relations of the Grecian states had not yet become intricate. No one of them exercised sway over the rest ; and no one endeavored to do so ; even the importance of Sparta in the Peloponnesus was founded on her attempts to liberate the cities from the yoke of the tyrants. In such a period, when the individual states were chiefly occupied with their own concerns and those of their nearest neighbors, the statesman's sphere of action could not for any length of time be extended beyond the internal government and administration. The seven wise men, from whom the Greeks date the age in which politics began to be a science, were not speculative philosophers, but rulers, presidents, and counsellors of states ; rulers, as Periander of Corinth and Pittacus of Mitylene ; presidents, as Solon of Athens, Chilo of Sparta, Cleobulus of Lindus ; counsellors, as Bias and Thales of princes and cities.<sup>2</sup> Of these, Solon is the only one with whom we are much acquainted ; he is known as a lawgiver, and also as a soldier and poet. But it was not till after the wars with Persia, that the men appeared, whom we can call statesmen in the

<sup>1</sup> Between 600 and 550 years B. C.

<sup>2</sup> See Diog. Laert. i. c. 1—5. The passages which relate to them, have already been collected and illustrated by Meiners and other writers on the history of philosophy. Meiners's *Geschichte der Wissenschaften*, i. p. 43.

modern sense of the word. For it was then for the first time, when a contest arose with a nation to all appearances infinitely superior in power, and the question of existence was at issue, and when good counsel was not less important than action, that a greater political interest was excited, which employed the strongest minds. And this interest was not and could not be transitory. For it gave birth in Greece to the idea of supremacy, which a single state obtained and preserved for nearly seventy years; and which, as we have already remarked, became the foundation of its greatness and its splendor. Political affairs and negotiations were now to be judged of by a new criterion. The foreign relations were now the most important; and it was in conducting them, that the first statesmen were employed. But their sphere of action was by no means limited to Athens alone; it was in some measure extended over the whole of Greece.

The object of these men was, and could not but be, to gain influence in a community, in which some inequality was produced by birth (as certain families, like those of the Eupatridæ, were held superior to the rest, forming a sort of nobility, and even a political party,) yet in which birth had very little influence on future consequence. In Athens as in England, certain families or classes of families advocated certain political ideas and principles, by means of which the democratic and aristocratic parties were formed, and kept up amidst a variety of changes. But the history of Athens still abounds in proofs, that the influence possessed over the people, by no means depended on birth. Here, as in the other similar states, there were two methods of gaining such influence; by deeds in war, and in peace by counsel.

In some periods, military glory was the most esteemed; in others, influence could be gained without it. In the early period, during the war with the Persians, the commanders of the armies were also statesmen; and how could it be otherwise? But when the affairs of peace grew more important, a new course was opened to the man of genius. Yet it was long before the statesman, as such, could rise in Athens; the qualifications of a general long remained essential to his influence; though the age finally came, in which the former began to be of more consequence than the latter. We shall not therefore expose ourselves to the danger of being misapprehended, if we distinguish the three periods from one another; the first, in which the statesman was subordinate to the general; the next, in which the general was subordinate to the statesman; and the third, in which the statesman acted independently of the general. Without any elaborate argument, the reader will immediately perceive, that here a certain relation exists to the increasing culture of the nation; the mere military commander may rule a nation of barbarians; but the statesman who has no pretensions to the qualifications of a general, finds no place except among a cultivated people. To mark more distinctly the limits of the three periods, we will call the first, that of Themistocles, the second that of Pericles, and the third that of Demosthenes.

In the first age it is easy to perceive, that the qualities of a commander were of more importance than those of a statesman. The state was to be saved on the field of battle: and yet prudence was needed for its safety no less than courage. Themistocles himself may be regarded as the representative of this period. Destined by



nature to become a demagogue rather than a general, he was still forced by the character and the spirit of his age to build his political influence on his military fame. He owed his greatness to the Persian war and Salamis. But as a general, he is perhaps the most perfect model of a popular leader, who effects less by commands than by persuasion and knowledge of men. His nation recognised in him the most prudent of its citizens; and he understood his nation better than any one, not merely collectively, but individually. Hence proceeded his influence. "He was most distinguished," says Thucydides,<sup>1</sup> "for the strength of his natural powers; and for this he is the most admirable of men. His understanding made him the most acute observer of every unexpected incident, without any previous or subsequent inquiries; and gave him the most accurate foresight of the future. Whatever he undertook, he was able to execute; and to form a true judgment on whatever was new to him. In doubtful matters, he could best tell, what was to be done or to be avoided; and, in a word, he was the first for strength of natural powers, and for promptness of decision." Happy the state which is favored with such a citizen! Even in great dangers it has no need to fear. He who considers the whole history of Themistocles, will admire him less for his deeds of heroism, than for the manner in which he preserved the courage of his nation, and in the decisive moment, brought them to the decisive measure, rather to enter their ships and desert their native city, than subject themselves to the Persian yoke. Such things can be

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. i. 138.

done only by a man of superior genius. It is true that his great talents were united to a character, which was not entirely free from selfishness.<sup>1</sup> But the interests of his country were never sacrificed to his private advantage. And in judging of Themistocles, it must never be forgotten, that he was the first, who, without family, rose to eminence in Athens, and destroyed the power of the nobility.<sup>2</sup> This could never be forgiven him; and it is not strange, that, persecuted as he was by Sparta, he should have been overwhelmed by his foreign and domestic enemies. But when he quitted ungrateful Athens, his object was already accomplished. He had practically demonstrated that he understood the art which he vaunted, of making of a small state a large one. The reception with which he met in Persia, does no less honor to him than to Artaxerxes; and although it is doubtful whether he did not escape serving against his country by a voluntary death,<sup>3</sup> it is certain that he did nothing which could sully his fame.

If Themistocles shows how talents could rise in a state like Athens, Aristides is an example of the influence of character. His influence and his share in public business were grounded on the conviction of his honesty and disinterestedness; although he also needed the support of military glory. As early as at Marathon, he, as one

<sup>1</sup> See in particular the relation of the corruption of the Grecian generals by the Eubœans. Herod. viii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, in Themistoc. Op. 1. p. 438.

<sup>3</sup> "He died," says Thucydides, "of disease. Some say he died of poison, which he took because he could not perform all that he had promised the king." Thucyd. i. 138. Thucydides says nothing of the tradition, that he destroyed himself by drinking bull's blood. Plutarch, Op. i. p. 408. The story seems true. We have received additions: Thucydides speaks so decisively, that he could hardly have doubted the natural death of Themistocles.

of the ten generals, stood by the side of Miltiades; and had himself the magnanimity to yield to him the supreme command.<sup>1</sup> At Plataeæ, he was the leader of the Athenians; and after the liberties of Greece had been rescued by this victory, and Athens had established its supremacy in the alliance against Persia, he was appointed, at the request of the allies, to superintend the general exchequer, and performed the most difficult office of fixing for each of them its proportion of the annual tribute.<sup>2</sup> Thus Athens owed to him not much less than to Themistocles, who had been his rival from youth. If political and moral principles rendered the union of the two impossible (nothing but the urgent necessities of the country effected it for a short time), it must not be forgotten, that Aristides, though probably of no opulent family,<sup>3</sup> belonged by his birth to the class of the Eupatridæ.

Cimon, the son of Miltiades, the third whom we should name in this first period, connects it, as it were, with the succeeding. He too was more of a general than a statesman. His policy had but one object, continual war against the Persians, as the means of preserving the unity of the Greeks. This he pursued through his whole life, from the battle of Salamis, (and he had been the first to give the example of deserting

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. Op. i. p. 489.

<sup>2</sup> "Aristides," says Plutarch, "made inquiries respecting the territory and revenue of the several states; and fixed accordingly the tribute of each state to general satisfaction." Plutarch. Op. ii. p. 735. "But even before that time it was his character, which had gained for Athens the supremacy. For the allies desired a president like him; and even invited him to assume the supreme command." Plutarch. ii. p. 532. He was at that time general of the Athenians with Cimon.

<sup>3</sup> How uncertain this was, appears from Plutarch. iii. p. 478.

the city and entering the ships);<sup>1</sup> till shortly before the glorious peace which he had promoted, but did not live to see concluded.<sup>2</sup> He seems, therefore, to have taken no farther share in the internal affairs, than he was forced to do by his situation. For descended from a noble family, and a pupil of Aristides, possessing the principles of his political instructor, he desired the favor of the people, only as the means of preserving his character as a military commander; and yet he did not escape the lot which had fallen to Themistocles and Aristides. But his military fame procured his speedy return; and confirmed him, as it increased, in the possession of his place. It was by the means which Cimon used to preserve the favor of the people, that he held a place, as we have observed, between the first and second period. His liberality was not confined to citizens alone; even he began to attract attention by public improvements, made for the most part at his own expense. Themistocles had fortified the city and the Piræus; and Cimon began to ornament them. With the Persian spoils he built a part of the walls of the citadel.<sup>3</sup> He caused the marshy ground at its side<sup>4</sup> to be dried and paved; he prepared an abode for Plato and his philosophy, by converting the barren field, which occupied the site of the Academy, into a lovely, well watered grove; and for the Athenians, he made the market-place their most favorite place of resort, by planting it with plane-trees.<sup>5</sup> He was intimately acquainted with the artists of his time, especially with the painter Polygnotus; to

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. Op. iii. p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. Op. iii. p. 262.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch. l. c.

<sup>4</sup> He died in the year 449 B. C.

<sup>5</sup> Called *ai plana*.

whose art and patriotism, the Athenians were indebted for the paintings which decorated the most celebrated of their public halls.<sup>1</sup>

Cimon may therefore justly be styled the precursor of Pericles, whose name we use to designate the second period. The time was arrived, when the arts of peace were to flourish no less than those of war; when almost every branch of the arts and of literature was to put forth its most beautiful and most imperishable blossoms.

Under such circumstances, and in a republic, of which no one could possess the direction without understanding the means of winning and preserving the respect and admiration of his fellow-citizens, it is obvious, that new qualities were necessary in the statesman, and new requisitions made of him. The reciprocal influence which exists between men of genius and their age, is perhaps one of the most interesting inquiries, for which history presents us the materials. When we survey the several periods in which, at a greater or less distance, the remarkable changes of individual nations, and even of a large part of mankind, have taken place, we shall always find in them individual men, who may in some measure be regarded as the representatives of their age; and who frequently and justly lead their names to it. They can in a certain degree rise above their age; but they do not the less remain children of the time in which they live; and a history of mankind, as contained in the history of these leading minds, would perhaps be the most faithful that can be given. He who has truly delineated Herrman and Cæsar, or Gregory, or Luther, or

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. Op. ii. p. 178. Hence called the variegated, ποικίλη. It was adjoining to the forum.

Frederic, has sketched the chief traits of their respective ages. To be in advance of one's age, as is the usual mode of expression, means but to understand one's age correctly in all its bearings; and to act on the principles which result from such knowledge. In this lies the secret of great men, that no one can betray them, because no one shares their penetration, or rather in many cases their presaging insight into the future. On hearing the age of Pericles mentioned, a crowd of glorious associations is called up; he who becomes more profoundly acquainted with it, soon finds that no pure ideal of perfection then existed. To behold the mere citizen of a republic, raising his nation, and by means of his nation all mankind, to a higher position, is a spectacle which history has never but once been able, under similar circumstances, to repeat, in Lorenzo the Magnificent. Envidable men, around whose brows the unfading laurel twines its verdure! If fame in succeeding generations, if the grateful remembrance of posterity is no vain felicity, who would not willingly exchange his claims for yours?

In his political course, Pericles was guided by a simple principle; to be the first in his own city, whilst he secured to it the first place among cities. Its political preponderance depended on the preservation of its supremacy over Greece; and this was to be preserved, not by force alone; but by every thing which, according to Grecian ideas, could render a city illustrious. Hence he felt himself the necessity of improving his mind more variously than had hitherto been common in Athens; and he availed himself for that end of all the means which his age afforded him. He was the first statesman, who felt that a certain degree

of acquaintance with philosophy was requisite ; not in order to involve his mind in the intricacies of a system, but to exercise himself in thinking with freedom ; and he became the pupil of Anaxagoras.<sup>1</sup> If before no orators, except those appointed by the state, had spoken in the popular assemblies, he was the first, who came forward as a voluntary orator ;<sup>2</sup> and the study of eloquence was necessary for him, although he never made the duties of an active statesman subordinate to those of a public speaker. Whilst he ornamented Athens by those masterpieces of architecture and the arts of design, he was not the patron, but the personal friend of a Phidias and similar men ; and who does not know, that his intimacy with Aspasia, his friend, his mistress, and at last his wife, imparted to his mind that finer culture, which he would have looked for in vain among the women of Athens. But all this he made subservient to his public career. He desired to be altogether a statesman, and he was so. “There was in the whole city,” says Plutarch,<sup>3</sup> “but one street in which he was ever seen ; the street, which led to the market-place and the council-house. He declined all invitations to banquets, and all gay assemblies and company. During the whole period of his administration, he never dined at the table of a friend ; he did but just make his appearance at the nuptials of his nephew Euryptolemus ; but immediately after the libation<sup>4</sup> he

<sup>1</sup> In proof of this and the following account, consult Plutarch in the biography of Pericles. Op. T. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch makes a distinction between him and the orators appointed by the state ; l. c. p. 601. See Petit. de Leg. Att. iii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch. Op. ii. p. 601.

<sup>4</sup> That is, at the beginning of the repast. These little traits seem to me to designate the man, who never forgave himself any thing. What nobler object

arose. He did not always appear even in the popular assemblies; but only when important business was to be transacted; smaller concerns he entrusted to his friends and the orators." Thus Pericles exhibited the model of a statesman, such as Greece had never yet seen, and was not to see again. His history shows, that he became great amidst the collision of parties; all of which he finally annihilated; and we need not therefore be astonished, if the opinions of his contemporaries were not united in his favor. We learn of Plutarch,<sup>1</sup> how zealously the comic poets attacked him. But he has gained the voice of one man, whose authority surpasses that of all the rest, the voice of Thucydides. "So long as he presided over the state in peace," says the historian,<sup>2</sup> "he did it with moderation; the state was preserved in its integrity, and was even advanced under him to its highest degree of greatness. When the war broke out, he showed that he had made a just calculation of his strength. The first in dignity and prudence, he was superior to all suspicion of corruption; he therefore swayed the people almost at will; he guided them, and was not guided by them; for he did not speak according to their humor; but often opposed them with dignity and even with vehemence. If they were inclined to do any thing unreasonably, he knew how to restrain them; if they suffered their courage to sink without reason, he could renew their confidence. His administration was therefore nominally the government of the people, but in reality the government

can be contemplated, than a great statesman, who, living entirely for his high calling, and living worthily of it, spares only moments for himself.

<sup>1</sup> As c. g. Op. ii. p. 502.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. ii. 65.



of the first man." To a character described by such a master, no additions need be made; but we cannot omit to observe, that Pericles, though so great as a statesman, was not unmindful of the fame of military command. In this the rule of his conduct seems to have been, great prudence, and to undertake nothing without the greatest probability of success; and such was the confidence reposed in him, that, in the last fifteen years of his administration, he seems to have held the place of general without interruption.<sup>1</sup>

While we render to Pericles the tribute of just admiration, we ought not forget that he was favored by the circumstances of his times. A man like him is capable of effecting much when the state, of which he is the head, is flourishing, and the people itself is constantly unfolding talents and powers, of which he must be able to take advantage. Pericles himself never could have played his part a second time; how much less those who were his successors. Of these history has but one to mention, of whom we must take notice, because he belonged, in a certain sense, not merely to Athens, but to Greece; we mean Alcibiades. The age in which he appeared was altogether warlike; and of this he merits the blame. He needed, therefore, the qualifications of a general more than those of a statesman. Still it may be said with confidence, that even in better times he would not have become a Pericles, although he seemed destined by birth, talents, and fortune to play a similar part. Pericles regarded, in everything, first the state and then himself; Alcibiades, on the contrary, first himself and

<sup>1</sup> Namely, after his victory over his antagonist, the elder Thucydides, who was supported by the party of the Optimates. Plutarch. Op. ii. p. 626, 627.

then the state. Is more needed to delineate his character as a statesman? Vanity was his leading trait. He is thus described by the same great historian, who has drawn for us the picture of Pericles. "Although Alcibiades," says he,<sup>1</sup> "was distinguished among his fellow-citizens for his wealth and consequence, his desires were always greater than his fortune; particularly of keeping splendid equipages, and supporting other extravagances; which contributed not a little to the downfall of the Athenians." His history is so well known, that it is not necessary to establish these remarks by any particular references; his whole life from beginning to end is a confirmation of them.

The men who have thus far been named, united, though in different degrees, the characters of the statesman and the general. By what means was such an entire separation of the two produced, as may be observed in the third period, which we have named from Demosthenes? The name alone explains to us distinctly enough, that the reason is to be looked for in the dominion of eloquence; but the question remains still to be answered, Why and from what causes did eloquence obtain so late its ascendancy in politics?

We do not read that Themistocles and Aristides were skilled in oratory as an art. It is certain, that of all practical statesmen, Pericles was the first who deserved that praise: although it is uncertain whether he took advantage of the instructions which then began to be given by the teachers of eloquence.<sup>2</sup> But though the

<sup>1</sup> *Thucyd.* vi. 15.

<sup>2</sup> According to Plutarch, i. p. 794, the sophist Damon was his instructor: but, as it appears, rather his political counsellor, than his regular instructor in elo-

orations of Pericles were artfully composed, they cannot be called works of art in the same sense with those of Demosthenes and his contemporaries. As Pericles left no writings, it must remain undecided whether he wrote out his speeches word for word. A circumstance, of which the memory is preserved by Plutarch, appears to make this very uncertain. "He was accustomed," says the biographer,<sup>1</sup> "whenever he was to speak in public, previously to entreat the gods, that he might not utter, against his will, any word which should not belong to the subject." Does not this seem to show, that he was not accustomed to write his orations, and deliver them from memory, but that he rather left much to be filled up by the impulse of the moment? The speech which Thucydides represents him to have delivered,<sup>2</sup> is the work of the historian; but we can judge from that and other similar discourses contained in the same author, of the character of public eloquence before and during the Peloponnesian war; since they could not but be composed in the taste and after the manner of the times. But how do they differ in style from those of the age of Demosthenes! How much less can those orations, great as are their various merits, be considered as classic models in the art of eloquence! We find in them little or nothing of an artificial plan; little of that rhetorical amplification and those figures and artifices, by which the later orators produced an effect on their hearers. We justly admire

quence. He made use of the pretext, says Plutarch, of teaching him music. Gorgias of Leontium, who is commonly mentioned as beginning the class of sophists, can hardly have been his master. See the fragment from the Schol. ad Hermog. ap. Reisk. Or. Gr. viii. p. 195.

<sup>1</sup> Plut. Op. ii. p. 604.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. ii. 60.

in them the strength of many of their thoughts, and single expressions and passages. But they seem to prove beyond a question, that the rhetorical style was not then formed at Athens. They have far more the character of martial addresses; they bear the impress of an age, in which the orator in the popular assemblies was at the same time the commander in war.<sup>1</sup>

And by what means did Grecian eloquence in public speaking gain that peculiar character, which it possessed in the age of Demosthenes? The origin and progress of public speaking always depends in a certain degree on external circumstances. It is not enough that the constitution leaves room for it; for then it would have come to perfection in other Grecian cities, and in Athens at a much earlier period than it did. Neither can we assume the artificial disposition of the parts of a discourse and the instruction given in rhetoric, as the standard by which to judge of the actual appearance of great political orators. External circumstances must also be such as to make the want of orators perceptible. And when can this take place in free republics, except in times — not of war, for there arms must decide; but rather in times of impending dangers, which may yet be averted by prudence and courageous resolutions? In such times the public speaker is in his place; he beholds the field of glory opened before him; and if no other motive than patriotism should lead him to ascend the stage from which the people was addressed, where could his bosom be warmed by a nobler inspiration?

This was the case in Greece, and especially in Athens,

<sup>1</sup> In the masterly sketch which is given by Cicero, in *Bruto*, cap. 7—13, of the succession of Greek orators, much instruction on these subjects may be found.

during the age of Philip ; for it was Philip who called forth a Demosthenes. Every thing which was needed to produce such an orator, had already been prepared. The form of government had long since made public speaking customary, and had opened a place for its influence. Eloquence was no longer regarded as merely a gift of nature, but as the fruit of study ; and the orator spoke to a people, which was sufficiently well informed, to understand and estimate his merits. To this were added those external causes, the difficult relations of the times. Where could there have been a better field for great public speakers ? Where would there appearance have been more easily accounted for ? Where was it more natural, that the practical statesman should more and more apply himself to the study of eloquence, and thus the third period distinguished by us be introduced, in which the mere orator, without the talents of a military commander, could direct the affairs of the state.

But when we investigate the history of practical eloquence in Greece (for we speak of that, and not of the theory), we are soon led to remark, what deserves to be carefully considered ; that in this last period of time, political eloquence and that of the bar became much more closely connected than before. The men who in the earlier times had stood at the head of the state, Pericles, Alcibiades, and the rest, did not make their way to eminence through the business of advocates. Though in individual cases, as Pericles in that of Cimon,<sup>1</sup> they appeared as accusers in public trials, they never made a

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. Op. i. p. 610. And even then, as the writer remarks, he was rather apparently than really an accuser.

profession of pleading in the courts of justice, as did the orators of the age of Demosthenes. This gives rise to an important question in the history of practical politics no less than of oratory. When did the advocates in Greece become statesmen ; and by what means did they become so ?

If I do not err, it is not difficult to prove, that during, and by means of the Peloponnesian war, the labors of the advocate and the statesman first came to be united. The state trials, as is apparent from our remarks in a preceding chapter respecting the judicial institutions, produced this result. But these began to be numerous during and immediately after that war ; and they could not have become very frequent, though individual ones occurred, before the spirit of faction, which supported them, had taken root too deeply to be extirpated. Of the orators with whom we are acquainted, Antiphon is the earliest who must here be mentioned. The sketch drawn of him by Thucydides, represents a man, who, properly an advocate, was drawn into public affairs against his inclination ; and at last was obliged to defend his life for it.<sup>1</sup> Of his contemporaries, Andocides and Lysias, the first would probably have long played a conspicuous part in politics but for his restless spirit and his want of morals.<sup>2</sup> His rival Lysias, to judge from those of his orations which are still extant, was entirely an advocate ; but these were chiefly delivered on such matters, as were considered at Athens to belong to public questions at law ; and the eloquence of the bar naturally rose to a higher degree of consideration, as trials not

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. viii. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Hauptmann de Andocide, ap. Reisk. vol. viii. p. 535.

only were multiplied, but also increased in importance. In this manner, by the multitude of public processes, the path was opened to the advocates to a share in the business of the state ; and the ideas of orator and statesman became inseparable. This is nowhere more distinctly perceived, than in the writings of Isocrates, which are so often instructive on these subjects. He, who was only a teacher of eloquence (for he was conscious of being too timid to speak in public), esteemed himself no less a teacher of political science ; and as he never delivered discourses concerning public affairs, he wrote respecting them.<sup>1</sup> Several of his essays are of the class which we call memorials, directed by him to rulers and kings ; although his friends had warned him, how dangerous this kind of writing might prove for him.<sup>2</sup> They produced no greater effect than such writings commonly do, where they are not supported by personal connections ; but no one will deny, that his instructions contributed much towards the education of many orators and statesmen.<sup>3</sup>

Nothing would be more superfluous, than the desire of becoming the eulogist of that master in his art, whom the united voice of so many centuries has declared to be the first ; and whose worth the only rival whom antiquity placed by his side, has described in a manner at once exact, and equally honorable to both.<sup>4</sup> We would not here speak of Demosthenes the orator, but of Demosthenes the statesman ; and of him only as far as the

<sup>1</sup> See in particular the introduction to the Panathenaicus. Op. p. 231, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Orat. ad. Philip. Op. p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. Brut. c. 8. Isocrates, cujus domus cunctæ Græciæ quasi ludus quidam patuit, atque officina dicendi ; magnus orator et perfectus magister.

<sup>4</sup> Cicero in Bruto, c. 9.

man, the orator, and the statesman were most intimately connected in him. His political principles came from the depths of his soul; he remained true to his feelings and his convictions, amidst all changes of circumstances and all threatening dangers. Hence he was the most powerful of orators; because with him there was no surrender of his convictions, no partial compromise, in a word, no trace of weakness. This is the real essence of his art; every thing else was but secondary. And in this how much does he rise above Cicero! And yet who ever suffered more severely than he for his greatness? Of all political characters, Demosthenes is the most sublime and purest<sup>1</sup> tragic character, with which history is acquainted. When, still trembling with the vehement force of his language, we read his life in Plutarch; when we transfer ourselves into his times and his situation; we are carried away by a deeper interest, than can be excited by any hero of the epic muse or of tragedy. From his first appearance till the moment when he swallows poison in the temple, we see him contending against destiny, which seems to mock him with malignant cruelty. It throws him to the ground, but never subdues him. What a flood of emotions must have poured through his manly breast amidst this interchange of reviving and expiring hopes. How natural was it, that the lines of melancholy<sup>2</sup> and of indignation

<sup>1</sup> He was naturally calumniated beyond any other. And yet they could bring no charge against him but his silence in the affair of Harpalus (see below), and that he was in Persian pay; which was the common charge against all who did not side with Philip. Could they have proved it, is it probable that they would have kept back their proofs?

<sup>2</sup> His adversary, when he insultingly said that Demosthenes "could weep more easily than other men could laugh," Æschin. in Ctesiph. Op. iii. p. 597. Reisk. uttered a deeper truth than he himself was aware of.



such as we yet behold in his bust,<sup>1</sup> should have been imprinted on his severe countenance! Hardly had he passed the years of youth, when he appeared in his own behalf as accuser of his faithless guardians;<sup>2</sup> from whom, however, he was able to rescue only a small part of his patrimony.<sup>3</sup> In his next attempts, insulted by the multitude, though encouraged by a few who anticipated his future greatness, he supported an obstinate contest with himself, till he gained the victory over his own nature.<sup>4</sup> He now appeared once more as an accuser in public prosecutions,<sup>5</sup> before he ventured to speak on the affairs of the state. But in the very first of his public speeches<sup>6</sup> we see the independent statesman, who not dazzled by a splendid project, opposes a vast undertaking. When Philip soon after displayed his designs against Greece by his interference in the Phocian war, he for the first time appeared against that monarch in his first Philippic oration.<sup>7</sup> From this period he had found the great business of his life. Sometimes as counsellor, sometimes as accuser, sometimes as ambassador, he protected the in-

<sup>1</sup> Visconti, Iconographie, Pl. xxx.

<sup>2</sup> In the orations against Aphobus, Op. ii. Reisk.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch. iv. p. 700.

<sup>4</sup> Many stories came subsequently to be told about it; but the story of the pebble-stones which he put in his mouth, rests on the testimony of Demetrius Phalereus, who had heard it from the orator himself. Plut. iv. p. 700. The same is true of various other particulars.

<sup>5</sup> Against Androtion, Timocrates, and others. He was then 27 years old. Plut. p. 717.

<sup>6</sup> In the oration of the *συμφορὰι*, or *classes*, pronounced in the year 354 B. C. He opposed an offensive war against the Persians, for which the Athenians were ready, in the hope of effecting a general union of the Greeks. Here we already find the maxim, which formed the theme of his subsequent orations, as of the speeches of Chatham; To stand on one's own feet.

<sup>7</sup> Pronounced in the year 352.

dependence of his country against the Macedonian policy. Splendid success seemed at first to reward his exertions. He had already won a number of states for Athens;<sup>1</sup> when Philip invaded Greece, he had already succeeded not only in gaining over the Thebans, but in kindling their enthusiasm;<sup>2</sup> when the day of 'Chæronæa dashed his hopes to the earth.<sup>3</sup> But he courageously declares in the assembly of the people, that he still does not repent of the counsels which he had given.<sup>4</sup> An unexpected incident changes the whole aspect of things. Philip falls the victim of assassination;<sup>5</sup> and a youth, who as yet is but little known, is his successor. Immediately Demosthenes institutes a second alliance of the Greeks; but Alexander suddenly appears before Thebes; the terrible vengeance which he here takes, instantly destroys the league; Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and several of their supporters, are required to be delivered up; but Demades is at that time able to settle the difficulty and to appease the king.<sup>6</sup> His strength was therefore enfeebled, as Alexander departed for Asia; he begins to raise his head once more, when Sparta attempts to throw off the yoke;<sup>7</sup> but under Antipater he is overpowered. Yet it was about this very time that by the most celebrated of his discourses he gained the victory over the most eloquent of his adversaries; and Æschines was forced to depart

<sup>1</sup> Achaia, Corinth, Megara, and others. Plut. iv. p. 720.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. iv. p. 722. A leading passage respecting his political activity.

<sup>3</sup> In the year 338 B. C.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. iv. p. 726. His enemies even then endeavored to attack him, but in vain. The people assigned to him the funeral oration on those who fell at Chæronæa: and by this did honor to him and to themselves.

<sup>5</sup> In the year 336 B. C.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch, iv. p. 731.

<sup>7</sup> In the year 330 B. C.

from Athens.<sup>1</sup> But this seems only to have the more embittered his enemies, the leaders of the Macedonian party; and they soon found an opportunity of preparing his downfall. When Harpalus, a fugitive from the army of Alexander, came with his treasures to Athens, and the question arose, whether he could be permitted to remain there, Demosthenes was accused of having been corrupted by his money, at least to be silent.<sup>2</sup> This was sufficient to procure the imposition of a fine;<sup>3</sup> and as this was not paid, he was thrown into prison. From thence he succeeded in escaping; but to the man who lived only for his country, exile was no less an evil than imprisonment. He resided for the most part in Ægina and at Trœzen, from whence he looked with moist eyes towards the neighboring Attica.<sup>4</sup> Suddenly and unexpectedly a new ray of light broke through the clouds. Tidings were brought, that Alexander was dead.<sup>5</sup> The moment of deliverance seemed at hand; the excitement pervaded every Grecian state; the ambassadors of the Athenians passed through the cities; Demosthenes joined himself to the number, and exerted all his eloquence and power to unite them against Macedonia.<sup>6</sup> In requital for such services, the people decreed his return; and years of sufferings were at last followed by a day of exalted compensation. A galley was sent to Ægina to bring back the advocate of liberty. All Athens was in

<sup>1</sup> The oration for the Crown. The trial took place in the year 330 B. C.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. iv. p. 733. I leave it to the reader to form an opinion respecting the anecdotes which are there related. His accuser was Dinarchus, whose calumnious oration we still possess. Or. Gr. vol. iv. Reisk.

<sup>3</sup> Of 50 talents; (not far from 45,000 dollars); Plut. iv. p. 735

<sup>4</sup> Plut. iv. 736.

<sup>5</sup> In the year 323.

<sup>6</sup> Plut. iv. p. 737.

motion ; no magistrate, no priest remained in the city, when it was reported that Demosthenes was advancing from the Piræus.<sup>1</sup> Overpowered by his feelings, he extended his arms and declared himself happier than Alcibiades ;<sup>2</sup> for his countrymen had recalled him, not by compulsion, but from choice. It was a momentary glimpse of the sun, which still darker clouds were soon to conceal. Antipater and Craterus were victorious ; and with them the Macedonian party in Athens ; Demosthenes and his friends were numbered among the accused, and at the instigation of Demades were condemned to die. They had already withdrawn in secret from the city ; but where could they find a place of refuge ? Hyperides with two others took refuge in Ægina in the temple of Ajax. In vain ! they were torn away, dragged before Antipater, and executed. Demosthenes had escaped to the island Calauria in the vicinity of Trœzen ; and took refuge in the temple of Neptune.<sup>3</sup> It was to no purpose, that Archias, the satellite of Antipater, urged him to surrender himself under promise of pardon. He pretended he wished to write something ; bit the quill, and swallowed the poison contained in it. He then veiled himself, reclining his head backwards, till he felt the operation of the poison. “ O Neptune !” he exclaimed, “ they have defiled thy temple ; but honoring thee, I will leave it while yet living.” But he sank before the altar,<sup>4</sup> and a sudden

<sup>1</sup> Plut. iv. p. 734.

<sup>2</sup> Who saw a similar day of return.

<sup>3</sup> See, for the following, Plut. iv. p. 741.

<sup>4</sup> What a subject for the art of sculpture ! and yet one, which has never, to my knowledge, been made use of. The artist would only need to draw after Plutarch

death separated him from a world, which, after the fall of his country, contained no happiness for him. Where shall we find a character of more grandeur and purity than that of Demosthenes?

It seemed by no means superfluous to exhibit a picture of Grecian statesmen during that period, by sketching the history of him, who holds the first rank among them. We learn from it, that the sphere of action of such men, though they are called orators, extended far beyond their orations. From these, it is true, we chiefly derive our knowledge of them. But how differently would Demosthenes appear to us, if we were particularly acquainted with the details of his political career.<sup>1</sup> How much must have been needed to effect such an alliance, as he was repeatedly able to form? What journeys, what connections, what skill in winning persons of influence, and in managing mankind?

And what were the means which these statesmen of antiquity could command, when we compare them with those of modern times? They had no orders from the cabinet to execute. They had not the disposal of the wealth of nations; they could not obtain by force, what others would not voluntarily yield. Even the comparison which might be made between them and the British statesmen, is true only as far as the latter also stood in need of eloquence to confirm their influence. But the other means which Pitt could employ to form a party, were not possessed by Demosthenes. He had no presents

<sup>1</sup> If the voice of history on this subject were not loud enough, this might be inferred from the calumnies of Dinarchus. It is not inconsistent with it, that Demosthenes may sometimes, in his negotiations, have been too much carried away by the liveliness of his feelings.

to offer, no places to give away, no ribbons and titles to promise. On the contrary, he was opposed by men, who could control everything by which covetousness or ambition can be tempted. What could he oppose to them, but his talents, his activity, and his courage? Provided with no other arms, he supported the contest against the superiority of foreign strength, and the still more dangerous contest with the corruptions of his own nation. It was his high calling, to be the pillar of a sinking state. Thirty years he remained true to it, and he did not yield till he was buried beneath its ruins.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## THE SCIENCES IN CONNECTION WITH THE STATE.

THE relation which exists between science and political institutions, is of a twofold nature. It may be asked, What has the state done for the promotion of the sciences? And also, What influence in return have the sciences, or any particular branches of them, exerted on the state? Both questions deserve to be considered in the case of the Greeks.

Where the government is actively engaged in promoting the sciences, their previous existence may be inferred. To create them neither is, nor can be a concern of the state. Even where they are beginning to flourish, it cannot at once be expected, that they should receive public support; because they do not stand in immediate relation with the general government. They are the fruit of the investigations of individual eminent men; who have a right to expect nothing, but that no hindrances should be laid in the way of their inquiries and labors. Such was the situation of things in the Grecian states, at the time when scientific pursuits began to gain life. What inducement could the state have had to interfere at once for their encouragement. In Greece the motive which was of influence in the East, did not exist. Religion had no secret doctrines. She required no institutions for their dissemination. There certainly were public schools for instruction in reading, writing, and in

music (poetry and song) ; over which teachers were appointed in all the principal cities ; and the laws provided that no abuses dangerous to youth should find entrance to them.<sup>1</sup> But in most of them the masters were probably not paid by the state ;<sup>2</sup> they received a compensation from their pupils. The same is true of the more advanced instruction delivered by the sophists ; some of whom amassed wealth from their occupation ; yet not at the expense of the state, but of their pupils.

Thus it appears, that excepting the gymnasia, which were destined for bodily exercises, and of which the support was one of the duties incumbent on citizens,<sup>3</sup> no higher institutions for instruction existed previous to the Macedonian age. But when the mass of scientific knowledge had accumulated ; when it was felt how valuable that knowledge was to the state ; when the monarchical constitutions were introduced after the age of Alexander ; provision was made for such institutions ; the museum of Alexandria and that of Pergamus were established ; and it still remains for a more thorough investigation to decide, whether the state remained wholly inactive, while the schools of philosophy and of rhetoric were forming. Shall the Grecian republics, then, still continue to be cited, as has been done by the celebrated founder of a new school of political economy, in proof that the state should leave

<sup>1</sup> See the laws of Solon on this point. Petit. Leg. Att. L. ii. Tit. iv. p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> I limit the proposition on purpose, for it would be altogether false to assert generally, that this never took place. Charonidas, in his laws at Catana, which were afterwards adopted in Thurium, had expressly enacted, that the school-masters should be paid by the state ; Diod. xii. p. 80, as an affair of the utmost importance. Since the schools were so carefully watched over, may not the same have taken place in many other cities ? This however is true only of the inferior or popular schools.

<sup>3</sup> The *γυμνασια* : see Petit. iii. Tit. iv. p. 355.



the sciences to provide for themselves? Should it not rather encourage and provide for them in countries, where the culture of most of them is in several relations necessary for its welfare? Where the teacher of religion as well as the judge, where the physician as well as the statesman, stands in need of various kinds of knowledge?

But when that assertion is understood as implying that the state among the Greeks was wholly unconcerned about intellectual culture and improvement, but left these subjects to themselves, a monstrous error lies at the bottom of it. No states in the whole course of history have proportionally done more for them than the Grecian; but they did it in a different manner from the moderns. We measure intellectual culture by the state of science; for which our modern states, as is well known, have at times done so much and so little; the Greeks, on the contrary, were accustomed to find their standard in the arts. The state among the Greeks did little for the sciences, because it did every thing for the arts. The latter, as we shall more fully explain hereafter, were of more immediate importance to it than the former; while the reverse is true among the moderns. How then can we be astonished that the arts were the chief object of interest to the Grecian states?

The answer to the other question embraces a wider field: Among the Greeks, what consequences had the sciences for the state? And here we would in the first place treat of philosophy, and then annex to the inquiry on that subject, some remarks respecting history.

After so many acute and copious explanations of the

Grecian philosophy, no one will here expect a new analysis of their systems. It is our object to show how the connection between philosophy and politics originated among the Greeks, how it was continued and increased, and what was its influence?

The philosophy of the Greeks, as of other nations, began with inquiries into the origin of things. The opinions of the Ionian school respecting it are generally known. If, as a modern historical critic has made to appear very probable,<sup>1</sup> they were at first connected with religious representations, as we find them in the Orphic precepts, they did not long remain thus united, for they were stript of their mythological garb; and in this manner the philosophy of the Greeks gained its independence, while in the East it always remained connected with religion. Still it is nowhere mentioned, that the philosophers who belonged to this school, had made the state the object of their inquiries; yet if we consider Anaxagoras as of the number, his connection with Pericles, and the influence which by means of his instructions he exercised over that statesman, are remarkable. But, as we observed in a former chapter, no instruction in a philosophic system was given; but in the application of some propositions in natural philosophy to practical politics. Plutarch has preserved for us the true object. "He freed Pericles," says the biographer,<sup>2</sup> "from that superstition, which proceeds from false judgments respecting auguries and prodigies, by explaining to him their natural causes." He who bears in mind

<sup>1</sup> Bouterweck. *Commentatio de primis philosophorum Græcorum decretis physicis*. See Gött. Gel. Anzeig. 1812. St. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. i. p. 597.

the great influence exercised by this belief or superstition on the undertakings of the statesmen of antiquity, will not mistake the importance of such instruction ; and he will also understand the consequences, which could follow this diminution of respect for the popular religion in the eyes of the multitude. The persecution of Anaxagoras for denying the gods, and exercising his reason respecting celestial things,<sup>1</sup> could not be averted by Pericles himself ; who was obliged to consent to the banishment of the philosopher. And this was the commencement of the contest between philosophy and the popular religion ; a contest, which was afterwards repeatedly renewed, and was attended by further consequences, that we must not omit to observe.

Pythagoras, though somewhat younger than the founder of the Ionian school, was himself an Ionian of the island of Samos. Nevertheless he found his sphere of action not there, but in Croton in Lower Italy. Of no one of the Grecian sages is the history so involved in the obscurities of tradition and the marvellous ; and yet no other became of such political importance.<sup>2</sup> If we desire to estimate the influence of his philosophy on the state, we must by all means distinguish the influence of the Pythagorean league on the cities of Magna Græcia, from the influence of his philosophy on Greece itself, after that league had come to an end.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, i. p. 654, 655.

<sup>2</sup> We cannot exactly fix the year of the birth or of the death of Pythagoras. It is most probable that he came to Croton about the year 540 ; he was certainly there at the period of the destruction of Sybaris, in the year 510 B. C. His league, which existed at that time, was afterwards, about the year 500 B. C., dissolved by Cylon and his faction. Little would remain to be added to the critical inquiries of Meiners respecting the Pythagorean Philosophy, if he had not almost wholly neglected to treat of the political doctrines of Pythagoras.

If we subject to a critical investigation, that which antiquity relates in a credible manner of his society and their objects, we observe a phenomenon, which is in many respects without a parallel. And yet I believe this is most intimately connected with the aristocratic and democratic factions which may be remarked so frequently in the Grecian states. Pythagoras had deserted Samos, to escape from the government of Polycrates; and whatever scruples may be raised respecting his other journeys, no one has denied his residence in Egypt. At the time when he visited this country, probably under Amasis, who made it accessible to the Greeks, the throne of the Pharaohs was still standing, and the influence of the cast of priests unimpaired. From them it is certain that he adopted much, both in respect to dress and manner of living; and could it have escaped a man of his penetration, how much can be effected in a state by the union of men of influence; although he must have seen, that a cast of priests could never thrive among the Greeks? According to all which we hear respecting him, he was master of the art of exciting, not attention only, but enthusiasm. His dignity, his dress, the purity of his morals, his eloquence, were of such a kind, that men were inclined to exalt him above the class of common mortals.<sup>1</sup> A comparison of the history of the several cities in Magna Græcia, at the time of his appearing in them, distinctly shows, that the government, in the most flourishing of them, was possessed by the higher class. Against this order a popular party began about this time to be formed; and the controversies of the two

<sup>1</sup> See the passages in proof of this in Meiners, B. i. s. 405, etc. They are chiefly taken from Aristoxenus, one of the most credible witnesses.

soon occasioned the destruction of Sybaris.<sup>1</sup> Pythagoras, who was anything rather than a friend to the mob, joined the party of the higher order ; which in its turn found support in his splendid talents. But this was the period in which luxury had risen in those cities, and especially in the rich families, to a degree never before known. It could not escape a man like him, that this corruption of manners must be followed by the downfall of his party ; and hence it was natural for him to resolve to found his political reform on a moral one.<sup>2</sup> Being intimately connected with the higher order, he united them in a narrower circle ; and necessity soon occasioned a distinction to be made between the class of those who were on probation, and those who were already admitted.<sup>3</sup> Self-government was the grand object of his moral reform. For this end he found it necessary to prescribe a certain manner of life, which was distinguished by a most cleanly but not luxurious clothing, a regular diet, a methodical division of time, part of which was to be appropriated to the individual himself and part to the state. And this may have contributed not a little to form those firm friendships, without which not much influence on public affairs can be exercised in republics. His acquaintance with speculative and mathematical science need not here be mentioned, since it is altogether

<sup>1</sup> The party of the nobles, 500 in number, fled after their banishment from thence to Croton, and prayed for protection ; which they received principally by the advice of Pythagoras. Diod. xii. p. 77. Wechel. The passages which prove that those cities had aristocratical constitutions, may be found in Meiners, i. 396.

<sup>2</sup> See the passages in evidence of this, and the incredible sensation produced by him, in Meiners, i. p. 396.

<sup>3</sup> Therefore in Herod. ii. 81, the Pythagorean sect is enumerated among the mysteries.

unknown to us, how far he applied it to political purposes.

When we consider, that his society, of which he himself formed the central point, but which had its branches in the other cities of Magna Græcia, and according to some accounts even in Carthage and Cyrene, continued to exist for at least thirty years, we can realize that it may have borne not only blossoms, but fruits. His disciples came by degrees to fill the most important posts, not only in Croton, but also in the other Grecian cities; and yet at the time of the destruction of Sybaris, the sect must have existed in its full force; since Pythagoras advised the reception of the banished;<sup>1</sup> and in the war against Sybaris, one of his most distinguished scholars, the wrestler Milo,<sup>2</sup> held the supreme command. But when a secret society pursues political ends, it naturally follows, that an opposing party increases in the same degree in which the preponderating influence of such a society becomes more felt.<sup>3</sup> But in this case, the opposition existed already in the popular party.<sup>4</sup> It therefore only needed a daring leader, like Cylon, to scatter the society by violence; the assembly was surprised, and most of them cut down, while a few only, and with them their master, escaped. After such a victory of the adverse faction, the expulsion of the rest of the Pythago-

<sup>1</sup> Diod. l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Violent bodily exercises formed a part of the discipline of Pythagoras. Six times in one Olympiad, prizes at Olympia were gained in those days by inhabitants of Croton. Must not this too have contributed to increase the fame of Pythagoras?

<sup>3</sup> Need I cite the example of the Illuminati?

<sup>4</sup> Cylon, the author of that commotion, is described as the leader of the democratic party; and this is proved by the anarchy which ensued after the catastrophe, and continued till order was restored by the mother cities in Achaia.

reans who remained alive, from their offices, was a natural consequence; and the political importance of the society was at an end. It was never able to raise its head again.

With the political doctrines of the Pythagoreans, we are acquainted only from later writers, who are yet worthy of credit, and of whom accounts and fragments have been preserved, especially in the collections of Stobæus. "They regarded anarchy," says Aristoxenus,<sup>1</sup> "as the greatest evil; because man cannot exist without social order. They held that every thing depended on the relation between the governing and the governed; that the former should be not only prudent, but mild; and that the latter should not only obey, but love their magistrates; that it was necessary to grow accustomed even in boyhood to regard order and harmony as beautiful and useful, disorder and confusion as hateful and injurious." From the fragments of the writings of the early Pythagoreans, as of Archytas, Diotogenes, and Hippodamus,<sup>2</sup> we perceive that they were not blindly attached to a single form of government; but only insisted that there should be no unlawful tyranny. Where a royal government existed, kings should be subject to the laws, and act only as the chief magistrates.<sup>3</sup> They regarded a mixed constitution as the best; and although they were far from desiring unlimited democracies, they desired quite as little unlimited aristocracies; but even where the

<sup>1</sup> Stob. Serm. xli. p. 243. This evidence is taken either from Aristoxenus, or from Aristotle himself, and therefore, according to Meiners, not to be rejected.

<sup>2</sup> Meiners considers all these writings as not genuine. His reasoning however does not apply to the political fragments, which are to be found in cap. xli. and xliii.

<sup>3</sup> See in particular the fragments of Archytas. Serm. xliv. p. 314.

administration resided principally in the hands of the upper class, they reserved a share of it for the people.<sup>1</sup>

Though the political agency of the society terminated with its dissolution, the Pythagorean lessons by no means became extinct. They were extended through Greece with the writings of the Pythagoreans, who were paid with high prices; but in that country they gained political importance, only so far as they contributed to the education of individual distinguished men. Of these, we need only to mention Epaminondas.

In Greece, the sophists are generally considered to have been the first, who applied philosophy to political science, which then became a subject of scientific instruction. Yet Plutarch, in a remarkable passage,<sup>2</sup> speaks of a political school which had been kept up in Athens, from the time of Solon. "Themistocles," says he, "could not have been a pupil of Anaxagoras, as some contend. He was a disciple of Mnesiphilus, who was neither an orator, nor one of the physical philosophers;<sup>3</sup> but who was employed on that kind of wisdom, which consists in political skill and practical sagacity, and which from the time of Solon, had been preserved as in a school." That a man like Solon should have gathered around himself a circle which he made acquainted with his thoughts and maxims, was not only natural, but was necessary for the preservation of his code of laws; and it was not less natural that his younger friends should in turn deliver to theirs the principles of that venerable sage. But the words of the biographer himself, show

<sup>1</sup> Compare the fragment of Diotogenes, cap. xlvi. p. 329.

<sup>2</sup> In Themistocles, Op. i. p. 440.

<sup>3</sup> The Ionian and Eleatic sages



clearly enough, that no methodical instruction was given; but principles of practical wisdom, consisting in maxims for the conducting of public affairs, and drawn from experience; maxims of which the few remaining poetical fragments of the lawgiver contain so valuable a store.

From this practical direction, the Grecian philosophers after the times of Pythagoras entirely withdrew; and devoted themselves altogether to metaphysical speculations. They were employed in inquiries respecting the elements, and the nature of things; and came necessarily upon the question, which has so often been repeated, and which never can be answered, respecting the truth or falsehood of the perceptions of our senses. We know with what zeal these inquiries were made in the Eleatic school. They employed in a great measure Xenophanes, Parmenides, Heraclitus, Empedocles, and others. If therefore we read of individuals among these men, that they attained to political eminence,<sup>1</sup> their philosophy was connected with their political station only so far as they thus became conspicuous; and because wise men were selected for counsellors. In one point a nearer relation existed between their philosophy and the state; we mean in their diminishing or attempting to diminish the respect for the popular religion. In a country where the religion was a poetical one, and where philosophy had become entirely distinct from religion, the spirit of free, unlimited speculation, on its awakening, could not but scrutinize the popular faith, and soon detect its weaknesses. This we hear was done by Xenophanes, who with equal boldness used bitter expressions

<sup>1</sup> As Empedocles in Agrigentum; who is said to have refused the diadem, and confirmed the liberties of the people. Diog. Laërt. viii. ii. 9.

respecting the gods and the epic poets who have invented about the gods such indecent fables.<sup>1</sup> This contradiction between philosophy and the popular religion, is on the one side the most certain proof of the independence of the former; but it was also the point, in which the state and philosophy came in contact, not without danger to the state, and if not to philosophy itself, yet to the philosophers.

Yet however far the speculations of those reasoners were removed from the state and from politics, the spirit of the times and necessity created many points of contact; which serve to explain the appearance of the sophists, and the part which they acted. Without regarding their doctrines, we may find their external character designated by the circumstance, that they were the first who gave instruction for pay. This presupposes that the want of scientific instruction began to be felt; and this again implies, that independent of such instruction, the nation had made progress in intellectual culture. In other words; he who desired to become distinguished in the state, felt the necessity of improving his mind by instruction. He was obliged to learn to speak, and therefore to think; and exercises in these two things constituted the whole instruction of the sophists. But it was of great importance, that the minds of men had been employed and continued to be employed so much with those metaphysical questions, which, as they from their very nature can never be answered with certainty, are well suited for disputation, and admit so various answers.

From the copious inquiries which have been made

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laërt. ix. ii. 3.

respecting the sophists by modern writers of the history of philosophy,<sup>1</sup> and from the preceding remarks, it is sufficiently evident that they were a fruit of the age. It is worthy of remark, that the most celebrated of them came from the most various parts of the Grecian world; Gorgias, who begins the series from Leontium in Sicily; Protagoras from Abdera on the coast of Thrace; Hippias from Colophon in Asia Minor; not to mention a multitude of those who were less famous. This is a remarkable proof, how generally, since the Persian wars, a literary spirit had begun to animate the nation. Most of those men, it is true, removed to Athens; to which place Gorgias was sent as ambassador during the Peloponnesian war; because this city, so long as it held the first rank, opened the widest and most profitable theatre for their exertions; but they also often travelled through the cities of Greece in the train of their pupils; met

<sup>1</sup> Yet even after all that has here been done by Meiners, Tenneman, and others, many things remain obscure; for the explanation of which, the foundation must be laid in a more accurate chronology of the sophists. The learned dissertation of Geel *Historia Critica Sophistarum, qui Socratis aetate Athenis flouruerunt* in *Nova Acta literaria Societatis Rheno Trajectinae* 1823, treats only of the age of Socrates; yet it explains the difference between rhetoricians and sophists; and the causes of the origin of the sophists. Even the sophists before the Macedonian times (of a later period we here make no mention,) did not continue the same; and we should do Gorgias and Protagoras great injustice, were we to place them in the same rank with those, against whom the aged Isoerates in his *Panathenaicus*, Op. p. 236, and *De Sophistis*, p. 293, makes such bitter complaints. Gorgias, Protagoras, and Hippias, were commonly called the elder sophists; of whom Gorgias is said to have come to Athens in the year 427 as ambassador, although this is not mentioned by Thucydides. But it is evident from Aristophanes, who brought his *Clouds* upon the stage, for the first time, 424 years B. C., that at that epoch, the sophists had already been long established at Athens. It appears that the great celebrity and wealth of the sophists commenced in the times of Gorgias and the following. In the *Clouds*, Socrates and his pupils are represented so far from being rich, as poor wretches, who do not know how they are to subsist from one day to another.

with the kindest reception ; and were employed as counsellors in public affairs, and not unfrequently as ambassadors. They gave instruction at a high price to all young men who joined them, in every branch of knowledge, deemed essential to their education. This undoubtedly occasioned that boasting of universal knowledge, which has been laid to their charge ; but it must also be remembered, that in those days the extent of the sciences was still very limited.

The sophists at first embraced in their course of instruction, philosophy as well as rhetoric. But that which they called philosophy, was, as with the scholastic philosophers, the art of confounding an opponent by syllogisms and sophisms ; and the subjects about which they were most fond of speculating, were some of those metaphysical questions, respecting which we ought finally to learn, that we never can know any thing. This kind of reasoning, since disputation and speaking were taught, was very closely connected with rhetoric. Subsequently the sophists and rhetoricians formed distinct classes ; but the different classes, which Isocrates distinguished in his old age,<sup>1</sup> could hardly have been so decidedly marked in his youth.

The precepts and the very name of the sophists became odious among the ancients ; and it would be in vain to attempt to free them entirely from the reproaches, which were cast on them by sages and by the comic writers. But yet they cannot be deprived of the glory of having made the higher class of their nation sensible of the necessity of a liberal education. They rose rapidly and extraordinarily, because they were deeply connected

<sup>1</sup> Isocrates, *Op.* p. 293, etc.

with the wants of the times. In states, where every thing was discussed orally, and where every thing was just beginning to bloom, the instructors in logic and rhetoric could not but be acceptable. But in two respects, they soon became injurious and even dangerous to the state ; by reducing eloquence to the mere art of disputing, and by degrading or ridiculing the popular religion.

The first seems to have been a very natural consequence of the condition of the sciences at that time. The more limited is the knowledge of men, the more bold are they in their assertions ; the less they know, the more they believe they do and can know. Man persuades himself of nothing more readily, than that he has arrived at the bounds of human knowledge. This belief creates in him a dogmatical spirit ; because he believes he can prove every thing. But where it is believed, that every thing can be proved, there naturally arises the art of proving the contrary proposition ; and the art of disputing among the sophists degenerated to this. The art of confounding right and wrong, objected to them by the comic poets, may have had a very injurious influence on social life ; but a greater evil resulting from it was the destroying of a nice sense of truth ; for even truth itself becomes contemptible, when it is believed, that it can as well be refuted, as established, by an argument.

That the popular religion was held in less esteem, was probably a consequence of the more intimate connection, which existed between the elder sophists and their predecessors and contemporaries of the Eleatic school. In these accusations injustice has perhaps been done to some of them ; for it may be doubted whether Protagoras de-

served the name of atheist;<sup>1</sup> yet no circumstance probably contributed so much to make them odious in the eyes of the people.

If to these things we add their lax moral principles, which consisted in lessons of prudence, how life could be made easy and be enjoyed, but which doubtless assisted in procuring for them pupils and followers, we can survey all the evil influence which they exercised. And yet these very aberrations of the human understanding may have been necessary, to awaken the minds which were to point out better paths.

The son of Sophroniscus is the first among these. He began the opposition to the sophists. Just as Philip called forth a Demosthenes, the sophists produced a Socrates. After all that antiquity has left us concerning him, and all the observations of modern historians, he is one of the characters most difficult to be understood, and stands by himself, not only in his own nation, but in the whole history of the culture of our race. For what sage, who was neither a public teacher, nor a writer, nor a religious reformer, has had such an influence on his own age and on posterity, as he? We willingly concede, that his sphere of action has far exceeded his own expectations and designs. These hardly had reference to posterity. Every thing seems to indicate, that they were calculated for his contemporaries alone. But it may with justice be remarked, that this only increases the difficulty of an explanation. For who will not ask; How could

<sup>1</sup> He had only said he knew not whether the gods existed or not; yet for this he was banished from Athens, and his writings were burnt. Sext. Emp. ix. 57. That the atheism of Prodicus is uncertain, has been already observed by Tennemann. *Gesch. d. Phil. i. S. 377.*

this man, without intending it, have had an influence on all centuries after his time? The chief reason is to be found in the nature of his philosophy; yet external causes came to his assistance.

After so many have written upon his philosophy, it would be superfluous to delineate it anew. It made its way, because it immediately related to the higher matters of interest to man. While the sophists were brooding over mere speculations, and their contests were but contests of words, Socrates taught those who came near him, to look into themselves; man and his relations with the world were the objects of his investigations. That we may not repeat what has already been so well remarked by others, we will here allow ourselves only some general observations respecting the philosopher himself and his career.

His influence was most closely connected with the forms of social life in Athens; in a country where these are not the same, a second Socrates could never exercise the influence of the first. He gave instruction neither in his house, nor in any fixed place; the public squares and halls were the favorite scenes of his conversations. For such instruction a proper audience can be found only in a nation, in which private life is in a very high degree public in its nature. This was the case with the Athenians. Such a method of teaching could be effectual among them, because they were not only accustomed to pass a large portion of the day in places of public resort, but also to speak of almost every subject which could occur. It was here that the sophists passed much of their time, not to give formal instruction, which, as it was paid for, was given in a definite place, but, as Plato re-

proaches them, in order to gain rich young men as pupils. The war which Socrates had once for all declared against them, made him from choice and most frequently, pass his time, where he could expect to find his adversaries, as well as his friends and followers.<sup>1</sup>

The manner in which he taught, was not less important. It was by conversation, not by continued discourse. He had therefore adopted the very manner which is most suitable to public places. But in two respects, his conversation, apart from the matter it contained, was distinguished from the common intercourse of life. The one was the irony which he knew how to introduce, especially in his attacks on the sophists; the other and more important, was the conviction which he often expressed, that he spoke from the impulse of divine power. Socrates differs from the whole class of men, whom we embrace under the name of prophets; for, while these appear as the immediate envoys and messengers of the Divinity, he did but occasionally insinuate his claim to this character, although he never denied it. He neither desired to found a new religion, nor to improve the existing one; which was necessarily the object of the prophets. The appearance of a Socrates was therefore the noblest result of the separation of philosophy from religion, a merit belonging solely to the Greeks; in no Eastern nation could a Socrates have found his sphere.

<sup>1</sup> From this point of resemblance, I think we may explain how Aristophanes could confound Socrates with the sophists. He represents him as giving instruction for money, and in a house of his own, appropriated to study (*ἑστῆσσι/ῶσι*); and these two circumstances are true of the sophists, but not of Socrates. I can therefore discover in *his* Socrates nothing but the representative of the sophists. To be sure the comic poet would have better provided for his reputation with posterity, if he had brought a Prodicus or Gorgias upon the stage instead of Socrates.



But he became a martyr to his doctrines. It would be superfluous to prove anew, the groundlessness of the charges, that he denied the popular religion, and was a corrupter of the youth.<sup>1</sup> But we will not neglect to observe, that by his death he produced even more important consequences than by his life. If he had been snatched away by sickness, who knows whether he would have been remembered more than other meritorious instructors? His friends and pupils would have spoken of him with respect, but hardly with enthusiasm. But the poisoned cup ensured him immortality. By his death, in connection with his doctrines, he exhibited in reality one of those sublime ideal conceptions, of which the Grecian nation alone is so fertile; he presented what till then had been wanting, the image of a sage who dies for his convictions.

The philosophy of Socrates had no immediate relations with politics. Its object was man, considered as a moral being, not as a citizen. Hence it was indirectly of the more importance to the state; since it was nothing less than an attempt to meet the ruin, with which the state was threatened by a false kind of philosophy. This object was not fully attained; but must the blame of the failure be attributed to Socrates?

From his school, or rather, from his circle, a number of distinguished minds were produced, who in part differed from each other in their opinions and systems, as opposite poles. This could not have happened, but because Socrates had no system, and hence laid no chains on the spirit of inquiry. He would but excite the minds

<sup>1</sup> See, beside the works on the history of philosophy, the Essay of Tychseln, Ueber den Process des Socrates, in *Bibl. d. alten Litt. u. Kunst. St. 1. 2.*

of others ; and hence we perceive how there could have been among his associates, an Antisthenes, who made self-denial, and an Aristippus, who made enjoyment, the basis of ethics ; a Pyrrho, whose object it was to doubt, and a Euclid, who was eager to demonstrate. As the philosophy of these men was in no manner connected with politics, we pass over them ; that we may not leave unmentioned the greatest of all the pupils of Socrates.

To comprehend the character of Plato, a genius would be required, hardly inferior to his. Common or even uncommon philosophic acumen, industry, and learning in this case are not sufficient. The mind of Plato rose above visible objects, and entered on the higher regions, where exist the eternal first forms of things. To these his eye was undeviatingly directed, as the only regions where knowledge can be found, — since there is nothing beyond opinion in the world of the senses, — and where real beauty, goodness, and justice dwell eternal and unchangeable as the Divinity, and yet distinct from the Divinity. He who cannot follow Plato to those regions, and feel with him in the veil of mythological fables, what he himself felt rather than knew ; may make many valuable and correct remarks respecting that philosopher, but is not capable of presenting a perfect and adequate image of him. The attempt to give a body to that which is ethereal, is vain ; for it then ceases to be ethereal. But the relation in which he stood to his nation can be very distinctly delineated. In him the poetic character of the Greeks expressed itself philosophically. It was only in a nation so thoroughly poetical, that a Plato could be produced.

Socrates had contemplated man as a moral being ;

Plato's philosophy embraced the social union. Long before him, the state had so far become an object of speculation, that writers had endeavored to sketch the model of a perfect constitution. No more immediate occasion for such exercise could be found than in the Grecian cities, which formed as it were the model of a chart of free states; which by means of their wants and changes, almost necessarily conducted the reflecting mind to such objects of thought. The first distinct attempt of this kind, as we expressly learn from Aristotle,<sup>1</sup> was made by Hippodamus of Miletus, who must have been a contemporary of Themistocles.<sup>2</sup> The marked separation of the three classes of artists, agriculturists, and soldiers; and the division which he makes of land into sacred, public, and private land, remind us of the Egyptian institutions. Not only his plan, but that of Phaneas of Chalcedon, is discussed at large by Aristotle. Investigations of constitutions and codes of laws now became subjects frequently treated of; they could hardly have much practical influence, since the days were past in which new lawgivers could have appeared in Greece. Of many works composed in those times, none have come down to us but the two treatises of Plato. These, especially that of the republic, are intelligible only to those who comprehend and bear always in mind, that the Greeks regarded a state as a moral person, which governs itself, and cannot be swayed by any impulse from a higher power,<sup>3</sup> nor be governed by another. Then it

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Polit. ii. cap. 8.

<sup>2</sup> According to Aristotle, he was employed in the construction of the Piræus, which was the work of Themistocles.

<sup>3</sup> We would here especially refer to the following excellent treatise. J. L. G. de Geer. *Diatrise in Politices Platonicæ Principia. Trajeati ad Rhenum, 1810.*

is no longer difficult to explain the close and indissoluble union between morals and politics, a union which modern writers have so frequently called in question.

During the days of the freedom of Greece, almost every grand question connected with theoretical or practical philosophy, was made the object of inquiry and discussion. The later writers may perhaps have answered them differently and with greater acuteness; but to the earliest belongs the great merit of having presented to the reflecting mind, the objects after which they should strive. The relations of the later systems of Grecian philosophy to the earlier ones, show how far the Stoic system was allied to the Cynic, the Epicurean to the Cyrenaic, that of the later skeptics to that of Pyrrho and the Eleatic school, — these subjects we leave to be explained by some writer, who is capable of giving, not a voluminous, but succinct and spirited account of the efforts made among the Greeks by the understanding, as employed on subjects of philosophy.

If the relation of philosophy to the political institutions must be estimated by its reaction on them, the reverse is in some measure true of the science of history. This stands in connection with the state, inasmuch as it is the result of the changes and destinies of the state. It is true, that history was not long limited among the Greeks to their own nation. As there was free intercourse with foreigners, accounts and traditions respecting their origin, manners, and revolutions became common. But everything proceeded from the history of their native country; this always remained the central point. And here again we perceive the just views of the Greeks. Is not each nation the nearest object to itself? And next to the

present moment, what can interest it more than its own previous condition ?

This was early and very generally felt ; and if historical accounts have been preserved but scantily or not at all, the fault is to be attributed, not to the want of exertions to ensure that end, but to the imperfection of the means which the nations could control ; that is, not merely to the want of an alphabet, but of the materials which are used in writing. Persepolis, Thebes, Mexico, — do not all these furnish distinct proofs of the truth of our remark ?

But not less depended on the circumstance, whether any persons, a peculiar class or cast in the nation, were commissioned to record the events as they passed. Where a priesthood existed, the preparing of the calendar, however imperfect or perfect it might be, was their business ; and to this it was easy to add the writing of annals.

The Greeks had no such separate order of priests ; and hence we hear nothing of any annals which they possessed.<sup>1</sup> Yet religion still did something for history. A multitude of relations, preserving the memory of early events, were associated with the consecrated offerings in the temples. How often are these referred to by Herodotus ? and the historical remarks of Pausanias are almost always made in connection with them. But they could neither fix a succession of time, nor do more than confirm single facts.

<sup>1</sup> Where a sort of hereditary priesthood existed, as in Sicily, from the earliest times, a sort of annals was connected with it. They seem, however, to have consisted chiefly in an enumeration of the succession of priests, and therefore hardly deserve the name.

The history, therefore, of the Greeks emanated from an entirely different source, from tradition ; and since this supplied poetry with its subjects, the poets remained for centuries the sole preservers of traditional accounts. But it does not follow, that Grecian history was an invention, because it was originally poetical. Indeed, it never entirely lost that character. The subjects of history, as presented by tradition, were only interwoven with fictions. But it is obvious of itself, that the character of the Grecian traditions must have had a great or even a decisive influence on the character of their history.

By means of the original and continued division of the nation into many tribes, the traditions were very much enriched. Each tribe had its heroes and its deeds of valor to employ the bard. To convince ourselves of this, we need but cast a glance on the tales of the Grecian heroes. Individuals among them, who were more distinguished than the rest, as Hercules and Jason, became the heroes of the nation, and therefore the favorites of the poets. And after the first great national enterprize, after Troy had fallen, need we be astonished that the historic muse preferred this to all other subjects ?

All this is too well known to need any more copious exposition.<sup>1</sup> But much as Homer and the cyclic poets eclipsed the succeeding ones, historic poetry kept pace with the political culture of the nation. This union we must not leave unobserved.

That advancement in political culture was, as we observed above, connected with the rising prosperity of

<sup>1</sup> See Heyne. *Historiæ scribendæ inter Græcos primordia*. Comment. Soc. Sc. Gotting. vol. xiv.

the cities in Greece and of the colonies. The founding of cities (*κτισεις*) therefore formed an essential part of the earlier history. But cities were founded by heroes; and the traditions respecting these things were therefore intimately connected with the rest. Who does not see, how wide a field was here opened for historic poetry? Such narrations had always a lasting interest for the inhabitants; they were by their very nature, of a kind to be exaggerated till they became marvellous; and were connected with accounts of the most ancient voyages; stories of the wonders of foreign and distant countries; the island of the Cyclops, the garden of the Hesperides, the rich Iberia, and others. What could afford more agreeable nourishment to the imagination of a youthful people? What could be more attractive to the poets?

Hence there arose among the Greeks a particular class of historic poems, which, though in subject and form most intimately connected with other poems, were yet specially commemorative of the founding of the several cities. The class embraced, it is true, cities of the mother country;<sup>1</sup> but chiefly related to the colonies; for their establishment, intimately interwoven with the history of heroes, offered the richest materials.

History continued to be treated in a poetical manner, till near the time of the Persian wars. How deeply, therefore, must the poetic character have been imprinted upon Grecian history? Experience has taught that it

<sup>1</sup> Especially Athens. Here is the source of the lake Atthides. So too Eumelus has celebrated in song the oldest history of Corinth. Bibliothek d. alten Litt. und Kunst. ii. 94. Of narratives respecting colonies, we would cite that of Herodotus on the origin of Cyrene; of which the poetic source seems unquestionable. How many similar relations in Pausanias betray the same origin?

was indelibly so. When the first writers appeared who made use of prose, this character was changed only with respect to the form, but by no means to the matter. They related in prose what the poets had told in verse. This is expressly stated by Strabo.<sup>1</sup> "The earliest writers," says he, "Cadmus of Miletus, Pherecydes, Hecatæus, preserved the poetic character, though not the measure of verse. Those who came after them, were the first to descend from that height to the present style of writing." The opinion of Cicero seems therefore to have been ill founded, when he compares the oldest historians, and particularly Pherecydes with the earliest annalists of the Romans, Fabius Pictor and Cato,<sup>2</sup> whose style was certainly not poetical.

The larger number and the earliest of the narrators of traditions,<sup>3</sup> as Herodotus styles them in distinction from the epic poets, were Ionians. Epic poetry was followed by narrations in prose, in the very countries where it had been cultivated most successfully. History has left us in uncertainty respecting the more immediate causes of this change; but has not the East always been the land of fables? Here, where the crowd of colonial cities was springing up, which were founded toward the end of the heroic age, that class of narrations which relate to these subjects, found the most appropriate themes. In explaining therefore the origin of historic science among the Greeks, it may perhaps be proper to remember, that they participated in the character of the oriental nations; although they merit the glory of having sub-

<sup>1</sup> Strabo. i. p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero de Oratore, ii. 12.

<sup>3</sup> The *λογογράφοι*, as Hecatæus and others.



sequently given to that science its true and peculiar character.

But in the period in which the prose style of narration was thus forming, the improvement of historic science appears to have been promoted by several very natural causes. The larger number and the most celebrated of those mythological historians lived and flourished in the latter half of the sixth century before the christian era ; that is, not long before the commencement of the Persian wars.<sup>1</sup> Of these the earliest are said to have been Cadmus of Miletus, and Hecatæus of the same place, Acusilaus of Argos, Pherecydes of Syros, Charon of Lampsacus, and several others whom Dionysius of Halicarnassus enumerates. They belong to the age in which the nation was rising in youthful energy ; when it was already extended to the west and the east, and its flourishing cities were engaged in various commerce ; when it had become acquainted with many nations, and travelling had begun to be common. From the title of the works of these narrators of traditions, it is evident that they were not careful to limit themselves to the accounts, which they found in the ancient epic poets ; but that they took a wider range, embracing the history of cities and nations, and also the description of the coasts of the countries. A proof of this is found in the catalogue of the writings of Hellanicus the Lesbian, one of the latest of them.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Between the 60th and 70th Olympiad, or 540 — 500 years B. C.

<sup>2</sup> See Creuzer's *Historic Art* among the Greeks in its Origin and Progress. Compare Dahlmann's *Historical Inquiries*, in the *Life of Herodotus*, p. 108, especially on Hecatæus.

These remarks, when considered in connection, will serve to show us the character of history before Herodotus. It was in its origin entirely Grecian; and even when the sphere of observation was extended to foreign countries, kept pace with the political advancement of the nation. It preserved its poetical character, and therefore did not become critical; but it was developed with perfect freedom; and was never held by the priests in bondage to religion. As poetry had for a long time been the means of its preservation, it became in some measure the play of fancy, (although epic poetry was much more restricted than the subsequent lyric and tragic); but in return, as it was propagated by no hieroglyphics, it could never, as in Egypt, degenerate into mere symbolical narration. When it came to be transferred from poetry to prose, it was necessarily connected with improvements in the art of writing; and the deficiency of our accounts on this subject<sup>1</sup> is one of the chief reasons why we are so little able to mark the progress of its particular branches. But whatever influence these causes may have exercised; the great reason which retarded historic science before Herodotus, lay in the want of subjects.

Before the Persian wars, there was no subject capable of inspiring the historian. The Trojan war, the Argonautic expedition, all great undertakings, belonged to tradition, and hence belonged more than half to poetry. The narrations of the origin of the individual cities, accounts of distant nations and countries, might gratify curiosity, might afford amusement; but nothing more. There existed no great national subject of universal interest.

<sup>1</sup> See Wolfii Prolegom. p. xl. etc.

At length came the Persian wars. The victory at Marathon first awakened the spirit of valor; whether this was more inflamed by the defeat at Thermopylæ, or the victory at Salamis, it is difficult to say; with the battle of Platææ, freedom was saved. What a subject for the historic Muse!

This subject, from its very nature, belonged exclusively to history; and poetry had no share in it. It was no subject of hoary antiquity, nor yet of the present moment; but of a period which had but recently passed away. And yet it came so variously in contact with tradition, that a historian in a critical age would often have been compelled to take his walks into the regions of mythology. How much more, then, at a time, when the bounds between history and tradition had not yet been in the slightest degree marked out.

Herodotus employed himself on this subject, and managed it in a manner which surpassed all expectation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dahlmann in 1823 published his careful criticism on the life of the father of History, in the second volume of his *Historical Inquiries*. Herodot.; aus seinem Buche sein Leben. The critic recognises the value of the great historian, to whose just fame I hope by this work to have contributed something; yet he proves, that on many points an uncertainty prevails, sufficient to warrant a difference of opinion. I count among them, the time of the composition and publication of the work of Herodotus. Certainly in its present form, it is not the production of his youth; and it is quite as improbable, that it could have been written after his seventy-seventh year. The mention by Dahlmann of several events as late as 408 B. C., warrants an inference only as to the time when Herodotus published his work, not as to the time when he wrote it. The death of Amyrtæus of Syncellus, as Dahlmann remarks, and as the new Armenian edition of Eusebius confirms, happened eight years earlier, that is 416 B. C.; and if the Darius, mentioned i. 130, is Darius Nothus, it is surprising, that he is not more precisely designated. The most natural inference is, that Herodotus, as a young man, collected his materials on his travels, wrote it at Thurium in the maturity of manhood, about 444 B. C.; but did not publish it till his old age. That he formed his design early and travelled to further it, cannot be doubted. How

Many things, it is true, served to facilitate his labor. Many attempts had been made to explain the earliest history of cities and nations ; travelling had been rendered easy by the extensive commerce of the Grecian cities, and several of his predecessors are known to have visited many countries ;<sup>1</sup> the mythological writers (*λογιογράφοι*) had already formed the language for prosaic narration ; and the nation for which he wrote, was already awake to the beauties of historic composition. Still he was the first who undertook to treat of a purely historical subject ; and thus to take the decisive step, which gave to history its rank as an independent science. Yet he did not limit himself to his chief subject, but gave it such an extent, that his work, notwithstanding its epic unity, became in a certain sense a universal history.<sup>2</sup> Continuing the thread of his story from the times when controversies first arose between the Hellenes and the barbarians, till those when at Plataeæ the war was terminated so gloriously for the Greeks, Hellas, attacked but liberated, became the great subject of his narration ; opportunities were constantly presenting themselves or were introduced, of interweaving the description and history of the countries and nations, which required to be mentioned ; without ever losing sight of his chief object, to which he returns from every episode. He had himself visited the greater part of these countries and nations ; had seen them with his own eyes ; had collected information from the most

many an additional inquiry was necessary as he composed it ! It was a work, fit to employ a long life.

<sup>1</sup> As Hecataeus and Pherecydes.

<sup>2</sup> Only the history of the Assyrians he reserved for a separate work ; i. 184. This he probably never wrote. Dahlmann, p. 227.

credible sources. But when he enters upon the antiquities of the nations, especially of his own, he makes use of the means afforded him by his age; and here his work borders on those of the earlier historians (the *λογογράφοι*). It is no longer necessary to appear as his defender; posterity has not continued unjust towards him. No writer has received more frequent confirmation by the advances which, within the last thirty years, have been made in the knowledge of nations and countries, than Herodotus, who was formerly so often the object of ridicule. But our sole purpose was to show in what manner the science of history had been elevated by his choice of a subject; and how this choice was intimately connected with the impulse given to the political character of his nation.

The first great step had thus been taken. A purely historical subject, relating to the past, but to no distant period, and no longer belonging to tradition, had been treated by a master, who had devoted the largest part of his life to a plan, framed with deliberation and executed with enthusiasm. The nation possessed an historical work, which first showed what history is; and which was particularly well fitted to awaken a taste for it. As Herodotus read his work to all Greece assembled at Olympia, a youth, according to the tradition, was incited by it to become, not his imitator, but his successor.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That Thucydides was not present as a hearer of Herodotus, is clearly proved by Dahlmann, p. 20 and 216. Had he, as a youth of sixteen in the year 456 B. C., listened to Herodotus, he must have formed his purpose of becoming an historian at least two-and-thirty years before he carried it into effect, and before he had chosen a subject; for his biographer, Marcellinus, informs us, that he did not write his history till after his exile, that is, after the year 424 B. C. The narrative of Lucian, that Herodotus read his history aloud at Olympia, contains no

Thucydides appeared. His predecessor had written a history of the past. He became the historian of his own time. He was the first who seized on this idea, on which the whole character of his work depends; though others, especially the ancient cities, looked for it in his style, his eloquence, and other secondary matters. By this means he advanced the science of history in a higher degree than he himself was aware of. His subject made him necessarily a critic.

The storm of the Persian wars had been terrific, but transitory. During its continuance, no historian could appear. It was not till after its fury had for some time abated, and men had regained their composure of mind, that Herodotus could find a place. Amidst the splendor of the victories which had been gained, under the shade of security won by valor, — with what emotions did the Greek look back upon those years? Who could be more welcome to him than the historian, who painted for him this picture of his own glory, not only as a whole, but in its parts! The age of Thucydides, on the contrary, was full of grandeur, but of difficulties. In the long and obstinate war with one another, the Grecian states sought to overturn each other from their very foundations. It was not the age of wars only, but of revolutions with all their horrors. Whether a man were an aristocrat or

date; the assumption that it was in 456 B. C., rests on the anecdote about Thucydides, which Lucian does not mention. Why then may it not have taken place at a later day? Lucian may have colored the narrative, but hardly invented it. That such readings took place, not before the whole people, but only before those interested, follows of course; and if Herodotus read not his whole work, but only a part of it, (and his work was probably finished by portions) the difficulties suggested by Dahlmann, disappear. These remarks are designed not to prove the truth of the narrative, but to show, that it does not involve improbabilities.

democrat, a friend of Athens or of Sparta, was the question on which depended fortune, liberty, and life. A beneficent reverse rescued Thucydides from the whirlpool; and gave him that immortality, which the capture of Amphipolis never could have conferred on him.<sup>1</sup> The fruit of his leisure was the history of his age; a work he himself proposed to write, and actually wrote, for eternity.<sup>2</sup>

This is not the place to eulogize the man, who remained calm amidst all the turbulence of the passions, the only exile that has written an impartial history. His acquaintance with states and business, his deep political acuteness, his style, nervous, though occasionally uncouth, — have all been illustrated by others. We will only allow ourselves to show, by a few remarks, how much historic science was advanced by the nature of his subject.

The undertaking of the man who was the first to form the idea of writing the history of his own times, and of events in which he himself had a share, must not be compared with that of the modern writer, who compiles it from many written documents. He was compelled to investigate every thing by personal inquiry; and that, too, in a period when every thing was misrepresented by passion and party spirit. But antiquity had not inwrapped his subject in the veil of tradition, nor had it in its nature any epic interest. The subject was thoroughly prosaic; setting before the writer no other aim, than that of ex-

<sup>1</sup> After Amphipolis had been taken by Brasidas, Thucydides was accused of having come too late to the assistance of that city, and was banished by the Athenian people; he actually passed twenty years in exile in Thrace, where he possessed valuable mines. Let Thucydides himself be heard on this subject. iv. 104, and v. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Κτῆμα εἰς ἄσι.* Thucyd. i. 22.

hibiting the truth. In this lay the sole interest; and to ascertain and repeat the truth, is all which we can fairly demand of the historian. We honor and respect him, because, penetrated with the consciousness of his dignity, he never for a moment becomes untrue to it. A sentiment of reverence accompanies us from the first to the last leaf of his work. Not the historian, History herself seems to address us.

But to what new views must he have been led, when with the desire of arriving at truth, he turned his eyes to the form under which history had thus far appeared? It was his immediate aim to relate the events of his own times; but the preceding age could not remain wholly excluded from the sphere of his observation. It appeared to him clothed in the mantle of tradition; and he who scrutinized every thing with care, was not caught by its delusive splendor. He endeavored to contemplate antiquity, as it was, to take from it this false glare, leaving nothing but the light of truth; and thus was produced that invaluable introduction which precedes his work.

By such means Thucydides was the inventor of an art, which before him had been almost unknown, the art of historic criticism; without being conscious of the infinite value of his invention. For he did not apply it to all branches of knowledge, but only to his subject, because it was a natural consequence of that subject. The historic Muse had made him acquainted with her most secret nature; no one before or after him has drawn the line more clearly between history and tradition. And what is this, but to draw the distinction between the historic culture of the East and West? and — if we recognise how much depended on this historic culture — between



the whole scientific culture of the East and West? For to repeat a remark, which has already been cursorily made, the great difference between the two, consists in this ; in the West, the free spirit of criticism was developed, and in the East never.

It is therefore just to say, that Thucydides advanced a giant's step. It is just to say, that he rose above his age ; neither his own nor the following could reach him. Poetic tradition was too deeply interwoven with Grecian history, to admit of an entire separation. A Theopompus and Ephorus, whenever the heroic age was to be discussed, drew their materials with as little concern from the writers of mythological fables and the poets, as if Thucydides never had written.

A third step yet remained to be taken ; and it was in some respects the most dangerous of all ; to become the historian of one's own exploits. This step was taken by Xenophon. For when we speak of his historic writings, his *Anabasis* so far surpasses the rest, that it alone deserves to be mentioned. But this new step may with propriety be called one of the most important. Would that he who ventured to take it, had found many successors ! By the mildness and modesty of his personal character, Xenophon was secured from the faults, into which men are so apt to fall, when they describe their own actions ; although these virtues and the nature of his subject could not give his work those superior qualities, which the genius of Cæsar knew how to impart to his commentaries.

Thus in the period of their freedom, all the principal kinds of history were developed among the Greeks. What was done afterwards, can hardly be called progress, al-

though the subjects of history grew more various and more extensive with the enlarged sphere of politics in the Macedonian and Roman age ; and the idea of a universal history was more distinctly entertained. But after the downfall of liberty, when rhetoric became prevalent and was applied to history, the higher kind of criticism ceased to be employed in it. The style, the manner in which a subject was treated, was regarded ; not the subject itself. The essence was forgotten in disputes about the form. We have abundant proofs of this in the judgments of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who has nevertheless been usually mentioned as the first of these critics.

## CHAPTER XV.

## POETRY AND THE ARTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE STATE.

WHETHER in our inquiries on the political institutions of Greece, their poetry and arts must be considered,—will hardly be made a question by any of my readers. Almost every one of the preceding chapters has served to show how closely they were connected with the state. Yet our remarks must be limited to the question: What was the nature, and what were the consequences of this connection? But even in answering this we might be carried very far, if we were to pass the bounds which the character of this work prescribes. In speaking of poetry, we would principally consider the dramatic; since we have already spoken of the epic. But the drama can hardly be discussed, separate from lyric poetry. We place the arts in immediate connection with poetry, because nature herself had united them among the Greeks; among whom the arts are as it were the key to poetry. The remark of a modern critic<sup>1</sup> is perfectly true, that the masterpieces of the plastic art furnish the best commentary on the tragedians. Although it is not always the same persons whom the poets and the sculptors bring before us, we yet derive from them our conceptions of the ideal forms. He who has seen the sublime figures of Niobe and of Laocoon, can easily rep-

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Schlegel, über dramatische Kunst und Litteratur, Th. i. s. 67. A. W. Schlegel, on Dramatic Literature.

resent to his mind an Electra or an Ædipus in the forms under which they floated in the mind of the poet.

With the advancing culture of Greece, the connection between poetry and arts, and the state, increased; and was most intimate in its most flourishing age. Even the earliest lawgivers of the Greeks regarded poetry as the chief means of forming the character of youth; and of exercising an influence on their riper years. But in an age when there was as yet no literature, poetry could not be separate from song; and was commonly accompanied with an instrument. Hence came the meaning of the word music, which embraced all this together. Yet this is chiefly true of lyric poetry, which, as the immediate expression of the feelings of the poet, was much more intimately connected with song than the epic. If we do but bear constantly in mind the leading idea which the Greek had framed of a state, as a moral person that was to govern itself, we can comprehend the whole importance, which music, in the wider sense of the word, possessed in the eyes of the Grecian lawgivers. It seemed to them in that age, when there was as yet no philosophic culture, when the feelings and the management of the feelings were of the greatest moment, the best means of influencing them; and we need not be astonished, when we read in Plutarch<sup>1</sup> and other writers, of the great severity with which the laws, especially in Sparta, insisted on the preservation of the ancient music, and the established tunes. It may be difficult in our days, when music is no longer considered the lever of national force,<sup>2</sup> to form any distinct idea of those insti-

<sup>1</sup> In his Essay De Musica. Op. ii. p. 1131.

<sup>2</sup> That in his times, when music was used only in the theatres, it had lost its ancient application, is the complaint of Plutarch, ii. 1140.

tutions of the ancients. But as human nature is never untrue to itself, institutions which are founded on it, are always preserved to a certain extent and under certain forms. In the nineteenth century, in which there is no longer any danger of corrupting a nation by changes in music (although it would be very presumptuous to give a hasty opinion on its influence and effects,) no regiment is raised without its band; and the commander, who instead of a warlike march should order a dirge to be played, would justly incur the same reproaches with him, who in ancient days made an unseasonable use of the Lydian instead of the Dorian measure.

Lyric poetry was moreover intimately connected with the popular religion; or was in fact a result of it; for hymns in praise of the gods are mentioned as its first fruits.<sup>1</sup> It was therefore important to the state as a support of the popular religion; particularly by contributing to the splendor of the festivals. For when was a festival celebrated by the Greeks, and the songs of the poets not heard? But they received their greatest importance from the institution of choral songs. These choruses, even independent of the drama, were the chief ornament of the festivals; and were composed of persons of various ages. There were those of youths, of men, and of the aged; which responded to each other alternately in song.<sup>2</sup> As the festivals were a public concern, so too were the choruses; and we have no cause to be aston-

<sup>1</sup> "Music," says Plutarch, ii. p. 1140, "was first made use of in the temples and sacred places in praise of the gods, and for the instruction of youth; long before it was introduced into the theatres, which at that time were not in existence"

<sup>2</sup> See in particular the whole oration of Demosthenes against Midias, who had abused Demosthenes as *choragus*, or leader of the chorus.

ished, that the preparation of them formed a part of the civil burdens.

The choral song at the festivals was as ancient as the heroic age, or at least as the times of Homer.<sup>1</sup> Although it was capable of receiving great ornaments and did actually receive them, it did not necessarily require any great preparations. The similar spectacles which modern travellers have witnessed in the islands of the South Sea, especially the Society Islands, carry us back to the earlier world of Greece. The drama was the result of those choruses; but from its nature it could only be a later fruit of the poetic spirit of the nation.

The drama interests us here only in its connection with the state. But this inquiry goes very deeply into its nature. A question arises of a twofold character: What did the state do for the drama, and in what respects was the drama, by its nature and organization, connected with and of importance to the state?

Dramatic poetry, whose object is to give a distinct and lively representation of an action, always requires decorations, however splendid or paltry they may be; and an assembly, before which the representation may be made. Dramatic poetry is therefore essentially more public than that of any other description. Of all kinds of verse, this concerns the state the most nearly. Among the Greeks we may add, that it was an affair of religion, and therefore an essential part of their festivals. But these festivals were entirely an affair of the state; they belonged, as has been observed above, to the most urgent political

<sup>1</sup> See the Hymn. in Apoll. v. 147, &c. respecting the choruses at the Ionian festivals in Delos.

wants. Here then we find a reason why the state should not only have so much encouraged dramatic exhibitions, but have even considered them no less essential than the popular assemblies and popular tribunals. A Grecian state could not exist without festivals, nor festivals without choruses and plays.

In what manner the state encouraged the drama, we know only with respect to Athens. But that the other Grecian cities in the mother country, and also in the colonies, had their theatres no less than Athens, is apparent from the remains of them, which are almost always to be found wherever there are traces of a Grecian city. The theatres were built and decorated at the public expense; we find in Grecian cities no instance, as far as my knowledge extends, where private persons erected them, as was usual in Rome. Their structure was always the same, such as may still be seen in Herculaneum; and we must therefore infer, that all the external means of representation remained the same; although the wealth and taste of individual cities introduced higher degrees of splendor; which in our times we may observe in our larger cities, compared with the smaller or provincial towns. But from the remains of the Grecian theatres, the size and extent of these buildings are apparent, and their great dissimilarity in this respect to modern ones. If they had not been regarded as a real want, and if the emulation of the cities had not also exerted its influence, we might doubt whether sufficient means could have been found for erecting them.

The bringing forward of the single plays belonged to the civil burdens (*λετρονομίαι*), which the opulent were obliged to bear in rotation, or which they voluntarily as-

sumed. We can hardly doubt, that these regulations in other cities resembled those in Athens, though on this subject we have no distinct testimony. Thus the state threw these expenses in part upon private persons ; but the matter was not the less a public concern, for this expense was considered as a contribution due to the state. But another regulation may astonish us still more than this ; the regulation by which money was granted from the public treasury to the poorer citizens, that they might be able to visit the theatres. This was the case in Athens, though not till the times in which the state began to sink under the moral corruption of its citizens. The desire of pleasure may in such periods degenerate into a sort of phrensy ; and the preservation of tranquillity may demand sacrifices, which are reluctantly made even by those who consent.

Though the oldest dramatic essays among the Greeks may be of a more remote age, there is no doubt that Æschylus was the father, not only of the finished drama, but also of the Grecian stage. It was not, therefore, till after the victories over the Persians (he himself fought in the battle of Salamis), that a theatre of stone was erected in Athens ;<sup>1</sup> and all that concerns the drama began to be developed in that city. The contests of the poets, which were introduced there at the festivals of Bacchus, and which, though they cost the state only a crown, rewarded the poet more than gold could have done, contributed much to excite emulation. It was about this time that Athens began to be the seat of literature, and in the scale of political importance the first

<sup>1</sup> The occasion is related by Suidas in *Παράβολα*. At the representation of a play of Æschylus, the wooden scaffold, on which the spectators stood, gave way.



state in Greece. Hence we can explain the remarkable fact, that the dramatic art seemed in that city as at home. Athens directed the taste of the other cities; and without being the capital in the same degree as Paris and London, her great superiority in intellectual culture secured to her that supremacy, which was the more glorious, as it rested not on violence, but on the voluntary concession of her preëminence.

I am acquainted with no investigation of the question, in what manner, after the erection of a stage at Athens, theatrical amusements were extended throughout the other Grecian cities. The ruins which remain in them, leave it still uncertain, when they were built; and where can we find dates to settle this point? But so many vestiges make it highly probable, that the drama was introduced into the other cities before the Macedonian age. Neither tragic nor comic poets were at home in Athens exclusively; but started up in the most various regions of the Grecian world.<sup>1</sup> Athenian poets were invited to resort to the courts of foreign princes.<sup>2</sup> A king of Syracuse was himself a tragic poet.<sup>3</sup> In the same city, Athenian captives regained their liberty by fragments from the tragedies of Euripides. The inhabitants of Abdera, when their fellow-citizen Archelaus played the part of Andromeda, were seized with a theatrical passion bordering on madness.<sup>4</sup> Other proofs, if

<sup>1</sup> Abundant proof may be found in Fabricii *Bibl. Gr. T. i.* in the *Catalog. Tragicorum and Comicoꝝ deperditorum.*

<sup>2</sup> Euripides was invited to repair to the court of Archelaus, king of Macedonia.

<sup>3</sup> Dionysius the elder. A fragment of his has been preserved in *Stob. Eclog. i. iv. 19.*

<sup>4</sup> *Lucian. de conscrib. histor. Op. iv. p. 159, Bip.*

necessary, might be found. It may seem doubtful, whether the same may be said of the comic drama; which in Athens was of so local a character, that it could hardly have been understood in the other cities; or at least much of its wit must have been lost. But is it safe from the few remaining pieces of a single comic poet to judge of the hundreds produced by a multitude of others, and no longer extant?

To answer the other question: In what relation the theatre among the Greeks, from its very nature, stood to the state, we must distinguish its two chief divisions. Before the Macedonian age, while comedy was still permitted to preserve its republican character,<sup>1</sup> tragedy and comedy, as there were no intermediate kinds,<sup>2</sup> remained as different from each other, as seriousness and mirth. They had no points of contact.

Tragedy, introducing upon the stage the heroes of Greece, was the representation of great events of the elder days, according to the ideal conceptions of the Greeks;<sup>3</sup> comedy, on the contrary, was the parody of the present; as we shall hereafter illustrate more fully.

<sup>1</sup> The old comedy, as it was called.

<sup>2</sup> The satyric drama, as it was called, was not an intermediate class, but a corruption of tragedy.

<sup>3</sup> Two plays, the *Persians* of Æschylus, and the *Destruction of Miletus* of Phrynichus formed exceptions. But they had no imitators; and the last mentioned poet was even punished for it by the Athenians. Herod. vi. 21. Here too we observe the correct judgment of the nation, which desired, in the tragic drama, an excitement of the passions; but purely of the passions, without any personal allusions. This was possible only in subjects taken from early times. But still a certain regard for historic truth, as contained in the traditions, was required by the Grecian taste. Subjects altogether fictitious were unknown. The consequences of this deserve to be illustrated at large. If the tragic drama was thus limited to the traditions respecting the heroes, it at the same time obtained a certain solemn support which gave it dignity.

In these explanations, the whole difference of the two has been expressed.

Tragedy was in certain respects a result of epic poetry. For this had always preserved the recollection of the heroic age ; without which the tragic poets would have had to contend with no less difficulties, than the moderns, when they have borrowed subjects from the fables of the North. It was only necessary to mention the name of the chief person, and the whole story of his adventures was recalled to every mind. Hence the artificial weaving of a plot, was only so far a duty of the poet, as the nature of the drama requires ; grandeur and liveliness of manner were on the contrary far more in the spirit of the heroic world. Not the event, but the character of the action, was important. Whether the issue was fortunate or unfortunate, was a matter of indifference ; but it was necessary that the action should be in itself sublime ; should be the result of the play of the passions ; and should never depart from the gravity, which is as it were the coloring of the world of heroes. In this consists the tragic part of the drama. But though the final event was in itself indifferent, the poets naturally preferred subjects, in which it was unfortunate for the chief personages. In such the tragic interest was the greatest ; the catastrophe the most fearful ; the effect least uncertain. A tragic issue suited best the whole character of the kind of poetry.

The tragic drama could have but few points of relation with the state. The political world which was here exhibited, was entirely different from the actual one of the times ; the forms of monarchy alone were introduced on the stage. The same remark, therefore, which has

been made respecting the epic, is true also of the tragic poetry of the Greeks. The violent commotions in the ancient royal families and their extinction, were not represented to make them objects of contempt or hatred, and to quicken the spirit of republicanism ; but solely because no other actions equally possessed the sublimity of the tragic character. But the moral effects which were produced by these representations, may have been politically important. Whilst the Grecian continued to live in the heroic world, that elevation of mind could not so well disappear, which is seen so frequently in the acts of the nation. If Homer and the epic poets first raised its spirit to the sublimity belonging to it, the tragic poets did much to preserve that elevated tone. And if this elevated spirit formed the strength of the state, they have as strong a claim to immortality, as the military commanders and the leaders of the people.

Comedy was more closely allied to the state ; as we may presuppose from the circumstance, that it had relation to the present and not to the past. We have explained it above to be the parody of the present ;<sup>1</sup> that is of the contemporary public condition, in the sense in which the Greeks understand this expression. Private life, as such, was never the subject of comedy, except so far as it was connected with the public. But these

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Schlegel, in his work on *Dramatic Literature and Art*, i. p. 271, considers the characteristic of comedy to have been, that it was a parody of tragedy. It certainly was so very frequently, and thus far his remark is correct. Tragedy was a part of the public life ; the parody of tragedy was therefore a fit subject for the comic stage ; and the relation between the tragic and comic poets was such, that the latter were naturally fond of ridiculing the former. The readers of Aristophanes know this. Yet we must be very careful how we thus confine the range of comedy. It was not essentially a parody.

points of contact were so many and so various, that the comic poet could not but frequently present views of private life. The relation of comedy was therefore altogether political, so far as we comprehend every thing public under this word. But the scenes which were exhibited, were not represented with fidelity, but were caricatured. This seems to have been agreed upon by a silent convention; and therefore such representations could not injure those against whom they were directed, much more than the caricature prints of our times. We would not be understood to justify unconditionally the incredible impudence of the Grecian comic poets, in whose eyes neither men, nor morals, nor the gods were sacred. But a public tribunal of character is an actual necessity, where a popular government exists; and in those times what other such tribunal could have existed than the theatre? Whatever excited public attention, whether in persons or in things, it might be expected, would be brought upon the stage. The most powerful demagogue, in the height of his power did not escape this fate; nay, the people of Athens itself had the satisfaction of seeing itself personified, and brought upon the stage, where it could laugh at itself, till it was satisfied with mirth;<sup>1</sup> and — crowned the poet for having done it. What is our freedom of the press, our licentiousness of the press, compared with this dramatic freedom and licentiousness?

But though the ridicule of the comic poets could not much injure the individual against whom it chanced to be directed, the question is still by no means answered,

<sup>1</sup> As in the *Knights* of Aristophanes.

What consequences had the comic drama for the state, and for morals, which with the Greeks were inseparably connected with the state? Those judgments passed on public characters may have had some influence, but not a great deal; unless perhaps to make men more cautious; and this was no small consideration. When we see that Pericles, notwithstanding all the attacks of the comic poets,<sup>1</sup> was not to be deposed, and that even Cleon, when he had been made a public jest in the person of the Paphlagonian, lost nothing of his influence, we cannot make a very high estimate of that advantage. So far as morals are concerned, it is true, that the ideas of propriety are conventional; and that it would be wrong to infer from a violation of them in language, a corresponding violation in action. The inhabitant of the North, who has not grown accustomed to the much greater license given to the tongue by the southern nations, may here easily be mistaken. The jokes of Harlequin, especially in his extemporaneous performances, are often hardly less unrestrained than those of Aristophanes; and the southern countries are not on that account on the whole more corrupt than the northern, although some offences are more common in the former. But the incredible levity, with which the rules of modesty were transgressed, could not remain without consequences. Another important point is the influence of comedy on the religion of the people. The comic poets were careful never to appear as atheists; that would have led to exile: they rather defended the popular religion. But the manner in which this was done, was often worse

<sup>1</sup> Specimens of them may be seen Plutarch. Op. i. p. 620.

than a direct attack. Who could appear with reverent devotion at the altar of Jove, after growing weary with laughing at him in the clouds, or after having seen him pay court to earthly beauties? Even on the minds of the most frivolous nation in the world, indelible impressions must have been made.

The ancient comedy has commonly been called a political farce; and the expression is just, if we interpret the word political in the wide sense in which we have explained it. It is sufficiently known, that, after the downfall of the popular rule, there was no longer any field for this ancient comedy, that it lost its sting in the middle comedy as it is termed, and that the new was of an entirely different character.<sup>1</sup> As this new kind lost its local character with the personal allusions, the old obstacles to its diffusion throughout the Grecian world no longer existed. And though we may doubt whether the plays of Cratinus and Aristophanes were ever acted out of Athens, no question can certainly be raised with respect to those of Menander and Diphilus. But as this new species of theatrical composition was not introduced and perfected till the Macedonian age, the subject does not fall within the sphere of our observations.

With our notions we should think the connection of the arts with politics much less than that of the theatre; and yet it was among the Greeks even closer and more various. The encouragement of the arts is in our times left chiefly to private taste; and is greater or smaller according to the number of amateurs. The state takes

<sup>1</sup> The difference of these kinds is best explained in the excellent work of Schlegel. i. p. 326.

an interest in them only to prevent their total decay, or for the sake of some particular design.

The case was entirely different in the period when they flourished among the Greeks. The arts with them were exclusively public, and not at all an affair of individuals. They afterwards became so, yet never in the same degree as with us; nor even as with the Romans. These positions require to be further developed and more accurately proved.

By the arts we mean the three great branches of them, architecture, sculpture, and painting. On each of these we have some remarks to offer.

Architecture is distinguished from the two others by the circumstance, that its object is use no less than beauty. Not only the moderns, but the Romans of the later ages, endeavored to unite them both; and in this manner private buildings became objects of art. Among the Greeks, a tendency to this seems to have existed in the heroic age. In a former chapter, we remarked that in the dwellings and halls of the kings, there prevailed a certain grandeur and splendor, which, however, we shall hardly be willing to designate by the name of scientific architecture. When the monarchical forms disappeared, and living in cities, and with it republican equality, gained ground, those differences in the dwellings disappeared of themselves; and every thing which we read respecting private houses in every subsequent age, confirms us in the idea, that they could make no pretensions to elegance of construction.<sup>1</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> It follows of course, that the testimony of writers of the Macedonian, or the Roman age, are not here taken into consideration, since we are not treating of those times.



would be difficult to produce a single example of such a building. But we find express evidence to the contrary. Athens was by no means a fine city like some of our modern ones, in which there are whole streets of palaces occupied as the dwellings of private persons. A stranger could have been in Athens without imagining himself to be in the city, which contained the greatest masterpieces of architecture. The splendor of the city was not perceived till the public squares and the Acropolis were approached.<sup>1</sup> The small dwellings of Themistocles and of Aristides were long pointed out; and the building of large houses was regarded as a proof of pride.<sup>2</sup> But when luxury increased, the houses were built on a larger scale; several chambers for the accommodation of strangers and for other purposes were built round the court, which commonly formed the centre; but all this might take place, and yet the building could lay no claims to beauty. If a town, which was, it is true, but a provincial town, may be cited to corroborate this, we have one still before our eyes. A walk through the excavated streets of Pompeii will be sufficient to establish our remark. Where the pomp and splendor of the public edifices were so great as among the Greeks, it was not possible for private buildings to rival them.

Architecture, as applied to public purposes, began with the construction of temples; and till the time of the Persian wars or just before, we hear of no other considerable public edifices. The number of temples remarkable for their architecture, was till that time a limited

<sup>1</sup> Dicæarchus de Statu Græciæ. cap. 8. Huds.

<sup>2</sup> Demosthenes reproaches the wealthy Midias with his large house at Eleusis, which intercepted the light of others. Op. i. p. 565.

one ; although, in the age just preceding the war with Persia, this art had already produced some of its first works among the Greeks. In Greece itself the temple of Delphi was the most celebrated, after it had been rebuilt by the Alcmaeonidæ.<sup>1</sup> There was also the temple of Apollo in Delos. But it was about this time, that the invention of the Ionic order by the Asiatic Greeks in addition to the Doric, which had been used till then, constituted a new epoch in the history of architecture. The splendid temple of Diana at Ephesus erected by the joint exertions of the cities and princes of Grecian Asia, was the first building in this new style.<sup>2</sup> About the same time Polycrates built the temple of Juno in Samos. The temples which afterwards formed the glory of Greece, those of Athens on the Acropolis and elsewhere, were all erected after the Persian war. So too was the temple of Jupiter at Olympia. As to the temples in Lower Italy and Sicily, we can fix the epoch in which, if not all, yet the largest and most splendid of them, the chief temples of Agrigentum, were erected ; and that epoch is also subsequent to the Persian war.<sup>3</sup> And if those of the ancient Doric order, at Pæstum and Segestus, belong to an earlier period, they cannot to one much earlier ; as these cities themselves were founded so much later than those in Asia Minor. Just before and after the Persian war, arose that prodigious emulation of the cities, to make themselves famous for their temples ; and this produced those masterpieces of architecture.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. v. 62.

<sup>2</sup> See the instructive disquisition: *Der Tempel der Diana zu Ephesus*, von A. Hirt. Berlin, 1809.

<sup>3</sup> A more accurate enumeration of the chief temples of the Greeks, and the periods in which they were built, is to be found in Stieglitz, *Geschichte der Baukunst der Alten*. Leipzig. 1792.

The other principal kinds of public buildings, which were conspicuous for their splendor, were the theatres, the places for musical exhibitions, the porticos, and the gymnasia. Of the theatres, it has already been observed, that they were erected subsequently to the Persian wars. The same is true of the halls for music. The porticos, those favorite places of resort to a people who lived so much in public, belonged in part to the temples,<sup>1</sup> and in part surrounded the public squares. Of those in Athens, which by their works of art eventually eclipsed the rest, we know that they were not built till after the victory over the barbarians. Of all the public edifices, the gymnasia are those respecting which we have the fewest accounts.<sup>2</sup> They were probably erected at a distance in the rear of the temples; though many of them were distinguished by excellent works of art.

This line of division, carefully drawn between domestic and public architecture by the Greeks, who regarded only the latter as possessing the rank of one of the fine arts, gives a new proof of their correct views of things. In buildings destined for dwellings, necessity and the art are in constant opposition. The latter desires in its works to execute some grand idea independent of the common wants of life; but a dwelling is intended to meet those very wants, and is in no respect founded on an idea connected with beauty. The temples are dwellings also, but the dwellings of the gods; and as these have no wants in their places of abode, the art finds here no obstacle to its inventions.

<sup>1</sup> As e. g. the *εἶσος*, at Olympia, respecting which Böttiger in his *Geschichte der Malerey*, B. i. s. 206, etc. has given us a learned essay.

<sup>2</sup> On those at Athens, consult Stieglitz in *loc. cit.* p. 220.

The plastic art<sup>1</sup> and painting bore to each other, among the Greeks, the opposite relation to that which they have borne in modern times. The first was the most cultivated; and though the latter attained the rank of an independent art, it never was able to gain the superiority. It is not for us here to explain the causes of this; we need only mention one, which to us is the most interesting. The more public the arts are among any people, the more naturally will the plastic art surpass that of painting. The works of both may be public, and were so among the Greeks, but those of the former are far better suited for public monuments than those of the latter. The works of painting find their place only on walls; those of the plastic art, existing entirely by themselves, wherever there is room for them.

The works of the plastic art, statues and busts, were, in the times of which we speak (and among the Greeks, with a few limitations, even in subsequent times), only public works, that is, designed to be set up, not in private dwellings, but in public places, temples, halls, market-places, gymnasia, and theatres. I know of no one instance of a statue that belonged to a private man; and if there exists any example, it is an exception which confirms the general rule.<sup>2</sup> It may be said, that it is only accidental that we know of no such instances. But if

<sup>1</sup> The phrase *plastic art* is used, because there is no other which embraces at once the works of stone and of bronze.

<sup>2</sup> Or can the anecdote be cited, which Pausanias relates, p. i. 46, of the cunning of Phryne to gain possession of the god of love made by her lover Praxiteles? Even if it be true, the fact is in our favor; for she consecrated it immediately as a public work of art in Thespiae, Athen. p. 591; in which city alone it was from that time to be seen. Cic. in Ver. ii. iv. 2.

any taste of that kind had prevailed at Athens, we should find traces of it in the comedians and orators. If these are consulted in vain for such indications, we are justified in concluding that no such private tastes existed.

Phidias and his successors, till the Macedonian age, did not therefore labor to supply with their works the houses and collections of individuals. This by no means implies, that they did not receive applications from private persons. If they had not, the incredible multitude of statues, which we have already mentioned, could never have been made.<sup>1</sup> This subject is so important, that it demands to be treated of more at large.

The great masters were principally employed for the cities. These, or the men who were at their head (as the example of Pericles informs us), bespoke works of art, or bought them ready made, to ornament the city and the public buildings. We have distinct evidence, that the great masterpieces of Phidias, Praxiteles, and Lysippus, owed their origin to this. Thus were produced the Jupiter at Olympia, the Minerva Polias at Athens, by the first; the Venus at Cnidus, as well as at Cos, by the second; the Colossus of Rhodes, by the third. Yet numerous as were the applications of cities, the immense multitude of statues could not be accounted for, unless the piety and the vanity of individuals had come to their assistance.

The first assisted by the votive offerings; of which all the celebrated temples were full. These were by no means always works of art, but quite as often mere

<sup>1</sup> The infinite wealth of Greece in treasures of this kind, has been so clearly exhibited in a late discourse of Jacobs, that it has now become easy to form a distinct idea of them. Jacobs, *Ueber den Reichthum Griechenlands an plastischen Kunstwerken und die Ursachen desselben*.

costly presents. Yet the collections of statues and pictures which belonged to those temples, consisted, for the most part, of votive offerings.<sup>1</sup> But these were as often the tribute of gratitude from whole cities, as from individuals.<sup>2</sup>

The vanity of individuals contributed to the same end, by the custom of erecting statues, commonly of bronze, to the victors in the games.<sup>3</sup> When we remember the multitude of these games in Greece, the number of statues will become intelligible; especially of those of bronze, of which in many instances more than one cast was made; as the native cities of the victors would hardly fail in this manner to appropriate to themselves the fame of their citizens, which formed so much a subject of pride.

Painting, from its very nature, seems to have been more designed for private use. Yet in the age of Pericles, when the great masters in this art appeared in Athens, it was hardly less publicly applied than the art of sculpture. It was in the public porticos and temples, that those masters, Polygnotus, Micon, and others, exhibited the productions of their genius.<sup>4</sup> No trace is to be found of celebrated private pictures in those times.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not to mention Olympia and Delphi again, we refer to the temple of Juno in Samos, Strab. L. xiv. p. 438, of Bacchus at Athens, Paus i. 20. The temple of Diana at Ephesus was so rich in works of art, that according to Plin. xxxvi. 14, a description of them would have filled several volumes.

<sup>2</sup> The temples received such presents not only during the lifetime of the donors, but as legacies. A remarkable instance of this is found in the will of Conon, who left 5000 pieces of gold (στανίσεις) for that purpose. Lys. Or. Gr. v. p. 639.

<sup>3</sup> See the passage in Pliny, xxxiv. 9. His remark that a statue was erected in honor of every victor at Olympia, seems hardly credible. Cf. Paus vi. p. 452.

<sup>4</sup> See Böttiger. Ideen zur Archæologie der Mahlerey. B. i. s. 274, etc.

<sup>5</sup> It is true, Andocides reproached Alcibiades, in his oration against him, of

Yet portrait painting seems peculiarly to belong to private life. This branch of the art was certainly cultivated among the Greeks; but not till the Macedonian age. The likenesses of celebrated men were placed in the pictures which commemorated their actions; as that of Miltiades in the painting of the battle in the Pœcile, or pictured hall in Athens; or the artists found a place for themselves or their mistresses in such public works.<sup>1</sup> But, properly speaking, portrait painting, as such, did not flourish till the times of Philip and Alexander; and was first practised in the school of Apelles.<sup>2</sup> When powerful princes arose, curiosity or flattery desired to possess their likeness; the artists were most sure of receiving compensation for such labors; and private statues as well as pictures began to grow common; although in most cases something of ideal beauty was added to the resemblance.<sup>3</sup>

We have ventured directly to assert, that the arts in their flourishing period belonged exclusively to public

having shut up a painter, who was painting his house; Or. Gr. iv. p. 119. But this was not the way to obtain a fine specimen of the art. Allusion is there made to the painting of the whole house, not of an isolated work of art; and we are not disposed to deny, that in the times of Alcibiades, it was usual to decorate the walls with paintings. On the contrary, this was then very common; for the very painter Archagathus gives as his excuse, that he had already contracted to work for several others. But these common paintings are not to be compared with those in the temples and porticos; which, as Böttiger has proved, *Ideen*, &c., s. 2-2, were painted, not on the walls, but on wood.

<sup>1</sup> Polygnotus, e. g. introduced the beautiful Elpinice, the daughter of Miltiades, as Laodice. *Plut* iii p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> This appears from the accounts in *Plin.* xxxv. xxxvi. 12, &c.

<sup>3</sup> A confirmation, perhaps a more correct statement of these remarks, is expected by every friend of the arts of antiquity in the continuation of Böttiger's *Ideen zur Geschichte der Malhercy*. That in this period busts of individuals became for the same reason so much more numerous, has been illustrated by the same scholar in his *Andeutungen*, s. 183, etc.

life; and were not, according to the general opinion, which seems to have been silently adopted, divided between that and private life. Be it remembered, this is to be understood only of works of art, in the proper sense of the expression; that is, of those which had no other object but to be works of art; of statues, therefore, and pictures; not of all kinds of sculpture and painting. That the arts connected with private wants, were applied to objects of domestic life, to articles of household furniture, to candelabra, vases, tapestry, and garments, will be denied by no one, who is acquainted with antiquity.

It was not till a Lucullus, a Verres, and others among the Romans, had gratified their taste as amateurs, that the arts were introduced into private life; and yet even in Rome an Agrippa could propose to restore to the public all the treasures of the arts, which lay buried in the villas.<sup>1</sup> We should not therefore be astonished, if under such circumstances the ancient destination of arts among the Greeks should have been changed, and they should have so far degenerated as to become the means of gratifying the luxury of individuals. And yet this never took place. This can be proved as well of the mother country, as of the richest of the colonies.

Pausanias in the second century after the Christian era, travelled through all Greece, and saw and described all the works of art which existed there. And yet I know of no one instance in all Pausanias of a work of art belonging to a private man; much less of whole collections. Every thing was in his day, as before, public

<sup>1</sup> Plin. xxxv. cap. ix.



in the temples, porticos, and squares. If private persons had possessed works of art, who would have prevented his describing them?

Verres plundered Sicily of its treasures in the arts, wherever he could find them; and his accusers will hardly be suspected of having concealed any thing. But in this accusation, with one single exception,<sup>1</sup> none but public works of art are mentioned. What shall we infer from this, but that no considerable productions of the fine arts were possessed by private persons in Sicily?

So deeply therefore was the idea fixed among the Greeks, that the works of the artists were public, that it could not be eradicated even by the profanations of the Romans. And this is the chief cause of their flourishing. They thus fulfilled their destiny; belonging, not to individuals, but to cultivated humanity. They should constitute a common property. Even in our times, when individuals are permitted to possess them, censure is incurred if others are not allowed to enjoy them. But even where this privilege is conceded, it is not a matter of indifference, whether an individual or the nation is the possessor. The respect shown to the arts by the nation in possessing their productions, confers a higher value on their labors. How much more honored does the artist feel, how much more freely does he breathe, when he knows that he is exerting himself for a nation, which will esteem its glory increased by his works, instead of toiling for the money and the caprices of individuals?

<sup>1</sup> Namely, the four statues which he took from Heius. Cic. in Verrem ii. iv. 2. Yet they stood in a chapel (sacrarium), and were therefore in a certain measure public. The name of Heius seems, however, to betray that the family was not of Grecian origin. But what does one such exception, and in such an age, prove respecting an earlier period?

Such was the condition of the arts in Greece. When emulation arose among the cities to be distinguished by possessing works of art, a field was opened for a Phidias and Polygnotus, for a Praxiteles and Parrhasius. They were better rewarded by glory than by money; some of them never worked for pay.<sup>1</sup> Need we then add any further remarks to explain why the fine arts declined with liberty? Philip and Alexander still saw a Lysippus and an Apelles; but with them ends the series of creative minds, such as no other nation has ever produced.

But the taste of the nation for the arts and their productions, did not end with those artists. They had taken too good care to perpetuate that fondness. When the Grecians had lost almost every thing else, they were still proud of their works of art. This excited even in the Romans respect and admiration. "These works of art, these statues, these pictures," says Cicero,<sup>2</sup> "delight the Greeks beyond every thing. From their complaints<sup>3</sup> you may learn, that that is most bitter to them, which to us appears perhaps trivial and easy to be borne. Of all acts of oppression and injustice, which foreigners and allies in these times have been obliged to endure, nothing has

<sup>1</sup> Polygnotus painted the Pœcile for nothing; Zeuxis, in the last part of his life, would receive no pay for his pictures, but gave them away. Plin. xxxv. 36. Thus a partial answer is given to the question, how the cities could support the great expense for works of art. Besides, in Greece as in Italy, the works of the great masters did not become dear till after their death. The little which we know of their personal condition and circumstances, represents them for the most part as men of fine feelings and good fellowship, who, like the divine Raphael and Correggio, in the moments sacred to mental exertion, raised themselves above human nature, but otherwise enjoyed life without troubling themselves much about money. Phidias for all his masterpieces did not receive a third part as much as Gorgias for his declamations.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero in Verrem, ii. iv. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Of the robberies of Verres.

been more hard for the Grecians to bear, than this plundering of their temples and cities !”

We have thus far endeavored to consider Greece from all the points, in which she made herself glorious as a nation. Who is it, we may finally ask, that conferred upon her her immortality ? Was it her generals and men of power alone ; or was it equally her sages, her poets, and her artists ? The voice of ages has decided ; and posterity justly places the images of these heroes of peace by the side of those of warriors and kings.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Visconti. *Iconographie ancienne*. Paris, 1811.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## CAUSES OF THE FALL OF GREECE.

THE melancholy task of explaining the causes which led to the fall of Greece, has been facilitated by the preceding investigations. Most of them will occur to the reader ; we have only to illustrate them somewhat more at large, and arrange them in a manner to admit of being distinctly comprehended at a single view.<sup>1</sup>

If the constitutions of the individual Grecian states were defective, the constitution of the whole Grecian system was still more so. Though geographically united, they cannot be said to have formed one political system. A lasting union was never established between the Grecian states ; and a transitory and very imperfect one was effected only in times of danger, as in the Persian wars.

But even this imperfect union was productive of important results. The league which was then established, produced the idea of the supremacy of an individual state. It has already been shown, in what manner Athens managed to acquire this rank, and in what manner that city turned it to advantage ; but we have also shown, that a partial supremacy alone existed, embracing only

<sup>1</sup> See Drumann's carefully written History of the Decline of the Grecian States. Berlin, 1815. To have occasioned such works is the highest pleasure for the author. So too in reference to the thirteenth chapter I may cite, Bekker's Demosthenes as a Statesman and Orator. 2 vols. 1815. The best historical and critical introduction to the study of Demosthenes.

the seaports and the islands, and therefore necessarily resting for its support on the dominion of the seas on each side of Greece, and consequently on a navy.

This was a result of the political relations and the nature of the league. But the consciousness of superiority excited those who were possessed of it to abuse it ; and the allies began to be oppressed. Athens, having once established its greatness on this supremacy, would not renounce it when the ancient motives had ceased to operate after the peace with the Persians. Individual states attempted to reclaim by force the independence, which was not voluntarily conceded to them. This led to wars with them ; and hence the dominion of the sea was followed by all the other evils, of which even Isocrates complains.<sup>1</sup>

The chief reason of this internal division did not lie merely in vacillating political relations, but more deeply in the difference of tribes. There was a gulf between the Dorian and Ionian, which never could be filled up ; a voluntary union of the two for any length of time was impossible. Several causes may be mentioned, as having contributed to render this division incurable. The tribes were divided geographically. In the mother country, the Dorian had the ascendancy in the Peloponnesus, the Ionian in Attica, Eubœa, and many of the islands. Their dialects were different ; a few words were sufficient to show to which tribe a man belonged. The difference in manners was hardly less considerable, especially with relation to the female sex, which among the Dorians participated in public life ; while amongst the

<sup>1</sup> Isocrat. de Pace, Op. p. 176.

Ionians it was limited to the women's apartments within the houses. And the common people were very much influenced by the circumstance, that the festivals celebrated by the two, were not the same.

But the division was made politically incurable by the circumstance, that Sparta was, or at least desired to be, considered the head of the whole Doric tribe. This state, both in its public and private constitution, was in almost every respect the opposite of Athens. As the laws of Lycurgus alone were valid in it, the other Dorian cities did by no means resemble it; but as it was ambitious of being their head, its influence prevailed, at least in the mother country. But that influence was often extended to the colonies; and though the Persian authority may have repressed the hatred of the tribes in Asia Minor, it continued with the greatest acrimony in Sicily. In the war of the Syracusans against the Leontini, the Dorian cities were on the side of the former; the Ionian on that of the latter; and the cities of Lower Italy in their choice of sides were influenced by the same circumstance.<sup>1</sup>

This hatred, preserved and inflamed by the ambition, common to both, of obtaining the supremacy over Greece, was finally followed by that great civil war, which we are accustomed to call the Peloponnesian. Of nearly equal duration, it was to Greece what the thirty years' war was to Germany;<sup>2</sup> without having been terminated by a similar peace. As it was a revolutionary war in

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. iii. 86.

<sup>2</sup> It lasted from the year 431 till the year 404, when it was terminated by the taking of Athens.

the true sense of the expression, it had all the consequences attendant on such a war. The spirit of faction was enabled to strike such deep root, that it never more could be eradicated; and the abuse which Sparta made of her forced supremacy, was fitted to supply it with continual nourishment. Who has described this with more truth or accuracy than Thucydides? "By this war," says he,<sup>1</sup> "all Hellas was set in motion; for on all sides dissensions prevailed between the popular party and the nobles. The former desired to invite the Athenians; the latter the Lacedemonians. The cities were shaken by sedition; and where this broke out at a less early period, greater excesses were attempted than any which had elsewhere taken place. Even the significations of words were changed. Mad rashness was called disinterested courage; prudent delay, timidity. Whoever was violent, was held worthy of confidence; whoever opposed violence, was suspected. The crafty was called intelligent; the more crafty, still more intelligent. In short, praise was given to him who anticipated another in injustice; and to him who encouraged to crime one who himself had never thought of it."

From the words of the historian, the effect of these revolutions on morals is apparent; and yet no states rested so much on morals as the Grecian. For were they not communities which governed themselves? Did not the laws enter most deeply into private life? and was not anarchy a necessary consequence of the moral corruption? This was soon felt in Athens. Throughout the whole of Aristophanes, we see the contrast between

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. iii. 82. We have selected only a few remarks from a passage written for all succeeding centuries.

the better times that were gone by, and the new, in all parts of public and domestic life ; in poetry, in eloquence, in education, in the courts of justice, &c. ; and finally in a celebrated dialogue, the ancient and the modern customs are introduced, disputing upon the stage.<sup>1</sup> And who can read the orators without being astonished at the incredible corruption of morals ?

This leads us to a kindred topic, the desecration of the popular religion. The careful student of the history of the Grecian nation will observe this increase, as he approaches the age of Philip ; and though other causes may have had some influence, we can only thus explain the origin of a religious war like the Phocian. The causes which produced the decay of the popular religion, may for the most part be found in a former chapter. It would be useless to attempt to deny, that the speculations of the philosophers had a great share in it ; although the better part of them were strenuous to prevent such a result. Aristophanes was certainly unjust in attributing such designs to Socrates, but he was right in attributing it to philosophy in general. The question now arises : On which side lies the blame ? On that of philosophy, or of the popular religion ? It is not difficult to answer this question after what we have already remarked of the latter. A nation with a religion like that of the Greeks, must either refrain from philosophical inquiries, or learn from philosophy that its religion is unfounded. This result cannot be urged against the philosophers as a crime, but only a want of prudence, of which they were guilty in promulgating their positions.

<sup>1</sup> The *Λόγος δίκαιος* and *ἄδικος* in the *Clouds*.



The care taken by the best of them in this respect, has already been mentioned ; and that the state was not indifferent to the practice of the rest, is proved by the punishments which were inflicted on many of them. But though the systems of the philosophers were restricted to the schools, a multitude of philosophic views were extended, which to a certain degree were adopted by the common people. In Athens, the comedians contributed to this end ; for whether with or without design, they extended the doctrines which they ridiculed.

The most melancholy proof of the decay of religious feeling, is found in the Phocian war and the manner in which that war was conducted. In the time of Thucydides, Delphi and its oracle were still revered ;<sup>1</sup> although the Spartans began even then to doubt its claims to confidence.<sup>2</sup> When all the former relations of the states were dissolved by the Peloponnesian war and its consequences, those toward the gods were also destroyed ; and the crimes committed against them, brought on their own punishment in a new civil war and the downfall of liberty. The treasures stolen from Delphi, with which the war was carried on, suddenly increased the mass of species current in Greece to an unheard of degree ; but increased in an equal degree luxury, and the wants of life.<sup>3</sup> And if any portion of the ancient spirit remained, it was destroyed by the custom of employing mercenary soldiers, a custom, which became every day more common, and gave a deadly chill to valor and patriotism.

Thus the evils of which the superior policy of a neighbor knew how to take advantage, were the result of de-

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. v. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. v. 16.

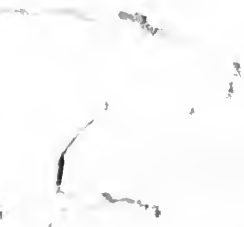
<sup>3</sup> See a leading passage on this topic, in Athen. iv. p. 231.

fects in the political constitution ; in that very constitution, but for which the glorious fruits of Grecian liberty, never could have ripened. But amidst all the disorder, and all the losses, not every thing perished. The national spirit, though it could hardly have been expected, still remained, and with it the hope of better times. Amidst all their wars with one another, the Greeks never ceased to consider themselves as one nation. The idea of one day assuming that character animated the best of them. It is an idea which is expressed in almost every one of the writings of the pure Isocrates ;<sup>1</sup> and which he could not survive, when after the battle of Chæronea, the spirit of the eloquent old man voluntarily escaped from its earthly veil, beneath which it had passed a hundred years. Yet the echo of his wishes, his prayers, and his instructions did not die away. The last of the Greeks had not yet appeared ; and the times were to come, when, in the Achæan league, the splendid day of the greatness of Hellas was to be followed by a still more splendid evening. So certain is it, that a nation is never deserted by destiny, so long as it does not desert itself.

<sup>1</sup> See especially Panathen. Op. 235.









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