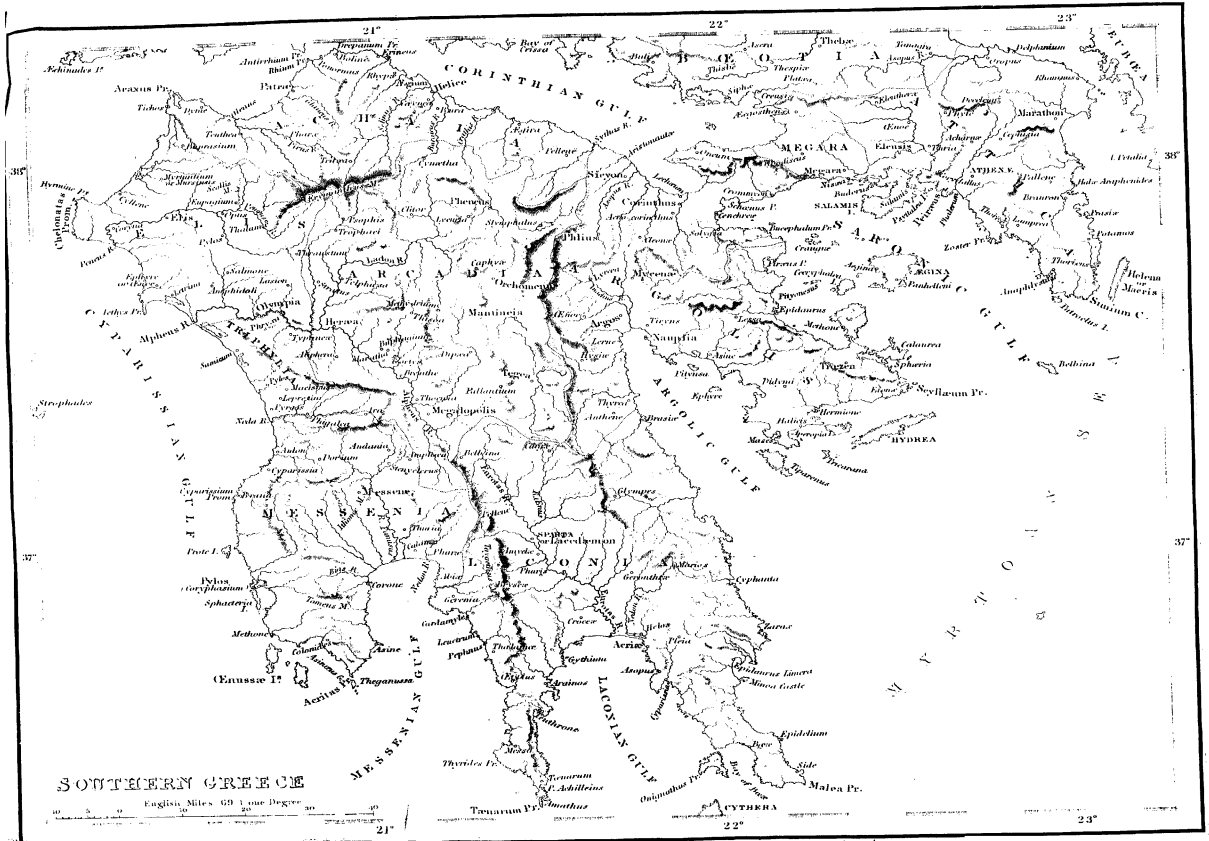
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SOUTHERN GREECE
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CORINTHIAN GULF
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MESSENIAN GULF
LACONIAN GULF
ARCADIA
ACHAIA
ELIS
MESSENIA
LACONIA
ATTICA
MEGARA
BOEOTIA
Patræ
Corinthus
Argos
Mycenæ
Nauplia
Tripolitza
Sparta
Messene
Thebæ
Athenæ
Marathon
Salamis I.
Eleusis
Megara
Platæa
Thermopylæ
Delphi
Olympia
Pylos
Malea Pr.
CYTHERA
HYDREA
Navarino
Modon
Coron
Argos
Gulf of Lepanto
Gulf of Corinth
Gulf of Egina
Gulf of Nauplia
Gulf of Kolokythia
Gulf of Marathon
Gulf of Talanta
Gulf of Volo
Gulf of Arta
Ionian Sea
Archipelago
Mediterranean Sea
21°
22°
23°
38°
37°

THE

HISTORY OF GREECE.

BY

CONNOP THIRLWALL, D.D.

BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO

JULIUS CHARLES HARE.

My dear Hare,

You will not be surprised, though you have received no previous intimation of my intention, to find this volume inscribed with your name. At the close of a work which has occupied a considerable portion of many years of my life, my thoughts naturally revert to the scenes and objects in the midst of which it was begun: to the days when we were living within the walls of the same college, and associated together in labours to which we have still reason to look back with pleasure. How much this work is indebted for whatever is good in it to that intimacy, and more especially to that literary partnership, it would not become me to say, even if I were able distinctly to point it out. But I am conscious that it would probably have been less faulty, if I had more constantly considered it as subject to your inspection. This dedication comes too late either to raise a suspicion that it is meant

to bias your judgment, or to incur the charge of presumption, as inviting the scrutiny of an eye so critical and so familiar with the best models, to what I myself feel to be a very imperfect essay. You will accept it as it is meant, for a token of friendship and esteem which neither time nor distance can abate, and with which I remain,

My dear Hare,

Yours faithfully,

C. St. DAVID'S.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

The plan of the work begun in this volume has been considerably enlarged since it was first undertaken, and the Author fears that a critical eye may be able to detect some traces of this variation from the original design, in the manner of treating one or two subjects. He would be glad if he might believe that this was its chief defect. But he is most desirous that the object which he has had in view should be understood.

He thought it probable that his work might fall into the hands of two different classes of readers, whose wants might not always exactly coincide, but were equally worthy of attention; one consisting of persons who wish to acquire something more than a superficial acquaintance with Greek history, but who have neither leisure nor means to study it for themselves in its original sources; the other of such as have access to the ancient authors, but often feel the need of a guide and an interpreter. The first of these classes is undoubtedly by far the largest; and it is for its satisfaction that the work is principally designed. But the Author did not think that this ought to prevent him from entering into the discussion of subjects which he is aware must be chiefly, if not solely, interesting to readers of the other description, and he has therefore dwelt on the earlier part of

the history at greater length than would have been proper in a merely popular narrative. Perhaps he may venture to add, that it is the part which seemed to him to have been most neglected by preceding English writers, and to deserve more attention than it had commonly received among us. It was written before the first (the last published) volume of Mr. Clinton's Fasti had appeared.

Another consequence resulting from the nature of his plan, is, that he has found it necessary to subjoin a greater number of notes and references than may seem to accord with the unpretending form of the work. He regrets the room which they occupy, and would have been glad to have thought himself at liberty to omit them. But he believes he may safely appeal to the experience of every one conversant with these matters, to attest, that they have not been needlessly multiplied. Wherever it could be done without presuming too much on the reader's knowledge, he has contented himself with generally pointing out the sources from which he has drawn, and has only introduced a particular reference, where either his conclusions might be thought questionable, or the precise passage which he had in his mind was likely to escape notice, or was peculiarly interesting and instructive. If however he should be thought not to have observed the right mean in this respect, or sometimes to have addressed himself to too narrow a circle, or even to have amused himself instead of his readers, he consoles himself by the prospect, that in the progress of his work, as its subject becomes more generally familiar and attractive, he shall have less and less need of indulgence on this head.

There is another point, on which, though of little importance, he wishes to guard against a misunder-

standing to which he may have exposed himself. Some readers may remark that the system of orthography which he here follows is widely different from the one adopted in another work to which his name is annexed, and it may be inferred that he thinks that which he now uses is the best. To prevent such an imputation, he desires it should be known that he looks upon the established system, if an accidental custom may be so called, as a mass of anomalies, the growth of ignorance and chance, equally repugnant to good taste and to common sense. But he is aware that the public — perhaps to show foreigners that we do not live under the despotism of an academy — clings to these anomalies with a tenacity proportioned to their absurdity, and is jealous of all encroachment on ground consecrated by prescription to the free play of blind caprice. He has not thought himself at liberty in a work like the present to irritate these prejudices by innovations, however rational and conformable to good and ancient, though neglected, usage, and has therefore complied as closely as may be with the fashion of the day.

But with respect to one very numerous class of words he has not had the benefit of this guidance, nor is he able to plead the like excuse where he has done amiss. As to the mode of writing Greek names in English, there is no established rule or usage of sufficient authority to direct him in all cases, and he has therefore here been left to follow his own discretion. Some readers perhaps will think that he has abused this liberty, and will complain that he has not observed a strict uniformity. His own taste would have inclined him to prefer the English to the Latin forms of Greek names and words in every instance. But as the contrary practice is the more general, and

most persons seem to think that the other ought to be confined to terms which have become familiar and naturalised in our language, he has not ventured to apply his principle with rigid consistency, where the reader's eye would perhaps have been hurt by it, but has suffered anomaly to reign in this as in the other department of orthography. He would not fear much severity of censure, if those only should condemn him who have tried the experiment themselves, or can point out the example of any writer who has given universal satisfaction in this respect. The only great liberty he has taken is that of writing the real names of the Greek deities, instead of substituting those of the Italian mythology by which they have hitherto been supplanted, though even here he could now defend his boldness by some respectable precedents.

Trinity College, June 12. 1835.

The foregoing Advertisement was prefixed to the first volume of the First Edition, at a time when it was intended to limit the work to a compass wider indeed than that of the original design, but still much narrower than that which it has actually reached. The manner in which it has grown to its present dimensions may explain, and perhaps in some degree palliate, the defects of the plan, which could not now be remedied unless by a complete recasting of the whole. The object of the publishers, in the present edition, was chiefly to render it accessible to a large class of persons whom the smallness of the type might have deterred from taking it up in its earlier form. Under these circumstances, the author has thought it best to abstain, as far as possible, from any alteration of the text, and to insert whatever seemed necessary in the way of correction or further illustration in the notes. In fact he has altered the text only where it was at variance with his present views. And such corrections he will think himself bound to make in the subsequent volumes. In the present, the number of the notes has been considerably enlarged, beside the addition of a new Appendix on the History of the Homeric Poems. The remainder of the work will no doubt afford abundant occasion for similar enlargement: but to what extent this may be carried must depend on the leisure and opportunities which the author may enjoy; on which he cannot now calculate with any approach to certainty.

London, May, 1845.

ANALYTICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL

TABLE.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHICAL OUTLINES OF GREECE.

	Page
Geographical position of Greece - -	2
Various descriptions of its boundaries - -	3
Thessaly - - - - -	5
Tempe - - - - -	ib.
Divisions of Thessaly - - -	7
South of Thessaly - - - -	8
Doris — Phocis — Locris - - -	9
Bœotia — Lake Copais - - -	10
Southern Bœotia - - - -	12
Eubœa — The Euripus — Bœotian Character -	13
Attica - - - - -	14
Megaris - - - - -	17
Ozolian Locris — Ætolia - - -	ib.
Acarnania — The Isthmus - - -	18
Attempts made to dig through the Isthmus — General view of Peloponnesus - - -	20
Arcadia - - - - -	21
Outlets of its Waters - -	ib.
Argolis — Sicyon — Corinth — Passes - -	23
Plain of Argos — The Acté - - -	24
Epidaurus — Trœzen — Hermioné — Asiné — Passes — Cynuria - - - -	25
Laconia - - - - -	26
Messenia - - - - -	28
Elis — Triphylia — Pisatis - - -	29
Achaia - - - - -	30
Fertility of Greece - - - -	31
Volcanic changes - - - -	32

CHAP. II.

THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS OF GREECE.

Causes which render the subject obscure - -	35
The Pelasgians — How represented by Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Strabo - -	36

B.C. Page

Traces of the Pelasgians in Thessaly - - 38
In Epirus - - - - - 40
In Bœotia and Attica - - - 41
In Peloponnesus, especially in Argolis - - 42
In Achaia and Arcadia - - - 43
Pelasgian origin of the Arcadians - - 44
Various names of the Pelasgian tribes - - 46
The Caucones - - - - 47
The Leleges - - - - 49
The Thracians - - - - 50
Influence of the Thracians on Greek poetry - 52
Asiatic Pelasgians - - - - 53
Opinions of the Greeks as to the origin of the earliest races - - - - - 54
Course of the Pelasgian migrations - - 56
Relation between the Pelasgians and the Greeks - 58
Observations of Herodotus on the Pelasgian language - - - - 59
Language of the Pelasgians not wholly foreign to the Greeks - - - - 61
Inference from the Pelasgian settlements in Italy - 62
Civilisation of the Pelasgians - - - 64
Legends of their savage condition - - 65
Traditions of their familiarity with the arts of life - 66
Monuments of the Pelasgians - - - 68

CHAP. III.

FOREIGN SETTLERS IN GREECE.

Authority of the Traditions concerning Foreign Settlers in Greece - - - - 71
Legend of Danaus - - - - 72
Its local features - - - - 74
Other supposed Egyptian colonies in Argolis and Megaris - - - - 75
Colonies of Cecrops, Erechtheus, and Peteus - 76
Colony of Cadmus - - - - 78
Opinions about Cadmus - - - 79
Legend of Pelops - - - - ib.
General arguments in favour of the reality of the colonies from the East - - - 81
Coincidence between Greek and Egyptian traditions - 82
In what sense Egyptians and Phœnicians may be said to have colonised Greece - - 85

B. C. Page

Traces of the Phœnicians in the Greek legends under other names - - - 86
Influence of the Phœnicians on Greece - - 88
Explanation of the legend of Pelops - - 89

CHAP. IV.

THE HELLENIC NATION.

Tendency of the Greeks to personification - 90
Caution required in treating the Heroic genealogies - 91
The Hellenes in Epirus - - - 93
Tribes of which the Nation was composed - 94
The Curetes - - - - 95
General view of the diffusion of the Hellenic Nation 96
A new population - - - - ib.
A new state of society - - - 98
Fourfold division of the Greek Nation - - 100
The Æolians - - - - 101
The Bœotian Æolis - - - - 101
Æolians in the South of Thessaly - - 103
The Minyans - - - - 103
The Minyean Orchomenus - - - 105
Æolians at Corinth - - - 107
In Elis - - - - - 108
In Pylus - - - - - 109
In Messenia - - - - 111
In Ætolia - - - - 112
In Locris - - - - 113
General character of the Æolian settlements - 115
Origin of the Dorians - - - 115
Their struggles with the Lapiths - - 117
Dorians in the North-west of Thessaly - - 117
Conquest of the southern Doris - - 119
Adventures of Xuthus - - - 121
The Achæans in Thessaly and Peloponnesus - 122
Their relation to the Hellenes - - - 123
Reasons for thinking them a branch of the Pelasgians 124
They are blended with the Æolians in Thessaly - 125
Establishment of an Æolian dynasty among the Achæans of Argolis - - - 126
Achæans in Laconia - - - - 127
Origin of the Ionians - - - 128
Their relation to the Hellenes - - - 129
Their establishment in Attica - - - 130
Antiquity of the Ionian settlements in Peloponnesus 132

		Page
	Early distinctions among the Ionians in Attica -	134
	Mixture of Hellenes with Ionians in Attica -	136
	Migrations to and from Eubœa - - -	ib.
	Ionian Dialect - - - -	138

CHAP. V.

THE HEROES AND THEIR AGE.

B.C. 1384—1184.

	Definition of the Heroic Age - - -	139
1300—1200.	Bellerophon — Perseus — Hercules -	142
	Hercules the god - - - -	143
	Hercules the Theban Hero - - -	144
	Legends of Hercules in Peloponnesus - -	145
	Other Adventures of Hercules - -	146
	Theseus a second Hercules - - -	147
	Attic Kings before Theseus - - -	148
	Birth of Theseus — His journey to Athens -	149
	Adventures in Creta - - - -	150
	Import of the legend - - - -	151
	Minos - - - - -	153
	His maritime dominion and colonies - -	154
	Legend of his Dorian origin examined - -	155
	Grounds for rejecting it - - -	157
	Conjecture on the legend of Minos - -	159
	Confederacies among the Heroes — the Theban Wars, and the Calydonian Chase - -	160
	Legend of the Argonautic Expedition - -	161
	Religious groundwork of the legend - -	164
	Its historical groundwork - - -	165
	Jason and Medea - - - -	168
1184.	Story of the Trojan War - - -	170
	How far credible - - - -	ib.
	Helen a mythological person - - -	171
	Connection between the Trojan War and the Argonautic Expedition - - -	173
	Expedition of Hercules against Troy - -	ib.
	Historical view of the Trojan War - -	175
	Consequences of the War - - -	ib.
	Authority of the Homeric Poems with regard to historical facts - - - -	177
	With regard to the state of society described in them	179

CHAP. VI.

THE GOVERNMENT, MANNERS, RELIGION, KNOWLEDGE, AND ARTS OF THE GREEKS IN THE HEROIC AGE.

B.C.		Page
	I. Distinction of Classes in the Heroic Age	183
	Slaves — Freemen — Nobles	184
	Kings	186
	Prerogatives of the Heroic Kings	187
	Limitations of their authority	189
	Their Domains and Revenues	190
	Royalty, how far hereditary	191
	Institutions for preserving the public peace	192
	Punishments	194
	Dealings between independent states	195
	Approach toward national unity	196
	II. Mutual relations of the sexes	197
	Female character	199
	Friendship	200
	Hospitality	201
	Amusements	203
	Kindness to inferiors	204
	Usages of War	205
	III. Earliest Form of Natural Religion	207
	Religion of the Pelasgians	208
	Origin of the Greek Mythology	209
	Influence of the Poets on Religion	211
	Hesiod's Theogony	212
	Greek Mythology, how far derived from the East	215
	How far formed by the Poets	ib.
	Traces of Monotheism in the Greek Mythology	217
	Character of the supreme god	218
	Fatalism of the Greeks	220
	Connection between Religion and Morality	221
	Homeric view of a future state	222
	Condition of the soul after death	223
	Worship and Sacrifices	224
	Human Sacrifices	225
	Temples and Holy Grounds	226
	Priests	227
	How far a separate class	229
	Oracles	232
	Omens and Divination	233
	Hero-worship	235
	Dæmons	ib.
	IV. Exaggerated notions entertained by the Greeks of Homer's learning	237

B. C.		Page
	Homeric Geography - - - -	238
	Wanderings of Menelaus - - -	239
	Homer's view of the Northern and Western seas -	241
	The Ocean - - - -	244
	Course of the Sun - - - -	245
	The Ethiopians - - - -	246
	Olympus - - - - -	247
	Navigation - - - -	ib.
	Astronomy - - - -	249
	Commerce - - - -	251
	Degree to which the useful Arts appear to have been cultivated - - - -	252
	Art of War - - - -	256
	Medicine - - - - -	258
	The fine Arts — Poetry - - -	259
	Music and Dancing - - - -	261
	Architecture - - - -	262
	Statuary - - - - -	264
	Letters - - - - -	269
	The Art of Writing - - - -	271
	Was the Art known to Homer? - -	273
	Were the Homeric Poems at first committed to Writing?	275
	Unity of the Homeric Poems - - -	277
	The Rhapsodists - - - -	279
	The Homeric Poems the opening of a new period -	280

CHAP. VII.

THE RETURN OF THE HERACLEIDS.

	State of Greece after the Trojan War - - -	282
	The Thessalians migrate from Epirus into Thessaly -	284
	They drive out the Bœotians - - -	286
1124.	Who conquer Bœotia - - - -	ib.
	Dorian Migration - - - -	289
	Connection between the Dorians and the Heracleids	ib.
	Inquiry into the truth of the legend - -	290
1104.	The Dorians break into Peloponnesus - -	293
	Conquest of Elis - - - -	ib.
	The Achæans retreat before the Dorians into Ionia -	295
	Partition of the conquered land among the Heracleids	296
	Means by which the Dorians effected their conquests	298
	Settlement of Cresphontes in Messenia - -	300
	Various accounts of the subjugation of Laconia -	301
	Resistance of Amyclæ - - -	ib.
	The Dorians in Laconia joined by the Ægeids -	304

c.		Page
	The Minyans in Laconia and Triphylia	305
	The Dorians in Epidaurus	307
	In Trœzen, Sicyon, and Phlius	308
	The Dorians conquer Corinth	309
	Invade Attica	310
	Codrus	311
	Conquest of Megara and Ægina	312
	Expeditions of the Dorians to Crete	314
	Colonies founded by Pollis	ib.
	By Althæmenes	316
	State of Crete at the time of the Dorian Conquest	317
	Cretan Institutions — Subjects	319
	Slaves	320
	Freemen	322
	Form of Government	ib.
	Cretan *Syssitia*	325
	Education	327

CHAP. VIII.

THE LEGISLATION OF LYCURGUS.

B. C. 884.

	Opposite views of the subject	331
	Time and Lineage of Lycurgus	332
	Birth of Charilaus	333
	Travels of Lycurgus, his Return to Sparta, Actions, and Death	334
	Antiquity of the Spartan Institutions	336
	Lycurgus a real person	338
	Nature of the revolution effected by him	ib.
	Difficulty of reconciling the different accounts of it	339
	State of things which called for his interposition	340
	Objects which he had in view	342
	Outline of his measures	344
	Distribution of Property	ib.
	Erroneous views of the subject	346
	Nature of the partition made by Lycurgus	ib.
	Condition of the Laconian Subjects	347
	The Helots	351
	Their treatment	352
	The *Cryptia*	354
	The Spartans	356
	Spartan Tribes	357
	Spartan Nobles	358

B. C.		Page
	Assemblies of the People - - -	359
	The *Gerusia* - - - -	360
	The Kings - - - -	361
	Royal Prerogatives - - - -	363
	Honours of the Kings - - -	364
	The Ephors - - - -	365
	A general principle of the Spartan Institutions -	367
	Provisions for preserving the number of the Spartan families unchanged - - -	368
	Restrictions on the use of the precious metals at Sparta - - - -	369
	Condition and Education of the Spartan Women -	370
	Education of the Spartan Youths - -	372
	Exercises of patience - - -	374
	Cultivation of intellectual faculties, and of moral habits - - - -	375
	Spartan *Syssitia* - - - -	377
	Military Institutions - - - -	378
	System of Tactics - - - -	379
	Maxims of Spartan Warfare - - -	380
	Spartan Laws unwritten - - -	382
	Connection between the Dorian and the old Hellenic Institutions - - - -	383
	Peculiar circumstances which formed the Dorian character - - - -	385
	Peculiar position of the Spartans - -	386

CHAP. IX.

THE MESSENIAN WARS AND AFFAIRS OF SPARTA DOWN TO THE SIXTH CENTURY B. C.

	Wars of Sparta with Argos and Arcadia - -	388
	State of Messenia - - - -	389
	Policy of the Messenian Kings - - -	391
	First quarrel between Sparta and Messenia -	ib.
	Story of Polychares - - - -	392
743.	Beginning of the first Messenian War - -	394
	Authorities for the History of the Messenian Wars -	ib.
	The Messenians fortify Ithomé - - -	396
	Aristodemus - - - -	397
723.	End of the first Messenian War - -	399
	Consequences arising to Sparta from the Conquest of Messenia - - - -	400
	Admission of new citizens to Sparta - -	402
	Rise of a new distinction among the citizens of Sparta	ib.

B. C.		Page
	Enlargement of the power of the Ephors	405
	Comparison between the Ephors and the Roman Tribunes	406
	Mode of election and authority of the Ephors	407
748.	Pheidon, King of Argos	408
685.	Beginning of the second Messenian War	410
	Aristomenes and Tyrtæus	ib.
	Victories of Aristomenes	413
	The Messenians fortify Eira	414
	Wonderful Exploits and Escape of Aristomenes	415
	Surprise of Eira	417
668.	End of the second Messenian War	419
	Messenian Exiles; Death of Aristomenes	420
	War between Sparta and Tegea; Conquest of Cynuria; Othryades	421
	Growing Power and Reputation of Sparta	422

CHAP. X.

NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.

	Causes which tended to keep the Greeks asunder	424
	Origin of partial Associations among the Greek Tribes	425
	Amphictyonies	426
	Amphictyonic Congress at Calaurea	428
	Amphictyonic Meetings at Delphi and Thermopylæ	429
	Tribes which composed the League	430
	Changes in the composition of the League	431
	Effect of the Dorian Conquest on the state of the League	432
	Mode of representation in the Amphictyonic Council	433
	Functions of the Council	435
595.	First Sacred War begins	436
	The Delphic Oracle	438
	Olympic Festival	439
	Presidence of the Olympic Games	441
	Athletic Contests	442
	Nemean and Isthmian Games	444
	Effects of the Olympic Festival as an Instrument of national Union	445
	Its Effects on the Diffusion of Knowledge and the Cultivation of the Arts	446
	Effects on the national Character and Habits	ib.
	The Games considered as Spectacles	448
	Difference in the Forms of Government a Cause of Disunion among the Greeks	ib.

Causes which led to the Abolition of Royalty -
Definitions of various Forms of Government -
Origin of Oligarchy - - - -
Means by which Oligarchies maintained their power
Timocracy; Polity; Æsymnetes - -
Causes which led to the Ruin of Oligarchies -
Origin of Tyranny - - - -
Policy of the Tyrants - - -
Causes of the short Duration of the tyrannical dynasties - - - - -
Interference of Sparta in their overthrow - -
Definition of Democracy - - -
Different Forms of Democracy in practice - -
Corruption of Democracy; Ochlocracy - -
Forms of Government in Arcadia - -
Tegea, Mantinea, Heræa - - -
Elis - - - - -
Achaia - - - - -
Argos - - - - -
Epidaurus and Ægina - - -
Corinth; the Bacchiads - - -
660. Cypselus overthrows the Bacchiads - -
Character of Periander - - -
582. End of his Dynasty - - - -
Sicyon; Dynasty of Andreas - - -
Myron and Cleisthenes - - -
Megara; subject to Corinth - - -
Theagenes Tyrant of Megara - - -
Violence of civil discord at Megara - -
Theognis the aristocratical poet - -
Bœotia; Legislation of Philolaus at Thebes -
Bœotian Confederacy - - -
Locrian Tribes - - - -
Phocis; Delphi; Eubœa - - -
Ancient War between Chalcis and Eretria -
Political division of Thessaly - - -
Distinction of Classes among the Thessalians; Office of Tagus - - - - 497
Factions of Larissa - - - - ib.

APPENDIX.

I. On the early History of the Homeric Poems - 500
II. On the Number of the Spartan Tribes - - 517
III. On the Organisation of the Spartan Army - 520

HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHICAL OUTLINES OF GREECE.

Geographical Position of Greece. — Various Descriptions of its Boundaries. — Thessaly. — Tempe. — Divisions of Thessaly. — South of Thessaly. — Doris. — Phocis. — Locris. — Bœotia. — Lake Copais. — Southern Bœotia. — Eubœa. — The Euripus. — Attica. — Megaris. — Ozolian Locris. — Ætolia. — Acarnania. — The Isthmus. — General View of Peloponnesus. — Arcadia. — Outlets of its Waters. — Argolis. — Sicyon. — Corinth. — Passes. — Plain of Argos. — The Acté. — Epidaurus. — Trœzen. — Hermioné. — Asiné. — Passes. — Cynuria. — Laconia. — Messenia. — Elis. — Triphylia. — Pisatis. — Achaia. — Fertility of Greece. — Volcanic Changes.

CHAP. I.

THE character of every people is more or less closely connected with that of its land. The station which the Greeks filled among nations, the part which they acted, and the works which they accomplished, depended in a great measure on the position which they occupied on the face of the globe. The manner and degree in which the nature of the country affected the bodily and mental frame, and the social institutions of its inhabitants, may not be so easily determined; but its physical aspect is certainly not less important in a historical point of view, than it is striking and interesting in itself. An attentive survey of the geographical site of Greece, of its general divisions, and of the most prominent points on its surface, is an indispensable preparation for the

CHAP. I.

study of its history. In the following sketch, nothing more will be attempted than to guide the reader's eye over an accurate map of the country, and to direct his attention to some of those indelible features which have survived all the revolutions by which it has been desolated.

Geographical position of Greece.

The land which its sons called *Hellas*, and for which we have adopted the Roman name *Greece*, lies on the south-east verge of Europe, and in length extends no further than from the thirty-sixth to the fortieth degree of latitude. It is distinguished among European countries by the same character which distinguishes Europe itself from the other continents,—the great range of its coast compared with the extent of its surface; so that while in the latter respect it is considerably less than Portugal, in the former it exceeds the whole Pyrenean peninsula. The great eastern limb which projects from the main trunk of the continent of Europe grows more and more finely articulated as it advances towards the south, and terminates in the peninsula of *Peloponnesus*, the smaller half of Greece, which bears some resemblance to an outspread palm. Its southern extremity is at a nearly equal distance from the two neighbouring continents: it fronts one of the most beautiful and fertile regions of Africa, and is separated from the nearest point of Asia by the southern outlet of the *Ægean* sea,—the sea, by the Greeks familiarly called their *own*, which, after being contracted into a narrow stream by the approach of the opposite shores at the *Hellespont*, suddenly finds its liberty in an ample basin as they recede toward the east and the west, and at length, escaping between Cape Malea and Crete, confounds its waters with the broader main of the Mediterranean. Over that part of this sea which washes the coast of Greece a chain of islands, beginning from the southern headland of Attica, Cape Sunium, first girds Delos

with an irregular belt, the *Cyclades*[1], and then, in a waving line, links itself to a scattered group (the *Sporades*) which borders the Asiatic coast. Southward of these the interval between the two continents is broken by the larger islands *Crete* and *Rhodes*. From the isle of Cythera, which is parted by a narrow channel from Laconia, the snowy summits of the Cretan Ida are clearly visible, and from them the eye can probably reach the Rhodian Atabyrus[2], and the mountains of Asia Minor; smaller islands occupy a part of the boundary which this line of view may be conceived to fix to the Ægean. The sea which divides Greece from Italy is contracted, between the Iapygian peninsula and the coast of Epirus, into a channel only thirty geographical miles in breadth; and the Italian coast may be seen not only from the mountains of Corcyra, but from the low headland of the Ceraunian hills.

Various descriptions of its boundaries.

Thus on two sides Greece is bounded by a narrow sea; but toward the north its limits were never precisely defined. The word Hellas did not convey to Greeks the notion of a certain geographical surface, determined by natural or conventional boundaries: it denoted the country of the *Hellenes*, and was variously applied according to the different views entertained of the people which was entitled to that name. The original Hellas was included in the territory of a little tribe in the south of Thessaly. When these Hellenes had imparted their name to other tribes, with which they were allied by a community of language and manners, Hellas might properly be said to extend as far as these national features prevailed. Ephorus regarded Acarnania, including probably the

[1] On the name Κυκλάδες, and its connection with the Delian Amphictyony, see Bröndsted, *Reisen durch Griechenland*, p. 59. n. 2.

[2] Diodorus, v. 59. Apollod. iii. 21. On the distance at which objects may be distinguished in the atmosphere of the Archipelago, see Dodwell, *Travels in Greece*, vol. i. p. 194.

CHAP. I.

southern coast of the Ambracian gulf up to Ambracia, as the first Grecian territory on the west.[1] Northward of the gulf the irruption of barbarous hordes had stifled the germs of the Greek character in the ancient inhabitants of Epirus, and had transformed it into a foreign land; and it must have been rather the recollection of its ancient fame, as the primitive abode of the Hellenes, than the condition of its tribes after the Persian war, that induced Herodotus to speak of *Thesprotia* as part of Hellas.[2] On the east, Greece was commonly held to terminate with Mount *Homole* at the mouth of the Peneus: the more scrupulous, however, excluded even Thessaly from the honour of the Hellenic name; while Strabo, with consistent laxity, admitted a part of Macedonia.[3] But from Ambracia to the mouth of the Peneus, when these were taken as the extreme northern points, it was still impossible to draw a precise line of demarcation; for the same reason which justified the exclusion of Epirus applied, perhaps much more forcibly, to the mountaineers in the interior of Ætolia, whose barbarous origin, or utter degeneracy, was proved by their savage manners, and a language which Thucydides describes as unintelligible. When the Ætolians bade the last Philip withdraw from Hellas, the Macedonian king could justly retort, by asking where they would fix its boundaries? and by reminding them that of their own body a very small part was within the pale from which they wished to exclude him. "The tribe of the Agræans, of the Apodotians, and the Amphilochians," he emphatically observed, "is not Hellas."[4]

The northern part of Greece is traversed in its whole length by a range of mountains, the Greek Apennines, which issue from the same mighty root,

[1] In Strabo, viii. 334.
[2] ii. 56.
[3] viii. init.
[4] Polybius, xvii. 5.

the Thracian *Scomius*, in which *Hæmus*, and *Rhodopé*, and the Illyrian Alps, likewise meet. This ridge first takes the name of *Pindus*, where it intersects the northern boundary of Greece, at a point where an ancient route still affords the least difficult passage from Epirus into Thessaly.[1] From Pindus two huge arms stretch toward the eastern sea, and inclose the vale of *Thessaly*, the largest and richest plain in Greece: on the north the *Cambunian* hills, after making a bend toward the south, terminate in the loftier heights of *Olympus*, which are scarcely ever entirely free from snow; the opposite and lower chain of *Othrys* parting, with its eastern extremity, the Malian from the Pagasæan gulf, sinks gently toward the coast. A fourth rampart, which runs parallel to Pindus, is formed by the range which includes the celebrated heights of *Pelion* and *Ossa*; the first a broad and nearly even ridge, the other towering into a steep conical peak, the neighbour and rival of Olympus, with which, in the songs of the country, it is said to dispute the pre-eminence in the depth and duration of its snows.[2] The mountain barrier with which Thessaly is thus encompassed is broken only at the north-east corner, by a deep and narrow cleft, which parts Ossa from Olympus; the defile so renowned in poetry as the vale, in history as the pass, of *Tempe*. The imagination of the ancient poets and declaimers delighted to dwell on the natural beauties of this romantic glen, and on the sanctity of the site, from which

Thessaly.

Tempe.

[1] That of Metzovo, particularly well described by Dr. Holland, *Travels*, pp. 216—218.

[2] Holland, p. 348. Clarke, vol. iv. 278. The accuracy with which the description in the Odyssey, XI. 314. —Ὄσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὄσσῃ Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον — is adapted to the real proportions of the mountains, compared with the arbitrary variation in the Georgics, i. 281., where Virgil makes his giants construct an inverted pyramid, has been thought worthy of a place among the arguments for Homer's European origin (B. Thiersch. *Ueber das Zeitalter und Vaterland des Homer*, p. 292.), though Wood (*Orig. Genius of Homer*, p. 90.) saw in the *embellishments* of the story something *very like the production of an Ionian imagination.*

CHAP. I.

Apollo had transplanted his laurel to Delphi.[1] From other points of view, the same spot no less forcibly claims the attention of the historian. It is the only pass through which an army can invade Thessaly from the north, without scaling the high and rugged ridges of its northern frontier. The whole glen is something less than five miles long, and opens gradually to the east into a spacious plain, stretching to the shore of the *Thermaic* gulf. On each side the rocks rise precipitously from the bed of the Peneus, and in some places only leave room between them for the stream; and the road, which at the narrowest point is cut in the rock, might in the opinion of the ancients be defended by ten men against a host.[2] But Tempe is at least equally interesting as the only channel which nature has provided for discharging the waters which descend from the Thessalian mountains into the sea. An opinion, grounded perhaps rather on observation and reflection than on tradition, prevailed among the ancients, that these waters had once been imprisoned, and covered the whole plain with a vast sheet, of which the lakes *Nessonis* and *Bœbeis*, at the foot of Pelion, were considered as re-

[1] Ælian's description, V. H. iii. 1., may be compared with those of Clarke, vol. iv. pp. 290—297. Holland, pp. 291—295. Dodwell. pp. 109—117., who prefers Ælian's description to Pliny's, not only as more beautiful, but more faithful. Holland compares the scenery of Tempe to that of St. Vincent's Rocks at Clifton, Gell (*Itin. of Greece*, p. 280.), to that of Matlock.

[2] Dr. Cramer (*Description of Ancient Greece*, vol. i. 379.) conceives, from Livy's description, xliv. 6., that before the time of Julius Cæsar the road through Tempe was carried along the heights on the left bank of the Peneus, and that the modern road was constructed by the proconsul L. Cassius Longinus, of whom an inscription, cut in the face of the rock by the road side near the narrowest part, records "Tempe munivit." Gell, *Itin. of Greece*, p. 278., has confounded this L. Cassius with the C. Cassius who was consul A. U. C. 581. But I do not find that any traveller has been struck by the same thought with Dr. Cramer; and it seems scarcely credible that the ancient road on the northern side should have continued till now entirely forgotten. Dodwell's interpretation of the inscription, according to which Longinus repaired the forts of Tempe, is at least quite as probable; and since the remains of a fort exactly answering to one of those mentioned by Livy are still visible on the right of the river (Dodwell, vol. ii. p. 112. Gell, p. 278.), it can hardly be doubted that they all stood on the same side. If it had been otherwise, how could Livy have avoided noticing the new southern road, which must have rendered his description ambiguous, and, in fact, incorrect?

mains, till an outlet was opened for them by a sudden shock, which rent the rocks of Tempe asunder. This beneficent convulsion was ascribed by the legends to the arm of Hercules, or the trident of the god Poseidon or Neptune: the appearance of the plain and of the pass has impressed modern travellers with a similar conviction of the fact. The Peneus itself, though it is fed by all the most considerable rivers of Thessaly, is a very diminutive stream; and though, when swollen by the melting of the snows, it sometimes floods the surrounding plains, in its ordinary state is sluggish and shallow. The vale through which it flows from the north-west corner of Thessaly is contracted in its upper part between the lower ridges of Pindus and an extensive range of hills branching off from the Cambunian chain, the highlands of *Hestiæotis*. Near the rocks of *Meteora*, in the neighbourhood of Homer's craggy *Ithomé*, the basin of the Peneus expands into a vast level toward the south-east. At *Tricca* the river takes an easterly direction, and the plain widens on the right, but is still confined by the hills on the left, until within about ten miles from *Larissa*, where it is bounded on the north only by the skirts of Olympus, and extends a gently undulating surface southward to the foot of Othrys: a tract not less than fifty miles in length, comprehending, as its central part, the districts called *Thessaliotis*, and *Pelasgiotis*, or the *Pelasgian Argos;* the territory of the *Perrhæbians* in the north, and in the south the inland part of *Achaia*, or *Phthiotis*, the region which included the ancient *Hellas*. On the eastern side of the ridge which stretches from Tempe to the gulf of *Pagasæ*, a narrow strip of land, called *Magnesia*, is intercepted between the mountains and the sea, broken by lofty headlands and the beds of torrents, and exposed without a harbour to the fury of the north-east gales. A chain of rocky islands, beginning near the eastern cape of

Divisions of Thessaly.

CHAP. I.

Magnesia, and in full view of Mount *Athos*, seems to point the way toward *Lemnos* and the Hellespont. The shores of the gulf of Pagasæ, which open into some rich plains bounded by a range of low hills, which link Pelion with Othrys, may be considered as one of the most favoured regions of Greece; and its natural beauty and singular advantages, which fitted it to become the cradle of Greek navigation, were undoubtedly associated by more than an accidental connection with its mythical glories. In the overhanging forests of Pelion the fated tree was felled, which first found a way through the Cyanean rocks to revive the dormant feud between Europe and Asia; and on the same ground the Muses met at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, to predict the birth of Achilles and the ruin of Troy.[1]

South of Thessaly.

South of this gulf the coast is again deeply indented by that of *Malia*, into which the *Spercheius*, rising from Mount *Tymphrestus*, a continuation of Pindus, winds through a long narrow vale, which, though considered as a part of Thessaly, forms a separate region, widely distinguished from the rest by its physical features. It is intercepted between Othrys and *Œta*, a huge rugged pile, which, stretching from Pindus to the sea at *Thermopylæ*, forms the inner barrier of Greece, as the Cambunian range is the outer, to which it corresponds in direction, and is nearly equal in height. From Mount *Callidromus*, a southern limb of Œta, the same range is continued without interruption, though under various names, and different degrees of elevation, along the coast of the *Eubœan* sea, passing through the countries of the *Locrian* tribes, which derived their distinguishing epithets, the *Epicnemidian* and *Opuntian*, from Mount *Cnemis* and the town of *Opus*, till it sinks into the vale of the Bœotian *Asopus*. Another branch, issuing

[1] Euripides, *Med.* 3. *Iphig. A.* 1040.

from the same part of Pindus, connects it with the loftier summits of *Parnassus*, and afterward skirting the Corinthian gulf, under the names of *Cirphis* and *Helicon*, proceeds to form the northern boundary of Attica, under those of *Cithæron* and *Parnes*.

At the parting of these two great branches, the head of the vale through which the *Cephisus* flows into the lake *Copais*, lies the little country of *Doris*, obscure and insignificant in itself, but interesting as the foster-mother of a race of conquerors who became the masters of Greece. It is described as a narrow plain, gently undulating between the rugged precipices and shaggy glens of Œta and Parnassus, which, by their vicinity, render its winters comparatively rude and long[1], but the soil is fertile in grain and pastures. It is watered by several little streams, which swell the Cephisus into a considerable river, even before the valley has begun to open into the broader plains of Phocis. Two passes afford an entrance into Doris from the north; one, the more narrow and difficult, leading across the eastern end of Œta, the other crossing the same ridge farther to the west. Southward, a mountain track traverses the heights of Parnassus, and descends on the vale of *Crissa*; a more circuitous, but less difficult, route leads through the heart of Ætolia, to the shores of the Corinthian gulf near Naupactus. *Phocis*, which, though it once possessed a port on the Eubœan channel, was, in the later period of its history, entirely parted from the sea by Locris, includes some narrow but fertile plains on the banks of the Cephisus, stretching to the skirts of Parnassus on the one side, and to the Locrian mountains on the other. The passes to the north across Mount Cnemis are steep and difficult;

Doris

Phocis.

Locris.

[1] Dodwell, however (vol. ii. p. 132.), found the corn nearly ripe on the 11th of June. His description teaches us to qualify the epithet Λυπρόχωροι, which Strabo (ix. 427.) applies to the Dorian towns.

CHAP. I.

but the range which separates Phocis from the coast of Opus sinks into a hollow of easy ascent. Parnassus itself, and the adjacent mass of Cirphis, between which the valley of Crissa descends upon the Corinthian gulf, belonged to the Phocian territory. The basin of the Cephisus is suddenly contracted, by a ridge jutting out from Parnassus toward Mount *Edylion*, into a narrow outlet, which is the entrance to Bœotia, and opens on the spacious level which extends to the edge of the lake Copais.

Bœotia.

The mountains which inclose the inland territory which formed the main part of *Bœotia*, and separate it from the narrow maritime districts on the Eubœan sea and the Corinthian gulf, have been already described. The interior of the country is by no means a uniform tract, but is broken into several distinct valleys and plains. A ridge of hills, which joins Helicon with the eastern range, and parts the lake of *Copæ* (*Copais*) from that of *Hylica*, may be considered as dividing Bœotia into two great portions. The northern contains the lower vale of the Cephisus, and the Copaic lake, into which it flows. The hills which rise from the southern and eastern edges of the lake afford no visible outlet for its waters; and the influx of the Cephisus, and the smaller streams that spring from the side of Helicon, seem to threaten to reduce this part of Bœotia to the state from which Thessaly was said to have been delivered by the trident of Poseidon. The tradition of the Ogygian deluge appears to preserve the recollection of a period when the whole plain was one vast lake; and it is highly probable that it first became capable of cultivation, when one of those convulsions by which Greece was frequently visited, had opened a subterraneous channel for the flood through the rocky barrier which confined it. The eastern end of the lake is contracted into a narrow cove, which is closed by the craggy

Lake Copais.

skirts of Mount *Ptöon:* a ridge of three or four miles in breadth parts it from the plain on the shore of the Eubœan channel. The art and industry of the people which inhabited the borders of the lake in the earliest times of which any account remains, would perhaps have been equal to the task of piercing the bowels of the rock even to this extent; but since the land could scarcely have been habitable before such a passage had been formed, the origin of that which actually exists must clearly be ascribed to the hand of nature: and this conclusion is confirmed by the appearance of every part that has yet been explored. Several natural chasms open on the lake; but it would seem that all these clefts convey their streams into one main current, which is discharged through a single mouth on the eastern side of the hill, whence it rushes rapidly to the sea. The passage, however, was liable to be blocked up by causes similar to that which appears to have produced it; and tradition and history have recorded some instances of such a stoppage. One in the mythical period was attributed, like the severing of Tempe, to the strength of Hercules, who was said to have adopted this expedient to humble the pride of the wealthy city of *Orchomenus*, which stood near the lake. A still earlier calamity of the same nature is intimated by the tradition that some ancient towns, among them a Bœotian *Athens* and *Eleusis*, had been destroyed by the rising of the lake. The removal of such obstructions was unquestionably not left to time and chance, but was speedily effected by the industry of the people, whose fruitful fields had been laid under water. A natural perpendicular chasm, which descends to the surface of one of the subterraneous streams, might suggest the possibility of seconding the process of nature. During the better days of Greece, the level of the lake appears to have been kept regularly low, though it might be

CHAP. I.

CHAP. I.

occasionally raised by extraordinary floods; but in the time of Alexander, either long neglect, or some inward convulsion, again choked up the channel, and produced an inundation. An engineer, named Crates[1], was employed to clear the passage, and he succeeded so far as to remedy the temporary evil; but political disturbances prevented him from completing his work, which would perhaps have afforded permanent security. At present, however, the lake is little more than a marsh, containing some deep pools. In summer it is nearly dry; but after heavy rains it still overflows its natural boundaries.[2]

Southern Bœotia.

The southern portion of Bœotia is broken into several distinct plains by low ridges, which branch out from the principal chain. The largest and richest stretches from the foot of the hills on which *Thebes* occupies an insulated eminence, to the lake of Hylica, which receives a part of the waters of the northern lake by a subterraneous channel, and is believed to send its own by a similar outlet to the Eubœan sea. The Theban plain rises gradually westward into a higher marshy level, the district of *Thespiæ*, from which two narrow glens, parted by a lofty mountain (*Korombile*) between Helicon and Cithæron[3], descend to the Bœotian ports on the Corinthian gulf: the only break in the southern barrier. The plain of *Leuctra* connects that of Thespiæ with the table land of *Platæa*, which is raised sufficiently to part the source of the *Oeroé*, a little stream which falls into the Corin-

[1] Strabo's account of the operations of Crates, ix. 407., admits of various interpretations. That of Kruse (*Hellas*, vol. ii. p. 454.) seems preferable to Mueller's (*Orchomenos*, p. 59.), which requires an alteration of Strabo's text, and in the present state of our knowledge seems not reconcilable with the local phenomena. He supposes the chasm mentioned by Strabo, the mouth of which is now visible on the eastern side of the hill, to have been opened by a shock which happened in or before the time of Crates, and to have been quite distinct from the passage which Crates attempted to clear.

[2] Dodwell, vol. i. p. 235.

[3] Leake, *Morea*, vol. iii. p. 381. Dodwell, vol. i. p. 258. Gell, *It. of Greece*, p. 117., conjectures that this remarkable mountain may have been anciently called *Typha*.

thian gulf, from the basin of the *Asopus*, a weak and sluggish river, which, unless swollen by rains, scarcely finds its way to the sea. The long winding vale through which it flows contains several spacious plains, among which those of *Tanagra* and *Oropus* are distinguished by extraordinary fertility and beauty. Oropus was an object worth the contests to which it gave rise between the states on whose confines it lay, as well on this account as on account of its vicinity to *Eubœa*. That large and important island, which at a very early period attracted the Phœnicians by its copper mines, and in later times became almost indispensable to the subsistence of Athens[1], though it covers the whole eastern coast of Locris and Bœotia, is more closely connected with the latter of these countries. The channel of the *Euripus* which parts it from the main land, between *Aulis* and *Chalcis*, is but a few paces in width[2], and is broken by a rocky islet, which now forms the middle pier of a bridge. The ancients believed, what the aspect of the coast appears to confirm, that one of those convulsions, which seem to have produced other momentous changes in the adjacent regions, also opened a passage for the impetuous and irregular current of the straits.[3]

CHAP. I.

Eubœa.

The Euripus.

The peculiar conformation of the principal Bœotian valleys, the barriers opposed to the escape of the streams, and the consequent accumulation of the rich deposits brought down from the surrounding mountains, may be considered as a main cause of the extraordinary fertility of the land. The vale of the Cephisus especially, with its periodical inundations, exhibits a resemblance, on a small scale, to the banks of the Nile, — a resemblance which some of the an-

[1] See Mr. Hawkins, in Walpole's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 545.

[2] Thirty on one side of the rock, and twenty on the other. Gell, *It. of Greece*, p. 130.

[3] According to Gell (*It. of Greece*, p. 131.), the tide of the Euripus is regular for about eighteen or nineteen days each month; but for eleven days the current changes from eleven to fourteen times in the day.

CHAP. I.

cients observed in the peculiar character of its vegetation. The profusion in which the ordinary gifts of nature were spread over the face of Bœotia, the abundant returns of its grain, the richness of its pastures, the materials of luxury furnished by its woods and waters, are chiefly remarkable, in a historical point of view, from the unfavourable effect they produced on the character of the race, which finally established itself in this envied territory. It was this cause, more than the dampness and thickness of their atmosphere, that depressed the intellectual and moral energies of the Bœotians, and justified the ridicule which their temperate and witty neighbours so freely poured on their proverbial failing.[1] The Attic satire might have been suspected, and large abatement might have been thought necessary for national prejudice, as well as for poetical exaggeration, had it not been confirmed by the grave evidence of Polybius, who records that, after a short effort of vigorous ambition, the Bœotians sank into a depth of grovelling sensuality, which has no parallel in the history of any Grecian people.[2] Yet they were warm lovers of poetry and music, and carried some branches of both arts to eminent perfection.

Attica.

A wild and rugged, though not a lofty, range of mountains, bearing the name of Cithæron on the west, of Parnes toward the east, divides Bœotia from *Attica*. Lower ridges, branching off to the south, and sending out arms toward the east, mark the limits of the principal districts which compose this little country, the least proportioned in extent of any on the face of the earth to its fame and its importance in the history of mankind. The most extensive of the Attic plains, though it is by no means a uniform level, but is broken by a number of low hills, is that in which

[1] See Athenæus, x. c. 11.

[2] Polyb. in Athen. x. 418.

Athens itself lies, at the foot of a precipitous rock, and in which, according to the Attic legend, the olive, still its most valuable production, first sprang up. It is bounded on the east by *Pentelicus*, and by the range which, under the names of the greater and lesser *Hymettus* [1], advances till it meets the sea at Cape *Zoster*. The upper part of Pentelicus, which rises to a greater height than Hymettus [2], was distinguished, under the name of *Epacria*, or *Diacria*, as the Attic Highlands. This range, which, after trending eastward, terminates at Cape *Cynossema*, forms with Parnes and the sea the boundary of the plain of *Marathon*. On the eastern side of Hymettus a comparatively level tract, separated from the coast by a lower range of hills, seems to have been that which was called *Mesogæa*, or the Midland. The hills which inclose it meet in the mountainous mine district of *Laurium*, and end with Cape *Sunium*, the southernmost foreland of Attica. The Attic mariner, as he sailed round Sunium, could discern the spear and the crest of his tutelary goddess in front of her temple on the Athenian rock. The tract on the coast between Sunium and Cape Zoster, a tract of low hills and undulating plains, was designated by the name of *Paralia*, as the maritime region of Attica, though the whole land was entitled to the appellation *Acté*, whence perhaps it derived the name of Attica, from the form in which it advanced into the sea. On the western side, the plain of Athens is bounded by a chain of hills, issuing from Parnes, and successively bearing the names of *Icarius*, *Corydallus*, and *Ægaleus*, as it stretches toward the sea, which at Cape *Amphialé* separates it by a channel, a quarter of a mile in width, from the island of *Salamis*. It parts the plain of Athens from that of *Eleusis*, which contained

[1] Called also *Anudros*, the waterless.
[2] Gell, *It. of Greece*, p. 95.

CHAP. I.

the *Thriasian* and the *Rharian* fields, celebrated in the Attic mythology as the soil which had been first enriched by the gifts of Demeter, or Ceres, the goddess of harvests.

Attica is, on the whole, a meagre land, wanting the fatness of the Bœotian plains, and the freshness of the Bœotian streams. The waters of its principal river, the *Cephisus*, are expended in irrigating a part of the plain of Athens[1]; and the *Ilissus*, though no less renowned, is a mere brook, which is sometimes swollen into a torrent. It could scarcely boast of more than two or three fertile tracts, and its principal riches lay in the heart of its mountains, in the silver of Laurium, and the marble of Pentelicus.[2] It might also reckon among its peculiar advantages the purity of its air[3], the fragrance of its shrubs, and the fineness of its fruits. But in its most flourishing period its produce was never sufficient to supply the wants of its inhabitants, and their industry was constantly urged to improve their ground to the utmost. Traces are still visible of the laborious cultivation which was carried, by means of artificial terraces, up the sides of their barest mountains.[4] After all, they were compelled to look to the sea even for subsistence. Attica would have been little but for the position which it occupied, as the south-east foreland of Greece, with valleys opening on the coast, and ports inviting the commerce of Asia. From the top of its hills the eye surveys the whole circle of the islands, which form its maritime suburbs, and seem to point out its historical destination.

The plain of Eleusis was separated by a chain of hills, which at its eastern end acquired, from its

[1] As in the time of Sophocles. See the interesting illustration of an obscure passage, Œd. C. 717., given by F. Thiersch in his *Etat actuel de la Grèce*, vol. ii. p. 26.

[2] Xenophon, *De Vectig.* c. 1.

[3] Celebrated by Eurip. *Medea*, 829.; and in Plutarch, *De Exil.* 13.

[4] Parnes and Ægaleus, Dodwell, vol. i. pp. 505. 509.

forked summit, the name of *Kerata*, or the Horns, from the territory of *Megara*, which included one plain, of narrow compass and small fertility, parted into two branches at the site of the ancient capital.[1] The remainder is occupied by the mountains which extend from Cithæron to the Isthmus, and at the north-west corner of the Saronic gulf sink precipitously into the sea, above which a rugged way skirts the edge of the *Scironian* cliffs, which now are chiefly formidable to sailors for the sudden gusts which often burst from the mountains above them. This was one of the passes leading out of Peloponnesus into northern Greece; others crossed the inland ridge of *Geranea*, the summit of the *Onean* chain, which stretches from sea to sea, and terminates the mountains of northern Greece in the isthmus of Corinth. To these passes, which were easily defensible, and to its two ports, *Nisæa*, on the Saronic, and *Pagæ*, on the Corinthian gulf, Megara owed all her importance in Grecian history.

Megaris.

To the west of the vale of Crissa, a narrow mountainous tract, extending along the coast as far as the town of *Naupactus*, from which the gulf of Corinth has taken its modern name of *Lepanto*, was occupied by the western Locrians, who, from some peculiarity of their habits or their land, received the epithet of the *Ozolian*.[2] The territory of their western neighbours, the *Ætolians*, was still more rugged, consisting in great part of lofty ridges branching out from Pindus and Œta into the basin of the *Achelous*. In these highlands during the winter all passage and

Ozolian Locris.

Ætolia.

[1] Paus. i. 41, 2. Gell, *It. of Greece*, p. 11.

[2] Pausanias (x. 38.) offers several conjectures on the origin of the name: among the rest, that it was derived from the undressed skins which were worn by the ancient inhabitants. Strabo (ix. p. 427.) refers it to a fetid spring at the foot of Mount Taphiassus, the burial-place of the centaurs, which still retains this property. See Gell, *It. of Morea*, p. 4.; *It. of Greece*, p. 292. But Archytas, an Ozolian poet, quoted by Plutarch (*Qu. Gr.* 15.), derived the name from the abundance of flowers which scented the air.

CHAP. I.

intercourse between the villages, which are built like nests on the top of the rocks, are often long interrupted by the severity of the cold. The Achelous, however, the most considerable of the Greek rivers, in its long course, which usually formed the boundary between Ætolia and Acarnania, traverses some broad and fruitful plains; and at its mouth a great level, originally produced by its deposits, was continually receiving fresh accessions, which at length united a group of islands, once at some distance from the shore, with each other, and with the continent. The fertile land thus gained became the theatre of many conflicts between the bordering tribes; and the inundations of the river probably gave rise to the Ætolian legend, according to which Hercules had wrestled with the Achelous for the hand of their king's daughter Dejanira. Another fertile plain was similarly formed by the *Evenus*, the second in size of the Ætolian rivers, which, descending from the side of Œta, parted the ancient districts of *Pleuron* and *Calydon*.

Acarnania.

Acarnania, lying between the lower part of the Achelous, which took its rise in Pindus beyond the limits of Greece, and the *Ionian* sea, was, like Ætolia, a mountainous land, but its hills, still clothed with thick forests, are less lofty and rugged.[1] The valleys of both countries contain some extensive lakes, surrounded by rich pastures. Northward of Acarnania, on the Ambracian gulf, lay the territory of the semi-barbarous *Amphilochians*, and that of *Ambracia*, which met the southern confines of *Epirus*. A peninsula, called *Leucas* from the white cliff celebrated in ancient fable for the cure of desperate love, once projected from the western coast of Acarnania; but was afterward severed from the main land by a narrow channel opened by its Corinthian colonists. South-

[1] See Brandis, *Mittheilungen ueber Griechenland*, i. p. 264, 265.

ward of it, a cluster of islands, including *Ithaca*, *Cephallenia*, and *Zacynthus*, cover the opposite shores of Acarnania and Peloponnesus.

The Isthmus.

We observed that the Onean range, which extends over the greater part of the territory of Megara, terminates in the Isthmus; and this is true for a general and distant survey. The *Isthmus*, however, is not exactly level. The roots of the Onean mountains are continued along the eastern coast in a line of low cliffs, till they meet another range, which seems to have borne the same name, at the opposite extremity of the Isthmus.[1] This is an important feature in the face of the country: the Isthmus at its narrowest part, between the inlets of *Schœnus* and *Lechæum*, is only between three and four miles broad; and along this line, hence called the *Diolcus*, or Draughtway, vessels were often transported from sea to sea, to avoid the delay and danger which attended the circumnavigation of Peloponnesus. Yet it seems not to have been before the Macedonian period, that the narrowness of the intervening space suggested the project of uniting the two seas by means of a canal. It was entertained for a time by Demetrius Poliorcetes; but he is said to have been deterred by the reports of his engineers, who were persuaded that the surface of the Corinthian gulf was so much higher than the Saronic, that a channel cut between them would be useless from the rapidity of the current, and might even endanger the safety of Ægina and the neighbouring isles. Three centuries later, the dictator Cæsar formed the same plan, and was perhaps only prevented from accomplishing it by his untimely death. The above-mentioned inequality of the ground would always render this undertaking very laborious and expensive. But the work was of a nature rather to shock than to interest genuine Greek feelings: it

[1] Leake, iii. p. 311.

CHAP. I.

seems to have been viewed as an audacious Titanian effort of barbarian power; and when Nero actually began it, having opened the trench with his own hands, the belief of the country people may probably have concurred with the aversion of the prætorian workmen, to raise the rumour of howling spectres, and springs of blood, by which they are said to have been interrupted.[1] Pliny notices the disastrous fate of all who had conceived the project[2]; and Pausanias observes, that Alexander had been baffled, and the Cnidians stopped by the Delphic oracle, in similar attempts to do violence to the works of God.[3]

General view of Peloponnesus.

The face of *Peloponnesus* presents outlines somewhat more intricate than those of northern Greece. At first sight, the whole land appears one pile of mountains, which, toward the north-west, where it reaches its greatest height, forms a compact mass, pressing close upon the gulf of Corinth. On the western coast it recedes further from the sea; toward the centre is pierced more and more by little hollows; and on the south and east is broken by three great gulfs, and the valleys opening into them, which suggested to the ancients the form of a plane leaf, to illustrate that of the peninsula. On closer inspection, the highest summits of this pile, with their connecting ridges, may be observed to form an irregular ring, which separates the central region, *Arcadia*, from the rest. Thus the range of *Artemisium*, and *Parthenium*, which bounds it on the east, is connected, by a chain of highlands running from east to west, with the northern extremity of *Taygetus;* this again is linked with the *Lycæan* and *Nomian* mountains, which form the western frontier, and stretch on toward *Pholoe*, which meets the great northern barrier, including *Olenus*, *Scollis*, *Erymanthus*, *Aroanius*, and *Cyllene*. The territories which skirt the three

[1] Dio Cass. lxiii. 16. [2] N. H. iv. 5. [3] II. 1. 5.

principal gulfs are likewise inclosed by lofty ranges, ending in bold promontories, and exhibit each a peculiar character. The northern and western sides contain no such prominent land-marks; and the states which possessed them were separated by artificial rather than by natural limits.

Arcadia.

The mountains which encircle Arcadia are so connected, as to afford a passage for its waters only by one opening, the defile (below *Caritena*, or *Brenthe*) through which the *Alpheus* descends to the western sea. This is the principal feature which distinguishes the western from the eastern part of Arcadia. On the west, a number of valleys open into the basin of the Alpheus, bringing down tributaries, some of which are considerable rivers, as the *Ladon*, and the *Erymanthus*, which flow from the northern mountains; and several ancient towns in this region were built on heights near the confluence of the neighbouring streams: as *Cleitor*, *Psophis*, *Methydrium*, *Brenthe*, *Gortys*, and *Herœa*. On the other hand, the eastern portion of Arcadia is intersected by lower ridges, which completely inclose a great number of little plains, so that the streams which fall into them find no visible outlet. Such are the plains of *Asea*, *Pallantium*, *Tegea*, *Mantinea*, *Orchomenus*, *Alea*, *Stymphalus*, and *Pheneus*. Hence a great part of the country would be covered with stagnant pools, and its air generally infected by noxious vapours, did not the inland rivers and lakes find means of escaping through chasms and subterraneous channels, not uncommon in limestone mountains, but which perhaps no where occur so frequently, within an equally narrow compass, as in Arcadia. So the *Aroanius*, even after Hercules had cut a canal to guide its course into the lake of Pheneus, would have encroached on the surrounding plain, if it had not been received by a vast gap at the foot of a mountain,

Outlets of its waters.

CHAP. I.

through which it descends, to rise again under the more celebrated name of the Ladon. So the waters collected in the plain of Mantinea, at the western foot of Mount Artemisium, gush up out of the sea near the eastern coast. So the lake of Stymphalus disgorges itself into a chasm, from which it issues again in the plain of Argos as the *Erasinus*. The Alpheus, above all, is a Protean stream, and acts at home a wonderful prelude to his fabled submarine adventures. According to a general, and apparently a well-grounded belief, it is the same river which, springing from several sources on the western side of Mount *Parnon*, sinks underground at the foot of Mount *Cresium*, and rises again in the plain of Asea, where it is thought to mingle with the principal source of the *Eurotas*.[1] In this case, both are once more swallowed by the earth, and, after parting below its surface, re-appear — the one in the plain of *Megalopolis*, the other in the north of Laconia. Many of the Arcadian legends were filled with the mythical history of these natural wonders, and with the changes wrought by the opening or the obstruction of the subterraneous watercourses. The land was a fit theatre for the labours of Hercules, and its peculiar features sufficiently explain the worship of the earth-shaking Poseidon, and his struggles with the offended Demeter.[2] The mountains were clothed with forests, which abounded with game: the bear was frequently found in them, even in the days of Pausanias; and it is probable that they may have afforded attraction for tribes of hunters or shepherds, while few of the plains were in a state to repay the labours of the husbandmen. In later times, the Arcadians, according to their countryman Polybius, enjoyed a high reputation among the Greeks for hospitality, kindness, and piety: but he ascribes these qualities to the success of their

[1] Leake, iii. p. 42, 43.

[2] Paus. viii. 25.

social institutions, in counteracting the natural tendency of a rugged climate, which, while it inured them to toil and hardship, disposed their character to an excess of harshness.

The other great divisions of Peloponnesus are Argolis, Laconia, Messenia, Elis, and Achaia. *Argolis*, when the name is taken in its largest sense, as the part of Peloponnesus which is bounded on the land side by Arcadia, Achaia, and Laconia, comprehends several districts, which, during the period of the independence of Greece, were never united under one government, but were considered, for the purpose of description, as one region by the later geographers. It begins on the western side with the little territory of *Sicyon*, which, beside some inland valleys, shared with Corinth a small maritime plain, which was proverbial among the ancients for its luxuriant fertility. The dominions of *Corinth*, which also extended beyond the Isthmus, meeting those of Megara a little south of the Scironian rocks, occupied a considerable portion of Argolis. The two cities, Sicyon and Corinth, were similarly situated—both commanding important passes into the interior of the peninsula.[1] The hill which was the site of Sicyon, probably in the earliest as well as the latest period of its history, rose near the openings of two ravines, or valleys — those of the *Helisson* and the *Asopus*. The latter river descended from the plains of *Phlius* and *Ornea*. The lofty and precipitous rock, called the *Acrocorinthus*, on which stood the citadel of Corinth, though, being commanded by a neighbouring height, it is of no great value for the purposes of modern warfare, was in ancient times an impregnable fortress, and a point of the highest importance, both for the protection of the Isthmus, and of the pass which led up to the plain of *Cleonæ*, and thence to that of *Nemea*. From the

Argolis.

Sicyon.

Corinth.

Passes.

[1] Leake, *Morea*, iii. p. 372.

CHAP. I.

vale of Orneæ a rugged road crossed the mountains into the plain of Argos. But the more frequented approach from the north was the narrow, rocky glen of the Tretus, the fabled haunt of the Nemean lion, which branched off to Cleonæ and Nemea. A third pass, a little to the east of these, called the *Contoporeia*, or staff-road, was accessible only to foot passengers.[1]

Plain of Argos.

The plain of *Argos*, which is bounded on three sides by lofty mountains, but open to the sea, is, for Greece, and especially for Peloponnesus, of considerable extent, being ten or twelve miles in length, and four or five in width. But the western side is lower than the eastern, and is watered by a number of streams, in which the upper side is singularly deficient. In very ancient times the lower level was injured by excess of moisture, as it is at this day: and hence, perhaps, Argos, which lay on the western side, notwithstanding its advantageous position, and the strength of its citadel, flourished less, for a time, than *Mycenæ* and *Tiryns*, which were situate to the east, where the plain is now barren through drought.[2] A great mass of Argive legends owed its origin to these local features, and especially to the marsh of *Lerna*, and the fathomless *Alcyonian* pool, which bordered the western shore of the gulf, where popular tradition placed one of the monsters overpowered by the strength of Hercules. On the eastern side, the Argolic plain was bounded by the insulated rock of *Nauplia*, at the foot of which lay the port of Argos, not a very commodious shelter even for the ancient shipping; its road appears to be much better adapted to a modern fleet.

[1] On these passes, see Leake, iii. p. 328., and ii. p. 415.

[2] Aristotle, *Meteorol.* i. 14. Ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν Τρωικῶν ἡ μὲν Ἀργεία διὰ τὸ ἑλώδης εἶναι ὀλίγους ἐδύνατο τρέφειν, ἡ δὲ Μυκηναία καλῶς (διὸ ἐντιμοτέρα ἦν) νῦν δὲ τοὐναντίον διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην αἰτίαν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀργὴ γέγονε καὶ ξηρὰ πάμπαν, τῆς δὲ τὰ τότε διὰ τὸ λιμνάζειν ἀργὰ νῦν χρήσιμα γέγονε.

CHAP. I.

The peninsula which parted the Saronic from the Argolic gulf, and which was sometimes called the *Acté* of Argolis, is almost wholly occupied by a chain of hills, which, in the northern and loftiest part, bore the name of Mount *Arachnæum*. The territory of Corinth extended along the eastern coast, till, near the harbour called *Peiræus*, it met the confines of *Epidaurus*, which, beside a few small maritime plains, possessed some little inland valleys, one of which was in great part dedicated to the worship of Esculapius. Midway between the Epidaurian coast and that of Attica, lay the mountainous island of *Ægina*, with several others of smaller size and note. Southward of Epidaurus, the territory of *Træzen* stretched round Cape *Scyllæum*, the south-eastern point of the Acté. It included a fertile maritime plain, in front of which was the noble port called *Pogon*, sheltered by the high rocky peninsula of *Methana*, and by the islands of *Hiera* and *Calaurea*, now united by a narrow sand-bank under the name of *Poro*. West of Cape Scyllæum, the city of *Hermioné*, once the capital of an independent state, occupied a small peninsula facing the islands of *Hydrea* and *Tiparenus* [1], which have become more celebrated in modern times than they are in ancient story. On the western side of the Acté, *Asiné*, and its little territory, intervened between the borders of Hermioné and Argos.

The Acté.

Træzen.

Hermioné.

Asiné.

The range of the Artemisian and Parthenian mountains, which separated Argolis from Arcadia, was only crossed by three natural passes: one, called *Trochus*, leading into the plain of Tegea; and two, called *Prinus* and *Climax*, leading into that of Mantinea. This same range was continued into Laconia, where it took the name of *Parnon*, and terminated at cape *Malea*. The mountains, as they advance toward the south, press

Passes.

[1] Commonly supposed to be *Petza* or *Spezia*. But Leake (*Morea*, ii. p. 465.) conceives this to be a mistake, and also that the true name of the island was *Tricarenus*.

CHAP. I.

more and more abruptly on the eastern coast. Near the opening of the Argolic gulf, the little district of *Cynuria*, lying on the frontiers of Argos and Sparta, was once an object of obstinate struggles between the neighbouring states, but during the best part of Grecian history belonged to Laconia.

Cynuria.

Laconia.

A long valley, running southward to the sea, and the mountains which border it on three sides, composed the territory of *Laconia*. It was traversed in its whole length by the *Eurotas*, and bounded by the range of Parnon on the east, and by that of Taygetus on the west. Three different regions may be distinguished in the basin of the Eurotas. That which may be called the Upper Vale, from the source of the river to its junction with the *Œnus*, a little above the site of Sparta, is narrowly confined between Taygetus and the rugged highlands which connect it with Parnon; and which are probably the district once called *Sciritis*.[1] At Sparta the valley is so contracted by the opposite hills, as to leave room for little more than the channel of the Eurotas; but, immediately after, it opens into the great Laconian plain. This plain however does not extend without interruption to the sea, but is again contracted into a narrow ravine, by a projection of Taygetus, which separates the vale of Sparta from the maritime plain of *Helos*, at the head of the Laconian gulf.[2] It is to the middle region, the heart of Laconia, that most of the ancient epithets and descriptions relating to the general character of the country properly apply. The vale of Sparta is Homer's *hollow Lacedæmon*, which Euripides further described as girt with mountains, rugged, and difficult of entrance for a hostile power.[3] The epithet *hollow* fitly represents the aspect of a valley inclosed

[1] Leake, iii. p. 28.
[2] Gell, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 348. Leake, i. p. 190.
[3] In Strabo, viii. p. 366.

by the lofty cliffs in which the mountains here abruptly terminate on each side of the Eurotas. When however the poet added, that the land contained a large tract of arable, but of laborious tillage, he may have had, not the plain only — though, except near the banks of the river, its soil is said to be poor — but the highlands in view. For both Parnon and Taygetus, more especially toward the north, include many gentle slopes and high valleys, which well repay cultivation. On the western side, in particular, the lofty rocks which bound the Spartan plain, support a comparatively level region, which is not much less productive than the vale below. The ridge of Taygetus, beginning in the north from the basin of the Alpheus, which separates it from the opposite chain of *Mænalus*, rises to its greatest height toward the centre, where it is distinguished by five conspicuous peaks, often capped with snow[1], and gradually declines toward the south, while its sides become more and more steep and rugged. After sinking to its lowest level, it rises again in the rocky peninsula of *Tænarus*[2], the southernmost extremity of Greece and of Europe.

The character which the poet ascribes to Laconia, — that it is a country difficult of access to an enemy, — is one which most properly belongs to it, and is of great historical importance. On the northern and the eastern sides there are only two natural passes by which the plain of Sparta can be invaded[3]: the one opening from the upper vale of the Eurotas; the other from that of the Œnus, in which a road leading from Arcadia by the western side of Parnon, and another crossing the same mountain from Argos through Cynuria, meet at *Sellasia*. On the west, Taygetus forms an almost insurmountable barrier.

[1] Hence the name *Pentedactylon*, — the ridge of the five fingers, or knuckles.
[2] See Leake, i. p. 301.
[3] Leake, iii. p. 26.

CHAP. I.

It is, indeed, traversed by a track, which, beginning near the head of the Messenian gulf, enters the plain near Sparta, through a narrow defile, at the foot of lofty and precipitous rocks. But this pass appears to be so difficult, that the simplest precautions must always have been sufficient to secure it. At the mouth of the Laconian gulf, the island of *Cythera*, containing excellent harbours, was a valuable appendage, or a formidable neighbour, to Laconia.

The chain of Taygetus separates the Laconian gulf from the *Messenian*, which runs up much higher into the land. It is not, however, the direct northern continuation of this chain that forms the eastern boundary of *Messenia;* but a western branch, which is parted from it by the Arcadian valley of *Cromi*. At the northern foot of these mountains begins the Messenian plain, which, like the basin of the Eurotas below Sparta, is divided into two distinct districts, by a ridge which crosses nearly its whole width from the eastern side.[1] The upper of these districts, which is separated from Arcadia by a part of the Lycæan chain, and is bounded toward the west by the ridge of *Ithomé*, the scene of ever-memorable struggles, was the plain of *Stenyclerus*, a tract not peculiarly rich, but very important for the protection and command of the country, as the principal passes, not only from the north, but from the east and west, fall into it. The lower part of the Messenian plain, which spreads round the head of the gulf, was a region celebrated in poetry and history for its exuberant fertility; sometimes designated by the title of *Macaria*, or the *Blessed*, watered by many streams, among the rest by the clear and full *Pamisus*. It was, no doubt, of this delightful vale, that Euripides meant to be understood, when, contrasting Messenia with Laconia, he described the excellence of the Messenian soil as

Messenia.

[1] Leake, i. p. 388. Gell, *Journey*, p. 190.

too great for words to reach. But Messenia, in general, appears to contain a larger proportion of cultivable ground than Laconia. The plain of Stenyclerus is separated by the ridge of Ithomé from another long valley, which stretches to the sea. Farther westward, the country is broken into hill and dale by ranges of no great height, terminated toward the south by that of *Temathia*, and toward the west by that of *Ægaleum*, which borders the coast, leaving room only for a few narrow levels at its foot. The climate of Messenia was also extolled by the ancients, in contrast with that of Laconia, as temperately soft; a praise which seems to have been applied to the lower Messenian plain, but which travellers from the north are hardly able to understand. The western coast is marked by the deep bay of *Pylus*, which has become celebrated in modern history under the name of *Navarino*, — the only perfect harbour of Peloponnesus; but better adapted for the shelter of a modern fleet, than of the ancient vessels.

The river *Neda*, rising in Arcadia, and flowing through a deep and savage glen, at the foot of a range of hills, connected with Ægaleum, and including mount *Eira* — a name of kindred glory with Ithomé — was the limit of Messenia to the north, and separated it from *Elis*, or the Elean territory, according to the largest extent included in later times under that name. But the district immediately north of the Neda was properly called *Triphylia*. It consisted of a hill country, bounded by the vale of the Alpheus on the east, and linking the range of Lycæum with that of Pholoe. The Triphylian hills never recede from the coast so as to leave more than a very narrow strip of maritime plain. One of the most conspicuous features of this, as in general of a great part of the Elean coast is, that it is lined by a series of lagoons, parted from the sea by narrow sand-banks, and fed

Elis.

Triphylia.

CHAP. I.

partly by landsprings, but more frequently by the waves which break over in stormy weather. It is not easy to determine at what point of the coast Triphylia met the confines of *Pisatis*, or the territory of *Pisa*. It seems clear however that, during the period of her independence, Pisa possessed the whole of the lower vale of the Alpheus, including the celebrated plain of *Olympia*, on the right bank of the river, on which the ancient city of Pisa itself stood. North of the Alpheus, Pisatis included a portion of the skirts of mount Pholoe, and a maritime plain, bounded by a low ridge, ending in cape *Iethys*, which separated it from the Elean territory, properly so called. This was the tract known by the name of the *hollow Elis*, consisting chiefly of a broad level, extending northward as far as cape *Araxus*, and only interrupted on the sea side by the insulated promontory of *Chelonatas*. The rich pastures on the banks of the Elean *Peneus* were celebrated in the earliest legends; and an ancient channel, which is still seen stretching across them to the sea, may be the same into which Hercules was believed to have turned the river, to cleanse the stable of Augeas.

Pisatis.

Achaia.

A little south of cape Araxus, the river *Larisus* was the common boundary of Elis and *Achaia*. On the western side of Achaia, between cape Araxus and the straits of the Corinthian gulf, the high mountains which occupied the confines of Achaia and Arcadia leave some comparatively broad plains open to the sea. But on the Corinthian gulf they either descend abruptly on the shore, or are separated from it only by narrow levels. These small maritime plains, and the slopes immediately above them, are however for the most part highly fertile; and the soil is peculiarly adapted to some kinds of produce.[1] They are watered by streams issuing from the heart of the mountains,

[1] The currant vine appears to thrive here better than in any other part of Greece.

through deep and narrow gorges, which are the only approaches by which the country can be invaded from the south. The coast is deficient in harbours, which abound on the opposite side of the gulf.

Fertility of Greece.

When the necessary deduction has been made for the inequalities of its surface, Greece may perhaps be properly considered as a land, on the whole, not less rich than beautiful. And it probably had a better claim to this character in the days of its youthful freshness and vigour. Its productions were various as its aspect: and if other regions were more fertile in grain, and more favourable to the cultivation of the vine, few surpassed it in the growth of the olive, and of other valuable fruits. Its hills afforded abundant pastures: its waters and forests teemed with life. In the precious metals it was perhaps fortunately poor; the silver mines of Laurium were a singular exception; but the Peloponnesian mountains, especially in Laconia and Argolis, as well as those of Eubœa, contained rich veins of iron and copper, as well as precious quarries. The marble of Pentelicus was nearly equalled in fineness by that of the Isle of Paros, and that of Carystus in Eubœa. The Grecian woods still excite the admiration of travellers, as they did in the days of Pausanias, by trees of extraordinary size.[1] Even the hills of Attica are said to have been once clothed with forests[2]; and the present scantiness of its streams may be owing in a great measure to the loss of the shades which once sheltered them. Herodotus observes, that, of all countries in the world, Greece enjoyed the most happily tempered seasons. But it seems difficult to speak generally of the climate of a country, in which each district has its own, determined by an infinite variety of local circumstances.[3]

[1] See Brandis, *Mittheilungen*, i. p. 266.
[2] Plato, Critias, p. 111.
[3] See Ideler, *Meteorologia Veterum Græcorum et Romanorum*, p. 213.

CHAP. I.

Both in northern Greece and in Peloponnesus the snow remains long on the higher ridges; and even in Attica the winters are often severe. On the other hand, the heat of the summer is tempered, in exposed situations, by the strong breezes from the north-west (the *Etesian* winds), which prevail during that season in the Grecian seas; and it is possible that Herodotus may have had their refreshing influence chiefly in view.

Volcanic changes.

Greece lies in a volcanic zone, extending from the Caspian—if it does not reach still further east—to the Azores, and from the 45th to the 35th degree of latitude[1], the greater part of the world known to the Greeks. Though no traces of volcanic eruptions appear to have been discovered in Greece, history is full of the effects produced there by volcanic agency; and permanent indications of its physical character were scattered over its surface, in the hot springs of Thermopylæ, Trœzen, Ædepsus, and other places. The sea between Peloponnesus and Crete has been, down to modern times, the scene of surprising changes wrought by the same forces; and not long before the Christian era, a new hill was thrown up on the coast near Trœzen, no less suddenly than the islands near Thera were raised out of the sea.[2] Earthquakes, accompanied by the rending of mountains, the sinking of land into the sea, by temporary inundations, and other disasters, have in all ages been familiar to Greece, more especially to Peloponnesus. And hence some attention seems to be due to the numerous legends and traditions which describe convulsions of the same kind as occurring still more frequently, and with still more important consequences, in a period preceding connected history; and which may be thought to point to a state of elemental warfare, which must

[1] Hoff, *Geschichte der Veraenderungen der Erdoberflaeche*, vol. ii. p. 99.
[2] Ovid. Metaph. xv. 296. Strabo, i. p. 158.

have subsided before the region which was its theatre could have been fitted for the habitation of man. Such an origin we might be inclined to assign to that class of legends which related to struggles between Poseidon and other deities for the possession of several districts; as his contests with Athené (Minerva) for Athens and Trœzen[1]; with the same goddess, or with Heré (Juno) for Argos—where he was said, according to one account, to have dried up the springs, and according to another, to have laid the plain under water[2]; with Apollo for the isthmus of Corinth.[3] We might be led to put a like interpretation on the poetical traditions, which spoke of a period when several of the islands between Greece and Asia—as Delos and Anaphe[4], and even Rhodes[5] and Cyprus[6], were yet covered by the sea, out of which they rose at the bidding of some god. And still greater weight may seem to belong to a tradition preserved by the priests of Samothrace, an island famous for its ancient mystic worship, who told of a great convulsion, which had burst the barriers that once separated the Euxine from the Ægean, and had opened the channels of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont.[7] It would not be difficult to connect this tradition with a poetical legend, in which Poseidon was said to have struck the land called Lycaonia, or Lyctonia, with his trident, and to have scattered its fragments, as islands, over the sea.[8] But the vast magnitude of the changes described by these legends, may reasonably awaken a suspicion that they were mere fictions, which did not even spring out of any popular belief, but were founded on an opinion which prevailed in the Alexandrian period of Greek literature among the learned, and which was adopted in

[1] Paus. ii. 30. 6.
[2] Apollod. ii. 1. 4. 9. Paus. ii. 22. 4.
[3] Paus. ii. 1. 6.
[4] Conon. 49. Apoll. R. iv. 1718.
[5] Pindar, Ol. vii.
[6] Eustath. ad Dion. P. v. 508.
[7] Diod. v. 47.
[8] Orph. Arg. 1287.

CHAP. I.

its full extent by the elder Pliny. Thus we find Callimachus speaking generally of islands, as formed of the fragments which Poseidon had severed with his trident from the mountains.[1] Pliny is more explicit: he does not hesitate to deliver, as a notorious fact, that nature had torn Sicily from Italy; Cyprus from Syria; Eubœa from Bœotia[2]; and again, Atalanté, Macris, and Ceos[3], from Eubœa; and that the sea had not only burst through the straits of the Bosphorus, the Hellespont, Rhium, and Leucas—though in this last instance the channel was notoriously artificial; but that it had taken the place of the land in the Propontis, and in the gulfs of Corinth and Ambracia. We may perhaps most safely conclude, not that these late writers had access to any better information than we now possess on this subject, but that they were less afraid of raising a great pile of conjecture on a very slender basis of facts.[4]

[1] H. in Del. 30—36. [2] N. H. ii. 90.

[3] N. H. iv. 20. Compare Virgil, Æn. iii. 414. and Heyne's note. Tertullian, Apol. adv. G. 40.

[4] This observation, however, does not affect the value of any inference which may be drawn from the aspect of the regions in question: on which Schoemann (*Antiqu. Juris Publici Græcorum*, p. 33.) perhaps justly observes: — "Ceterum harum omnium inter Græciam et Asiam insularum ea est inter se et versus objecta utrimque littora positio, littorumque ipsorum ac possit, fuisse quondam continentem in his locis rram ingentibus motibus concussam et disruptam, ut desiderent alia in profundum et ingruentibus aquis mergerentur, alia summis tantummodo jugis prominerent, marique undique circumfuso insulæ fierent."

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS OF GREECE.

Causes which render the Subject obscure. — The Pelasgians. — How represented by Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Strabo. - - Traces of the Pelasgians in Thessaly. — In Epirus. — In Bœotia. - - In Peloponnesus, especially in Argolis. — In Achaia and Arcadia. — Pelasgian Origin of the Arcadians. — Various Names of the Pelasgian Tribes. — The Caucones. — The Thracians. — Influence of the Thracians on Greek Poetry. - - Asiatic Pelasgians. — Opinions of the Greeks as to the Origin of the earliest Races. — Course of the Pelasgian Migrations. — Relation between the Pelasgians and the Greeks. — Observations of Herodotus on the Pelasgian Language. — Language of the Pelasgians not wholly foreign to the Greeks. — Inference from the Pelasgian Settlements in Italy. - - Civilisation of the Pelasgians. — Legends of their Savage Condition. — Traditions of their familiarity with the Arts of Life. — Monuments of the Pelasgians.

Causes which render the subject obscure.

All we know about the earliest inhabitants of Greece, is derived from the accounts of the Greeks themselves. These accounts relate to a period preceding the introduction of letters, and to races more or less foreign to that which finally gave its name to the country. On such subjects tradition must be either vague and general, or filled with legendary and poetical details. And therefore we cannot wonder that, in the present case, our curiosity is in many respects entirely disappointed, and that the information transmitted to us is in part scanty and imperfect, in part obscure and confused. If we only listen to the unanimous testimony of the ancients, we find that the whole amount of our knowledge shrinks into a very narrow compass:

CHAP. II.

if we venture beyond this limit, we pass into a boundless field of conjecture, where every step must be made on disputable ground, and all the light we can obtain, serves less to guide than to perplex us. There are, however, several questions relating to the original population of Greece, which it may be fit to ask, though we cannot hope for a completely satisfactory answer; if for no other purpose, at least to ascertain the extent of our knowledge. This is the main end we propose in the following inquiry; but we shall not scruple to pursue it, even where we are conscious that it cannot lead to any certain result, so far as we see any grounds to determine our opinion on the most interesting points of a dark and intricate subject.

The people whom we call Greeks—the Hellenes—were not, at least under this name, the first inhabitants of Greece. Many names have been recorded of races that preceded them there, which they, in later times, considered as barbarous, or foreign in language and manners to themselves. Among these names, that of the Pelasgians claims our first and chief attention, both because it appears to have been by far the most widely spread, and because it continued longer than the others—so late as the fourth century before our era—to be applied to existing races. So that on the notions we connect with it, our view of the ancient state of Greece must mainly depend, and to it we may most reasonably look for the fullest and clearest information the case admits of. Homer, as well as Herodotus and Thucydides, speaks of the Pelasgians only as occupying some insulated points, and those not in the continent of Greece, but in Crete, and Asia Minor, where in the Trojan war they side with the Trojans against the Greeks. But that in earlier times they were widely diffused in Greece itself, is established by unquestionable evidence, and is confirmed by allusions which occur in the Homeric

The Pelasgians.

How represented by Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides,

CHAP. II.

poems to their ancient seats. We even meet with expressions in ancient writers, which, at first sight, seem to justify the supposition that the whole of Greece was once peopled by Pelasgians. "All," says Strabo[1], "are pretty well agreed, that the Pelasgians were an ancient race, which prevailed throughout all Hellas, and especially by the side of the Æolians in Thessaly:" and since the Æolians were commonly supposed to have sprung from Deucalion, who first reigned in countries westward of Thessaly, while the higher antiquity of the Pelasgians was universally admitted, this statement appears in substance to coincide with that of Herodotus, who speaks of the Pelasgians as having inhabited the country in his time called Hellas[2], and anciently Pelasgia.[3] But in another passage, where he observes that what Hecatæus had said of Peloponnesus—that barbarians inhabited it before the Greeks—might be applied to nearly the whole of Hellas, Strabo illustrates his meaning by a long list of other races, which he seems to consider as equally ancient and equally foreign[4]; — so that the prevalence he ascribes to the Pelasgians can only be understood as subject to the same restrictions with which it is spoken of by Thucydides, who mentions them as the tribe which, before the rise of the Hellenes, had spread its name more widely than any other over the country.[5] And this view must also have been that of Herodotus; since, when he is describing the growth of the Hellenic nation as the effect of its union with the Pelasgians, he adds, that it received an accession from many other barbarous tribes.[6] There can therefore be no doubt that the Greeks regarded the Pelasgians as only one, though the most powerful, among the races anciently settled in Greece.

and Strabo.

We arrive at the same conclusion, if we inquire into

[1] V. 2. § 4. [2] VIII. 44. [3] II. 56
[4] VII. p. 321. [5] I. 3. [6] I. 58.

CHAP. II.

the particular regions occupied by the Pelasgians: for we then find that, according to ancient tradition, they were not spread uniformly over the whole of Greece; but that, while in some districts they are exclusively mentioned, in others they appear among a crowd of other tribes, and that in others again no trace of them seems to be found. If we approach Greece from the north, we meet with the first distinct evidence of their presence on the eastern side of Pindus in Thessaly. It is attested, not only by the general voice of antiquity, but by monuments which both prove the existence of the people, and afford some insight into their character and condition. A district, or a town, in the south-east of Thessaly, is mentioned in the Iliad as the Pelasgian Argos.[1] The opinion entertained by some of the ancients, that this Argos was a part of the great Thessalian plain, one region of which bore the name of Pelasgiotis in the latest period of Greek history, is confirmed by Strabo's remark, that the word *Argos* signified a plain in the dialects of Thessaly and Macedonia.[2] In the richest portion of this tract, on the banks of the Peneus, stood one of the many cities called *Larissa*, — a word which was perhaps no less significant than Argos, and, according to one derivation, may have meant a fortress, or a walled town. Most of the Larissas known to have been founded in very ancient times, may be clearly traced to the Pelasgians[3]; and there is therefore good reason for believing that the word belonged to their language, and for considering it as an indication of their presence. Beside the celebrated city on the Peneus, there were two other towns

Traces of the Pelasgians in Thessaly.

[1] II. 681. Eustath. ad Dionys. Per. 347. Ἡ περὶ Πηνειὸν καὶ Θερμοπύλας Θετταλία Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἐλέχθη.

[2] VIII. p. 372. Ἄργος δὲ καὶ τὸ πεδίον λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις, παρ' Ὁμήρῳ δ' οὐδ' ἅπαξ· μάλιστα δ' οἴονται Μακεδονικὸν καὶ Θετταλικὸν εἶναι. Eustath. ad Dion. Per. 419. Πᾶν σχεδὸν πεδίον παραθαλάσσιον Ἄργος ἐλέγετο.

[3] A list of them is given by Strabo, ix. p. 440. Steph. Byz. s. v. Raoul Rochette, Col. Gr. i. 178.

of the same name, one on the northern, the other not far from the southern border of Thessaly; from which it seems fair to infer that the Pelasgians once possessed the whole country. Yet they were not exclusively known there under that name; for we find the people who continued in after ages to be called Perrhæbians occupying the same seats in the earliest times; and we learn that Simonides spoke of them as the Pelasgian part of the new population formed by the irruption of the Lapiths in Thessaly.[1] The same therefore may have been the case with other tribes, of which it is not expressly recorded; as it probably was with the Dolopes, who, as well as the Pelasgians, are mentioned as ancient inhabitants of the island of Scyros; and the Athamanes, who were neighbours of the Perrhæbians, and like them were expelled by the Lapiths.[2] Beside the names of Argos and Larissa, another occurs in Thessaly, which carries us back into the most remote antiquity, and is no less intimately connected with the Pelasgian race. Achilles, in the Iliad, invokes Jupiter as the *Dodonæan, Pelasgian*, king; and it was a disputed point among the ancients, whether the Dodona from which the god derived this epithet lay in Thessaly or in Epirus. The Iliad testifies the existence of a Thessalian Dodona in the land of the Perrhæbians; and, by describing a river which flowed through the adjacent region as a branch of the infernal Styx, seems plainly to mark this Dodona as the seat of a worship similar to that which prevailed in Epirus, the mythical realm of Aïdoneus; and some ancient writers maintained that the oracle of the Pelasgian Jupiter had been transplanted from Thessaly[3] to the Thesprotian Dodona.

If, according to the more common opinion, which

[1] IX. p. 441.

[2] Strabo, ix. p. 442.

[3] Either from Dodona (or Bodona), Fragm. Steph. Byz. Δωδώνη, or from Scotussa. Strabo, vii.

CHAP. II.

was supported by the authority of Aristotle[1], Homer spoke of the western Dodona as sacred to the Pelasgian god, the Iliad would contain the earliest allusion to the abode of the Pelasgians in Epirus. That this country was one of their most ancient seats, and that the Thesprotian Dodona belonged to them, is universally admitted. Yet the race described in the Iliad, as dwelling round the sanctuary, was called by a different name; they were the *Helli*, or *Selli:* and they appear to have been not merely the ministers of the temple, but a considerable tribe; for they occupied a region named, no doubt from them, Hellopia.[2] Another people, whom Aristotle places along with the Helli, "in the parts about Dodona and the Achelous," were the *Graeci;* and it cannot be doubted that this race, from which the Italian name of the Hellenes has been transmitted through the Roman into the modern European languages, must have been extensively spread. We find the Pelasgians, however, distinctly connected with a third people, who are said to have ruled over all Epirus before it fell under the dominion of the Molossians — the *Chaones:* they are described, like the Selli, as interpreters of the oracle of Jupiter, and Chaonia is called Pelasgian.[3] But if we pursue our inquiry along the coast of the Adriatic into Greece, we immediately lose sight of the Pelasgians: in Ætolia and Acarnania, the earliest known inhabitants bear different names, as *Leleges*, *Taphians*, *Teleboans*, *Curetes*. So too after leaving Thessaly, as we proceed southward, we meet with no Pelasgians before we come into Bœotia. Here their name occurs

In Epirus.

n Bœotia.

[1] Meteor, i. 14.

[2] Strabo, vii. Welcker, *Ueber eine Kretische Kolonie in Theben*, p. 30., observes that Πελασγοὶ or Πελάγονες (for Πέλαγοι) signifying the *illustrious*, is most probably only another form of Ἕλλοπες and Πέλοψ; and, having illustrated his proposition by a number of examples, concludes with the remark: "Hence it appears that the forms Ἕλος, Ἕλλος, Ἕλλην, Ἕλας, Ἕλαξ, Ἕλακος or Ἕλαγος (in Πελάγων, as well as in Σέλαγος, in Crete Σάλαγος, Paus. viii. 4. 8.) and Ἐλασγός, have all one origin.

[3] Strabo, vii. Steph. Byz. Χαονία.

indeed, but only as one among a great number of barbarous tribes, the ancient possessors of the country; and the way in which they are mentioned, seems to imply that they gained a footing here after the rest. "Bœotia, it is said, was first inhabited by barbarians, *Aones*, and *Temmices*, and *Leleges*, and *Hyantes*. Afterward the Phœnicians, the followers of Cadmus, took possession of it; and his descendants continued masters of nearly all Bœotia, till they were dislodged, first by the expedition of the Epigoni from Argos, and afterwards again by the Thracians and Pelasgians." These Pelasgians, according to Ephorus, were driven out of Bœotia into Attica by a revolution, which Thucydides places sixty years after the Trojan war.[1]

In Attica.

But Attica, as we learn from Herodotus, had long before this event been peopled by Pelasgians. According to his view, the Athenians of his own day were a Pelasgian race, which had been settled in Attica from the earliest times, and had undergone no change, except by successively receiving new names, and by adopting a new language. "The Athenians," he says, "when the Pelasgians were in possession of the country now called Hellas, were Pelasgians, named *Cranaï;* but under the reign of Cecrops they were called *Cecropidæ:* when Erechtheus succeeded to the kingdom, they changed this name for that of Athenians; and when Ion, son of Xuthus, became their general, they took the name of Ionians." This is indeed, strictly speaking, a history only of Athens; but it evidently includes that of Attica; and we perceive in it the same distinction, which we have already so frequently met with, between the name and the blood of the people. As in Thessaly there were Pelasgians who were called Perrhæbians, and perhaps likewise Dolopes, and Athamanes, as in Epirus they were

[1] Strabo, ix. p. 401.

CHAP. II.

called Selli, Chaones, and apparently also Graeci; so, in Attica, no period is mentioned during which the name of Pelasgians prevailed, though Herodotus holds it unquestionable that the Athenians always belonged to that nation. There was indeed a people which dwelt for a time in Attica, and was known there by the name of Pelasgians, or Pelargians. A monument of their presence was preserved to the latest times, in the Pelasgian wall with which the citadel of Athens was fortified. But they were strangers who, as Herodotus says[1], became neighbours to the Athenians, and received a portion of land as the price of their services in building the wall. According to Ephorus, they were the same Pelasgians who were driven out of Bœotia after the Trojan war; and Pausanias found some reasons for believing that they had migrated from Acarnania, and that they were originally Sicels[2]; whether he meant by this, that their more ancient seats lay in Sicily, or Italy, or Epirus, is doubtful: but it looks as if this tribe were only called Pelasgians, because it was not known to what race they more particularly belonged.

In Peloponnesus, especially in Argolis.

In Peloponnesus, as in the north of Greece, the Pelasgians appear to be confined to particular regions, though Acusilaus[3], and after him Ephorus[4], said that the whole was once called Pelasgia. That they were anciently predominant in the peninsula, may be inferred from the opinion which prevailed among the ancients, that it was the part of Greece from which they issued to overpower the rest: there is however no express evidence that they ever occupied any other

[1] II. p. 51. Kruse, *Hellas*, i. p. 416., overlooking the word *ἐγένοντο* in this passage, represents these Pelasgians as a part of the original population of Attica; whereas Herodotus agrees with Ephorus and Pausanias in describing them as strangers.

[2] II. 23. 3.

[3] Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 177. Κατὰ Ἀκουσίλαον καὶ Πελασγὸς, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ Πελοποννήσου χώρα μέχρι Φαρσαλίας καὶ Λαρίσσης Πελασγία ἐκλήθη, and Apollod. ii. 1. 1. Πελασγὸς, ἀφ' οὗ κληθῆναι τοὺς τὴν Πελοπόννησον οἰκοῦντας Πελασγούς.

[4] Strabo, v. p. 337.

districts than Argolis, Achaia, and Arcadia. Argolis was not less celebrated as a Pelasgian country than Thessaly. There they founded a Larissa, which was generally supposed to have been the oldest of all the cities so called: hence it was said to have been named after *Larissa*, the daughter of Pelasgus: and the adjacent territory, which, like the Thessalian plain, was called Argos, and distinguished by the epithet Achaian, was considered by many ancient authors as the mother country of the whole Pelasgian nation.[1] This opinion seems to have been deliberately adopted by Æschylus, who, in one of his tragedies[2], introduces Pelasgus, king of Argos, claiming for the people named after him a vast territory, extending northward as far as the Strymon. The mention of the Dodonæan mountains, the Perrhæbians, and Pæonians, in the poet's description, seems to imply that, according to his view, which is expressed far too accurately to be ascribed to poetical licence, the name of Pelasgians might be properly applied to the most ancient inhabitants of Greece, Epirus, and Macedonia. Yet he undoubtedly knew that many races of other names existed in those countries during the same period to which he refers the dominion of the Pelasgians. In Achaia, as in Attica, according to a tradition which Herodotus says was current throughout Greece, the first settlers were Pelasgians, and they were only named Ionians after Ion, the son of Xuthus, came among them: they had before been called simply *Ægialeans*, *coastmen*, as the most ancient name of the country was *Ægialus*, or the Coast.[3] Combined with this testimony, the names of Larissa, and the river Larisus, which formed the

CHAP. II.

In Achaia,

[1] Dion. Hal. i. 17. Steph. Byz. Παρράσια.

[2] Supplices, 246—255. Welcker, *Æsch. Trilogie*, p. 393. observes that Pelasgus is in signification equivalent to Gelanor (i. e. Ἐλάνωρ, as it is written by a Scholiast to Il. i. 42.), the name given by Apollodorus (ii. 1. 8.) and Pausanias (ii. 16. 1.) to the hospitable king. See the passage quoted from another work of Welcker's in a preceding note.

[3] Compare Herod. vii. 94. and Pausan. vii. 1. 1.

CHAP. II

boundary between Elis and Achaia, may be regarded as indications of the same fact[1]; and the tradition, that agriculture was first introduced into Achaia from Attica by Triptolemus, points toward the same result.[2]

and Arcadia.

Arcadia was so celebrated as a Pelasgian land, that it disputed the honour of being the mother country of the whole nation with Argolis: and even the authors who preferred the title of the Argive Pelasgians, did not deny that the Arcadians were, at least, younger members of the same family. Ephorus, tracing the origin of the nation to Arcadia, followed the authority of Hesiod, who had spoken of Lycaon, the son of Pelasgus, as the father of six sons.[3] Later mythologers attributed a more numerous offspring to Lycaon; and according to their system, each of the Lycaonids became the founder of a city, or the father of a people.[4] The names of these heroes are indeed all fictitious; but they prove that the inhabitants of the cities and regions which correspond to them, were conceived to be connected together by a national affinity, for which no expression could be found more suitable than to call them descendants of Pelasgus: and though the authors may have been sometimes mistaken on this point, still their opinion deserves respect, wherever it is consistent with the general tenor of tradition. We must therefore believe, that it was well founded with regard to the Arcadians themselves, and that they were, not indeed the posterity of Pelasgus, but a Pelasgian people: for Herodotus also calls the Arcadians who joined the Ionian migration, Pelasgians.[5] An important inference seems to flow from the fact; since the Arcadians, so far as history is able to trace them, were always in possession of the same country, and nevertheless were held no less genuine members of the

Pelasgian Origin of the Arcadians.

[1] Strabo, ix. p. 440. [2] Paus. vii. 18. 2. [3] Strabo, v. p. 221.
[4] Paus. viii. 3. 1. [5] I. 146.

Hellenic body than the Dorians or Ionians. This has led a modern author, who separates the Pelasgians very widely from the Greeks, to deny the identity of the Pelasgians with the Arcadians, and to believe that they were only settled in a part of Arcadia; that they were a people totally distinct from the original Arcadians; and that the band of Pelasgian emigrants mentioned by Herodotus, may have been the last remnant of their race in the region which has generally been considered as one of their principal seats.[1] We shall soon have occasion to inquire, whether it is necessary to adopt this conjecture. But we may here observe, that the difference between the two names cannot be admitted as an argument in its favour. Homer indeed, though he speaks of Pelasgians in Crete and Asia, does not call the Arcadians by that name. But neither does he call the Selli about Dodona, Pelasgians; though it would be contrary to all tradition, as well as to probability, to suppose that the Pelasgians had, before the poet's age, been deprived of their oracle. The review we have just taken of the Pelasgian settlements in Greece, appears inevitably to lead to the conclusion, that the name Pelasgians was a general one, like that of Saxons, Franks, or Alemanni; but that each of the Pelasgian tribes had also one peculiar to itself.[2] We shall even find ground for believing that the nation was once spread much more widely than the name: but at all events we cannot be sure that, in

[1] Kruse, *Hellas*, i. p. 428.; but erroneously referring to Herod. vii. 94., and again, p. 462. note.

[2] G. Hermann (*Ueber das Wesen und die Behandlung der Mythologie. Ein Brief an Creuzer*, p. 58.) comes to a similar conclusion, but in a very different sense, and from different premises. He supposes the name to signify *foreign settlers*, and to have been given to many different races; and thus, "at a later period, when the name had become a proper name, to have occasioned the belief, that all these different populations composed one distinct race." "The case is the same," he observes, "with the Sclavonic populations, if it is true that the name *Slaven* signifies settlers:"—an etymology as questionable as that which he assigns to the name Pelasgians. Welcker's explanation of the latter name comes nearer to the most probable derivation of the other. Dobrowsky's *Slavin*, p. 16.

CHAP. II.

every instance, both the general and the particular name of each tribe have been preserved: it is much more probable that, in the numberless migrations and revolutions which took place in the period we are now considering, either one or the other has often been lost: and, therefore, if we inquire into the relations between the Pelasgians and the other barbarous tribes by which Greece is said to have been anciently peopled, their names alone cannot guide us to any safe conclusion; and whenever we decide the question without any other grounds, we shall be as much in danger of separating kindred races, as of confounding those which were most foreign to each other.

Various names of the Pelasgian tribes.

All that we can venture to say of these obscure tribes is, that, so far as tradition affords us any insight into their national affinities, they appear to be connected with the Pelasgians, and that we can discover no argument, except the diversity of names, to exclude the conjecture that they were all branches of the same stock. This conjecture is perfectly consistent with the general statements of many ancient authors, some of which have been already mentioned, concerning the prevalence of the Pelasgians in Greece: it expresses the same view which we should have been led to form, if we had no other information, by the poetical description of Æschylus: and if it is at variance with those accounts in which a variety of barbarous races is spoken of, the misconception it attributes to the historians whom it appears to contradict is so natural, and so common, that it detracts little from their authority. But as it is contrary to the opinion of most modern writers, and especially of one who has thrown more light than any other on this subject[1], it will not be superfluous to point out some of the indications that suggest it.

Among the barbarians mentioned as the most

[1] Niebuhr, note 67. in the third edition of his History of Rome.

ancient inhabitants of Greece, there are several tribes, as the Bœotian Hectenes, Temmices, Aones, and Hyantes, of whom our knowledge goes no farther than their names; and it would be idle to build a conjecture about them on the tradition that two of them had migrated from Sunium in Attica[1], and that a third finally settled in Phocis and Ætolia.[2] But there seems to be good reason for believing that the Caucones, who once occupied a great part of the western side of Peloponnesus, where a remnant of them long continued to bear that name, were a Pelasgian race, as some ancient authors held them to be.[3] This was, undoubtedly, the view of the writer who reckoned Caucon among the sons of Lycaon, and it is confirmed by the legends which connect a person of the same name with the religion of Eleusis, which he is said to have introduced into Messenia, during the reign of the first king.[4] A similar conclusion is that which most readily offers itself with regard to the Leleges, who occur very often in the traditions relating to the early state of Greece, but are exhibited under many totally different, and almost contradictory aspects. In the Iliad, they appear as auxiliaries of the Trojans: their king Altes is Priam's father-in-law; and they inhabit a town called Pedasus, at the foot of Ida. Strabo relates, that they once occupied the whole of Ionia, together with the Carians, who were so blended with them, that the two races were often confounded. In many parts of Caria however, and in the territory of Miletus, the fortresses and sepulchres of the Leleges were distinguished at a very late period[5]; and the Carian town of Pedasa, Strabo says, was named by them.[6] They were the earliest

The Caucones.

[1] Strabo, ix. p. 401.
[2] Paus. x. 35. 5. Strabo, x. p. 464.
[3] Strabo, xii. p. 542.
[4] Paus. iv. 1. 5.
[5] Strabo, vii. p. 321. Ἐν τῇ Μιλησίᾳ Λελέγων κατοικίας λέγεσθαί τινας, πολλαχοῦ δὲ τῆς Καρίας τάφους Λελέγων καὶ ἐρύματα ἔρημα, Λελέγια καλούμενα.
[6] XIII. p. 611.

CHAP. II.

known inhabitants of Samos, where they were said to have founded the most ancient temple of Heré, a Pelasgian goddess.[1] According to Herodotus[2], the Carians were called Leleges, while they possessed the islands of the Ægean. It is clear however both from the traditions of the Carians themselves, and from all other traces, that the two nations were quite distinct in their origin, so that the Leleges were held in bondage by the Carians[3]; and perhaps Herodotus only meant to signify that they were confounded together in the islands, which he elsewhere says were peopled, before the Ionian migration, by a Pelasgian race.[4] This accidental intermixture of the Leleges and Carians was probably the foundation of the Megarian tradition, that, in the twelfth generation after Car, Lelex came over from Egypt to Megara, and gave his name to the people.[5] A grandson of this Lelex is said to have led a colony of the Megarian Leleges into Messenia, where they founded Pylus, and remained till they were driven out by Neleus and the Pelasgians from Iolcus, and took possession of the Elean Pylus.[6] The presence of Leleges in Messenia seems to be attested by the name of the "vine-cherishing Pedasus," which occurs among the seven flourishing towns, "all near the sea at the extremity of Pylus," offered by Agamemnon to Achilles. On the other hand, the Laconian traditions spoke of a Lelex, the first native of the Lacedæmonian soil, from whom the land was called Lelegia, and the people Leleges; and the son

[1] Athen. xv. p. 672. [2] I. p. 171.

[3] Athenæus, vi. c. 101. See Philolog. Museum, i. p. 110. Soldan, in a paper *on the Carians and Leleges*, in Welcker and Nacke's *Rheinisch. Museum*, iii. p. 226., has come to a similar conclusion as to the distinct origin, and the earliest known seats, of the two races. But when he adds, that they were no more nearly akin to the Pelasgian family than to each other, we need much stronger arguments than those which he has produced, p. 105. Schoeman, *Antiq. J. P. Græc.* p. 40., is not convinced that there was much difference between them. On the other hand, he justly regards the Leleges as not more foreign to the Hellenes than the Pelasgians were (p. 45.), and he had just before observed, p. 42., "Hellenes quos Pelasgicæ stirpis fuisse vix dubitari posse videtur."

[4] VII. 95. [5] Paus. i. 39. 6. [6] Paus. iv. 36. 1.

of this Lelex is said to have been the first king of Messenia—the same in whose reign Caucon was related to have introduced the Eleusinian mysteries there.[1]

Leleges.

If on the coast of Asia, in the islands, and in the south of Greece, the Leleges appear so intermixed with the Carians that it is difficult to separate them, in the north of Greece they present the aspect of a genuine Hellenic race. Aristotle seems to have thought that their original seat was on the western coast of Acarnania, or in the Leucadian peninsula; for there, according to him, reigned a Lelex, the first child of the soil; from whom descended the Teleboans, the same people who are celebrated in the Odyssey under the name of Taphians. Aristotle likewise regarded them as of the same blood with the Locrians: in which he appears to have followed the authority of Hesiod, who spoke of them as the first men that sprang from the stones with which Deucalion repeopled the earth after the deluge, and as the subjects of Locrus.[2] Accordingly they are reckoned among the forces with which Deucalion expelled the Pelasgians from Thessaly.[3] These western Leleges were, according to Aristotle, the same who occupied Megara; so that he seems to reject the story of the Egyptian colony; and thus, if we inspected their supposed wanderings very closely, we should have to explain how the Leleges, who drove the Pelasgians from Iolcus, happened to be found by them in Pylus, when they took refuge there. But the real question is, how far the traditions concerning the Leleges in the north-west of Greece, and those of the Ægean, relate to the same people. For the Asiatic side of their history would lead us to believe that their settlements in Asia either preceded the revolutions by

[1] Paus. iii. 1. 1., iv. 1. 1. and 5.
[2] Strabo, vii. p. 321, 322.
[3] Dion. H. i. 17.

CHAP. II.

which the Hellenic name became prevalent in Thessaly, or were an effect of them. We gain little light by finding Teleboas enumerated among the posterity of the Arcadian Pelasgus by Apollodorus. Strabo himself considered them not only as a wandering, but as a mixed race, and seems to have been half inclined to believe that their name was formed to express this. Yet Hesiod, on whose verses he grounds his conjecture, can only have meant to allude to their high antiquity. It is however very probable, that their name either was at first descriptive, and was applied to many independent tribes; or, having originally belonged to one, was gradually extended to others that were connected with it by their fortunes, or, as was the case between the Taphians and the Leleges of the Ægean, resembled it in their habits. But however this be, the result to which our inquiry leads is, that they may safely be regarded as allied either to the Pelasgians or the Hellenes — that is, in a certain degree, as will be hereafter explained, to both.

The Thracians.

We perceive sufficient grounds for a similar conclusion as to the *Thracians*, who are numbered among the barbarous inhabitants of Bœotia. They are indeed represented as sharing the possession of the country with the Pelasgians; but if the view we have taken of the Pelasgians does not deceive us, this tradition is perfectly consistent with a close affinity between these two races, and it is indifferent whether we consider the one as a branch of the other, or both as springing from a common stock. These Bœotian Thracians were undoubtedly distinguished, not only by their name, but by a very peculiar character, from the other Pelasgian tribes; but their relation to the Greeks appears to have been very similar to that of those Pelasgians who were most properly so called. Whether they were also in any degree related to the people who are

known to us by the name of Thracians in later ages, is a question the more difficult, as the population of Thrace underwent great changes during the period in which that of Greece was shifting, and even after the latter had finally settled; and it is not clear, either how far the tribes which are said to have migrated from Thrace into Asia Minor, and to have established themselves there under various names — as Mysians, Bithynians, Mariandynians — were allied to the subsequent possessors of their European seats, or these among one another. It is possible that the Doloncians of the Thracian Chersonesus, who sent envoys to the Delphic oracle in the time of Pisistratus, were but very remotely connected with their fierce neighbours, the Apsinthians, who sacrificed their captives with peculiar rites to their god Pleistorus[1]: and there seem to be still stronger reasons for thinking that the Bœotian and Phocian Thracians had nothing but the name in common with the subjects of Teres, the founder of the Odrysian monarchy, whom Thucydides deemed it necessary, for the information of Athenian readers, expressly to distinguish from the mythical Tereus, the king of Daulis, and the husband of Procne.[2] Strabo observes, that the worship of the Muses on mount Helicon, and the cave there dedicated to the Leibethrian Nymphs, proved that this region had been occupied by Thracians, and that these Thracians were Pierians, — the people who consecrated the land of Pieria at the northern foot of Olympus, and Leibethrum, and Pimpleia, to the same Powers.[3] But it does not appear why the Pierians are called Thracians: for Homer describes Thrace as beginning far from Pieria; so that Heré, when she descends from the Thessalian Olympus to seek Lemnos, lights upon Pieria, and Emathia, before she bounds toward the snowy mountains of the Thracians.[4] The Pierians may have been

[1] Herod. ix. 119. [2] II. 29. [3] Strabo, ix. p. 410. [4] Il. xiv. 226.

CHAP. II.

the genuine Thracians, from whom the name was extended to the foreign tribes that surrounded them[1]; or, if they migrated from the north to the land at the foot of Olympus, they may have brought with them a name derived from the seats they had left.

Influence of the Thracians on Greek poetry.

Though the Bœotian Thracians belong to a mythical period, and none of the legends relating to them can claim to be considered as historical traditions, still their existence, and their affinity with the northern Pierians, are well attested; and the same evidence that proves these points, justifies us in attributing several important consequences to their presence in Greece. The worship of the Muses, which is uniformly acknowledged to have been peculiar to them, though it arose out of the same view of nature which is expressed in many popular creeds, appears to have afforded a groundwork for the earliest stage of intellectual culture among the Greeks. The belief that the invisible deities who dwelt in the depths of caves and fountains, loved music and song, and could dispense the inspiration by which the human voice was modulated to tuneful numbers, implies a disposition to poetry, and some experience of its effects. This connection between a popular form of religion, and the first strivings of poetical genius, does not indeed warrant any conclusion as to the character they assumed, or afford a ground for supposing that the earliest poetry of Greece was distinguished from that of a later period, by being exclusively dedicated to religious subjects. But it is probable enough, that the Greek oracles owed their origin to this source, even if that of Delphi was not founded by the Pierian Thracians, — the tribe which seems to have combined the various elements of the Greek mythology, and to

[1] This case would be analogous to that of the Ætolians, a genuine Hellenic race which in course of time imparted its name, together with a certain degree of civilisation, to a number of tribes which were very remote from it in their origin.

have moulded them nearly into the form they present in the Homeric poems.[1] A later age indeed forged names perhaps, as well as works, of ancient Thracian bards, which may have been utterly unknown to Homer and his contemporaries. But though he never speaks of Orpheus or Musæus, he has preserved the memory of the Thracian Thamyris, the rival of the Muses, whose fate was undoubtedly the theme of a very ancient legend; and he has thus placed the general character of the people on which this and numberless others were founded, beyond dispute. If however it is admitted that the Thracians exerted such an influence as has been ascribed to them on the poetry and the religion of Greece, it is scarcely possible to conceive that they can have been separated from the countrymen of Homer, by so broad a cleft as the ambiguity of their name suggested to the Greeks, who termed them, as well as the Pelasgians, barbarians. And hence, in their case at least, there is no room for a suspicion that the distinction has been artificially disguised, and that the significant local names, from which Strabo drew his proof of their Pierian origin, did not belong to them, but were substituted for others of the same meaning in their barbarous tongue.

Asiatic Pelasgians.

Pelasgians, as we have already observed, appear in the Iliad among the auxiliaries of the Trojans. From later evidence we learn that they were scattered over the western coast of Asia Minor, nearly in the same seats as the Leleges; and three ancient towns in this

[1] Mueller, Prolegomena, z. e. w. M. p. 219., thinks that this may be inferred from the single fact, that the *Pierian* Olympus, which is the seat of the gods, gives the Muses their epithet in Homer and Hesiod. The reader should, however, compare the two leading passages on this subject, Paus. ix. 29. 3., Strabo, ix. p. 410., on which Mueller has commented in his *Orchomenus*, p. 381. foll. An English translation of Mueller's very valuable *Prolegomena* has just appeared, under the title *Müller's Scientific Mythology, translated by J. Leitch*, in which the passage above referred to will be found, p. 159. There is an Appendix containing a translation of an Essay of Mueller's on Orion, from the *Rheinisches Museum*, and of a small piece, the *Hyperboreisch-Roemische Studien fuer Archæologie.*

CHAP. II.

tract bore the name of Larissa.[1] And this appears likewise to be indicated by the statement of Herodotus[2], that the Asiatic Æolians were anciently called Pelasgians. Antandros, which was called by Alcæus a city of the Leleges[3], is also described as a seat of the Pelasgians.[4] Here therefore they seem to be a peculiar tribe, distinct from all the others enumerated by the poet, and Pelasgians their proper name. That it was so, cannot be doubted, since, even in the time of Herodotus, the inhabitants of two towns on the Propontis were so called.[5] Yet unless we knew whether these Asiatic Pelasgians were colonies from Greece, or had never moved farther westward, they would not assist us to determine the original extent of the name. In the one case, it may have been given to them because they had migrated from various regions, and could only be designated by a word of comprehensive meaning; in the other case, they may have retained it as their ancient and distinguishing title.

Opinions of the Greeks as to the origin of the earliest races.

As to the quarter from which the Pelasgians came into Greece, we cannot expect to learn any thing from the Greeks, since they themselves were content with their ignorance on this subject, and were not even tempted to inquire into it. The ancient writers, who recorded their historical knowledge or opinions in the form of poetical genealogies, when they had ascended to the person whom they considered as the common ancestor of a nation, thought it enough to describe him as the son of a god, or as the natural fruit of the earth itself, or uniting both these views in a third, as framed by the divine will out of some brute matter. Thus many of these genealogies ter-

[1] Strabo, xiii. p. 620.
[2] VII. 95.
[3] In Strabo, xiii. p. 606. Πρώτα μὲν Ἀνταν̃δρος Λελέγων πόλις
[4] Herodot. vii. 42. Ἀνταν̃δρον τὴν Πελασγίδα: and Conon begins his forty-first narrative: Ὡς Ἀνταν̃δρον ὤκησαν Πέλασγοι.
[5] I. 57.

minate, as we have seen, in children of the soil; and though the Greek word that denoted this [1] was sometimes vaguely used to express the antiquity of a race, there can be no doubt that it was generally received, not only by the vulgar, but by educated men, and without reference to any peculiar philosophical system, like that of Empedocles, in its most literal sense.[2] So it was that Hesiod described the origin of Pelasgus.[3] Hence Plato, in the funeral oration, in which he embraced all the topics that could flatter the vanity of the Athenians, dwells upon this popular notion, which was certainly not his own. "The second praise," he says, "due to our country is, that at the time when the whole earth was sending forth animals of all kinds, wild and tame, this our land proved barren and pure of wild beasts, and from among all animals chose and gave birth to man, the creature which excels the rest in understanding, and alone acknowledges justice and the gods." With the same right that the Athenians claimed this glory for themselves, the Arcadians boasted of being older than the moon [4]; and indeed, when the principle was once

[1] *αὐτόχθονες.*

[2] Kruse, i. p. 396., very superfluously for his argument, questions this: because Aristotle (Rhet. i. 5.) speaks of high birth as consisting, in the case of a nation, or a city, in being *ἀυτόχθονας ἢ ἀρχαίους*, — a passage from which it is impossible to draw any inference even as to Aristotle's own opinion. But the popular notion seems to be distinctly expressed, though not without humorous exaggeration, by Plato, *Menexenus*, p. 237. Kruse also concludes (i. p. 428.) that Pausanias, though he reports the popular belief of the Arcadians, that Pelasgus was the first man who came into being in Arcadia, himself believed that a different race preceded the Pelasgians there. Pausanias however, far from saying any thing to warrant this conjecture, observes that Pelasgus could not have been born alone, for then he would have had no people to govern, but that other men must have been born together with him, though he may have excelled them in the qualities of his body and his mind. The general opinion of Pausanias himself on this subject is distinctly intimated, viii. 29. 4., where, having mentioned some gigantic bones that had been found in Syria, and had been declared by the oracle of Claros to belong to Orontes, an Indian, he adds, "If the sun made the first men, by heating the earth, which in ancient times was still full of moisture, what land is likely to have brought forth men sooner than that of the Indians, or to have produced men of greater size, since even in our day it breeds strange and huge beasts?"

[3] *Ἡσίοδος τὸν Πελασγὸν αὐτόχθονά φησιν εἶναι.* Apollodorus ii. 1. 1. and iii. 8. 1.

[4] *προσέληνοι.* Other explanations have been given of the word (as pre-Hellenic). Its true derivation does not concern us here.

CHAP. II.

admitted, and the agency of an intelligent Creator excluded, since the mechanical difficulty costs no more to overcome in many instances than in one, there was no reason why every valley should not have produced its first man, or rather a whole human harvest. The antiquity of the Arcadians was asserted by the genealogical poet Asius of Samos, who is supposed to have flourished not much later than the beginning of the Olympiads [1], and who sang of the Arcadian Pelasgus, that "the black earth sent him forth in the shady mountains, that the race of mortals might exist." [2] According to the more commonly received opinion, the Argive Pelasgians were the eldest of the race.[3] But the only question among the antiquarians was, from what part of Greece it had issued: none thought of tracing it to any foreign region, as its earlier home. The presence of the Pelasgians in Greece, is not only the first unquestionable fact in Greek history, but the first of which any tradition has been preserved.

Course of the Pelasgian migrations.

This fact however does not merely set bounds to our inquiries, beyond which they find no ground to rest on; it also warrants a conclusion, which it is useful to bear in mind. It seems reasonable to think that the Pelasgians would not have been, as they appeared to Ephorus, the most ancient people of whose dominion in Greece any rumour remained [4], if they had not been really the first that left some permanent traces there. If they were not the original inhabitants of the country, at least no nation more powerful or more civilised can easily be imagined to have been there before them; and if any of the tribes whose

[1] Welcker, *Der epische Cyclus*, p. 144., observes that Asius, if there are not precise grounds sufficient for placing him in the 10th Olympiad, seems not to have been much later. He refers to Mueller, *De Minerva Poliade*, p. 41., where the same opinion is expressed with a reference to Naeke's *Chœrilus*, p. 7 4. Naeke however does not attempt to determine the poet's exact age.

[2] Paus. viii. 1. 4.

[3] Dionys. A. R. i. 17.

[4] Strabo, vii. p. 327.

names are coupled with theirs belonged to a different and a more ancient race, it is probable that the obscurity which covers them is owing to their utter feebleness and insignificance. On the other hand, though to the Greeks the history of the Pelasgians began in Greece, and we are therefore unable to pursue it farther, it should be remembered that this is only an accidental termination of our researches, and that the road does not necessarily end, where the guide stops. If we believe that the Pelasgians really existed, we must also believe that they either sprang out of the ground, or dropped from the clouds, or that they migrated into Greece from some part of the earth nearer to that where mankind first came into being. But though we have the strongest grounds for adopting the last of these opinions, we must be cautious not to confound it with others which neither flow from it, nor are necessarily connected with it. Reason and authority may unite to convince us, that the Pelasgians were a wandering people, before they settled in Greece; but neither supplies an answer to any of the numberless questions which this fact suggests. Yet most of the views that have been formed of them in modern times, appear to have been, at least secretly, affected by a preference given to some single conjecture over a multitude of others equally probable. For the sake of guarding against such prepossessions, it is useful to remember the great diversity of ways by which such a country as Greece may have received its first population; and that we have no historical evidence to determine us in favour of one hypothesis, to the exclusion of the rest: but that the variety and apparent inconsistency of the local traditions relating to the Pelasgians would incline us to suppose, that they came into Greece, not from a single side, nor during a single period, nor under the same circumstances; but that many tribes were

CHAP. II.

gradually comprehended under the common name, which, though connected together by a national affinity, had been previously severed from each other, and had passed through different conditions and turns of fortune. The Greek traditions about their migrations rest on no firmer ground than the opinion that they were somewhere or other in a literal sense natives of the Greek soil: if we reject it, there is no necessity to imagine that either their seats in the north, or those in the south of Greece, were the more ancient, or that the connection of parent and colony subsisted, immediately or remotely, between their most widely parted settlements.[1]

Relation between the Pelasgians and the Greeks.

The greater the extent we assign to the Pelasgians, the more interesting it is to consider their relation to the Greeks. If they once covered the whole, or the greater part of Greece, they must be held to have constituted the main bulk of its population, throughout the whole period of its history; for not only have we no record or report of any violent convulsion, or revolution, by which its ancient inhabitants were wholly or mostly exterminated or dislodged, but we find the contrary expressly asserted by the most authentic writers. It therefore becomes a very important question, in what sense we are to understand the same writers, when they speak of the Pelasgians and their language as barbarous, that is, not Hellenic. Must we conceive the difference implied by this epithet so great, that the Pelasgians may have been no less foreign to the old Hellenes, and their language not more intelligible to them, than the Phœnician or the Etruscan to their descendants?[2] The most satisfactory

[1] Mr. Donaldson (*Varronianus*, p. 26.) proposes an outline of their course, which is certainly as probable as any other.

[2] Kruse (i. p. 398. note 9., and p. 463. note) appears to conceive that the Pelasgian tongue was either the same with the Etruscan — which he considers as utterly different (*himmelweit verschieden*) from the Latin — or formed one of its elements. At least his argument rests on this supposition. Kreuser (*Vorfragen ueber Homeros*, p. 83. and foll.) labours to prove the identity of the Pelasgians and

answer to this question would be afforded by remains of the language itself, if any such still existed in sufficient amount to determine its character. But unfortunately the only specimens that can be brought forward, without assuming the point in dispute, consist of names of persons and places, handed down by tradition, few in number, and of an ambiguous aspect. It must be acknowledged that those which recede farthest from the ordinary Greek form are safer tests than those which coincide with it; because in the latter cases there is room to suspect that the Pelasgian original may have been either translated, or adapted to Greek ears. Strabo himself mentions several names of foreign sound, as betokening the barbarian origin of the persons who bore them.[1] It is remarkable that one of these names is that of the Athenian king Codrus, a supposed descendant of Nestor. Strabo's authority is decisive as to the fact: but when we reflect how strange most of the Saxon names that were current in England before the Conquest now sound to us, how many are entirely out of use, it seems hazardous to draw any inference from such specimens, and still more so to trust our own judgment as to the character of the Pelasgian names.

Observations of Herodotus on the Pelasgian language.

In the days of Herodotus however a language was still spoken, which was believed to be that of the ancient Pelasgians, and was heard by Herodotus himself, as he gives us to understand, at least at three different places. Two of these lay near the coast of the Propontis: as to the third, it is a disputed question whether it was the town of Cortona in Etruria,

the Phœnicians by some new and ingenious arguments. F. Thiersch (in the Munich *Denkschriften*, 1813, p. 35. n. 26.) brings them out of Asia, to overpower, unite, and civilise the primitive inhabitants of Greece. Mr. Donaldson (*Varronianus*, p. 42.) considers them as "a branch of the Sclavonian race," the Etruscan language (p. 101.) as "a Pelasgian idiom corrupted and deformed by contact with the Umbrian," — which he identifies (p. 43.) with the Lithuanian, or old Prussian, — and the Latin (p. 137.) "as the offspring of the Umbrian, Oscan, and Tuscan."

[1] VII. p. 321.

CHAP. II.

or one of which nothing else is known, but which must have been seated somewhere on or near a line connecting the heads of the Thermaic and Toronaean gulfs, and not very far from the isthmus of mount Athos.[1] This language Herodotus[2] describes as barbarous, and it is on this fact he grounds his general conclusion as to the ancient Pelasgian tongue. But he has not entered into any details that might have served to ascertain the manner or degree in which it differed from the Greek. Still the expressions he uses would have appeared to imply that it was essentially foreign, had he not spoken quite as strongly in another passage, where it is impossible to ascribe a similar meaning to his words. When he is enumerating the dialects that prevailed among the Ionian Greeks, he observes that the Ionian cities in Lydia agree not at all in their tongue with those of Caria; and he applies the very same term to these dialects, which he had before used in speaking of the remains of the Pelasgian language.[3] This passage affords a measure by which we may estimate the force of the word *barbarian* in the former. Nothing more can be safely inferred from it, than that the Pelasgian language which Herodotus heard on the Hellespont, and elsewhere, sounded to him a strange jargon; as did the dialect of Ephesus to a Milesian, and as the Bolognese does to a Florentine. This fact leaves its real nature and relation to the Greek quite uncertain; and we are the less justified in building on it, as the history of these Pelasgian settlements is extremely obscure, and the traditions which Herodotus reports on that subject have by no means equal weight with statements made from his personal observation

[1] Niebuhr's opinion on this subject is ably controverted by Mueller, Etrusker, i. p. 97.

[2] I. 57.

[3] I. 142. *χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης τέσσερες* (as I. 57.) *γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα*. Of the Ionians, *ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδέν*; of the Pelasgians, *οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν περιοικεόντων ὁμόγλωσσοι*. See Giese, *Ueber den Æolischen Dialekt*, p. 151

CHAP. II.

Language of the Pelasgians not wholly foreign to the Greeks.

Thus it seems we cannot appeal to the language itself, nor to any direct testimony concerning it, for evidence of its character; and if we have any means of forming an opinion on it, it must be by examining the historical connection in which the Pelasgians stood with the Greeks, and by inquiring into the conclusions that may be drawn from it with regard to their national affinity. We find that, though in early times Thessaly, and the north of Greece in general, was the scene of frequent migrations and revolutions, so that its ancient inhabitants may here and there have been completely displaced by new tribes, Attica appears never to have undergone such a change; and Peloponnesus lost no considerable part of its original population till long after the whole had become Hellenic. We shall shortly have occasion to consider the nature of this transformation. All we are now concerned to observe is, that it was apparently accomplished without any violent struggle; and that in Arcadia, which is uniformly represented as a Pelasgian land, and was even regarded by many of the ancients as the hive whence the Pelasgian people issued, it seems to have been almost spontaneous. No event of which any tradition has been preserved, marks the epoch at which the Arcadians ceased to be Pelasgians, and became Greeks. This makes it difficult to believe that the Pelasgian language can have been entirely lost: and it is equally improbable, if it still survives in the Greek, that it can have differed from the pure Hellenic, like the Etruscan or Phœnician, or as the Celtic from the Teutonic, and yet have been so intimately blended with it, that no traces of the two incongruous elements should be perceptible. The force of this argument is not weakened, even if the extent of the Pelasgian population be reduced within the narrowest limits that have ever been assigned to it, unless it be imagined that they

CHAP. II.

were not only a peculiar tribe, but that they were farther removed from the Greek character than others which are coupled with them as barbarous. The slighter we conceive to have been the original distinctions that separated all these tribes from one another, and from the Greeks, the more simply and easily may the propagation of the Greek language be explained.

Inference from the Pelasgian settlements in Italy.

We find this result confirmed, if we extend our view beyond Greece, and pursue the traces of Pelasgians in their western seats. These we have not yet noticed, because our object has been, not to make a complete survey of the Pelasgians, but to inquire into their connection with the Greeks. For this purpose it will not be necessary to take any side in the controversy raised among the ancients, and revived by modern writers, about the origin of the Italian Pelasgians. It may be treated as an indifferent question, whether they crossed over from the opposite side of the Adriatic in two great colonies,—one issuing from Thessaly, the other from Arcadia,—or were a native race in the same sense as those of Greece. We may however observe, that though the accounts of the two migrations appear to rest rather on the current opinion as to the principal seats of the Greek Pelasgians, than on genuine historical tradition, there is no reason to doubt that the south of Italy received at least a part of its Pelasgian population from Epirus, as the occurrence of the same local names in the two countries naturally suggests.[1] But whatever uncertainty may hang over

[1] Chaones, Pandosia, Acheron, Dodona; to which may perhaps be added the Elymians, and Drys (see Raoul Rochette, *Colonies Grecques*, i. p. 229.), and the Sicels. See an essay of Niebuhr translated in the *Philological Museum*, No. I. Mr. Grote (*Classical Museum*, i. p. 5.) remarks "that the supposition of identity of Pelasgian race between the original population of Epirus and that of the south-eastern regions of Italy, announced with confidence by Niebuhr, and adopted by K. O. Müller, becomes open to doubt from our finding no mention of pound weight or ounce weights among the Epirots." It should not however be forgotten, that there is always a wide difference between the absence of a fact which would have confirmed a supposition, and the presence of one which contradicts it.

this subject, it does not affect the main point—the existence of a people in Italy, who were either called Pelasgians, or were known as such by their national features, of language, manners, or religion, and were very widely diffused over the peninsula. That they were confined to the northern part, or to Etruria, is an opinion depending on a conjecture supported by no authority: that Arcadia was originally peopled by two entirely different races, the one Pelasgian, the other allied to the Hellenes, and that the latter sent out colonies to the south of Italy, while the former remained at home, until the last remnant that preserved the national name and character migrated along with the Ionians into Asia. These Arcadian colonies are indeed extremely doubtful, and were very probably fictions invented after the list of the Lycaonids had taken in Œnotrus and Peucetius, the mythical fathers of the Œnotrian and Peucetian tribes. But the Pelasgian origin of these tribes was then, according to the author of that list, a notorious fact, which he meant to express by the pedigree; and it is confirmed by a casual mention of Pelasgians as standing in the same servile relation to the Italian Greeks, to which Greek settlers very commonly reduced the old inhabitants of a conquered country.[1] If this is the right point of view, it would be capricious to doubt, that the portion, or element, — for it includes both substance and form,— which the Latin language has in common with the Greek, was immediately derived from the Pelasgians.[2] It will then follow that their language was at least the basis of the Greek itself, and that it may be far more correctly considered either as a dialect, or an early stage of it, than as totally

[1] Steph. Byz. Χῖος. He says that the Italian Greeks treated the Pelasgians as the Lacedæmonians did their Helots, the Argives their Gymnesians, the Sicyonians their Corynephori, the Cretans their Mnoitæ. See Niebuhr, i. p. 29.

[2] See Heyne, Exc. II. ad Il. 384. Marsh, *Horæ Pelasgicæ*, c. ii., a learned and instructive discussion, though all the arguments will not stand the test of criticism.

CHAP. II.

foreign to it. This general result seems to be well established; but all attempts to define more exactly the relation between the two languages, and to describe their characteristic marks, can only rest on analogies arbitrarily chosen and applied. We must be content with knowing, both as to the language and the race, that no notion of them, which either confounds, or rigidly separates them, will bear the test of historical criticism.

If the Asiatic Pelasgians are spoken of as if they were known by no other name, those of Italy, on the other hand, seem to have borne it only as a common one, which was perhaps introduced by the Greeks, and was probably little or never heard among the several tribes.[1] At least here, as in Greece, each was distinguished by its own. The Pelasgians of Etruria were called Tyrsenians, those of the south Œnotrians, Chaones, Siculians, and otherwise, according to their wider or narrower circles. If the name was ever a proper one, it would seem to have belonged originally to one of the eastern branches of the nation, and to have spread westward no further than the shores of the Adriatic.

Civilisation of the Pelasgians.

The obscurity which renders it difficult to ascertain even the general relation of the Pelasgians to the Hellenes, also obstructs our inquiries, when we endeavour to determine the degree of civilisation they had attained before they became a Hellenic people, and the steps by which they rose to it. In this respect, as in others, they present two aspects, which it is not easy to reconcile, and neither of which can be shown to be absolutely false. Some accounts represent their original condition as no better than that of mere savages, strangers even to the simplest arts of life, and to the

[1] See K. O. Mueller's *Etrusker*, i. p. 31., and a remark of Bamberger in an essay (in the *Rheinisches Mus.* vi. p. 90. n. 44.), *Ueber die Entstehung des Mythus von Æneas Ankunft in Latium.*

first necessaries of civilised society: others imply that, in the very earliest period of their settlement in Greece, they had already reached a much higher stage of humanity. In the history of their progress too there is an important variation: for, according to one view, it was gradual and spontaneous; according to another, it was the effect of foreign influence. Finally, opinions have diverged no less widely on the rank to which, through either of these means, they rose, independently of the Hellenes, as a civilised people. When we consult the testimonies of the ancient authors on these subjects, we are perplexed by the difficulty of distinguishing between genuine tradition and the artificial results of philosophical or historical speculation. So it is with the legends of Arcadia and Attica, two regions to which, as the reputed seats of a Pelasgian population which was never exterminated, we should be inclined to look for the purest traditional evidence. In Arcadia, king Pelasgus, the earth's first-born, teaches his people to build rude huts, and to clothe themselves with skins, such as were worn in some parts of Greece down to the latest times; and to substitute the fruit of the oak, which was long the characteristic food of the country, for the leaves and wild herbs on which they had before subsisted. His son Lycaon founds the first city, Lycosura; and it is not before the reign of Arcas, the fourth from Pelasgus, who gave his name to the country, that the Arcadians learnt the use of bread, and began to exchange their boar-skins for woollen garments.[1] It can hardly be believed that this picture is any thing more than a sketch, traced by the understanding, and filled up by the imagination, of the order in which useful discoveries and inventions may be supposed to have succeeded each other in a primitive community.

Legends of their savage condition.

[1] Paus. viii. 4. 1. iv. 11. 3.

CHAP. II.

But if it were possible to treat it as containing any touch of historical truth, it would still be doubtful, whether the Pelasgians ought to be regarded as giving or receiving the benefits of civilised life; and we should be as little justified in inferring that they themselves emerged from a savage state, as in drawing the like conclusion from the Italian legend, which relates that Italus introduced husbandry among his subjects, the Œnotrians.[1] So too, when the Pelasgians of Attica are described as originally plunged in the grossest barbarism, there is strong reason to suspect that it has only been attributed to them for the sake of heightening the contrast between them and the foreign settlers, who in the same accounts are said to have reclaimed them.[2]

Traditions of their familiarity with the arts of life.

Other traditions, not so liable to distrust, concur in assigning tillage and useful arts to the Pelasgians, as their proper and original pursuits. We are told that they loved to settle on the rich soil of alluvial plains; hence the name and the legend of Piasus, who reigned over the Pelasgians in the valley of the Hermus, and grew wanton from the exuberant increase of the land.[3] So, in Thessaly, the waters have no sooner been discharged by the earthquake which rent Ossa and Olympus asunder, than Pelasgus hastens to take possession of the newly discovered territory, and the happy event is celebrated in a yearly festival with loaded boards.[4] The Powers that preside over husbandry, and protect the fruits of the earth, and the growth of the flocks and herds, appear to have been the eldest Pelasgian deities. It is therefore not an improbable conjecture, that the genuine and most ancient form of the national name was expressive of this character.[5]

[1] Aristot. Pol. vii. 9.
[2] Eudocia, under the article *Cecrops*.
[3] Strabo, xiii. 621.
[4] Athen. xiv. 689. The *Peloria*.
[5] Πελαργοί (from ἄργος and πέλω) inhabitants or cultivators of the plain. Mueller (*Orchom.* p. 125. n. 6.) connects this with the name *Peloria*, the feast of the settlers. Yet the analogy of αἰπόλος, ταυροπόλος, &c. seems unfavourable to this etymology.

And perhaps this might explain how, having been at first confined to some fortunate and industrious tribes, which cultivated the most fruitful tracts, it came to be widely diffused, without superseding those which prevailed elsewhere. But, as has been already observed, there is no necessity for supposing that all the Pelasgian tribes stood in this respect on the same level, and were equally favoured by nature and fortune. If some were attracted by the fertility of the broad plains, others might be tempted by the security of the mountain valleys, and thus Arcadia may have been peopled as early as Argos by the same race. And yet, unless the Arcadian settlers found their new seats prepared for their reception, the forests already cleared, the swamps drained, and those great works accomplished which were ascribed to the power of Hercules, or Poseidon, and without which many tracts could never have been habitable, they must have been long engaged in a struggle with nature, which would detain them in a condition very inferior to that of their Argive brethren. The legends of the two countries appear to indicate that such was the case. It would be an equally narrow view of the Pelasgians, to conceive that they were solely addicted to agricultural pursuits. Even if it were not highly probable, that a part of the nation crossed the sea to reach the shores of Greece, and thus brought with them the rudiments of the arts connected with navigation, it would be incredible that the tribes seated on the coast should not soon have acquired them. Accordingly, the islands of the Ægean are peopled by Pelasgians, the piracies of the Leleges precede the rise of the first maritime power among the Greeks, and the Tyrsenian Pelasgians are found infesting the seas after the fall of Troy.

To know that a nation which has any fair claim to affinity with the Greeks was not, at any period to

CHAP. II.

which probable tradition goes back, a horde of helpless savages, is in itself not unimportant. The same evidence which disposes us to believe that the Pelasgians spoke a language nearly akin to the Hellenic, must render us willing to admit that, before they came into contact with any foreign people in Greece, they may have tilled the ground, planted the vine, launched their boats on the sea, dwelt together in walled towns, and honoured the gods, as authors of their blessings, with festive rites and sacred songs. And it is satisfactory to find that all this, if not clearly ascertained, is at least consistent with the general tenor of ancient tradition. But even this is far from giving us a notion of the precise point of civilisation to which the Pelasgians had advanced, before the Greeks overtook and outstripped them, and still less does it disclose any peculiar features in their national character. Fully to discuss the former of these subjects, it would be necessary to enter into a very wide and arduous field of inquiry, and to examine the pretensions set up on behalf of the Pelasgians to the art of writing, to religious mysteries, and to a theological literature. But as this would lead us away from our main object, it will be better to reserve these questions till we are called upon to notice them, so far as they bear on the progress of society among the Greeks. For the present we shall only touch on one subject, which affords us surer ground for observation, and perhaps the best measure for judging of the condition and character of the Pelasgians. Some of the most ancient architectural monuments in Europe, which may perhaps outlast all that have been reared in later ages, clearly appear to have been works of their hands. The huge structures, remains of which are visible in many parts of Greece, in Epirus, Italy, and the western coast of Asia Minor, and which are commonly described by the epithet Cyclopean, because, according to the

Monuments of the Pelasgians.

Greek legend, the Cyclopes built the walls of Tiryns and Mycenæ, might more properly be called Pelasgian from their real authors. The legendary Cyclopes indeed are said to have been brought over from Lycia by Prœtus, king of Argos, the founder of Tiryns.[1] But this tradition, whatever may have been its foundation, is certainly not a sufficient clue for tracing the style, as well as the name, to Argolis, nor a safe ground for ascribing its origin to a different race from the Pelasgians. The epithet most probably expresses nothing more than the wonder excited by these gigantic works in the Greeks of a more refined age.[2] It suggests however the point of view from which they may reflect some light on the people to which they belong. The earliest of them are so rude, that they seem at first sight to indicate nothing more than a capacity confined to undertakings which demanded much toil and little skill, and a state of society settled enough to encourage such exertions. In this respect it matters little whether they were productions of free labour, or tasks imposed by a foreign master. The gradual progress that may be traced, through a series of easy transitions, from these shapeless masses to regular and well-contrived buildings, seems to show, that in those of the rudest workmanship, the sense of symmetry, the most distinguishing feature in the Greek character, was only suppressed in the struggle of an untaught people with the difficulties that beset the infancy of art. The interval between the style, if it may be so called, of the most unsightly Cyclopean wall, and that of edifices like the treasury or tomb of

[1] Strabo, viii. 373. Apollod. ii. 2. 1. 3. According to the Scholiast on Euripides, Orest. 953., auxiliaries came to Prœtus from Lycia and from Curetis (*Ætolia*), both tribes belonging to the same race of the Cyclopes, a people of Thracian origin, which had migrated to different regions, but settled in greatest numbers in Curetis: and these last, not the Lycians, fortified the Argolic cities.

[2] See Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, p. 133. Bamberger, *Ueber des Hesiodus Mythus von den Aeltesten Menschengeschlechtern*, in Welcker and Ritschl's *Rhein. Mus.* i. p. 528., would explain Hesiod's χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο (*O. et D.* 150.) as an allusion to these colossal remains of antiquity.

CHAP. II.

Atreus, is perhaps not so wide as that which separates works of the latter class from what may be conceived to have been the simplest form of the Doric temple; though they were much further removed from that stage, in which necessity is still the parent of invention, utility its only guide, beauty its unsought, and seemingly accidental, result.

CHAPTER III.

FOREIGN SETTLERS IN GREECE.

Authority of the Traditions concerning Foreign Settlers in Greece. — Legend of Danaus. — Its Local Features. — — Other supposed Egyptian Colonies in Argolis and Megaris. — Colonies of Cecrops, Erechtheus, and Peteus. — Colony of Cadmus. — Opinions about Cadmus. — Legend of Pelops. — General Arguments in Favour of the reality of the Colonies from the East. — Coincidence between Greek and Egyptian Traditions. — In what Sense Egyptians and Phœnicians may be said to have colonised Greece. — Traces of the Phœnicians in the Greek Legends under other Names. — Influence of the Phœnicians on Greece. — Explanation of the Legend of Pelops.

Authority of the traditions concerning foreign settlers in Greece.

In a comparatively late period, — that which followed the rise of a historical literature among the Greeks, — we find a belief generally prevalent, both in the people and among the learned, that in ages of very remote antiquity, before the name and dominion of the Pelasgians had given way to that of the Hellenic race, foreigners had been led by various causes from distant lands to the shores of Greece, and there had planted colonies, founded dynasties, built cities, and introduced useful arts and social institutions, before unknown to the ruder natives. The same belief has been almost universally adopted by the learned of modern times, many of whom, regarding the general fact as sufficiently established, have busied themselves in discovering fresh traces of such migrations, or in investigating the effects produced by them on the moral and intellectual character, the religious or political condition, of the Greeks. It required no little boldness to venture even to throw out a doubt as to

CHAP. III.

the truth of an opinion sanctioned by such high authority, and by the prescription of such a long and undisputed possession of the public mind; and perhaps it might never have been questioned, if the inferences drawn from it had not provoked a jealous inquiry into the grounds on which it rests. When however this spirit was once awakened, it was perceived that the current stories of these ancient settlements afforded great room for reasonable distrust, not merely in the marvellous features they exhibit, but in the still more suspicious fact, that with the lapse of time their number seems to increase and their details to be more accurately known, and that the further we go back the less we hear of them, till, on consulting the Homeric poems, we lose all traces of their existence. We can here neither affect to disregard the controversies that are still agitated on this subject, and repeat the common traditions without warning the reader of their questionable character, nor can we discuss the arguments of either side. But as it seems possible, and even necessary, to take a middle course between the old and the new opinions, it will be proper to explain why we cannot embrace either with an unqualified assent.

A slight inspection of the Greek stories about the foreign settlers seems sufficient to show, that neither the authority on which they rest, nor their internal evidence, is such as to satisfy a cautious inquirer. We must here briefly notice their leading features. The principal colonies brought to Greece from the East are said to have been planted in Argolis, on the opposite side of the Saronic gulf, and in Bœotia. The Pelasgians were still masters of the plain of Argos, when Danaus, driven out of Egypt by domestic feuds, landed on the coast, was raised to the throne by the consent of the natives, and founded a town, afterwards the citadel of Argos, and known by the Pe-

Legend of Danaus.

lasgian name Larissa. He is said to have given his name to the warlike *Danai*, once so celebrated, that Homer uses this as a general appellation for the Greeks, when that of Hellenes was still confined to a narrow range. The later Argives showed his tomb in their market-place, and many other monuments of his presence. The popular belief is confirmed by the testimony of Herodotus, who mentions the migration of Danaus without any distrust, and even learnt in Egypt the name of the city from which he came: and the historian's evidence appears to be backed by an independent tradition, which he found existing at Rhodes, that Danaus had landed there on his passage, and founded a temple at Lindus, which was dedicated to the goddess Athene, whom, with the Romans, we name Minerva, and to which, in the sixth century B.C., Amasis king of Egypt sent offerings in honour of its Egyptian origin. This is the naked abstract of the tradition; and when so related, stripped of all its peculiar circumstances, it may seem perfectly credible, as well as amply attested. On the other hand, the popular legend exhibits other features, apparently original, and not to be separated from its substance, which are utterly incredible, and can scarcely be explained without transporting the whole narrative out of the sphere of history into that of religious fable. All authors agree that Danaus fled to Greece, accompanied by a numerous family of daughters (fifty is the received poetical number,) to escape from the persecution of their suitors, the sons of his brother Ægyptus. This is an essential part of the story, which cannot be severed from the rest without the most arbitrary violence.[1] The Danaids, according

[1] Accordingly Heffter (*Die Goetterdienste auf Rhodus*), p. 87., admits that, unless the whole be rejected, it must, and he conceives that it may, be accepted as a literal fact; but he has offered no explanation to reconcile others to this supposition.

CHAP. III.

to Herodotus[1], founded the temple at Lindus, and instructed the Pelasgian women at Argos in the mystic rites of Demeter.[2] To them too was ascribed the discovery of the springs, or the wells, which relieved the natural aridity of a part of the Argive soil. Before Herodotus, Æschylus had exhibited on the Attic stage the tragical fate of the sons of Ægyptus, who had pursued the fugitives to Greece, and, after forcing them to the altar, were slain by their hands. And still earlier their adventures had formed the subject of an epic poem.[3] A local legend related that Lerna, the lake or swamp near Argos, had been the scene of the murder, and that the heads of the suitors were there buried, while their bodies were deposited in a separate monument.[4] One of the main streams of Lerna derived its name from Amymoné, one of the sisters, to whom Neptune, softened by her beauty, had revealed the springs which had before disappeared at his bidding. This intimate connection between the popular legend and the peculiar character of the Argive soil, which exhibited a striking contrast between the upper part of the plain and the low grounds of Lerna, must be allowed to give some colour to the conjecture of the bolder critics, who believe the whole

Its local features.

[1] II. 182. [2] II. 171.

[3] The *Danais*, or *Danaides* (as it is called in the Borgia Marble; see Heeren, *Werke*, iii. p. 168.) from which two lines are preserved by Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. c. 19., Καὶ τότ' ἄρ' ὡπλίζοντο θοῶς Δαναοῖο θύγατρες Προσθεν ἐϋῤῥεῖος ποταμοῦ Νείλοιο ἄνακτος. This highest authority for the story has not been noticed by Voss, *Antisymbolik*. ii. p. 418., or by Mueller, *Orchom.* p. 109—113. In his Proleg. p. 186. (p. 125. Engl. Tr.) he expresses a doubt, which seems rather unnatural, whether the epic poet represented Danaus and Egyptus as brothers, and Danaus as coming out of Egypt. Welcker (*Ep. Cycl.* p. 326.) conceives the poem to have been written not long before the Telegonia of Eugamon (Ol. 53. Eusebius) "about the time when Solon, in the plan of his original poem, The Atlantis, aimed at bringing great ideas, which had been roused by his travels in Egypt, into competition with the old poetry of the heroic nobles, while in another quarter Aristeas was gratifying the natural craving for novelty which the Homeric poems had withstood long enough, by his exhibition of marvellous northern legends." But he avows that this is only an inference from the contents of the poem, the combination of the Danai with the Egyptians. Boekh, Pindar, t. iii. p. 171., still adheres to the old story.

[4] Apollod. ii. 1. 5. 11. Pausanias (ii. 24. 2.) inverts the story.

story of Danaus to have been of purely Argive origin, and to have sprung up out of these local accidents, though all attempts hitherto made to explain its minuter features seem to have failed.[1] The Argive colonies in the east of Asia Minor might be conceived to have contributed something toward the form which it finally assumed even before Egypt was thrown open to the Greeks. But the historian cannot decide between these contending views, and must resign himself to the uncertainty of the fact, unless it can be maintained by some stronger evidence, or more satisfactorily explained.

Other supposed Egyptian colonies in Argolis and Megaris.

If we could consent to swell the list of the foreign settlers with the conjectures of modern critics, we should not consider the arrival of Danaus as an insulated fact. We might have spoken of Inachus, who is called the first king of Argos, and is said to have given his name to its principal river: hence, in the mythical genealogies, he is described as a son of Oceanus, the common parent of all rivers. Yet on this ground it has sometimes been supposed that he too came to Greece across the sea. We as little venture to rely on such inferences, as to construe the fabled wanderings of Io, the daughter of Inachus, into a proof that, even before the time of Danaus, intercourse subsisted between Greece and Egypt. If, however, we turn northward of the Isthmus, we find another Egyptian prince at Megara, where, according to the tradition which Pausanias heard there, Lelex, having crossed over from Egypt, founded the dynasty which succeeded that of Car, the son of Phoroneus, and gave his name to the Leleges.[2] But this solitary and ill-attested legend, which was manifestly occasioned by the ancient rivalry of the Carian and

[1] A specimen, not among the least ingenious and plausible, may be found in Rückert's *Dienst der Athene*, p. 123.

[2] I. 39. 6.

CHAP. III.

Colonies of Cecrops, Erechtheus, and Peteus.

Lelegian races, cannot serve to prove the Egyptian origin of the latter people, which seems not to have been suspected by any other ancient authors. In Attica we meet with reports of more than one Egyptian colony. The first, led by Cecrops, is said to have found Attica without a king, desolated by the deluge which befel it, more than a century before, in the reign of Ogyges.[1] If we may believe some writers of the latest period of Greek literature, Cecrops gave his own name to the land, and on the Cecropian rock founded a new city, which he called Athens, after the goddess Athené.[2] To him is ascribed the introduction not only of a new religion, of pure and harmless rites, but even of the first element of civil society, the institution of marriage[3]; whence it may be reasonably inferred, that the savage natives learned from him all the arts necessary to civilised life. But, notwithstanding the confidence with which this story has been repeated in modern times, the Egyptian origin of Cecrops is extremely doubtful. It is refuted by the silence of the elder Greek poets and historians; and even in the period when it became current, is contradicted by several voices, which describe Cecrops as a native of the Attic soil[4]: and the undisguised anxiety of the Egyptians to claim the founder of Athens for their countryman could excite the distrust even of a writer so credulous and uncritical as Diodorus.[5] Not content with Cecrops, they pretended to have sent out Erechtheus with a supply of corn for the relief of their Attic kinsmen, who rewarded his munificence with the crown; he in return completed his work of beneficence, by founding the mysteries of Eleusis on the model of those which were celebrated in Egypt in honour of Isis. A third

[1] Syncellus, i. p. 126. Bonn.
[2] Apollodor. iii. 14. 2.
[3] Clearchus of Soli in Athenæus, xiii. 2.
[4] Apollodor. u.s. Κέκροψ αὐτόχθων συμφυὲς ἔχων σῶμα ἀνδρὸς καὶ δράκοντος.
[5] I. 29.

Egyptian colony was said to have been led to Attica by Peteus, only one generation before the Trojan war. The arguments of the Egyptians seem to have been as weak as their assertions were bold. The least absurd was that which they derived from the Oriental character of the primitive political institutions of Attica. But some more distinct marks of Egyptian origin would be necessary to countervail the tacit dissent of the Greek authors who might have been expected to be best informed on the subject. Nor is their silence to be explained by the vanity of the Athenians, who were accustomed indeed to consider themselves as children of the Attic soil, but were not on that account reluctant to believe that their land had been early visited by illustrious strangers. We purposely abstain from insisting on the result of mythological inquiries, which tend to show that both Cecrops and Erechtheus are fictitious personages, and that they belong entirely to a homesprung Attic fable. Such attacks would be wasted on tales which scarcely present the semblance of a historical foundation.[1]

[1] It may however be proper to remind the reader, that the question as to an Egyptian colony in Attica does not depend upon the opinion which may be formed on the existence or the origin of Cecrops. Whatever may be thought on that point, arguments such as those which are urged with great ability by F. Thiersch, in his *Epochen der bildenden Kunst*, p. 26. f., from the Attic religion and art, particularly from the names, offices, and mutual relations of Athené (Neitha), Hephæstus (Phthath), and their son Apollo (Cicero, *Nat. De.* iii. 22.), and from the Egyptian physiognomy of Athené on the ancient Attic coins — such arguments will still be equally entitled to attention. (It is, however, remarkable, that Heffter, who has written a book to prove that the arrival of Danaus is a historical fact, after an elaborate comparison between the characters and offices of the Egyptian Neith and the Greek Athené, comes to the conclusion, that the worship of this goddess was of purely Hellenic origin, p. 138—150., and utterly rejects the whole story of the migration of Cecrops, as resting on a misconception of a passage in Plato's Timæus, p. 142.) On the other hand, it is difficult to acquit the ingenious and eloquent author of a too willing credulity, when he attempts to trace the expedition of Cecrops, or of the colonists whom he represents, over the sea to Thrace, and thence to the southern extremity of Greece; and, for this purpose, not only accepts such an authority as Isidore (*Or.* xv. 1.) to prove that Cecrops built the city of Rhodes (which has been commonly believed, on the authority of Diodorus, to have been first founded Ol. xciii. 1.), but even condescends to rake up out of Meursius (*De Regg. Ath.* i. 7.) the testimony of an Albert abbot of Stade, who, it seems, has recorded in his Chronicle that Cecrops built the temple at Delphi, and founded Lacedæmon. His two other citations (from Stephanus and Strabo) are certainly not so ludicrously weak, but they prove nothing. That there should

CHAP. III.

Colony of Cadmus.

The opinion of a foreign settlement in Bœotia is undoubtedly supported by much better authority. That Cadmus led a Phœnician colony into the heart of the country, and founded a town called Cadmea, which afterwards became the citadel of Thebes, was a tradition which had certainly been current in Bœotia long before the time of Herodotus, who not only confirms it by the weight of his own judgment — which is not here biassed, as in the case of Danaus, by the Egyptian priesthood — but also by some collateral evidence. He had ascertained, that one of the most celebrated Athenian families traced its origin to the companions of Cadmus [1]: that another division of them had been left behind in the isle of Thera [2]; and that his kinsman Thasus had given his name to the island where the Phœnicians opened the gold mines which were still worked in the days of the historian.[3] These may indeed, so far as Cadmus is concerned, be considered as mere ramifications of the Theban legend, not more conclusive than the tradition that followers of Cadmus settled in Eubœa.[4] But they at least proved that Phœnicians had very early gained a footing on the islands and shores of Greece. Thebes boasted of having received the precious gift of letters from her Phœnician colonists; and Herodotus adopts this opinion after a diligent inquiry, which ought not to be wholly disregarded, because he was deceived by some monuments which were either forged or misinter-

have been a district in Thrace called Cecropis, as is asserted by Stephanus (Κεκροπία), may be believed, and accounted for from the wide-spread power of Athens, without going back to the time of Cecrops; and Strabo's remark (ix. p. 407.), that Cecrops ruled over Bœotia, was a natural inference from the probably well-founded tradition, that it once contained two towns, named Eleusis and Athens.

[1] V. 58. [2] IV. 147.

[3] VI. 47. Θάσου τοῦ Φοίνικος. *Thaso Phœnice.* Valla. Conon, however, (37.), makes Thasus to be a brother of Cadmus and a son of Phœnix. In Apollodorus, iii. 1. 1., Thasus is, according to some, a son of Poseidon; but according to Pherecydes, of Cilix, who was a brother of Cadmus and Phœnix. With Herodotus, Cadmus is the son of Agenor, iv. 147. As an epithet of Thasus the addition τοῦ Φ. would seem superfluous.

[4] Strabo x. p. 447. Ἄραβες, οἱ Κάδμῳ συνδιαβάντες.

preted.[1] The Oriental derivation of the name of Cadmus is indeed as uncertain as the original import of that of Phœnix, which Hellanicus gives to his father[2], but which was used by the Greeks as one of the proper names of their native heroes. Thebes likewise showed what were thought to be the traces of Phœnician worship[3]; and the story of the sphinx, whatever may have been its origin, may seem to point, if not to Phœnicia, at least toward the East. On the other hand, modern writers find, in the legends of Cadmus and his consort Harmonia, in their connection with Samothrace, and with the mysterious Cabiri, decisive marks of a Pelasgian origin; insist upon the inland position of Thebes as inconsistent with the ordinary character of a Phœnician settlement; and consider the epithet of the *Tyrian* Cadmus as a chronological error, which betrays the late rise of the story, the authors of which substituted Tyre for the elder Sidon.[4] As if to increase our perplexity, an ingenious attempt has been made to prove that the Cadmeans were a Cretan colony.[5]

Opinions about Cadmus.

There is still another celebrated name which we must add to this list, before we proceed to consider the subject in a different point of view. According to a tradition which appears to be sanctioned by the authority of Herodotus[6] and Thucydides[7], Pelops passed over from Asia to Greece with treasures which, in a poor country, afforded him the means of founding a new dynasty. His descendants sat for three generations on

Legend of Pelops.

[1] V. 59. Wolf, Prolegg. lv.

[2] In Schol. ad Il. B. 494., and in the Iliad, xiv. 321., Europa is daughter of Phœnix.

[3] Cadmus was said to have dedicated a statue of Athenè at Thebes, with the title of Onga; on which Pausanius (ix. 12. 2.) observes, that this name, which is Phœnician (compare Steph. Byz. Ογκαῖαι and Χνὰ), contradicts the opinion of those who hold Cadmus to have been, not a Phœnician, but an Egyptian.

[4] P. Knight, Prolegg. § 78., "Casmilus vel Cadmilus vetus Mercurii nomen fuit (Schol. in Apoll. Rhod. i. 917.), neque aliud fuisse credo Cadmum;" which Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 1253., describes as "Sententiam calidam, et ex periculo petitam." It is however deliberately maintained by Mueller, *Orchom.* p. 119. and 461.

[5] Welcker, *Ueber eine Kretische Colonie in Theben.*

[6] VII 8. 11. [7] I. 9.

CHAP. III.

the throne of Argos: their power was generally acknowledged throughout Greece; and in the historian's opinion, united the Grecian states in the expedition against Troy. The renown of their ancestor was transmitted to posterity by the name of the southern peninsula, called after him Peloponnesus, or the isle of Pelops. The region of Asia, from which Pelops came, is not uniformly described, any more than the motives of his migration. Most authors however fix his native seat in the Lydian town of Sipylus, where his father Tantalus was fabled to have reigned in more than mortal prosperity, till he abused the favours of the gods, and provoked them to destroy him. The poetical legends varied as to the marvellous causes through which the abode of Pelops was transferred from Sipylus to Pisa, where he won the daughter and the crown of the blood-thirsty tyrant Œnomaus, as the prize of his victory in the chariot-race; after which, according to some accounts, he returned to Asia, and founded the Æolian Cuma.[1] The authors who, like Thucydides, saw nothing in the story but a political transaction, related that Pelops or Tantalus[2] had been driven from his native land by an invasion of Ilus, king of Troy[3]; and hence it has very naturally been inferred that, in leading the Greeks against Troy, Agamemnon was merely avenging the wrongs of his ancestor.[4] On the other hand, it has been observed that, far from giving any countenance to this hypothesis, Homer, though he records the genealogy by which the sceptre of Pelops was transmitted to Agamemnon, nowhere alludes to the Asiatic origin of the house. As little does he seem to have heard of the adventures of the Lydian stranger at Pisa. The zeal with which the Eleans maintained this part of the story, manifestly with a view to exalt the antiquity and the lustre of the Olympic games, over which they presided, raises a

[1] Mela, i. 18.
[2] Diodor. iv. 74.
[3] Paus. ii. 22. 3.
[4] By Kruse, *Hellas*, i. p. 435.

natural suspicion, that the hero's connection with the East may have been a fiction, occasioned by a like interest, and propagated by like arts. This distrust is confirmed by the religious form which the legend was finally made to assume, when it was combined with an Asiatic superstition, which found its way into Greece after the time of Homer. The seeming sanction of Thucydides loses almost all its weight, when we observe that he does not deliver his own judgment on the question, but merely adopts the opinion of the Peloponnesian antiquarians, which he found best adapted to his purpose of illustrating the progress of society in Greece.[1] It is at least highly probable, that if the name of Pelops was first carried into Asia by the colonists, who regarded him as the ancestor of their kings, a place would soon have been found for it among the legends of their new settlements: and when this was done, it would only remain to account for the hero's presence in Greece — an easy task for the genius of Greek mythology.

General argu in f the of t colo from the East.

There can scarcely be a more irksome or unprofitable labour, than that of balancing arguments of this nature, and watching the fluctuation of the scales, as a new conjecture is thrown in on either side. We turn with impatience from this ungrateful task, to make a few general remarks, which may perhaps assist the reader in appreciating the comparative value of these traditions. We must repeat, that none of these stories, considered by themselves, have any marks of truth sufficient to decide the conviction of a scrupulous inquirer; nor can their number be safely held to make up for their individual deficiency in weight. Yet there are other grounds which seem to justify the belief, that at least they cannot have been wholly destitute of historical foundation. Even if we had no such distinct accounts of particular persons

[1] Voss. *Antisymbolik*, ii. p. 434.

CHAP. III.

and events, it would be scarcely possible to doubt that, at a period long prior to that represented by the Homeric poems, migrations must have taken place from various parts of the East to the shores of Greece. We have sufficient evidence, that in the earliest times Greece was agitated by frequent irruptions and revolutions, arising out of the flux and reflux of the nations which fought and wandered in the countries adjacent to its north-eastern borders. We have ample reason to believe, that during the same period the western regions of Asia were not in a more settled state. Such movements appear to be indicated by the history of the Phrygians, who are said to have passed out of Europe into Asia Minor, which nevertheless was most probably their earlier seat; by the expedition of the Amazons, which left such deep traces in the legends of Attica, and the neighbouring countries; perhaps by that of the fabulous Memnon, which the Greek poets connected with the siege of Troy.[1] It cannot surprise us, that, while Macedonia and Thrace were a highway, or a theatre of war, for flying or conquering tribes, other wanderers should have bent their course to Greece across the Ægean. Its islands appear from time immemorial to have been the steps by which Asia and Europe interchanged a part of their unsettled population. Thus, in the remotest antiquity, we find Carians occupying both sides of the Saronic gulf; and Sicyon derived one of its most ancient names from a people, who are described as among the earliest inhabitants of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete.[2]

Coincidence between Greek and Egyptian traditions.

When, thus prepared to contemplate Greece as a land, not secluded from the rest of the world, but peculiarly open and inviting to foreign settlers, we again consider the stories of the various colonies said to have been planted there by strangers from the

[1] See an essay on this subject in the *Philological Museum*, No. IV.

[2] Telchinia, Steph. Byz. Τελχίς, Paus. ii. 5, 6., and ix. 19. 1. Diod. v. 55.

East, we are struck by some coincidences which cannot have been the result of design, and which therefore bespeak a favourable hearing. It is on the *eastern* side of Greece that, with the solitary and doubtful exception of Pelops, we find these colonies planted, — a restriction which the nature of the case indeed required, but which would not have been observed by religious fraud or patriotic vanity. While this appears an argument of some moment, when the question is viewed from the side of the West, it is met by another stronger and alike independent on the side of the East. The history of the countries from which these colonies or adventurers are said to have issued, tells of domestic revolutions, generally coinciding with the date of the supposed settlements in Greece, by which a portion of their inhabitants was driven into foreign lands. Egypt, after having been long oppressed by a hostile race, which founded a series of dynasties in a part at least of her territory, is said to have finally rid herself, by a convulsive effort, of these barbarous strangers, who were dispersed over the adjacent regions of Asia and Africa. If we admit the truth of these traditions, which appear to rest on good grounds, it seems scarcely possible to doubt that the movement occasioned by this shock was propagated to Greece; and it seems highly probable that some of these outcasts, separating themselves from their brethren, found means of embarking on the coasts of Egypt or Palestine, and wandered over the Ægean until they reached the opposite shore, while others may have been led to the same quarter by a more circuitous road. Hence we are inclined not altogether to reject the testimony, or rather the opinion, of an author, who, though undoubtedly much later than Hecatæus, the predecessor of Herodotus, whose name he bears, may have been delivering more than a mere conjecture of his own, when he relates that the mi-

CHAP. III.

grations of Danaus and Cadmus were occasioned by this Egyptian revolution.[1] If indeed any weight could be attached to an obscure report of a Hellenic dynasty among those of the Shepherd Kings, we might suppose that an intercourse between the two countries had been opened at a still earlier period.[2] At all events, an objection which has often been urged against the common story, — that the Egyptians in the earliest times were strangers to maritime expeditions, and shrank with abhorrence from the sea, — loses all its force against this hypothesis. It is true that neither the Egyptians in the time of Herodotus, nor the Greeks before the Alexandrian period, viewed the migration of Danaus and Cadmus in this light. They considered Danaus as an Egyptian by birth, and Cadmus, in general, as a native of Phœnicia. This however, if the fact was as here supposed, would be a very natural mistake; and with regard to Cadmus, we find that there was an ancient controversy on the question whether he came from Phœnicia or from Egypt.[3] An author who wrote a little before our era, and who professes to have examined the subject with great attention, relates, that Cadmus was a powerful chief among those Phœnicians who conquered Egypt, and established the seat of their empire at Thebes, and that it was from Egypt he set out to found a dynasty in the West, where he named the Bœotian Thebes after the city which he had left.[4] If Cadmus was such a Phœnician, we need no longer be startled by the inland position of his new capital[5], and shall have no occasion for the fanciful conjecture, that he chose it with a view to form a commercial communication between distant parts of the coast[6], — a destina-

[1] Diod. Fr. xl.

[2] According to Goar's reading, a dynasty of Hellenic shepherds occurs in Syncellus, p. 114. (ed. Bonn.)

[3] Paus. ix. 12. 2.

[4] Conon. 37.

[5] Payne Knight, *Prolegg.* § 78.

[6] This is Kruse's mode of solving the difficulty, i. p. 481.

tion, of which we find not the slightest hint in the ancient legends of Thebes.

In what sense Egyptians and Phœnicians may be said to have colonised Greece.

It seems to be only in some such sense as that here explained, that it is possible to conceive Egyptian colonies to have been ever planted in Greece: for the expedition of Sesostris, even if admitted to be a historical event[1], can scarcely serve as a foundation for the story. We would not decide indeed whether, among the earliest inhabitants of Greece, some of totally different race from these Phœnician fugitives may not have taken nearly the same course; but that settlers of purely Egyptian blood crossed the Ægean, and founded maritime cities, appears to be inconsistent with every thing we know of the national character. Here however a new question arises. It is in itself of very little importance, whether a handful of Egyptians or Phœnicians were or were not mingled with the ancient population of Greece. All that renders this inquiry interesting, is the effect which the arrival of these foreigners is supposed to have produced on the state of society in their new country. Herodotus represents the greater part of the religious notions and practices of the Greeks, the objects and forms of their worship, as derived from Egypt. When we consider that among the Greeks, as in most other nations, it was religion that called forth their arts, their poetry, perhaps even their philosophy, it will be evident how many interesting questions depend on this: and as it is the degree in which the religious and intellectual culture of the Greeks was derived from foreign sources that constitutes the whole importance of the controversy, so it

[1] See Philolog. Mus. ii. p. 178. The monument on the road from Ephesus to Phocæa described by Herodotus, ii. 106., has been lately seen by Welcker, who has described it in the *Rhein. Mus.* ii. p. 430. The most material part of his description may be found in the *Classical Museum*, i. p. 82. Nothing however appears to have been observed that raises any objection to the conjecture proposed in the *Phil. Mus.* l. c.

CHAP. III.

is the point on which the decision must finally hinge.[1] But neither the study of Greek mythology, nor the history of Greek art, has yet arrived at such a stage of maturity, as to enable the historian to pronounce with confidence on the rival hypotheses, one of which fetches from the East what the other regards as the native growth of the Grecian soil. The difficulty is much increased, if we interpret the traditions about the Egyptian colonies in that which appears to be their most probable sense. We know something about the religion and the arts of the Egyptians, and of the Phœnicians on the coast of Syria. But as to the Phœnician conquerors of Egypt, we have no information to ascertain the relation in which they stood to the natives, and how far they were qualified to be the bearers of all that Herodotus believed Egypt to have imparted to Greece. The author from whom Diodorus drew his account of Danaus and Cadmus[2], ascribed their expulsion to the resentment and alarm excited in the Egyptians by the profaneness of the strangers, who neglected their rites, and threatened the total subversion of the national religion. If there is any truth in this statement, they must have been very ill fitted to instruct the Pelasgians in the Egyptian mysteries, and a boundless field is opened for conjecture as to the influence they exerted on the Greek mythology.

Traces of the Phœnicians in the Greek legends under other names.

The name of the Phœnicians raises another question. The expedition of Cadmus manifestly represents the maritime adventures of his countrymen; but it leaves us in doubt, whether the Phœnician settlements ascribed to his followers are to be referred

[1] Mueller, *Orchom.* p. 113., observes that the Cyclopean walls of the cities in the plain of Argos are opposed to the story of Danaus, which would lead us to expect to find monuments of Egyptian architecture there. Heffter, p. 56., endeavours to meet this argument by the remark, that the builders of those walls, who were later than Danaus, were foreigners, from Lycia. But if Egyptian arts had been introduced at Argos, it could have been no longer necessary to fetch architects who built in so rude a style from abroad.

[2] Fr. of book xl.

to the Shepherds who were expelled from Egypt, or to the commercial people who, at a later period, covered the coasts of Africa and Spain with their colonies. The foundation of Thebes might, most probably, be attributed to the former: but it must have been the mercantile spirit of Tyre, or Sidon, that was attracted by the mines of Cyprus, Thasus, and Eubœa. The precise date of the first opening of the intercourse between Phœnicia and Greece is wholly uncertain; but we see no reason for doubting that it existed several centuries before the time of Homer, and we are inclined to consider this as the most powerful of all the external causes that promoted the progress of civilised life, and introduced new arts and knowledge in the islands and shores of the Ægean. It has been suspected, not without a great appearance of probability, that the Phœnicians are often described in the legends of the Greek seas under different names. Thus the half-fabulous race called the Telchines exhibits so many features which remind us of the Phœnician character, that it is difficult to resist the conviction that they are the same people, disguised by popular and poetical fictions.[1] Cyprus seems to have been looked upon as their most ancient seat; but they are equally celebrated in the traditions of Crete and Rhodes; and Sicyon, as has been observed, derived one of its names from them. These stations exactly correspond to the course which the Phœnicians must be supposed to have pursued, when they began their maritime adventures in the Mediterranean, as the mythical attributes of the Telchines do to their habits and occupations. The Telchines were fabled to be the sons of the sea, the guardians of Poseidon in his childhood: they were said to have forged his trident, and Saturn's sickle. In general, to them are ascribed the first labours of the smithy,

[1] See Hoeck, *Kreta*, i. pp. 345—356.

CHAP. III.

the most ancient images of the gods; and by a natural transition they came to be viewed as sorcerers, who could assume all kinds of shapes, could raise tempests, and afflict the earth with barrenness: and they seem even to have retained a permanent place in the popular superstitions as a race of malicious elves. It can scarcely be doubted that these legends embody recollections of arts introduced or refined by foreigners, who attracted the admiration of the rude tribes which they visited. It may be questioned whether the policy of the Phœnicians ever led them to aim at planting independent colonies in the islands or on the continent of Greece; and whether they did not content themselves with establishing factories, which they abandoned when their attention was diverted to a different quarter. In their early expeditions, the objects of piracy and commerce appear to have been combined in the manner described by Homer and Herodotus. But it is highly probable that, wherever they came, they not only introduced the products of their own arts, but stimulated the industry and invention of the natives, explored the mineral and vegetable riches of the soil, and increased them by new plants and methods of cultivation. Undoubtedly also their sojourn, even where it was transient, was not barren of other fruits — some of which were perhaps rather noxious than useful. There are several parts of the Greek mythology which bear strong marks of a Phœnician origin[1]; and as we know that the character of their own superstition was peculiarly impure and atrocious, it seems by no means incredible, that many of the horrid rites which are described as prevailing at an early period in Greece, were derived from this source.

Influence of the Phœnicians on Greece.

Beside Egypt and Phœnicia, it is possible that the

[1] This is admitted even by Mueller, *History of the Literature of Greece*, c. ii. § 4., with regard to Aphrodite; and it seems equally difficult to deny it as to Hercules.

Phrygians may be entitled to some share in the honour of having contributed toward the cultivation of Greece. In the intricate legends of the Greek Archipelago we find names of fabulous beings, of a nature akin to the Telchines, and apparently standing in nearly the same relation to the Phrygians as the Telchines to the Phœnicians. Such are the Corybantes, and the Idæan Dactyls, who are connected on the one hand with the arts, on the other with the worship, of Phrygia. It might even be a not untenable hypothesis, to suppose that Pelops, if he was indeed a foreigner, belonged to the same stock; especially as we hear of Idean Dactyls at Pisa. But perhaps it may not be necessary to go so far in order to explain the common story, without absolutely rejecting it. As the Pelasgians belonged no less to Asia than to Europe, so Pelops and his sister Niobe, who is the daughter of the Argive king Phoroneus as well as of the Lydian Tantalus (for it is idle to distinguish these mythical personages), may perhaps with equal truth be considered as natives of either continent: and this appears to have been, in substance, Niebuhr's solution of the difficulty.[1] We will not attempt to pierce further into the night of ages: we will only suggest that some traditions of the tribes which first settled in Greece may have been retained and transmitted in an altered form as accounts of subsequent expeditions and migrations: though what has been said, seems sufficient to show that the received opinion as to the foreign colonists had an independent historical groundwork.

Explanation of the legend of Pelops.

[1] He observes (*Kleine Schriften*, p. 370. note), "The migration of Pelops signifies nothing more than the affinity of the peoples on both sides of the Ægean."

CHAP. IV.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HELLENIC NATION.

Tendency of the Greeks to Personification. — Caution required in treating the Heroic Genealogies. — The Hellenes in Epirus. — Tribes of which the Nation was composed. — The Curetes. — General View of the Diffusion of the Hellenic Nation. — A new Population. — A new State of Society. — Fourfold Division of the Greek Nation. — The Æolians. — The Bœotian Æolis. — Æolians in the South of Thessaly. — The Minyans. — The Minyean Orchomenus. — Æolians at Corinth. — In Elis. — In Pylus. — In Messenia. — In Ætolia. — In Locris. — General Character of the Æolian Settlements. — Origin of the Dorians. — Their Struggles with the Lapiths. — Dorians in the North-east of Thessaly. — Conquest of the Southern Doris. — Adventures of Xuthus. — The Achæans in Thessaly and Peloponnesus. — Their Relation to the Hellenes. — Reasons for thinking them a Branch of the Pelasgians. — They are blended with the Æolians in Thessaly. — Establishment of an Æolian Dynasty among the Achæans of Argolis. — Achæans in Laconia. — Origin of the Ionians. — Their Relation to the Hellenes. — Their Establishment in Attica. — Antiquity of the Ionian Settlements in Peloponnesus. — Early Distinctions among the Ionians in Attica. — Mixture of Hellenes with Ionians in Attica. — Migrations to and from Eubœa. — Ionian Dialect.

Tendency of the Greeks to personification.

A VERY slight acquaintance with the works of the authors from whom we have received our accounts of the earliest ages of Grecian history, will be sufficient to lead any attentive reader to observe the extreme proneness of the Greeks to create fictitious persons for the purpose of explaining names, the real origin of which was lost in remote antiquity. Almost every nation, tribe, city, mountain, sea, river, and spring,

known to the Greeks, was supposed to have been named after some ancient hero, of whom, very often, no other fact is recorded. These fictions manifestly sprang up not accidentally, but from the genius of the people, which constantly tended to embody the spiritual, and to personify the indefinite. When therefore we are seeking, not for poetry, but for historical facts, we cannot but feel a great distrust of every such legend, and the more, in proportion to the distance of the period to which it carries us back. On the other hand, it would be rash to pronounce that every legend which refers the origin and the name of a Greek tribe to an individual, is on that account incredible. Causes may certainly be imagined, through which the name of a chief might sometimes be transferred to his people.[1] But still it will always be the safest rule to withhold our belief from such traditions, whenever they are not supported by independent trustworthy evidence; and we shall have the stronger reason for rejecting them, the earlier the period to which they relate, and the more obscure the person whose name they record. This remark applies with full force to the heroes from whom the Greeks believed their whole nation and its main branches to have derived their origin. "Of Hellen," Hesiod sang, "sprang the justice-dealing kings, Dorus and Xuthus, and the warlike Æolus; of Æolus, Cretheus, and Athamas, and wily Sisyphus, Salmoneus the unjust, and the proud Perieres." The opinion that Hellen was the founder of the Hellenic race was not merely spread by the poets, and received by the vulgar, but was adopted, apparently with full conviction, by grave

Caution required in treating the heroic genealogies.

[1] One may conceive that a land, or a town, might take its name from a powerful chief, and afterwards give it as an epithet to the people. [This was written without recollection of Gibbon's remark, (*Decl. and Fall*, c. lxiv. note [x],) "Zagatai gave his name to his dominions of Mawrenahar or Transoxiana, and the Moguls of Hindostan, who emigrated from that country, are styled Zagatais by the Persians. This certain etymology, and the similar example of Uzbek, Nogai, &c., may warn us not absolutely to reject the derivations of a national from a personal name."]

CHAP. IV.

historians, such as Herodotus and Thucydides. But, on such a subject, the authority of the best Greek writer is of very little weight. It is not too bold a surmise, that, if no such person as Hellen had ever existed, his name would sooner or later have been invented; and there is nothing in the few actions ascribed to him, to diminish our suspicions of his reality. But though we seem to be fully justified in considering the genealogy given by Hesiod as a fabrication, perhaps not much earlier than the poet's time, it does not follow that it ought to be discarded as utterly groundless. Such genealogies express an ancient, and a more or less authentic, opinion about national relations, which always deserves attention, and, where it is not opposed by stronger evidence, must be allowed to preponderate. Our conviction that Hellen and his immediate progeny are fictitious personages, needs not prevent us from using the indications afforded by their pedigree in tracing the propagation of the main branches of the Hellenic race.

The reputed founder of the nation is sometimes called a son of Zeus, but more frequently either a son or a brother of Deucalion.[1] When we consider the part which Deucalion fills in the Greek mythology, we perceive that these accounts differ very slightly in substance. Deucalion is celebrated in fable for the great flood which happened in his time, and for the new race which sprang up to replenish the desolated earth, from the stones which he and his wife Pyrrha, by command of the Delphic oracle, threw behind them on mount Parnassus. When therefore Hellen is termed the son of Deucalion, it would seem that nothing more is meant, than when his origin is immediately referred to the father of gods and men: both legends proclaim his high antiquity, and appear

[1] Hellen and Deucalion, sons of Prometheus and Clymene, Schol. Pind. Ol. ix. 68. Hellen, son of Zeus, Apollod. i. 7. 2. 7.

CHAP. IV.

to prevent us from carrying our researches further backward. But though Deucalion is in all probability a mere symbol of the flood itself, other traditions are connected with his name, which may throw some light on the origin of the Hellenic nation. As in the fable Deucalion brings his new people down from Parnassus, so he is related to have crossed over into Thessaly from the regions adjacent to Parnassus, leading a host composed of Curetes and Leleges, and other tribes which then dwelt there.[1] This tradition, though reported by a late writer, accords so well with others resting on higher authority, that it is entitled to attention. It leads us to conclude that the people afterwards called Hellenes, came from the West; and we are confirmed in this belief, by finding names differing very slightly from that of Hellen among the most ancient tribes of Epirus. Here, according to Aristotle[2], about Dodona and the Achelous, lay the ancient Hellas; "for," he adds, "the Sellians dwelt there, and the people who were then called Græcians, but now Hellenes." By the Sellians, he means the people who, in the Iliad, are mentioned as the ministers of the Dodonæan, Pelasgian, Jove. Pindar had used the form Hellians for the same name: another, only varying the termination, must have been that of Hellopes; for the country about Dodona was celebrated by Hesiod for the richness of its pastures, under the name of Hellopia.[3] The sanctuary of Dodona itself was called Hella[4]; and a temple legend, different from that which Herodotus heard there, spoke of Hellus, a woodcutter, to whom the sacred dove had revealed the oracular oak.[5] It seems scarcely possible to resist the inference, that it was from this tribe, and not from any single ancestor,

The Hellenes in Epirus.

[1] Dionys. Hal. i. 17. Compare the account of Diodorus, xiv. 113.
[2] Meteor. i. 14.
[3] Fr. xxxix.
[4] Hesych. Ἕλα Ἑλλά.
[5] Philostr. Im. ii. 33.

CHAP. IV.

that the Hellenes derived their name, though Thucydides may be right in supposing that in this form it was first heard in Thessaly.[1] But beyond this point we have no distinct trace to guide us. We have no means of determining the exact relation between the two tribes which Aristotle mentions as both inhabiting the ancient Hellas. We can only suspect that they were akin to each other and to the Pelasgians, the ancient possessors of Dodona and of all Epirus. The name of the Græcians[2] must once have been widely spread on the western coast; for it appears to have been that by which its inhabitants were first known to the Italians on the opposite side of the Ionian sea, who gave it a much wider meaning, with which it was transmitted to the Romans, and through them has descended to us. As little can we venture to guess in what manner these ancient Hellenes of Dodona were intermingled with the tribes who are said to have accompanied Deucalion into Thessaly, even if we could depend upon the accuracy of the tradition which mentions their names. That part of it indeed which concerns the Leleges, is apparently confirmed by the combined testimony of Aristotle and Hesiod; the former of whom related, that they once inhabited Acarnania, together with the Curetes, and afterwards received the name of Locrians; and the latter, that they were led by Locrus, being the people whom Jupiter raised from the earth, and gave to Deucalion.[3] But since we find them described as the earliest settlers in Eubœa, Bœotia, and Laconia, no less than in Acarnania, there seems to be no reason for thinking that they migrated from the west toward the east of Greece, rather than in the contrary direction; though it is easy to imagine how a legend

Tribes of which the nation was composed.

[1] I. 3.

[2] Græcus was said to be a son of Thessalus. The female plural Γραῖκες was used by Alcman and Sophocles. Steph. Byz. Γραικός.

[3] Strabo, vii. p. 322.

of such a migration might arise. The name of the Curetes also is found not only in Acarnania, but in Eubœa, and in Crete, where however they are described not as a people, but as the fabulous attendants of Jupiter, who watched over his infancy, or else as his real ministers, who celebrated his worship with dances in armour, like the Salii at Rome. Some of the ancients observed, that as the name was a descriptive epithet, being used by Homer for young warriors, it cannot prove that the Curetes of Crete, Eubœa, and Acarnania, belonged to the same race.[1] Yet this identity of name, and variety of settlements, have suggested the thought that the Cretan Curetes, of whom we find some faint traces in the early traditions of Elis[2], may have wandered to the west of Greece, carrying with them the germs of civilisation which they had received from the Phœnicians, and, having first settled in Acarnania, may, in Thessaly, have become the real fathers of the Hellenic nation.[3] According to our view, it is a strong objection to this hypothesis, that the name of the Curetes, instead of continuing to be the predominant one, is entirely lost, or rather never heard of, in Thessaly. On the whole, it seems to be a hopeless undertaking to attempt to define the elements of which the Thessalian Hellenes were composed. All that appears to be established by the uniform tenor of the most authentic traditions, is, that they entered Thessaly from the west, and we find sufficient ground for believing that they had previously occupied the fertile territory of Dodona. We shall see that, in a later age, the people from which Thessaly took its name migrated from the same region; and it is not improbable, that both

[1] Strabo, x. p. 467.

[2] Paus. v. 7. 6. 8. 1. First, Hercules and the Curetes; afterwards, his descendant Clymenus, fifty years after Deucalion's flood, — both legends immediately connected with the fabulous institution of the Olympic games.

[3] Plass. *Geschichte Griechenlands*, i. p. 201.

CHAP. IV.

events may have arisen from a like cause—the pressure of new tribes issuing from the north. It is true that one difficulty is left, which we are unable to remove. It is not easy to explain how it happened that the people, whom we suppose to have been the ancestors of the warlike Hellenes, are described in the Iliad as the peaceful and austere prophets of Jupiter. But our ignorance on this subject cannot unsettle what is otherwise established on sufficient evidence.

General view of the diffusion of the Hellenic nation.

The origin of the Hellenes is a question of much less importance than the manner in which they spread, from the little tract which they first occupied, over the country which was finally named after them. Their earliest seats lay in the south of Thessaly, near the foot of mount Othrys, the part of Greece first called Hellas: it was believed by some to have contained a city of the same name, founded by Hellen, whose tomb was shown in the neighbouring town of Melitea, to which he was said to have transferred his abode.[1] But before the name of Hellas had extended beyond this little district, the people seems to have gained a footing in almost every part of the country afterwards so called. The ancients agree in describing the diffusion of the Hellenes as an event which effected an important change in the condition and character of the inhabitants of Greece, but they give us very scanty information as to the nature and progress of this revolution. Before we endeavour to trace its course, we will notice what seem to be its most prominent features.

A new population.

It is scarcely possible to comprehend the rise and growth of the Hellenic nation, without considering it in two points of view, both of which are confirmed as well by high authority as by intrinsic probability. On the one hand, it cannot be denied, that the Hellenic population of Greece included some new ele-

[1] Strabo, ix. p. 432.

ments, not indeed absolutely foreign to the old Pelasgian race, but yet very slightly connected with it. This is expressed by the tradition, that the sons of Hellen, issuing from Thessaly, overspread Greece; and still more strongly, when it is added, that the country was previously occupied by barbarian tribes.[1] We have seen that the distance between the Pelasgian and the Hellenic race cannot reasonably be considered so great as to exclude all national affinity; they must be conceived allied to one another by some community of language and character. Still it is no less manifest, that the peculiar stamp which distinguished the Greeks from every other nation on the earth, was impressed on them by the little tribe which first introduced among them the name of Hellenes. We are therefore led to regard this people not so much in the light of strangers, such as the supposed Egyptian, Libyan, or Phœnician settlers, as in that of a branch of the Pelasgian family, which contained its best and purest blood, and was destined to unfold the noblest faculties implanted in its constitution, and to raise the life of the nation to the highest stage which it was capable of reaching. On the other hand, it seems clear that the transition from the Pelasgian to the Hellenic period was not effected simply by the conquests or migrations of this new people. Thucydides himself, who recognises its diffusion as the main cause of a great revolution in the state of Greece, indicates another kind of change which prepared the way for its entrance, and promoted its progress, when he says that Hellen and his sons, having become powerful in Phthia, were called in as auxiliaries to other states. For this must be taken in connection with the historian's preceding remark, that civil feuds and foreign wars arose every where, in proportion to the growth of opulence and power; for which reason

[1] Thuc. i. 3. Her. i. 58.

CHAP. IV.

the richest lands oftenest changed their owners. This would perhaps be sufficient, even if there were no other evidence, to render it probable that the transition was not universally produced by the invasion or the peaceful admission of the new people; but that it was, in some instances, the result of a natural developement in the social state of the Pelasgian tribes, favoured, in a degree which we cannot precisely ascertain, by causes, some of which have been already noticed.

A new state of society.

Though it may be convenient to speak of a Pelasgian and a Hellenic period, it must not be imagined that any exact line can be drawn between them; or that the former, any more than the latter, was of a uniform and stationary character. There can be no doubt that the population of Greece, from the time of its first settlement, was in continual, though not unobstructed, progress. In the earlier part of the Pelasgian period, it was perhaps thinly scattered over the country, and almost wholly engaged in struggling with the obstacles opposed by nature to the cultivation of the soil. The independent tribes had probably little intercourse, either friendly or hostile, with each other, and still less with strangers. As their wealth and numbers increased, new avenues of communication would be opened between neighbouring communities: the inhabitants of the coast would become more and more familiar with the sea, and would extend their excursions to more distant shores: foreigners from lands more advanced in civilisation, by passing voyages, or permanent settlements, introduced new arts, wants, and knowledge. The tribes on the coast may have experienced such changes in their character and habits, while the inlanders still remained in their primitive seclusion; in which some were perhaps long detained by the forms of a patriarchal or sacerdotal government, exercising a severe

control over their actions and modes of life. But the picture drawn by Thucydides appears to show that these fetters had already been generally relaxed or broken before the diffusion of the Hellenes; that the wealthier class had begun to seek its chief distinction in the use of arms; and that where a sacerdotal caste existed, a military one must have risen up by its side. What then, it may be asked, was the effect produced by the appearance of the Hellenes? Unless we adopt a conjecture which has been already noticed, that they were the Cretan Curetes, there seems to be no reason for thinking that, when they first invaded Thessaly, they were at all superior to its more ancient inhabitants in the arts of civilised life, or that it was by these means they extended their sway over the rest of Greece. We should rather be led to infer, from the course assigned by tradition to their migration, that in this respect they were behind the tribes seated toward the east and the south, and were only pre-eminent in martial qualities, in their active and enterprising genius, their love of arms, and skill in warfare. Accordingly, these were the qualities which long continued to be prized most highly among their posterity. But the ascendant which they gained in their new seats over a weaker, but a more civilised people, placed them at once in possession of all the stores, material and intellectual, which it had amassed, and in a situation the most favourable for increasing them. Wherever they established themselves, whether they forcibly dislodged the ancient settlers, or were peaceably admitted to share their possessions, they constituted the ruling class. But even where they were not immediately present, the spirit of war and conquest, of adventure and discovery, which among themselves was continually growing, and seeking new fields of exercise, could not fail to give an impulse to their neighbours, which was felt through-

CHAP. IV.

out Greece, and tended every where to produce a similar state of society. It is this general predominance of a military caste, raised above the need of labour, rude in its manners, impatient of repose, and eager for warlike adventures, yet endowed with a boundless capacity of education, and gradually softened by the arts and pleasures of peace, and submitting to the restraints of religion and of social order, that seems to constitute the characteristic feature of the Hellenic period in its earliest stage.

Fourfold division of the Greek nation.

Of Hellen's three sons, two, Æolus and Dorus, were believed to have given their names to the Æolian and Dorian divisions of the Greek nation; the third son, Xuthus, does not immediately represent any portion of the race; but through his sons, Ion and Achæus, he was considered as the forefather of the Achæan and the Ionian tribes. Of these four divisions, the Æolian was that which spread most widely, and continued in the latest times to occupy the greatest part of Greece with its name and its language.[1] The Achæans are the most celebrated in the heroic poetry, their name being commonly used by Homer to include all the Hellenic tribes which fought before Troy. The Dorians and Ionians rose later to celebrity; but their fame and power greatly surpassed that of the other branches of the nation. It will be convenient to consider the early history of Greece with reference to these four main divisions; and, in order to understand their relation to one another, and to the more ancient inhabitants of the country, it will not be sufficient simply to describe their geographical boundaries, but it will be necessary to follow them, so far as tradition enables us, into the seats in which we find them at the beginning of the historical period, when a new series of convulsions and migrations completely

[1] Strabo, viii. p. 333.

CHAP. IV.

changed their relative condition. We begin with the Æolians.

The Æolians.

Hellen is said to have left his kingdom to Æolus, his eldest son, while he sent forth Dorus and Xuthus to make conquests in distant lands.[1] The patrimony of Æolus is described as bounded by the Asopus and the Enipeus[2]: a description which, if the Asopus is the little stream which fell into the Malian gulf near the foot of mount Œta, would nearly correspond with that division of Thessaly which was known in later times by the name of Phthiotis; and accordingly the dominions of Achilles, who reigned in Hellas and Phthia, lay in great part in the vale of the Spercheus. Yet Phthia and Hellas themselves, whether they were different districts, or the same under different names, were situate at the northern foot of mount Othrys; and it was there, according to Thucydides, that the sons of Hellen first established their power. But there was also a part of Thessaly, included in the division afterwards called Thessaliotis, which bore the name of Æolis, and which we are therefore led to suppose must have been one of the earliest settlements of the Æolians. It lay to the west of the Enipeus, between that river and the Peneus. But the people which appears to have inhabited this district from the remotest period to which we can go back, is the same which afterwards gave its name to Bœotia[3], so that here, as in Elis and in Eubœa, the land and the people would seem to have been called by different names. It is indeed chiefly the name of Æolis that attests the presence of the Æolians in this district: there are

The Bœotian Æolis.

[1] Apollod. i. 7. 3. 1.

[2] Conon. 27.

[3] Paus. x. 8. 4. Proclus in Phot. p. 321. b. 1. Bekk. The Homeric catalogue, indeed, which is implicitly followed by Strabo (ix. p. 401.), represents the Bœotians as already occupying Bœotia at the time of the Trojan war. But it seems clear from Thucydides (i. 12.), that this is an anachronism, and that they only migrated from Thessaly for the first time sixty years later; though Thucydides, in deference to the catalogue, speaks of an earlier colony. Mueller, *Orchom.* p. 394.

CHAP. IV.

few legends, and those bearing a very artificial aspect, to connect the Bœotians with the house of Æolus. One indeed deduces their mythical ancestor from Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion [1]; and Arné, the chief town of the Bœotian Æolis [2], is said to have derived its name from a daughter of Æolus.[3] But even if we had no means of determining the original relation of these Bœotian Æolians to the Hellenes of Phthia, we might infer, as well from their name as from the language of the Bœotians, who spoke the Æolian dialect, that they either were from the first, or in time became, kindred tribes. Whether however this Æolis, and the Æolians in general, derived their name from a hero called Æolus, may be doubted on the same grounds as the existence of his reputed father. It seems probable that the name is only a different inflexion of the word from which we suppose that of the Hellenes to have been formed.[4]

To Æolus himself no conquests and no achievements are attributed by the legends of his race. But his sons and their descendants spread the Æolian and the Hellenic name far and wide, and it is in their history that we must seek that of the people. Various accounts were given of the progeny of Æolus: some authors assigned ten sons to him [5]; others seven [6]; Hesiod, as we have seen, named only five, — Cretheus, Athamas, Sisyphus, Salmoneus, and Perieres. To these were sometimes added a Macedo and a Magnes, to indicate that the Macedonians and the

[1] Paus. ix. i. 1. Bœotus is son of Itonus, son of Amphictyon. The town of Itonus contained the temple of the Itonian Athené, which was the national sanctuary of the Bœotians. See Strabo, ix. p. 411. According to others, he was son of Poseidon and Arné, and father of Itonus. Diod. iv. 67.

[2] Thucyd. i. 12.

[3] Paus. ix. 40. 5. Diod. iv. 67.

[4] Ἕλλος, Αἴολος.

[5] Eustath. ad. Dionys. Per. 427. He only mentions Macedo.

[6] Apollod. i. 7. 3. 4. His list includes Deion and Magnes, beside the five named by Hesiod. To these we must add Cercaphus, whose son Ormenus, the grandfather of Phœnix, founded Ormenium (Strabo, ix. p. 438.); and Macareus, who probably represents the Æolians of Lesbus, though by some he was called a son of Crinacus (Diod. v. 81., and Wessel.)

CHAP. IV.

Magnesians were of Æolian origin. As to the former, we have no other proof of such an affinity: but Magnesia undoubtedly contained many Æolian cities. But the principal settlements of the Æolids in Thessaly lay round the shores of the Pagasæan gulf, and in the fruitful plains near the coast. Here Cretheus himself was said to have founded Iolcus, the port from which the Argonauts afterwards steered; and the neighbouring Pheræ was thought to have been named after Pheres, one of his sons. In the same region lay Alus, where the memory of the sufferings of Athamas was preserved down to the time of Xerxes, by peculiar rites[1], and a tract called the Athamantian plain. It is however at least a remarkable coincidence, that on this side of Thessaly, toward the north, the plains round lake Bœbe were long inhabited by the Athamanes[2], who in later times appear as one of the Epirot tribes. They are said to have been driven out of their seats at the foot of Pelion by the Lapiths, a half-fabulous people, whom however we find intimately connected with the Æolian Greeks. According to analogy, Athamas would be the mythical ancestor of the Athamanes; and, if the coincidence is not a mere play of chance, his name must have been transferred from them to the legends of the conquering nation.

Æolians in the south of Thessaly.

The Æolians on the gulf of Pagasæ appear inseparably blended with the Minyans, a race of great celebrity in the most ancient epic poetry, but whose name seems to have been almost forgotten before the beginning of the period when fable gives place to history. The adventurers who embarked on the Argonautic expedition, of which we shall shortly have occasion to speak, were all called Minyans[3], though

The Minyans.

[1] Her. vii. 197.

[2] Strabo, ix. p. 442. See also Apollod. i. 9. 2. 3.

[3] Hence Herodotus (iv. 145.) gives the same name to their posterity in Lemnos.

CHAP. IV.

they were mostly Æolian chieftains, and the same name recurs in the principal settlements which referred their origin to the line of Æolus. Iolcus itself, though founded, as we have seen, by Cretheus, is said to have been inhabited by Minyans; and a still closer affinity is indicated by a legend which describes Minyas, the fabulous progenitor of the race, as a descendant of Æolus.[1] There are two ways in which this connection may be explained, between which it is not easy to decide. The Minyans may have been a Pelasgian tribe, originally distinct from the Hellenes: and this may seem to be confirmed by the tradition, that Cretheus, when he founded Iolcus, drove out the Pelasgians who were before in possession of the land.[2] But in this case we are led to conclude, from the celebrity to which the Minyans attained in the Greek legends, that they were not a rude and feeble horde, which the Æolians reduced to subjection, but were already so far advanced in civilisation and power, that the invaders were not ashamed of adopting their name and traditions, and of treating them as a kindred people. It may however also be conceived, and perhaps accords better with all that we hear of them, that the appellation of Minyans was not originally a national name, peculiar to a single tribe, but a title of honour, equivalent to that of heroes, or warriors[3], which was finally appropriated to the adventurous Æolians who established themselves at Iolcus, and on the adjacent coast. If we take this view of it, all the indications we find of the wealth and prosperity of the Minyans will serve to mark the progress of the Æolian states in which the name occurs; and it will only remain doubtful whether the Æolians or Hellenes were not more closely connected with other

[1] Apoll. Rhod. iii. 1094., and the Scholiast.
[2] Schol. on Il. ii., with Paus. iv. 36. 1.
[3] See Buttmann, *Die Minyæ der aeltesten Zeit*, in his *Mythologus*, p. 231.

tribes in the north of Thessaly, among which the name of the Minyans likewise appears, than the common tradition would lead us to suppose.[1] In considering the elements of which the Hellenic race was composed, it must not be overlooked that the Dolopes, who were seated on the western confines of Phthia[2], and are described in the Iliad as originally subject to its king[3], retained their name and an independent existence, as members of the great Hellenic confederacy, to very late times.[4]

If, according to either of the views just suggested, we consider Minyans and Æolians as the same people, we find the most flourishing of the Æolian settlements in the north of Bœotia. Here the city of Orchomenus rose to great power and opulence in the earliest period of which any recollection was preserved. Homer compares the treasures which flowed into it to those of the Egyptian Thebes. The traveller Pausanias, who was familiar with all the wonders of art in Greece and Asia, speaks with admiration of its most ancient monument, as not inferior to any which he had seen elsewhere. This was the treasury of Minyas; from whom the ancient Orchomenians were called Minyans; and the city continued always to be distinguished from others of the same name, as the Minyean Orchomenus: Minyas, according to the legend, was the first of men who raised a building for such a purpose. His geneaology glitters with names which express the traditional opinion of his unbounded wealth.[5] It may be considered as a historical fact, that the kings of Orchomenus reigned over a great part of Bœotia, and

The Minyean Orchomenus.

[1] We hear of a town called Minya on the borders of Thessaly and Macedonia (compare Steph. Byz. Μινύα and Ἀλμωπία), and of a Thessalian Orchomenus Minyeus, Plin. N. H. iv. 8.

[2] Strabo, ix. p. 434.

[3] IX. 483.

[4] Paus. x. 8. 2. 3. The name of the Dolopes seems to be that which has dropped out of the list of the Amphictyons in Æschines De F. L. p. 43.

[5] Paus. ix. 36. 4. He is the son of Chryses, whose mother is Chrysogenia.

CHAP. IV.

that Thebes itself was once tributary to them.[1] The extraordinary wealth of the ruling dynasty arose, no doubt, chiefly from this dominion over a fertile country; their magnificence — which in a rude age must have excited astonishment, since in one of the highest refinement it still seemed worthy of admiration — may seem to justify the belief that they owed their early progress in the arts of peace to their intercourse with more cultivated foreigners. We are thus reminded of the Phœnician colony at Thebes, of the Egyptian Cecrops, who ruled over Bœotia, and founded an Athens on the lake Copais; more especially as we find an Egyptian legend repeated in one which seems to have been common to several branches of the Minyan race, and which is closely connected with their ancient works of art.[2] No other traces however of such a connection with the East appear in the traditions of Orchomenus. Those which describe its foundation, and the succession of its early kings, are remarkably intricate and obscure. They however point to Thessaly, as the mother country from which the people issued: Andreus, the first king, is a son of the river Peneus. He assigns a part of his territory to Athamas, who adopts two of the grandchildren of his brother Sisyphus; they give their names to Haliartus and Coronea; and Halmus, son of Sisyphus, is the founder of the royal line from which Minyas himself springs. These may be considered as indications of a native race, apparently Pelasgians, overpowered by Æolian invaders; and the same fact seems still more clearly attested by the names of the two Orchomenian tribes, the Eteoclean and the Cephisian; the former of which,

[1] Eustathius on Il. ix. 381. p. 758. l. 22. has a remark which is worth notice, though he does not mention his author. "Orchomenus was a city eminent for its wealth, which however it derived from strangers, for, as it was strongly fortified, many of its neighbours deposited their treasures there." See also Schol. Odyss. xi. 458. Is this only another way of describing the tribute?

[2] Compare the story in Her. ii. 121. with that related by Paus. ix. 37. 5., and by Charax, in the Schol. to Aristoph. Nub. 508.

called after Eteocles the son of Andreus, seems to have comprised the warlike chiefs, the latter, the industrious people which tilled the plains watered by the Cephisus. It is not so easy to explain the appearance of the Phlegyans in these legends: a fierce and godless race[1], who separate themselves from the Orchomenians, and at length are destroyed by the gods, whom their impiety and sacrilegious outrages have provoked. Yet Phlegyas, their mythical ancestor, is connected with the house of Æolus, in exactly the same manner as Minyas himself.[2] But for this, it might be imagined that the ferocious violence of the Phlegyans represents the continued resistance which the new settlers experienced from some of the native tribes, which they at length extirpated or expelled. There are also traces of the Æolians in the south of Bœotia, where Tanagra is said to have received its name from a daughter of Æolus, and Hyria, from a hero who is introduced in various ways into the Minyan legends.[3]

Another seat of the Æolian race was Ephyra, which afterwards became more celebrated under the name of Corinth. That of Ephyra was common to it with many other towns, as in Elis, Thessaly, and Epirus; and Homer couples the Ephyreans with the Phlegyans, as the especial favourites of Mars.[4] The Æolian dynasty at Corinth, as we shall call it by anticipation, is represented by *the wily Sisyphus;* and this, his legendary character, may not be unconnected with the causes which procured the epithet of *wealthy* for his city before the time of Homer.[5] As to the more ancient population, there are reasons, which we shall

Æolians at Corinth.

[1] The savage king Echetus is a son of Phlegya. Εὐχήνορος καὶ Φληγυίας υἱός. Schol. Odyss. xviii. 84.

[2] His mother is Chryse, daughter of Halmus: she is the sister of Chrysogenia, Paus. 36. 4.

[3] Paus. ix. 20. 1., and 37. 5.

[4] Il. xiii. 301.

[5] Il. ii 570.

CHAP. IV.

mention hereafter, for believing that it was nearly allied to that of Attica. Here we will only remark, that the local legends were singularly interwoven with the story of the Argonautic expedition, to which we shall hereafter revert. They inform us, that Æetes king of Colchis had first reigned at Corinth, but, dissatisfied with this realm, withdrew to the east; leaving it however in charge for his descendants. Hence, when Jason brought his daughter Medea home to Iolcus, the Corinthians invited her to their city, which, when she was about to return to Asia, she delivered up to Sisyphus.[1] As we have already seen that some of the line of Sisyphus take a part in the affairs of Orchomenus, so we hear that his son Ornytion was the father of Phocus, who gave his name to Phocis.[2] That Phocis was occupied by an Æolian tribe is intimated by another legend, which describes Deion, son of Æolus, as reigning there[3], and perhaps also by the stories about the strife of cunning between Sisyphus and the Phocian Autolycus.[4]

Sons, or more remote descendants, of Æolus spread the Æolian name over the western side of Peloponnesus. They appear chiefly in the legends of Elis and of Pylus. The Elians, who seem not to have been scrupulous in accommodating their ancient traditions to the purpose of exalting the glory of the Olympic games, from which in later times they derived their chief importance, gave the significant name of Aethlius to their first king, and called him the son of Jupiter and Protogenia, daughter of Deucalion. This parentage however was not selected without some historical ground; for Protogenia was also the first mother of the Locrians of Opus, who were really

In Elis.

[1] Paus. ii. 3. From the ancient Corinthian poet Eumelus.
[2] Paus. ii. 4. 3. [3] Apollod. i. 9. 4.
[4] Autolycus dwelt on Parnassus, and stole the cattle of Sisyphus, and changed their marks to elude their owner. Eustath. on Od. xix. 395.

CHAP. IV.

connected with Elis.[1] According to another tradition, Endymion, to whom the Elians ascribed the first celebration of games at Olympia, in which his three sons—Pæon, Epeus, and Ætolus—contended for the succession to his throne, was the son of Aethlius, by Calyce, a daughter of Æolus, and himself led a colony of Æolians to Elis. It is remarkable that Endymion, who here, like Pelops, acts the part of a conqueror and a king, is in the fables of Asia Minor the beautiful huntsman, for whom Selene descends into the Latmian cave[2], though no legend seems to have brought him into Elis from the coast of Asia. Other Æolian settlements on this side of Peloponnesus are connected with the name of Salmoneus, who is celebrated for the vengeance inflicted by Jupiter on his audacious impiety. He is said to have founded Salmone, in the territory of Pisa: the same name, with a slight inflexion, is given to a Bœotian town or district, which is said to have been named after a son of Sisyphus.[3] To the south of Elis, another Æolian dynasty, long renowned, not only in epic song, but in history, owed its origin to Tyro, the beautiful daughter of Salmoneus. Left by her father in Thessaly, she becomes the mother of Pelias and Neleus, whom the legend represents as the offspring of the god of the sea. She afterwards wedded her uncle Cretheus, and bore to him another heroic progeny. Neleus founded a kingdom in Pylus, apparently the Triphylian; for there were three towns of that name on the western side of Peloponnesus, and it was a controverted point, even among the ancients, which was the one described by Homer as the residence of Nestor. Among other traces which confirm Strabo's opinion, that the poet meant the Triphylian Pylus, we may remark that, as the mother of Nestor sprang from the Minyean Orchomenus, so the remembrance of the same race was preserved in Triphylia, by a

In Pylus.

[1] Strabo, ix. p. 425.
[2] Paus. v. 1. 5. Quint. Cal. x. 125.
[3] Paus. ix. 34. 10.

CHAP. IV.

river called by Homer the Minyeus, afterwards the Anigrus.[1] It must be added, that, if Neleus and Nestor are to be considered as real persons, there is probably a break in the series of the Pylian kings, which is concealed by the current genealogy, and that Nestor, the contemporary of the heroes before Troy, cannot, consistently with the chronology of the heroic ages, be so few degrees removed from Æolus as he now appears to be. In fact, we find another branch of the same family at Pylus, which seems to have preceded the Neleids. Amythaon, one of the sons of Cretheus, must have established himself there a generation or two earlier than Neleus is supposed to have done; for his sons, Bias and Melampus, become the founders of royal dynasties in Argolis, which will not otherwise bear a chronological comparison with the line of Neleus.[2] There is one remarkable feature common to the legendary character of these two houses. That of Amythaon was renowned for its wisdom. Jupiter, so Hesiod sang, gave prowess to the Æacids, wit to the Amythaonids, and wealth to the sons of Atreus.[3] Melampus is the Greek Merlin. While he lived in the forest, his ears were purged by the tongues of serpents to discern the language of birds and reptiles, from which he learnt all the secrets of nature.[4] Poseidon had bestowed an equally marvellous gift on his grandson Periclymenus, the brother of Nestor. He had endowed him with the power, which was generally attributed to the marine deities, of assuming any shape he would.[5] And thus the wisdom of Nestor, which in the Iliad is described as the fruit of years and experience, viewed in the light of the ancient legend, seems rather the result of his superhuman descent.[6]

[1] Strabo, viii. p. 347. Leake's *Morea*, i. 54.
[2] Heyne, Apollod. vol. ii. p. 377.; or Mr. Clinton, F. H. vol. i. p. 41.
[3] Fr. xlviii. [4] Apollod. i. 9. 11. 3.
[5] Hesiod and Euphorion, in the Scholiast of Apoll. R. i. 156
[6] Hence it has been supposed that Neleus is only another form of Nereus, the

CHAP. IV.

In these little Hellenic states, the Caucones, the ancient inhabitants of the land, formed perhaps the bulk of the subject people. But many of them, driven from the coast into the hills on the borders of Arcadia, preserved their independence for several centuries.[1] It is not so clear what changes took place at this period in the population of Messenia. According to one account, it also fell under the dominion of Æolian princes, the first of whom was Perieres, whom Hesiod numbers among the sons of Æolus. But according to another tradition, which was very generally received, he was a descendant of Lelex, the first king of Laconia[2]; and in this case, the first indication afforded by the Messenian legends of a new race of settlers would be contained in the tradition that Melaneus, a man expert in archery, and hence accounted a son of Apollo, came to Messenia in the reign of Perieres, who granted him a district in which he founded Œchalia.[3] The name of this Œchalia was undoubtedly derived from Thessaly, where there was another town so called, the seat of the renowned archer Eurytus.[4] But it seems to have been not from the south of Thessaly, the seat of the Æolids, that Messenia received its new inhabitants, who shared it with the Leleges and the Caucones; but from the north, the upper part of the vale of the Peneus. For there stood an Ithomé, which must have given its name to the town and the mountain, which were long the strong-

In Messenia.

water-god, of whose metamorphoses we read in Apollodorus, ii. 5. 11. 4., as of those of Thetis, iii. 13. 5. 4. Proteus is the *old* man of the sea. Od. iv. This conjecture, whatever may be its value, does not seem to exclude Welcker's view, who observes (*Der epische Cycl.* p. 333.), "The only reason why Nestor has seen three generations, is because the time referred to in the most ancient Pylian lays, was so much earlier than the Trojan war, that his share in that enterprise could only be justified by such a fiction." Glaucus too, before he became a prophetic sea-god, γέγονεν ἀθάνατος ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγήρως. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 754.

[1] Od. iii. 366. Herod. iv. 148.

[2] A son of Cynortas. Apollod. i. 9. 5. Paus. iii. 1. 3.

[3] Paus. iv. 2. 2.

[4] From him Hercules learned the use of the bow. Apollod. ii. 4. 9. 1. With his bow Ulysses kills the suitors.

CHAP. IV.

hold of Messenian liberty. There too was a Tricca, celebrated for the most ancient temple of Esculapius; as there was a Messenian Tricca, which contained one sacred to the same god.[1] The Messenians had a peculiar legend about his birth[2]; and in the Homeric catalogue, the men of Tricca, Ithomé, and Œchalia, are commanded by his sons Podalirius and Machaon. We shall soon have a fitter occasion of noticing the conclusion toward which all these indications tend.

The above-mentioned contest, which Endymion proposed to his sons, was decided in favour of Epeus: henceforth, it is said, the people were called Epeans; and this is the name by which Homer speaks of them, though he uses that of Elis for the country.[3] It was in the reign of Epeus that Pelops was said to have arrived in Greece, and to have wrested the territory of Pisa from the Epeans. The two brothers who were excluded from the throne were believed to have led colonies to foreign lands: Pæon to the banks of the Axius, where he was supposed to have become the father of the Pæonian nation[4]; Ætolus to the land of the Curetes, which was thenceforth named Ætolia after him, as its two principal towns or districts were after his two sons, Calydon and Pleuron.[5]

In Ætolia.

These Hellenic settlements in Ætolia seem never to have comprised more than the maritime part of the country: the interior was apparently occupied by tribes of a different origin, which, strengthened from time to time by new hordes from the north, rather gained than lost ground, and did not, till a very late period, feel the influence of their more civilised

[1] Strabo, ix. p. 437.; viii. p. 360. Paus. iv. 3. 2.
[2] Paus. ii. 26. 7. [3] Il. ii. 615—619. Conon. 14. omits Epeus.
[4] In other genealogies, Pæon was said to be a son of Helle (Hygin. Poet. Astr. ii. 20.): Minyas weds his daughter Phanosyra (Schol. Ap. Rh. i. 230.); a tradition, the meaning of which is easily understood, when it is remembered that there was a town said to have been once called Minya in the north of Thessaly, near the borders of Macedonia. See Steph. Byz. Μινύα. Ἀλμωπία.
[5] Apollod. i. 7. 7.

neighbours. The Curetes are said to have retreated before Ætolus into Acarnania: we find them described in the Iliad as formidable enemies to the people of Calydon. The country about Calydon, and perhaps all the south of Ætolia, at one time bore the name of Æolis: this however seems to have been derived from a much later invasion of the Bœotian Æolians.[1] Still there is no reason to doubt that the earlier inhabitants belonged to the Æolian race, as was universally believed, and perhaps is indicated by their name; though in other legends Ætolus was made to descend indeed from Deucalion, but not to be otherwise connected with the line of Hellen.[2]

In Locris.

We have reserved the mention of the Locrian tribes for this place, because one of them bordered on Ætolia, and they are, in general, connected by their traditions both with it and with Elis. The Locrians claimed a higher antiquity than any other branch of the Greek nation. Those of Opus boasted that Cynus, their port town, had been the dwelling of Deucalion, when he had descended with his new people from Parnassus, and they showed there the tomb of Pyrrha.[3] Strabo, without assigning any reason, treats it as certain that they were a colony from the Epicnemidian Locris[4], though he records an inscription which commemorated the struggle of the Greeks at Thermopylæ, in which Opus was termed the mother city of the Locrians. In accordance with these pretensions, Locrus, the

[1] Thucydides (iii. 102.) seems to speak of the name as obsolete in his time. Ephorus (Strabo, x. p. 464.) related, that the Epean settlers in Ætolia were afterwards compelled to receive a colony of Æolians, who were driven out of Thessaly along with the Bœotians. These were probably the Æolians who destroyed Olenus (Strabo, x. p. 451.), and from whom the name of Æolis arose.

[2] Athen. ii. p. 35. The legend is worth noticing. "Hecatæus of Miletus says that the vine was discovered in Ætolia as follows: — When Orestheus (the mountaineer) came to reign in Ætolia, a bitch brought forth a stock (στέλεχος). This he ordered to be put in the earth, and from it named his son Phytius (the planter; — is Physcus, the father of Locrus, the same person?) He was the father of Œneus, so called from the vine (οἴνη), Œneus of Ætolus." See also Paus. x. 38. 1., who makes Orestheus king of the neighbouring Locris.

[3] Strabo, ix. p. 425.

[4] IX. p. 427.

CHAP. IV.

founder of their name, was described in the national legends as a descendant, not of Hellen, but of Amphictyon, another son of Deucalion, — a fictitious personage, who, as we shall afterwards see, represents the earliest union of the Hellenic tribes. But the ruling families among the eastern Locrians appear, in the Iliad, closely united with those of the Thessalian Hellas. On the other hand, among the ancestors of Locrus we find an Ætolus sometimes mentioned[1]; and while in one tradition Opus is simply a son of Locrus, in another he is also a king of Elis, whose daughter bears a son of the same name to Locrus.[2] These legends are grounded on the fact, that there was an Opuntian colony in Elis; and this may have been connected with the establishment of the Ozolian Locrians on the eastern border of Ætolia.[3] The Locrian mythology seems to lead to the conclusion, that the earliest population of the eastern Locris, of which any recollection was preserved, consisted of Leleges; and to them perhaps the name of Locrians originally belonged, though chiefs of a Hellenic, and most probably an Æolian race, undoubtedly settled among them.

Thus then in the countries we have mentioned, which include the greater part of northern Greece and the western side of Peloponnesus, the beginning of a new period is connected more or less closely with the house of Æolus, or with the tribe which his name represents. We learn indeed little, beside this general fact, from the legends which we are compelled to follow, as the only sources of our information. There is however one prominent feature in them, which de-

[1] Scymnus, v. 592.

[2] Eustathius (on Il. ii. 531.) gives a genealogy, which, he remarks, is an ancient one, in which Ætolus is omitted. It begins with Amphictyon and Chthonopatra; then follows Physcus, from whom the people were once called Physcians: he is the father of Locrus, Locrus of Opus. For the other legend, see Pindar, Ol. ix., and the Scholia.

[3] Boeckh Explic. ad Pindar. p. 191.

serves attention, as it cannot be the mere result of chance. We perceive in these Æolian settlements a marked predilection for maritime situations. Iolcus and Corinth are the luminous points from which rays shoot out in all directions: Orchomenus also appears to have been mistress of the neighbouring coast. In the inland districts, as in Phocis, the traces of an Æolian dynasty are the least distinct. Poseidon, and other deities connected with the sea, occur most frequently in the genealogies and legends of the race.[1] This, its common character, will appear more striking and important, when we compare its history with that of the Dorians, which we now proceed to review.

General character of the Æolian settlements.

The early fortunes of the Dorians are related by Herodotus in a brief sketch, which we shall give in his own words, that we may use it as a thread to connect other accounts, which illustrate or fill up his scanty outline. After observing that the Dorians and Ionians were of old conspicuously distinguished from one another, and from the other branches of the Greek nation, he adds: — "The one was a Pelasgian, the other a Hellenic race; and the one never yet changed its ancient seats, but the other went through many wanderings. For in the reign of Deucalion it inhabited Phthiotis; under Dorus, the son of Hellen, the land at the foot of Ossa and Olympus, called Hestiæotis; after it was forced by the Cadmeans to quit Hestiæotis, it dwelt on mount Pindus, and was called the Macednian people. After this again it passed into Dryopis; and so from Dryopis came into Peloponnesus, and was named the Dorian race."

Origin of the Dorians.

[1] As Ino-Leucothea and Melicertes-Palæmon. We may remark, with reference to a point already noticed, that, as the rites of Melicertes, who was supposed to have been buried in the Isthmus by Sisyphus (Paus. ii. 1. 3.), were nocturnal and mysterious (Plut. Thes. 25.), so Neleus was buried near the same spot, and Sisyphus would not show his grave even to Nestor (Paus. ii. 2. 2.). This seems to be a different case from those in which the grave of a hero — as of Œdipus and Hesiod (see Bode, *Geschichte der Hellenischen Dichtkunst*, i. p. 426.) — was kept secret, because the security of the state was believed to depend on the possession of his relics.

CHAP. IV.

If we adopt this narrative as literally accurate in all points, we must suppose that the Dorians, when they left their ancient home in Phthia, first bent their way toward the north, but afterwards took the opposite direction, and advanced by successive stages till they reached the southern extremity of Greece. There is however great difficulty in believing that this was the real course of their migrations. The only probable motive which could have prevented them from following the same impulse which carried their brethren toward the south, would be their desire of occupying the rich plains in the heart of Thessaly. But it seems surprising that here they should have left no traces of their presence, and that we find them transported all at once from Phthiotis to the opposite corner of Thessaly, at the foot of Ossa and Olympus. We have already intimated, that the common genealogy of the race of Hellen can only be received as a general picture of national affinities. In that sense, Dorus may be considered as a brother of Æolus; but that the Dorians and Æolians originally inhabited the same district, or were united by any relations of peculiar intimacy, is exceedingly improbable; because, not only is there no vestige of such a connection in their national legends — no mention of any alliances contracted in this region between the mythical descendants of Dorus and Æolus — but the people who are the first and bitterest enemies of the Dorians, are represented as the friends and brothers of the Æolians. For Herodotus, on the other hand, who adopted the mythical genealogies in their literal sense, it was necessary to imagine that Dorus and his followers had begun their wanderings from the land of Hellen. It seems much more probable that they first entered Thessaly on the same side where they make their first appearance in the historian's narrative as an independent people, from

the north; whether up the defile of Tempe, or across the Cambunian range, or at any point further to the west, as by the pass of Metzovo, it would be useless to inquire.

Their struggles with the Lapiths.

We have observed that their first enemies were a people who are described as allies and kinsmen of the Æolians. This is the people which makes a prominent figure in the legendary history of Thessaly, under the name of the Lapiths. They are renowned for their victorious struggle with the Centaurs, a fabulous race — which however may be supposed to represent the earlier and ruder inhabitants of the land — whom they expelled from their seats on the plain, and even on the sides of Pelion, from which, according to Homer, they were driven by Pirithous, the Lapith chief, and forced to take refuge among the Æthices, on the western side of Pindus.[1] This is perhaps only a poetical description of the conflict, which is related, with an appearance of greater historical exactness, by other authors, who inform us that the Perrhæbians, a Pelasgian race, which once possessed the rich plains on the banks of the Peneus, in the neighbourhood of Larissa, were overpowered by the Lapiths; and that, while some continued to dwell there as subjects of the conquerors, others maintained their independence in the upper valleys of Olympus.[2]

Dorians in the north-east of Thessaly.

It would seem that the Dorians, issuing from their strongholds in the north-east corner of Thessaly, had endeavoured to wrest a part of these conquests from them, and perhaps with partial success; but, according to their own legends, they were very hard pressed, and they cannot have gained any permanent superiority. The Dorian king Ægimius, it is said, unable to defend himself against the Lapiths, called in the aid of Hercules, which he agreed to repay with a third of

[1] Il. ii. 744. Strabo, ix. p. 434.

[2] Strabo, ix. pp. 440, 441.

CHAP. IV.

his kingdom.[1] The invincible hero delivered him from his enemies, and slew their king Coronus. Yet this Coronus was celebrated among the chiefs who embarked on the Argonautic expedition[2]; he was one of those Minyans, who, as we have seen, appear to be only the Æolians under another name. It was probably from the Dorian traditions of this conflict, that the Lapiths acquired a bad celebrity for their overweening and impious arrogance, and that in Thessaly they often appear to be identified with the sacrilegious Phlegyans. The father of Coronus was the audacious Cæneus, who defied Apollo (the Dorian god), disdained to pray or sacrifice to the gods, and forced men to swear by his spear. In other legends perhaps the Dorians themselves may have taken the place of the Centaurs.

The most obscure part of the history of the Dorians is that which Herodotus relates, by saying, that they were ejected from Hestiæotis by the Cadmeans, and settled in Pindus, being then called the Macednian people. The Cadmeans are the ancient inhabitants of Thebes, who are said to have been driven from their country at a very remote period by an invasion of the Encheleans, an Illyrian horde, who plundered the temple at Delphi.[3] What foundation there may have been for the tradition, that these Cadmeans came into conflict with the Dorians at the foot of Olympus, it is impossible to determine; and as little can we pretend to fix the exact meaning of Herodotus, when he says that the Dorians were a Macednian or Macedonian race.[4] Their vicinity to Macedonia was probably the only ground for this appellation, though we

[1] Apollod. ii. 7. 7. 3. Diod. iv. 37. [2] Ap. Rh. i. 57., and the Scholia.

[3] Her. ix. 43. Diod. xix. 53. According to Her. (v. 61.), the Cadmeans fled to the Encheleans after their city was taken by the Epigoni; but he seems here to have found two different traditions blended together, which in Diodorus are more correctly kept separate, though the wanderings of Cadmus in Illyria were very celebrated in fable. See Dion. Per. 390., and Bernhardy's note.

[4] VIII. 43.

do not even know when or by whom it was bestowed on them. Nor is their next migration very distinctly described by the statement, that when they gave way to the inroad of the Cadmeans, they fixed their seats in Pindus. But it seems most probable that the tract which Herodotus signifies by this name, is no other than that which later writers call Hestiæotis, the division of Thessaly which, according to Strabo, occupied its western side. It is this which is said once to have borne the name of Doris[1]: and, as it included the upper course of the Peneus, and the towns of Tricca, Ithomé, and Œchalia, it may not be too bold to conjecture, that it was the irruption of the Dorians which caused the migration by which these names were transferred to Messenia. The aggressions of their northern neighbours, the fierce hordes of Upper Macedonia, or the hostility of the Lowlanders, the Lapiths, whom they certainly never subdued, may have been the cause which drove the Dorians to the next stage of their wanderings, at the opposite extremity of Thessaly, where they made themselves masters of the land of the Dryopes, which henceforth retained the name of Doris. It was not confined to the narrow valley north of the sources of the Cephisus, between Parnassus and Œta; but seems to have extended over a great part of the Œtæan range toward Thermopylæ, and perhaps over some tracts of the western highlands.[2] Of the Dryopes, some submitted to the conquerors; and of these, a part are said to have been transplanted to the southern side of Parnassus, as bondmen of the temple at Delphi,[3] and it has been supposed that they there bore the name of Craugallidæ.[4] Others migrated to Eu-

Conquest of the southern Doris.

[1] Strabo, ix. p. 437.; x. p. 475.

[2] In Antonin. Lib. c. 4., Melaneus king of the Dryopes is said to have reigned over all Epirus.

[3] Paus. iv. 34. 9.

[4] In Æsch. adv. Ctes. p. 68., they are called Acragallidæ. Suidas and Harpocration have the form Κραυγαλλίδαι or Κραυγαλίδαι. Anton. Lib. c. 4. tells a story

CHAP. IV.

bœa[1] and Peloponnesus, where they established themselves on the coast of Argolis, in the towns of Asine, Hermione, and Eion. The epochs of these successive migrations of the Dorians are wholly uncertain, as none of the legendary names which we find connected with these events throw any light upon their chronology. All we know is, that it was from their last-mentioned territory about Œta that the Dorians issued, at a later period, to effect the conquest of Peloponnesus.

Such, according to Herodotus, is the sum of the early adventures of the Dorians; but some later writers speak of another migration or colony of this people, much more interesting and important than any of those we have mentioned. We shall have occasion hereafter to inquire how far it may be deemed credible, and whether we must suppose that Herodotus was ignorant of it, or only omitted it as foreign to his immediate purpose. We now turn to the two other main divisions of the Greek nation, which, as we have seen, according to the current legend, derived their names, not from sons, but from more remote descendants, of Hellen. This, if we admitted the common genealogy in its literal sense, would be a difference of little importance: but as we believe Hellen, Æolus, Dorus, Achæus, and Ion, to be merely fictitious

of Cragaleus, son of Dryops. It must however be observed, that the tradition which seems to be preferred by Pausanias, was disputed by the Dryopes of Asine, who asserted themselves to have been worshippers of Apollo in their original seats, and claimed him as the father of their race through their hero Dryops, his son: while we have no direct evidence that, previously to the destruction of Cirrha in the time of Solon, the Craugallidæ were serfs of the temple at Delphi: if it may not rather be inferred from the history in Æschines that they then first became so: and it may even be questioned, whether this is the meaning of Æschines, who only says, *'εξηνδραποδίσαντο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους*, though the word *ἀναθεῖναι* in his report of the oracle just before seems to include both the land and the men. Soldan, in an elaborate investigation of the legends relating to the Dryopes (*Rhein. Mus.* vi. 3.) contends against Mueller (*Dor.* 1. 2. 4. Engl. transl. ed. 2.; compare *Prolegg.* c. 13. p. 237. Leitch) for the superior probability of the tradition current in Asine, and also endeavours to prove that there is no sufficient ground for attributing to the Dryopes any affinity with the Pelasgians. But this still depends on some of the questions discussed above, c. ii.

[1] To Styra and Carystus. They were also said to have wandered to Cyprus (Diod. iv. 37.), were found in Cythnus (Her. viii. 46.), and once were seated on the shores of the Hellespont. Strabo, xiii. p. 586.

persons, representatives of the races which bore their names, we are led to view it in another light, as indicating much more than it expresses, and as implying that the Achæans and Ionians were far more closely connected with one another than with the other two branches of the nation. And this presumption appears to be greatly strengthened by the accounts which have been transmitted to us of their origin and first establishment in Greece.

Adventures of Xuthus.

Xuthus, the father of Achæus and Ion, has no part assigned to him in the legends of Thessaly. To explain this remarkable fact, a story was told by some late writers, that his brothers had driven him out of Thessaly, on pretence that he had taken more than his due share of their common patrimony.[1] The outcast first found shelter, it was said, in Attica. There he established himself in the plain of Marathon, and founded what was called the Tetrapolis, or the four united townships of Œnoe, Marathon, Probalinthus, and Tricorythus.[2] He wedded Creusa, the daughter of Erechtheus king of Attica, and Achæus and Ion were the fruit of this marriage. So far most authors agreed; but some added, that at the death of Erechtheus he was chosen to decide the disputed succession, and the preference he gave to Cecrops provoked the other sons of Erechtheus to expel him from Attica. He crossed over with his children to Peloponnesus, to the region then called Ægialus, or the *Coast*, but which afterwards successively received the names of Ionia and Achaia, and died there; and now, if not sooner, the history of his two sons is parted into separate lines.

Beginning with that of Achæus, we find the ancient authors differing very widely in their statements. According to some, he was forced to quit

[1] Paus. vii. 1, 2.

[2] Strabo, viii. p. 383.

CHAP. IV.

Ægialus, or Athens, in consequence of accidental bloodshed, and led his followers to the eastern side of Peloponnesus, where they mingled with the ancient inhabitants of Argolis and Laconia, or subdued them; and thus arose the Peloponnesian Achæans, from whom the whole of Peloponnesus was sometimes called the Achæan Argos, to distinguish it from the Pelasgian Argos of Thessaly. But others relate that, after the death of Xuthus, Achæus collected a band of adventurers from Ægialus, and from Athens, and bending his course to Thessaly, with their aid recovered the patrimony of which his father had been wrongfully deprived.[1] And accordingly the same part of Thessaly in which Phthia and the ancient Hellas were situate, was, at a later period, and after many revolutions, still called Achaia[2]; and Homer, though he commonly uses the name of Achæans for the Greeks in general, yet more particularly designates by it the subjects of Achilles, who reigned in Phthia.

The Achæans in Thessaly and Peloponnesus.

We see then that there was one admitted fact: Achæans were in very early times the predominant race in the south of Thessaly, and on the eastern side of Peloponnesus. But there were two contrary opinions; one assigning the priority to the northern, the other to the southern Achæans. It seems clear however that the former of these opinions has the greater weight of evidence in its favour. For Strabo, who in one passage relates that Achæus fled from Athens to Laconia, and there first introduced the name of the Achæans, elsewhere speaks as if Pelops had first brought the Achæans with him into Laconia from Phthia[3]; and Pausanias has preserved a more simple tradition, which tends to the same point: that Archander and Architeles, the sons of Achæus, came from Phthiotis to Argos, and wedded two daughters

[1] Paus. vii. 1. 3.
[2]
[3] VIII. pp. 383. 365.

of Danaus — Automaté and Scæa; Archander named his son Metanastes, to signify that he was an emigrant from a foreign land.[1]

Their relation to the Hellenes.

Still however the question remains, who the Achæans originally were, and whether they were so nearly related to the Hellenic race as the current genealogy seems to infer. And here we find that some of the ancients took a very different view of their national affinities. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, without even noticing the common tradition, reports one totally different: that Achæus, Phthius, and Pelasgus, were the sons of Larissa and Poseidon; and that in the sixth generation after the first Pelasgus, they led the Pelasgians from Argos into Thessaly, drove out the barbarians, and divided the country into three parts, which were named after them Achaia, Phthiotis, and Pelasgiotis.[2] Contrary as this account is to the notion of the Achæans which the ancients drew from Homer's use of the name, it seems not to have stood alone: for in another genealogy, Phthius, who was generally considered as belonging to the stock of Pelasgus, was called the son of Achæus.[3] The result

[1] VII. 1. 6. It will immediately occur to every intelligent reader of the Greek author, that not only the name of Metanastes, but those of the daughters and sons-in-law of Danaus, are significant, and that they manifestly express the relation between rulers and subjects. Only it may be doubtful whether this relation is implied in the names of the two brothers, so that Architeles should represent the subject class, or whether they are both of similar import, and the inferior relation is only expressed by the names of their wives, which seem to indicate the different effects of voluntary and compulsory submission. To be convinced that these marriages are merely mythological phrases, which must be interpreted according to analogy under the guidance of etymology, the reader has only to compare some other instances, as of Polycaon and Euæchme (Paus. iv. 2. 1.); Pelias (and Nestor) and Anaxibia, or Philomache. Apollod. i. 9. 9, 10.; Ægeus and Meta, daughter of Hoples, his first wife; he afterwards weds Chalciopé, daughter of Rhexenor (Apollod. iii. 15. 6. 2.), or of Chalcodon (Athen. xiii. p. 556.); but, according to Tzetzes (Lyc. 494.), some authors gave him no other wife than Autochthe, daughter of Perseus. So of Lebadus, the founder of Lebadea, nothing was known, except that he came from Athens, and that his wife's name was Laonicé (Paus. ix. 39. 1.) So Electryon reigns with his wife Anaxo (Tzetz. Lyc. 932.); and, at a later period, Procles and Eurysthenes are married to Lathria and Anaxandra (Paus. iii. 16. 6.).

[2] I. 17.

[3] Eustath. on Il. ii. 681. Hellas, he remarks, was founded by Hellen; not however some say, the son of Deucalion, but the son of Phthius, son of Achæus.

CHAP. IV.

Reasons for thinking them a branch of the Pelasgians.

to which these last traditions lead us is, that the Achæans were originally no other than the ancient Pelasgian inhabitants of Phthia; and perhaps this mode of viewing them will be found to afford the simplest explanation of the apparent contradictions in the testimony of the ancients concerning them. Considered as a branch of the Pelasgians, who from the remotest times were seated both in Thessaly and Argolis, they might be said, by those who looked upon Peloponnesus as the earlier settlement, to have migrated thence to the north, though their name was first heard in Phthia. If indeed the name was a descriptive one, and expressed their situation on the coast, as has been conjectured, it might have been common to both countries from the beginning. But, in any case, the general tendency of the ancient traditions leads us to suppose that, at some period or other, a part of the tribe really migrated from the north to the south, and established themselves in Argolis. Here however we observe a remarkable difference between their history and that of the Æolians. Their leaders Archander and Architeles marry the daughters of Danaus, but neither they nor any of their descendants mount the throne of Argos; whereas we have seen the Æolian chiefs every where founding royal dynasties. And this seems to authorise the conclusion, that this migration took place before the Æolians had become masters of Phthia, and had begun to be also called Achæans; and that the Pelasgian Achæans found in Argolis a kindred people, among whom they gained admission more indeed by force than good will, but still without effecting a total revolution, or overthrowing the government of the native kings. On this supposition we shall no

A little before he speaks of a Phthius, son of Poseidon and Larissa; and in the next page he says that Pelasgus, Phthius, and Achæus were the sons of Hæmon and Larissa.

longer be perplexed by the difficulty which chronologers have found in explaining how the sons of Achæus could marry the daughters of the ancient Danaus, and we shall be spared the necessity of inventing a second personage of the same name as a subject for this particular affinity.

They are blended with the Æolians in Thessaly.

If we take this view of the subject, we must distinguish between the Achæans of the north, who, in the period when we first become acquainted with them, are no other than the Æolians, who, among other names, were sometimes called by that of the people in whose land they established their sway, and those of the Achæan Argos, where not only the bulk of the population, but the noble and ruling families, perhaps that of the kings themselves, continued to be Pelasgian long after the Æolians had gained a footing in other parts of Peloponnesus. It must be with reference to the former, that Strabo calls the Achæans an Æolian race[1]; and that Euripides, while he speaks of Xuthus as a son of Æolus, describes him as an Achæan.[2] To these Æolian Achæans belong also the Myrmidons, whose memory has been transmitted to us chiefly through the fame of their leader Achilles. The fabulous legend tells that they first sprang up in Ægina, where Æacus, the just, who was born there of Zeus and a daughter of the river Asopus, by his prayers prevailed on his father to people the island with a new race.[3] It is not improbable that the name, whatever may have been its origin, arose in Ægina; but it also seems clear that the island must have received an Æolian or Achæan colony from

VIII. p. 333.

[2] Ion. v. 64.

[3] By transforming the ants (μύρμηκες, or μύρμοι) into men (Μυρμίδονες), according to the fable, occasioned probably by a false etymology, though some writers, ancient and modern (see Strabo, viii. p. 375.; Theagenes in Tzetz. Lyc. 176.), have supposed it to have been grounded on the mode of living in caves, which they attribute (on no evidence however save the fable itself) to the ancient inhabitants of Ægina. The curious reader will find the ancient history of Ægina elaborately discussed in K. O. Mueller's *Æginetica*.

CHAP. IV.

Phthia, which, in the generation immediately preceding the Trojan war, is said to have been governed by Actor, a son of Myrmidon, who married Ægina, the fabled mother of Æacus. Hence Peleus, the son of Æacus, when he had killed his half-brother Phocus, fled to the house of Actor, and succeeded to his kingdom.[1] On the other hand, no connection appears to have subsisted between the Æginetans and the neighbouring Achæans of Argolis.

Establishment of an Æolian dynasty among the Achæans of Argolis.

These latter however, in course of time, received a new colony from the western side of Peloponnesus. Argos, it is said, continued to be the sole seat of the house of Danaus, until Prœtus and Acrisius, the sons of Abas, contended with one another for the throne. Acrisius maintained his ground at Argos: Prœtus, at first driven into exile, returned with a band of Lycian allies, and forced his brother to consent to a partition of the disputed territory. The eastern portion fell to Prœtus, who, with the aid of the Cyclopes, raised the indestructible walls of Tiryns: Acrisius was killed through a fatal mischance, by Perseus, the son of his daughter Danae; though, to avoid his predicted destiny, he had left Argos and had retired to the Thessalian Larissa, — an indication not to be overlooked of an early intercourse between the northern and southern Pelasgians. Ater this disaster, Perseus, that he might not fill the throne which his own hand had made vacant, exchanged his patrimony for that of Megapenthes, son of Prœtus; and in the neighbourhood of Tiryns, but on a loftier site, founded a new city, Mycenæ. But in the second generation after this transfer, the little western state was again split into three smaller realms. In the reign of Anaxagoras, grandson of Megapenthes, the women of Argos were struck with frenzy. The king — according to another and apparently older form of

[1] Eustath. on Il. ii. 681.

the legend, it was Prœtus, whose daughters had been thus punished for their impiety, in laughing at the wooden image of Heré, or spurning the rites of Dionysus — sought the aid of the seer Melampus, who, by his mother's side, was akin to the royal line. Melampus asked no less a price for the succours of his art, than a third of the kingdom; and, like the Sibyl, when the king refused it, rose in his demands, and only consented to remedy the evil when he had obtained another third for his brother Bias.[1] —Whatever may be the full meaning of these marvellous stories, we see no reason for questioning their historical ground, so far as regards the establishment of Æolian chieftains in Argolis; and this event may have contributed to bring the Argive Achæans nearer in language and religion to those of Thessaly. Tradition throws very little light on the manner in which the name of the Achæans was introduced into Laconia. We have seen reason to believe that it was not here where it first arose, though this appears to be Strabo's meaning, when he says that Achæus himself settled there. Another statement of the same author, that Achæans came into Laconia with Pelops, stands too insulated, and too little supported by other facts, to deserve much attention. The event may perhaps be indicated by the tradition, that Eurotas, who succeeded his father Myles, son of Lelex, having no male children, left his kingdom to Lacedæmon, son of Jupiter and Taygeté, who had married his daughter Sparté. These names seem to intimate that a new tribe from the north had gained the ascendant over the Leleges, who inhabited the plain near the coast, where their labours are said to have confined the river named from their king in an artificial channel. After this we read of no change of dynasty

Achæans in Laconia.

[1] Compare Herod. ix. 34. Paus. ii. 16—18. Apollod. ii. 2.

CHAP. IV.

at least till the Trojan war, and we find the Lacedæmonian kings allying themselves by marriage with those of Argolis [1]; which seems to confirm our supposition of an original natural affinity between them. — This view of the Achæans will perhaps acquire a higher degree of probability, when we compare the accounts we have received of the origin of the fourth great division of the Greek nation, the Ionians.

Origin of the Ionians.

The early history of the Ionians, though peculiarly interesting on account of its relation to the ancient institutions of Attica, is perhaps the most obscure that has yet come under our view. We have already seen the manner in which Ion is connected by the current genealogy with the family of Hellen. The Athenians listened with complacency to a different legend, more flattering to their national vanity, according to which he was the son, not of Xuthus, but of Apollo; a story which furnished Euripides with the subject of one of his most ingenious plays. The poet represents Ion, not only as the founder of the Ionian name, but as succeeding to the throne of Erechtheus. On the other hand, he recognises in Xuthus a foreign chief, who had succoured the Athenians in their war with Eubœa, and had thus earned the hand of the king's daughter; and he ventures to contradict the common tradition so far as to call Achæus and Dorus the issue of this marriage. All these variations, devised to gratify the Athenians, tend to confirm the substance of the common story, by showing that it kept its ground in spite of the interest which Athenian patriotism might have in distorting or suppressing it. And we may reasonably suspect, that if in its form it deviates from the truth, it is rather so as to disguise than to exaggerate the importance of the event to which it refers. It must

[1] Paus. iii. 1. 4. Apollod. ii. 2. 2. 1.

not therefore be neglected, when we are inquiring who the Ionians were, and in what relation they stood to the other branches of the Greek nation; but is is equally evident that, without the help of a historical interpretation, the story can give us none of the information we desire.

Their relation to the Hellenes.

According to the most generally received opinion, the Ionians were a Hellenic tribe, who took forcible possession of Attica and a part of Peloponnesus, and communicated their name to the ancient inhabitants. It is a distinct question, whether the conquerors brought this name with them, or only assumed it in their new territories. This last supposition is alone consistent with the legends of Ion, which all treat Xuthus as the founder of the power of the Ionians, and never speak of Ion himself as having migrated into Attica from the north. It might indeed be easily imagined that the birth of Ion is a mere fiction, and that Xuthus was the real name of an Ionian chief who led his people from Thessaly to Attica. But in this case we should have expected, according to the usual form of the mythical genealogies, to hear of an elder Ion, or at least to find some trace of the Ionian name in the north. But none such appears in the quarter where we might reasonably look for it. Theopompus indeed derived the name of the Ionian sea from an Ionius, a native of Issa, who once ruled over its eastern coast[1]; other writers from an Italian Iaon.[2] But these traditions, if they are not rather mere conjectures, cannot be connected with our Ionians, because, if their name had been so early celebrated, it would assuredly have occurred in the legends of Thessaly. Hence, even if

[1] Strabo, vii. p. 317. Tzetz. Lyc. 630. Strabo (p. 327.) also mentions a river Ion, a tributary of the Peneus, and a town named Alalcomenæ on its banks; and there seems to have been a river of the same name in the Peloponnesian Ionia. Dionys. Per. 416. couples it with the Melas and the Crathis.

[2] Eustath. Dion. Per. 92.

CHAP. IV.

it were certain that they were a Hellenic race in the ordinary sense of the word — that is, that they sprang from the Thessalian Hellas — we must still abandon all hope of tracing the origin of their name to that region, and must either adopt the common explanation of it, or suppose that it was derived from some other more probable, but totally unknown, cause; and the obscure legend of Xuthus will be the only link that connects the Ionians by any direct evidence with the people of Hellen.

Their establishment in Attica.

It may seem however that in this case no such evidence is wanted, and that the fact is sufficiently ascertained by proofs of a different kind, yet of irresistible force. Herodotus informs us, that the inhabitants of Attica were originally Pelasgians: we know that they were afterwards a part of the Hellenic nation; yet the same historian expressly asserts that the Attic Ionians had never changed their seats: and it may appear that the only way of reconciling these facts is to suppose that a body of Hellenic settlers had established themselves among the old Pelasgian population, and had given it a new name and a new nature. Herodotus himself undoubtedly lends some colour to this supposition. The change of name indeed would not, according to his view, be an argument of any weight; for he asserts that such changes had repeatedly taken place in earlier times, while the Pelasgian character of the people continued unaltered. But he speaks of a transformation by which the Attic Pelasgians became Hellenes, and he infers from his own observations on the scattered remnants of the Pelasgian race which he found elsewhere, that this event must have been accompanied by a complete change in the language of Attica. These are effects which imply some powerful cause: Herodotus indeed does not describe the manner in which they were wrought, but it seems clear that he referred

them to the epoch which was marked by the appearance of Ion; for to Ion, in common with all other authors, he attributes not only the introduction of a new national name, but also the institution of the four tribes into which the people of Attica was anciently divided, and which were retained in several of the Ionian colonies. Of these tribes we shall speak more fully hereafter; we here allude to them only so far as they bear upon the present question; and for this purpose it will suffice to mention, that one of them was, as its name imports, a tribe of warriors, and that to a very late period we find in Attica a powerful body of nobles, possessing the best part of the land, commanding the services of a numerous dependent class, and exercising the highest authority in the state. With this we must combine the fact, that Ion is described by Herodotus, as well as by other writers, as the leader of the Attic armies[1]: a title which easily suggests the notion, that the warrior tribe, and the noble class, just mentioned, were no other than the Hellenic conquerors, who are supposed to have overpowered the native Pelasgians. The Attic legends may even seem to render it probable that this revolution went a step further, and that, although the break was studiously concealed, the strangers took possession of the throne, and put an end to the line of the Pelasgian kings. We are told that Poseidon, the great national god of the Ionians, destroyed Erechtheus and his house[2]; and Euripides, who mentions this tradition[3], considers Ion as the founder of a new dynasty.

Antiquity of the Ionian

These arguments would perhaps be perfectly convincing, if, on the other hand, there were not strong

[1] Her. viii. 44. στρατάρχης. Paus. i. 31. 3. πολέμαρχος.

[2] Apollod. iii. 15. 5. 1.

[3] Ion. 284. He was engulfed in a chasm which Poseidon opened with his trident.

CHAP. IV.

settlements in Peloponnesus.

reasons for believing that the name of the Ionians is of much higher antiquity than the common legend ascribes to it, and that it prevailed in Peloponnesus and in Attica before the Hellenes made their appearance in Thessaly. We have already quoted a passage in which Herodotus contrasts the Dorians, as a Hellenic race, with the Ionians, as Pelasgians. It is true that he adopted the general opinion, that these Pelasgians had been newly named after Ion; but there would have been no meaning in his words, if he had believed that the Ionians were really a Hellenic tribe which had given its name to the conquered people. Their identity with the Pelasgians was the result of his own researches; the origin of the name was an unimportant fact, as to which he was content to follow the received tradition. His meaning appears still more clearly, from the manner in which he speaks of the Cynurians, a people who inhabited a little tract situate between Argolis and Laconia. He remarks, that, of the seven nations which in his time inhabited Peloponnesus, two were aboriginal, and were then seated in the same land where they had dwelt of old; these were the Arcadians and the Cynurians. The Achæans too, he observes, had not quitted Peloponnesus, though they no longer occupied the same part of it; but the Cynurians, who were an aboriginal people, appeared to be the only Ionians, though, having become subject to the Argives, they had assumed the Dorian character.[1] Here again it is clear that the epithet Ionian is used as equivalent to Pelasgian, or ante-Hellenic. The authority of Herodotus therefore seems to direct us to Peloponnesus, as one of the earliest seats of the name. And this is also implied in the form which the authors followed by Pausanias gave to the story of Ion; for it was told in two ways. Ion was said by some to have

[1] VIII. 73.

remained in Attica, and to have given his name to the country, from which a colony afterwards migrated to Ægialus: while others, as we have seen, carried Xuthus himself into Peloponnesus, and supposed that Ion, after having established his name and his power there, led an army to the aid of the Athenians, and thus extended his influence over Attica. The latter tradition must have been that which Herodotus adopted, for he also speaks of Xuthus as having come to Peloponnesus.[1] This was indeed explained by the above-mentioned story, that Xuthus had been expelled from Attica by the sons of Erechtheus; but unless we admit this grossly improbable tale, the result of the whole is, that the Peloponnesian Ionians were at least of equal antiquity with those of Attica. And to this conclusion we are led by the legends of the southern Ionia: for here, the only king named before the arrival of Ion is a Selinus, who takes his name from one of the rivers of the country, which flowed near Helicé, the chief town of the Ionians, so called, it was said, from the daughter of Selinus, who became the wife of Ion.[2] But beside this settlement of the Ionians on the western side of the peninsula, it is clear that they once occupied a great part of the eastern coast. The legends both of Sicyon and Corinth spoke of a very ancient connection between this region and Attica. Marathon, it was said, the son of Epopeus, one of the kings of Corinth, who reigned there before the arrival of the Æolids, had first fled to the sea-coast of Attica, and afterwards, returning to his paternal dominions, divided his kingdom between his two sons, Sicyon and Corinthus[3]; and hence the final fall of the Æolian dynasty is said to have been accompanied by the expulsion of the Ionians.[4] Still more distinct traces of an Ionian

[1] VII. 94. [2] Paus. vii. 1. 4. [3] Paus. ii. 1. 1.
[4] Conon. 26. Σισυφίδας ἐκβαλὼν — καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἴωνας.

CHAP. IV.

population appear at Trœzen and Epidaurus. The people of Trœzen are distinguished in the historical times as the kinsmen and firm friends of the Athenians. Their city, as we shall see, was the birthplace of the great Attic hero: Sphettus and Anaphlystus, the sons of Trœzen, founded two of the Attic towns; the strife between Athenê and Poseidon, for the possession of the land, was equally celebrated in the Attic and the Trœzenian legends, and was commemorated on the ancient coins of Trœzen by the trident and the head of the goddess.[1] At Epidaurus, the last king before the Dorian conquest, which will be hereafter related, was said to be a descendant of Ion; and, when driven from his own dominions, takes refuge with his people in Attica.[2] The well-attested antiquity of the Cynurians seems to warrant the assumption, that the name of the Ionians had, in very early times, prevailed still more widely on the eastern side of Peloponnesus, and that it was signified by the ancient epithet of Argos, the *Iasian*, which appears to have preceded that derived from the Achæans.[3] Their growing power may perhaps have confined the Ionians within narrower limits, and have parted states which were once contiguous. The early predominance of the Ionian name in this quarter might then be connected with the fact, that it is used in the books of Moses as a general description of Greece.

Early distinctions among the Ionians in Attica.

But still it remains to be considered how this view of the Ionians is to be reconciled with the known state of society in Attica, and with the various indications which it seems to disclose of a foreign conquest, and of two distinct races. The question how-

[1] Paus. ii. 30. 6. Plut. Thes. 6.

[2] Paus. ii. 26. 1.

[3] Od. Σ. 246. Eustath. on Il. iii. 258. Perhaps we may connect this with the remark of Pausanias (ii. 37. 3.), that, before the return of the Heracleids, the Argives spoke the same language with the Athenians.

ever is not whether any foreign settlers established themselves and became powerful in Attica — for this cannot and need not be denied — but whether the genuine Ionians were a different tribe from the aboriginal Pelasgians; and it may certainly be doubted whether this can be more safely inferred from the institutions attributed to Ion, than from his traditional relation to Xuthus. There seems to be no reason why they might not have been formed in the natural internal progress of society, and have been originally independent of all extraneous causes, though some such may have contributed to ripen and strengthen them. Until it is proved that the Indian, Egyptian, Median castes[1], and other similar institutions both in the ancient and modern world, all arose from invasions and conquests, which established the ascendant of more powerful strangers over the children of the soil, the tribes of Ion must be regarded as an equivocal sign; and we cannot conclude that the warriors alone were of Hellenic, the rest of Pelasgian, origin. Without laying any stress on the form of the legend, which represented all the tribes as named after as many sons of Ion, and thus placed them all on a level with respect to their descent, we may observe, that some of the ancients included a tribe of priests among the four, and that this opinion is strongly confirmed by the Attic traditions, which are marked by traces, scarcely to be mistaken, of an ancient priestly caste. This may originally have had the supreme power in its hands; but here, as every where else, it could not fail to be accompanied by a class of nobles or warriors, who however were undoubtedly not a distinct race. Their mutual relation seems to be expressed by the tradition, that, at the death of Pandion, his twin sons,

[1] Her. i. 101. The Magians, a Median tribe. With respect to the hypothesis of a conquest, as the origin of the Indian and Egyptian castes, there are some good remarks in Bohlen, *Das alte Indien*, ii. p. 38.

CHAP. IV.

Erechtheus and Butes, divided their inheritance, and that Erechtheus succeeded to the kingdom, Butes to the priesthood of Athené and Poseidon.[1]

If these traces do not mislead us, we should be inclined to distinguish two periods in the ancient history of Attica, one of which might be called the priestly, the other the heroic, in the former of which the priesthood was predominant, while in the latter the nobles or warriors gradually rose to power. The latter period may also be termed the Ionian, and contrasted with the former as the Pelasgian: not however because the Ionians were foreign to the Pelasgians; but because, during this period, migrations appear to have taken place from Peloponnesus into Attica, which tended at once to fix the Ionian name in the latter country, where a variety of appellations had before been in use, and to strengthen the hands of the warrior class by the accession of new adventurers of the same blood.

Mixture of Hellenes with Ionians in Attica.

There is even a sense in which the second of these periods might not improperly be called the Hellenic; not only inasmuch as it was one of gradual approximation to the purely martial and heroic character of the genuine Hellenic states, but also as strangers, apparently of Hellenic origin, now gained a footing in Attica. For so much at least the story of Xuthus seems sufficient to prove. The foundation, or occupation, of the Marathonian Tetrapolis, attributed to Xuthus, is evidently connected with that war in which he is said to have aided the Athenians against the Eubœans, and renders it probable that he migrated from the island into Attica: this however would throw no light upon his origin.

Migrations to and from Eubœa.

Eubœa seems to have been inhabited of old by a variety of races, as its geographical position would lead us to expect: it was among the most ancient seats of the Leleges; its mines very early attracted Phœnician colonists; and

[1] Apollod. iii. 15. 1. 1.

it was in Eubœa that the Curetes were said first to have put on brazen armour.[1] Homer describes its inhabitants by the collective name of the Abantes; as to which the most learned of the ancients were themselves in doubt, whether it was connected with the Phocian town of Abæ, or with Abas, the Argive hero. A tract in the northern part of the island was called Hestiæotis, and Strabo believed that this name was transferred from Eubœa to the north of Thessaly, by a colony which had been carried away from the the island by the Perrhæbians[2]: we should otherwise have presumed that the Thessalian region had been the mother country. There was also an Attic township named Histiæa, which led some writers to think that the Eubœan Histiæans were of Attic origin. In the same quarter of Eubœa was a town, and perhaps a district, which bore the remarkable name of Hellopia, the same which Hesiod gives to the country about Dodona. It is even said that the whole of Eubœa was once called Hellopia; and it is added, that it received this name from Hellops, a son of Ion[3], which might seem to confirm the supposition that the Ionians were a Hellenic race, if it were not more probable that this legend was occasioned by the numerous Ionian colonies which passed over from Attica to the island.

But though this confusion of uncertain accounts about the early population of Eubœa precludes all conjecture as to the origin of Xuthus, drawn from the side on which he appears to have entered Attica, still the tradition which connected him with the house of Æolus is strengthened by the peculiar rites which distinguished the inhabitants of the plain of Marathon, and which seem to mark a Hellenic descent.[4] The union of Xuthus and Creusa undoubtedly implies that this settlement exerted considerable influence over the

[1] Steph. Byz. Αἰδηψος.
[2] Strabo, x. p. 445.
[3] IX. p. 437.
[4] Paus. i. 15. 3., and 32. 4.

CHAP. IV.

fortunes of Attica; and it was a necessary consequence that Xuthus and Ion should be brought into near relation to one another: but in any other sense, we see no evidence of a Hellenic conquest, either in Attica or the Peloponnesian Ionia. Of the supposed break in the succession of the native kings, we shall have occasion to speak again. The force of any argument drawn from the language of Attica must depend on the conception we form of the original relation between the Pelasgian and Hellenic race. The difference between the dialect from which those of Attica and the Asiatic Ionia issued, and the Æolian or Doric, does not fall much short of that which was to have been expected according to the view here taken of the Ionians; and for several generations it may have been continually lessened by a growing intercourse between Attica and the neighbouring Hellenic states.

Ionian dialect.

CHAPTER V.

THE HEROES AND THEIR AGE.

Definition of the Heroic Age. — Bellerophon. — Perseus. — Hercules. — Hercules the god. — Hercules the Theban hero. — Legends of Hercules in Peloponnesus. — Other adventures of Hercules. — Theseus a second Hercules. — Attic Kings before Theseus. — Birth of Theseus. — His journey to Athens. — Adventures in Crete. — Import of the legend. — Minos. — His maritime dominion and colonies. — Legend of his Dorian origin examined. — Grounds for rejecting it. — Conjecture on the legend of Minos. — Confederacies among the Heroes. — The Theban Wars, and the Calydonian Chase. — Legend of the Argonautic Expedition. — Religious groundwork of the legend. — Its historical groundwork. — Jason and Medea. — Story of the Trojan War. — How far credible. — Helen a mythological person. — Connection between the Trojan War and the Argonautic Expedition. — Expedition of Hercules against Troy. — Historical view of the Trojan War. — Consequences of the War. — Authority of the Homeric Poems with regard to historical facts. — — With regard to the state of society described in them.

Definition of the Heroic Age.

THE period included between the first appearance of the Hellenes in Thessaly, and the return of the Greeks from Troy, is commonly known by the name of the *heroic* age, or ages. The real limits of this period cannot be exactly defined. The date of the siege of Troy is only the result of a doubtful calculation; and, from what has been already said, the reader will see that it must be scarcely possible to ascertain the precise beginning of the period: but still, so far as its traditions admit of any thing like a chronological connection, its duration may be estimated at six genera-

CHAP. V.

tions, or about two hundred years. We have already described the general character of this period, as one in which a warlike race spread from the north over the south of Greece, and founded new dynasties in a number of little states; while, partly through the impulse given to the earlier settlers by this immigration, and partly in the natural progress of society, a similar state of things arose in those parts of the country which were not immediately occupied by the invaders; so that every where a class of nobles entirely given to martial pursuits, and the principal owners of the land—whose station and character cannot perhaps be better illustrated than when compared to that of the chivalrous barons of the middle ages—became prominent above the mass of the people, which they held in various degrees of subjection. The history of the heroic age is the history of the most celebrated persons belonging to this class, who, in the language of poetry, are called *heroes*. The term *hero* is of doubtful origin, though it was clearly a title of honour; but, in the poems of Homer, it is applied not only to the chiefs, but also to their followers, the freemen of lower rank, without however being contrasted with any other, so as to determine its precise meaning. In later times its use was narrowed, and in some degree altered[1]: it was restricted to persons, whether of the heroic or of after ages, who were believed to be endowed with a superhuman, though not a divine, nature, and who were honoured with sacred rites, and were imagined to have the power of dispensing good or evil to their worshippers; and it was gradually combined with the notion of prodigious strength and gigantic

[1] In Homer, it is used as the German *Recken* in the Nibelungenlied. So too in Hesiod (Op. et D. 155—171.), all the warriors before Thebes and Troy seem to be included under the name. Afterwards it was limited to the most eminent persons of the heroic age; not however to distinguish them from their own contemporaries, but to contrast them with the men of a later and inferior generation. See on this subject Mr. Ellis's excellent essay in the *Philological Museum*, ii. p. 72. Donaldson, *New Cratylus*, p. 409.

CHAP. V.

stature. Here however we have only to do with the heroes as men. The history of their age is filled with their wars, expeditions, and adventures; and this is the great mine from which the materials of the Greek poetry were almost entirely drawn. But the richer a period is in poetical materials, the more difficult it usually is to extract from it any that are fit for the use of the historian; and this is especially true in the present instance. Though what has been transmitted to us is perhaps only a minute part of the legends which sprang from this inexhaustible source, they are sufficient to perplex the inquirer by their multiplicity and their variations, as well as by their marvellous nature. The pains taken by the ancient compilers to reduce them to an orderly system have only served, in most cases, to disguise their original form, and thus to increase the difficulty of detecting their real foundation. It would answer no useful purpose to repeat or abridge these legends, without subjecting them to a critical examination, for which we cannot afford room: we must content ourselves with touching on some which appear most worthy of notice, either from their celebrity, or for the light they throw on the general character of the period, or their connection, real or supposed, with subsequent historical events.

We must pass very hastily over the exploits of Bellerophon and Perseus, and indeed we mention them only for the sake of one remark. The scene of their principal adventures is laid out of Greece, in the East. The former, whose father Glaucus is the son of Sisyphus, having chanced to stain his hands with the blood of a kinsman, flies to Argos, where he excites the jealousy of Prœtus, and is sent by him to Lycia, the country where Prœtus himself had been hospitably entertained in his exile. It is in the adjacent regions of Asia that the Corinthian hero proves his valour by vanquishing ferocious tribes and terrible

B.C. 1300 --1200. Bellerophon.

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1300 —1200.

monsters. Perseus too has been sent over the sea by his grandfather Acrisius, and his achievements follow the same direction, but take a wider range: he is carried along the coasts of Syria to Egypt, where Herodotus heard of him from the priests, and into the unknown lands of the South. There can be no doubt that these fables owed many of their leading features to the Argive colonies which were planted at a later period in Rhodes, and on the south-west coast of Asia. But still it is not improbable that the connection implied by them between Argolis and the nearest parts of Asia, may not be wholly without foundation. We proceed however to a much more celebrated name, on which we must dwell a little longer. It has been a subject of long dispute, whether Hercules was a real or a purely fictitious personage; but it seems clear that the question, according to the sense in which it is understood, may admit of two contrary answers, both equally true. When we survey the whole mass of the actions ascribed to him, we find that they fall under two classes. The one carries us back into the infancy of society, when it is engaged in its first struggles with nature for existence and security: we see him cleaving rocks, turning the course of rivers, opening or stopping the subterraneous outlets of lakes, clearing the earth of noxious animals, and, in a word, by his single arm effecting works which properly belong to the united labours of a young community. The other class exhibits a state of things comparatively settled and mature, when the first victory has been gained, and the contest is now between one tribe and another, for possession or dominion; we see him maintaining the cause of the weak against the strong, of the innocent against the oppressor, punishing wrong, and robbery, and sacrilege, subduing tyrants, exterminating his enemies, and bestowing kingdoms on his friends. It would be

Perseus.

Hercules.

futile to inquire, who the person was to whom deeds of the former kind were attributed; but it is an interesting question, whether the first conception of such a being was formed in the mind of the Greeks by their own unassisted imagination, or was suggested to them by a different people,—in other words, whether Hercules, viewed in this light, is a creature of the Greek, or of any foreign mythology.

Hercules the god.

It is sufficient to cast a single glance at the fabulous adventures called the *labours* of Hercules, to be convinced that a part of them at least belongs to the Phœnicians, and their wandering god, in whose honour they built temples in all their principal settlements along the coast of the Mediterranean. To him must be attributed all the journeys of Hercules round the shores of western Europe, which did not become known to the Greeks for many centuries after they had been explored by the Phœnician navigators. The number to which those labours are confined by the legend is evidently an astronomical period, and thus itself points to the course of the sun, which the Phœnician god represented. The event which closes the career of the Greek hero, who rises to immortality from the flames of the pile on which he lays himself, is a prominent feature in the same Eastern mythology, and may therefore be safely considered as borrowed from it.[1] All these tales may indeed be regarded as additions made at a late period to the Greek legend, after it had sprung up independently at home. But it is at least a remarkable coincidence, that the birth of Hercules is assigned to the city of Cadmus; and the great works ascribed to him, so far as they were really accomplished by human labour, may seem to correspond better with the art and industry of the Phœnicians, than with the skill and

[1] See Bœttiger, *Kunst-Mythologie*, p. 37. Mueller, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, iii. p. 28.

CHAP. V.

B C. 1300 —1200.

power of a less civilised race. But in whatever way the origin of the name and idea of Hercules may be explained, at least in that which we have distinguished as the second class of legends relating to him, he appears, without any ambiguity, as a Greek hero; and here it may reasonably be asked, whether all or any part of the adventures they describe really happened to a single person, who either properly bore the name of Hercules, or received it as a title of honour.

We must briefly mention the manner in which these adventures are linked together in the common story. Amphitryon, the reputed father of Hercules, was the son of Alcæus, who is named first among the children born to Perseus at Mycenæ. The hero's mother, Alcmena, was the daughter of Electryon, another son of Perseus, who had succeeded to the kingdom. In his reign, the Taphians, a piratical people who inhabited the islands called Echinades, near the mouth of the Achelous, landed in Argolis, and carried off the king's herds. While Electryon was preparing to avenge himself by invading their land, after he had committed his kingdom and his daughter to the charge of Amphitryon, a chance like that which caused the death of Acrisius stained the hands of the nephew with his uncle's blood. Sthenelus, a third son of Perseus, laid hold of this pretext to force Amphitryon and Alcmena to quit the country, and they took refuge in Thebes: thus it happened that Hercules, though an Argive by descent, and, by his mortal parentage, legitimate heir to the throne of Mycenæ, was, as to his birthplace, a Theban. Hence Bœotia is the scene of his youthful exploits: bred up among the herdsmen of Cithæron, like Cyrus and Romulus, he delivers Thespiæ from the lion which made havoc among its cattle. He then frees Thebes from the yoke of its more powerful neighbour, Orchomenus: and here we find something which has more the look

Hercules the Theban hero.

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1300 —1200.

of a historical tradition, though it is no less poetical in its form. The king of Orchomenus had been killed in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestus, by a Theban. His successor, Erginus, imposes a tribute on Thebes; but Hercules mutilates his heralds when they come to exact it, and then marching against Orchomenus, slays Erginus, and forces the Minyans to pay twice the tribute which they had hitherto received.[1] According to a Theban legend, it was on this occasion that he stopped the subterraneous outlet of the Cephisus, and thus formed the lake which covered the greater part of the plain of Orchomenus.[2] In the meanwhile Sthenelus had been succeeded by his son Eurystheus, the destined enemy of Hercules and his race, at whose command the hero undertakes his labours. This voluntary subjection of the rightful prince to the weak and timid usurper is represented as an expiation, ordained by the Delphic oracle, for a fit of phrenzy, in which Hercules had destroyed his wife and children. This, as a poetical or religious fiction, is very happily conceived: but when we are seeking for a historical thread to connect the Bœotian legends of Hercules with those of Peloponnesus, it must be set entirely aside; and yet it is not only the oldest form of the story, but no other has hitherto been found or devised to fill its place with a greater appearance of probability. The supposed right of Hercules to the throne of Mycenæ was, as we shall see, the ground on which the Dorians, some generations later, claimed the dominion of Peloponnesus. Yet, in any other than a poetical view, his enmity to Eurystheus is utterly inconsistent with the exploits ascribed to him in the peninsula. It is also remarkable, that while the adventures which he undertakes at the bidding of his rival are prodigious and supernatural, belonging to the first of the two classes above dis-

Legends of Hercules in Peloponnesus.

[1] Apollod. ii. 4. 11. [2] Paus. ix. 38. 7.

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1300 —1200.

tinguished, he is described as during the same period engaged in expeditions which are only accidentally connected with these marvellous labours, and which, if they stood alone, might be taken for traditional facts. In these he appears in the light of an independent prince, and a powerful conqueror. He leads an army against Augeas, king of Elis, and having slain him, bestows his kingdom on one of his sons, who had condemned his father's injustice. So he invades Pylus to avenge an insult which he had received from Neleus, and puts him to death, with all his children, except Nestor, who was absent, or had escaped to Gerenia. Again he carries his conquering arms into Laconia, where he exterminates the family of the king Hippocoon, and places Tyndareus on the throne. Here, if any where in the legend of Hercules, we might seem to be reading an account of real events. Yet who can believe, that while he was overthrowing these hostile dynasties, and giving away sceptres, he suffered himself to be excluded from his own kingdom?

Other adventures of Hercules.

It was the fate of Hercules to be incessantly forced into dangerous and arduous enterprises: and hence every part of Greece is in its turn the scene of his achievements. Thus we have already seen him, in Thessaly, the ally of the Dorians, laying the foundation of a perpetual union between the people and his own descendants, as if he had either abandoned all hope of recovering the crown of Mycenæ, or had foreseen that his posterity would require the aid of the Dorians for that purpose. In Ætolia too he appears as a friend and a protector of the royal house, and fights its battles against the Thesprotians of Epirus.[1] These perpetual wanderings, these successive alliances with so many different races, excite no surprise, so long as we view them in a poetical light, as issuing

[1] Apollod. ii. 7. 6.

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1300 —1200.

out of one source, the implacable hate with which the son of Zeus is persecuted by Here (Juno). They may also be understood as real events, if they are supposed to have been perfectly independent of each other, and connected only by being referred to one fabulous name. But when the poetical motive is rejected, it seems impossible to frame any rational scheme according to which they may be regarded as incidents in the life of one man, unless we imagine Hercules, in the purest spirit of knight-errantry, sallying forth in quest of adventures, without any definite object, or any impulse but that of disinterested benevolence. It will be safer, after rejecting those features in the legend which manifestly belong to Eastern religions, to distinguish the Theban Hercules from the Dorian, and the Peloponnesian, hero. In the story of each some historical fragments have most probably been preserved, and perhaps least disfigured in the Theban and Dorian legends. In those of Peloponnesus it is difficult to say to what extent their original form may not have been distorted from political motives. If we might place any reliance on them, we should be inclined to conjecture that they contain traces of the struggles by which the kingdom of Mycenæ attained to that influence over the rest of the peninsula, which is attributed to it by Homer, and which we shall have occasion to notice when we come to speak of the Trojan war.

Theseus a second Hercules.

The name of Hercules immediately suggests that of Theseus, according to the mythical chronology his younger contemporary, and only second to him in renown. It was not without reason that Theseus was said to have given rise to the proverb, *another Hercules;* for not only is there a strong resemblance between them in many particular features, but it also seems clear that Theseus was to Attica what Hercules was to the rest of Greece, and that his career

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1300—1200.

likewise represents the events of a period which cannot have been exactly measured by any human life, and probably includes many centuries. His legend is chiefly interesting to us, so far as it may be regarded as a poetical outline of the early history of Attica.

Attic kings before Theseus.

The list which has been transmitted to us of the Attic kings, his predecessors, is a compilation in which some of the names appear to have been invented merely to fill up a gap in chronology; others clearly belong to purely mythical personages; not one can safely be pronounced historical.[1] Their reigns are no less barren of events than their existence is questionable. Two occurrences only are related in their annals, which may seem to bear marks of a really political character. One is the war with Eubœa, in which Xuthus aided the Athenians; the other a contest much more celebrated, between the Attic king Erechtheus and the Thracian Eumolpus, who had become sovereign of Eleusis, where he founded a priesthood, which in later times was administered by an Athenian house, which claimed him as its ancestor. In this war Erechtheus is said to have perished, either through the wrath of Poseidon, or by the hand of a mortal enemy; and after his death, according to one form of the legend, Ion, intrusted by the Athenians with the command, terminated the war by a treaty, in which the Eleusinians acknowledged the supremacy of Athens, but reserved to themselves the celebration of their rites.[2] Neither Xuthus however nor Ion are enumerated among the kings of Attica. Erechtheus was succeeded by a second Cecrops, who migrated to Eubœa, and left his hereditary throne to his son, a second Pandion. But henceforward the Athenian annals are full of civil

[1] See an essay by Mr. Kenrick, *On the Kings of Attica before Theseus*, in the *Philolog. Mus.*, ii. p. 345.

[2] Apollod. iii. 15. 4. Paus. i. 38. 3. Strabo, viii. p. 383.

CHAP. V.

wars and revolutions. Pandion is expelled from his dominions by the Metionids — a rival branch of the royal family — and takes refuge in Megara, where he marries the king's daughter, and succeeds to the throne.[1] At Megara he became the father of four sons: but the legitimacy of Ægeus, the eldest, was disputed; and when, after the death of Pandion, he entered Attica at the head of an army, recovered his patrimony from the usurpers, and shared it with his brothers, he was still the object of their jealousy. As he was long childless, they began to cast a wishful eye toward his inheritance. But a mysterious oracle brought him to Trœzen, where fate had decreed that the future hero of Athens should be born. Æthra, the daughter of the sage king Pittheus, son of Pelops, was his mother: but the Trœzenian legend called Poseidon, not Ægeus, his father. Ægeus however returned to Athens with the hope that, in the course of years, he should be followed by a legitimate heir. At parting, he showed Æthra a huge mass of rock, under which he had hidden a sword and a pair of sandals: when her child, if a boy, should be able to lift the stone, he was to repair to Athens with the tokens it concealed, and to claim Ægeus as his father. From this deposit, Æthra gave her son the name of Theseus.

B.C. 1300 —1200.

Birth of Theseus.

The life of Theseus is composed of three main acts, — his journey from Trœzen to Athens, his victory over the Minotaur, and the political revolution which he effected in Attica. The former two achievements, notwithstanding their fabulous aspect, have probably a historical ground, no less than the third, as to which it can only be doubted how far it was the work of one individual. Instead of crossing the Saronic gulf, when he at length set out to claim the throne of Athens, the young hero resolved to signalise

His journey to Athens.

[1] Paus. i. 5. 3.

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1300 —1200.

his journey by clearing the wild road that skirted the sea, which was haunted by monsters and savage men, who abused their gigantic strength in wrong and robbery, and had almost broken off all intercourse between Trœzen and Attica. In the territory of Epidaurus he won the brazen mace with which Periphetes had been wont to surprise the unwary passenger. In the Isthmus he made Sinis undergo the same fate with his victims, whom he had rent to pieces between two pines; and he celebrated this victory by renewing the Isthmian games, which had been founded in honour of the sea-god Palæmon, and were sacred to Poseidon. Before he left the Isthmus, he did not disdain to exert his strength in destroying the wild sow of Crommyon. In the territory of Megara he was again stopped at a narrow pass hewn in a cliff, from which Sciron delighted to thrust wayfaring men into the waves. Theseus purified the accursed rock, by hurling the tyrant down its side, and cleared the Scironian road of dangers and obstacles. So, still struggling and conquering — for even in Eleusis and in Attica he met with fresh antagonists — he forced his way to the banks of the Cephisus, where he was first welcomed and purified from all this bloodshed by the hospitable Phytalids. Recognised by Ægeus, he crushed a conspiracy of his kinsmen, who viewed him as an intruder; and then sailed to Crete, to deliver Attica from the yoke of Minos, who, every ninth year, exacted a tribute of Athenian youths and virgins, and doomed them to perish in the jaws of the Minotaur. This was the more tragic story: according to another tradition, they were only detained in Crete as captives consecrated to the god, who, by famine and pestilence, had compelled the Athenians to propitiate him with this sacrifice.[1] With the aid of Ariadne, the daughter of

Adventures in Crete.

[1] Plut. Thes. 16.

Minos, he vanquished the monster of the labyrinth, and retraced its mazes; but on his homeward voyage he abandoned his fair guide on the shore at Naxus, where, as poets sang, she was consoled by Dionysus for the loss of her mortal lover. At Delos too he left memorials of his presence in sacred and festive rites, which were preserved with religious reverence in after-ages. His arrival at Athens proved fatal to Ægeus, who was deceived by the black sail of the victim-ship, which Theseus had forgotten to exchange for the concerted token of victory, and in despair threw himself down from the Cecropian rock: his memory was honoured by the Athenians with yearly sacrifices, of which the house of the Phytalids were appointed hereditary ministers. Many cheerful festivals long commemorated the return of Theseus, and the plenty which was restored to Attica when the wrath of the gods was finally appeased by his enterprise. He himself was believed to have opened the vintage procession of the Oschophoria, with two youths, who had accompanied him in disguise among the virgins, and to have instituted the harvest feast of the Pyanepsia, when the Eiresioné (an olive branch laden with the fruits of the year, cakes, and figs, and flasks of honey, oil, and wine) was carried about in honour of the sun and the seasons.

Import of the legend.

Of the political institutions ascribed to Theseus we shall find a fitter occasion of speaking hereafter, and we must pass over a great number of other adventures which adorn his legend; though some of them, as the war in which he is said to have repelled the invasion of the Amazons, may not be wholly destitute of historical import. We can only spare room for a few remarks on those broader features of the legend which we have here noticed. That part of it which relates to the journey from Trœzen, seems to be grounded on the fact that the coasts of the Saronic

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1300 —1200.

gulf were early occupied by kindred tribes of the Ionian race. Hence Poseidon, the great Ionian deity, is the father of Theseus, as the national hero: the name of Ægeus was probably no more than an epithet of the same god. The journey of Theseus however must signify something more than a mere national relation; for its prominent feature is a successful struggle with some kind of obstacles. It may perhaps be best explained by the supposition, that a period was remembered, when the union of the Ionian tribes of Attica and the opposite coast of Peloponnesus was cemented by the establishment of periodical meetings, sacred to the national god, not without opposition and interruption. The legend seems likewise to indicate, that, during the same period, perhaps as an effect of the troubles which were thus composed, a change took place in the ruling dynasty at Athens. This appears to be implied by the tradition, that Ægeus and Theseus were strangers to the line of Erechtheus. Both came from Megara to take possession of Attica; and the accounts that Pandion fled from Athens to reign in Megara, and that Theseus, when he had mounted the throne, added Megara to his dominions, may be considered as expressing the same fact in an inverted order. But there seems to be no sufficient ground for referring any of these traditions to a migration by which the Ionians first became masters of Attica.

The legend of the Cretan expedition most probably also preserves some genuine historical recollections. But the only fact which appears to be plainly indicated by it, is a temporary connection between Crete and Attica. Whether this intercourse was grounded solely on religion, or was the result of a partial dominion exercised by Crete over Athens, it would be useless to inquire; and still less can we pretend to determine the nature of the Athenian tribute, or that

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1300—1200

Minos.

of the Cretan worship to which it related. That part of the legend which belongs to Naxos and Delos was probably introduced after these islands were occupied by the Ionians. But the part assigned in these traditions to Minos, leads us to inquire a little further into the character and actions of this celebrated personage, who is represented by the general voice of antiquity as having raised Crete to a higher degree of prosperity and power than it ever reached at any subsequent period. Minos appears in the twofold character of a victorious prince, who exercises a salutary dominion over the sea and the neighbouring islands, and of a wise and just lawgiver, who exhibits to Greece the first model of a well-ordered state. In his former capacity he unites the various tribes of Crete under his sceptre, raises a great navy, scours the Ægean, and subdues the piratical Carians and Leleges, makes himself master of the Cyclades, and plants various colonies, undertakes a successful expedition against Megara and Attica, and imposes tribute, as we have seen, on his vanquished enemies: he is even said to have carried his arms into Sicily, where indeed he is cut off by treachery, and his fleet destroyed; yet his people remain there, and found a settlement which preserves his name. The leading strokes in this outline are confirmed by the concurrent testimony of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Aristotle, and by a crowd of independent traditions; nor does there seem to be any reason to think that it greatly exaggerates the truth. Crete, observes Aristotle[1], seems formed by nature, and fitted by its geographical position, for the command of Greece: and indeed the insignificance to which it was reduced during the historical period, is more extraordinary than the transient lustre which falls upon it in the mythical ages.

[1] Pol. ii. 10.

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1300—1200.

His maritime dominion and colonies.

The dominion of the Cyclades was an almost indispensable condition of the naval power attributed to Minos; and the tradition, that they were subject to his rule, is confirmed by numerous traces. Two of their towns, as well as the isle of Paros, are said to have borne the name of Minoa. But Cretan colonies were undoubtedly spread much further over the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, as in Chios and Rhodes [1], in Caria and Lycia, and even in Lemnos and Thrace: and, according to a legend adopted by Virgil, the Teucrians of Troas were of Cretan origin. These settlements, though they are commonly referred either directly or indirectly to Minos, may easily be conceived to have been the work of more than one generation. The more interesting and difficult question which they raise, is, to what race Minos and his people belong? It is interesting, because, according to a common opinion, this people possessed institutions which subsequently became the model of those of Sparta; but there are few questions which perplex the inquirer more by the conflict of reasons and authorities. We must briefly direct the reader's attention to what seem to be the most important points in the inquiry.

By Homer Minos is described as the son of Jupiter and of the daughter of Phœnix [2], whom all succeeding authors name Europa; and he is thus carried back into the remotest period of Cretan antiquity known to the poet, apparently as a native hero, illustrious enough for a divine parentage, and too ancient to allow his descent to be traced to any other source. But in a genealogy recorded by later writers, he is likewise the adopted son of Asterius, a descendant of Dorus the son of Hellen, and is thus connected with a colony said to have been led into Crete by Teu-

[1] Apollod. iii. 2. 1. Diod. v. 59. 79.; and Hoeck, *Kreta*, vol. ii. pp. 215—394.
[2] Il. xiv. 321.

tamus, or Tectamus, son of Dorus, who is related either to have crossed over from Thessaly, or to have embarked at Malea after having led his followers by land into Laconia.[1] It is his son Asterius who marries Europa, and leaves his kingdom to her son Minos. This somewhat marvellous migration, though not expressly mentioned by any very weighty author, seems to be indirectly recognised by the testimony of Homer himself, who, in the Odyssey, describes the mixed population of Crete as composed of Achæans, Eteocretes (genuine Cretans), and Cydonians; to whom are added Dorians, with an epithet denoting a triple division of some kind, and Pelasgians, who are also distinguished by an epithet which seems to show that they were known to the poet as an independent race.

Legend of his Dorian origin examined.

But this evidence, whatever may be its force, would be of secondary moment, if it were certain that Minos had left monuments of his reign, which can be ascribed only to a Dorian prince or people. And this opinion, which seems to have been entirely unknown to the ancients, has been maintained by a modern author[2], who has placed it in the most attractive light with which learning and ingenuity could recommend it. His elaborate argument mainly turns on the religious institutions which are commonly referred to the age of Minos. According to this view the Cretan settlers, who during that period spread over the islands and the eastern shores of the Ægean, introduced there the worship of their national god—the Dorian Apollo—with his characteristic symbols, rites, and oracular shrines: they founded the numerous temples on the coast of Troas, where he reigned, undoubtedly long before the time of Homer, over Chryse and Cilla, as

[1] Diod. iv. 60.; v. 80. Strabo, x. p. 475. Apollod. iii. c. 1.
[2] C. O. Mueller (*Dorians*).

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1300 —1200.

well as the neighbouring island of Tenedos.[1] Still more celebrated in after-times were his oracles at Didyma, or Branchidæ, near Miletus; at Claros, near Colophon; and at Patara, near the mouth of the Xanthus, in Lycia; which appear to have been all connected with Cretan settlements. A very early intercourse between Crete and the Delphic oracle is intimated by one of the Homeric Hymns, in which Apollo himself is introduced conducting a band of Cretans, who came from Cnossus, the city of Minos, to Crissa, and to his sanctuary at the foot of Parnassus, where he constitutes them his ministers. And the substance of this legend seems to be confirmed both by the name of Crissa, and by other similar traditions; as that the Cretan Chrysothemis was the first who won the meed of poetry at Delphi, by a hymn in honour of the god, and that his father Carmanor had purified Apollo and Artemis after they had slain the Python.[2] Even the Athenian tribute, and the Cretan expedition of Theseus, present some features which appear to indicate an affinity with the religion of Delphi. The number of seven youths and seven virgins is the same as that with which the wrath of Apollo and Artemis was anciently propitiated at Sicyon[3]; and according to Aristotle, the descendants of the Athenian captives, who were not sacrificed, but only detained in Crete to the end of their lives in sacred servitude, were afterwards sent to Delphi with a company of other *hierodules*, whom the Cretans, in fulfilment of an ancient vow, dedicated to the service of Apollo.[4] Theseus too is said to have led a suppliant procession to the temple of the same god at Athens, before he embarked on his voyage to Crete; and according to the Athenian tradition, it was to discharge a vow which he made on his return, that

[1] Il. i. 38.
[2] Paus. x. 7. 2.; ii. 7. 7.
[3] Paus. ii. 7. 8.
[4] Plut. Thes. 16.

the sacred vessel called the Theoris sailed every year from Athens with offerings for the altar of Apollo at Delos.[1]

This will suffice to illustrate the nature of the arguments which have been drawn from the religious institutions of Crete, for the opinion that a Dorian colony existed there in the days of Minos. Their force is very much weakened both by the great obscurity which hangs over the origin of all such institutions in Greece, and by some indications which point to a different conclusion. There is scarcely sufficient evidence that the Cretan settlers in Asia introduced that worship of Apollo which we find established in later times. But even when this is admitted, it still remains uncertain how far this worship was ever peculiar to the Dorian race. On the other hand, though there are traces of a very ancient connection between Crete and Delphi, it is by no means clear that the religion of Delphi was predominant in the island in the age of Minos; and the legend of Minos himself seems rather to belong to a totally different circle of mythology. The fables of his birth, and those of the mythical persons by whom he is surrounded—Europa and Pasiphae, Ariadne and the Minotaur — transport us into a region wholly foreign to the worship of the Delphic god. Minos is a son of Jupiter, not, as a Dorian hero would probably have been represented, of Apollo; nor is it from Apollo, as the Spartan lawgiver, but from Jupiter, that he is said to have derived his political wisdom. If then this argument should appear to fail, very slight evidence will be left for the Dorian colony of Teutamus. The passage of the Odyssey is by no means conclusive. The poet knew of Dorians in Crete in his own day; and even if he was aware that their settlements were com-

Grounds for rejecting it.

[1] Plato, Phæd. p. 58. Compare, however, the origin of the Oschophoria, described by Proclus, ed. Gaisf. p. 388.

CHAP. V. B.C. 1300—1200.

paratively recent, he might not scruple to complete his description, by enumerating them with the other inhabitants of the island. Indeed if he had the age of Ulysses in view, and had ever heard of Cnossus, as the capital of a Dorian state, to which the rest of Crete was subject in the reign of Minos, he would scarcely have thrown the different races so indiscriminately together. Yet this passage was probably the occasion of the story about the colony of Tectamus; and the epithet given to the Dorians seems to have suggested the fiction, that Minos divided the island into three districts, and founded a city in each.[1]

If however Minos and his people are not to be considered as Dorians, it appears to follow that the political institutions of Minos can have been but very slightly connected with those which afterwards existed in the Dorian states of Crete; and we therefore reserve our description of the latter for the period when they were most probably first introduced into the island. In this respect no reliance can safely be placed on the authority of those ancient writers, who represent Minos as having furnished a model which was imitated by Lycurgus. The Cretan Dorians, who found the fame of Minos as a powerful king, a wise lawgiver, and a righteous judge, widely spread over their new country, may naturally have been inclined to attach so glorious a name to their own institutions. Nor need it be denied that there was a historical ground for this celebrity: but in a rude age small improvements in the frame of society might afford a sufficient foundation for it. Hence it may easily be believed that, as Aristotle seems to intimate[2], several usages were here and there retained during the Dorian period, which had been transmitted from the time of Minos. On the other hand it is extremely difficult to conceive that a system of government, such as was established

[1] Strabo, x. p. 476. Diod. v. 78. [2] Pol. ii. 10.

in the Dorian states of Crete, could have been combined with that naval dominion which Minos is said to have acquired: the later colonists indeed are expressly related to have preferred inland situations[1]; nor is it very intelligible how the people of Minos, if it was a detachment from a small tribe which was long unable to maintain its ground against its neighbours in Greece, could so early have undertaken foreign conquests, and have planted so many distant colonies.

Conjecture on the legend of Minos.

It is not necessary that we should attempt to substitute a new hypothesis for the opinion which we have found ourselves compelled to reject. But, if we might hazard a conjecture on the subject, we should be inclined to suspect that the maritime greatness of Crete belonged principally to the Phœnicians, with whom Minos appears, both from the common account of his origin, and from the general aspect of the legends concerning him, to have been much more nearly connected than with the Dorians. Not however as if Phœnicians had ever formed a considerable part of the population of Crete. We would only suggest that the age of Minos may not improbably be considered as representing a period, when the arts introduced by Phœnician settlers had raised one of the Cretan tribes, under an able and enterprising chief, to a temporary pre-eminence over its neighbours, which enabled it to establish a sort of maritime empire. This supposition may perhaps afford the easiest explanation of the singular legend, that Minos perished in Sicily, whither he had sailed in pursuit of Dædalus. This story seems to have had its origin in the progress of the Phœnician settlements toward the west. Dædalus flies before Minos, first to Sicily, and then to Sardinia.[2] In Sicily he leaves wonderful

[1] Paus. iii. 2. 7. The reader should however compare Mueller's observations in Appendix iii. to the second edition of the English translation of the *Dorians*.

[2] Paus. x. 17. 4.

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1300 —1200.

monuments of his art among the rude natives, and particularly exerts his skill in strengthening and adorning the temple of Venus at Eryx [1], which was most probably founded by Phœnicians. According to the Cretan tradition, the disaster of Minos was attended with the total downfal of Crete's maritime power; and the language of Herodotus seems to imply that it was only after this event that the island was occupied by a Hellenic population; his silence, at all events, proves that he had never heard of a migration of Dorians from Thessaly to Crete.[2]

Our plan obliges us to pass over a great number of wars, expeditions, and achievements of these ages, which were highly celebrated in heroic song, not because we deem them to contain less of historical reality than others which we mention, but because they appear not to have been attended with any important or lasting consequences. We might otherwise have been induced to notice the quarrel which divided the royal house of Thebes, and led to a series of wars between Thebes and Argos, which terminated in the destruction of the former city, and the temporary expulsion of the Cadmeans, its ancient inhabitants. Hercules and Theseus undertook their adventures either alone, or with the aid of a single comrade; but in these Theban wars we find a union of seven chiefs; and such confederacies appear to have become frequent in the latter part of the heroic age. So a numerous band of heroes was combined in the enterprise, which, whatever may have been its real nature, became renowned as the Chase of the

Confederacies among the h the Tl wars, ... ly- donian Chase

[1] Diod. iv. 78. A temple of Venus is also erected over the tomb of Minos. Diod. iv. 79.

[2] VII. 171. Hoeck, *Kreta*, ii. p. 15. foll. Heffter (*Die Goetterdienste auf Rhodus*, p. 152. note, 653.) considers it as a dangerous abuse of reasoning to question the authority on which this story rests, but points out no distinction by which the exercise of historical criticism in any case could be reconciled with his maxim. On very different grounds Buttmann (*Mythologus*, ii. p. 311.) admits the high antiquity of the Dorian settlements in Crete.

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1300 —1200.

Calydonian boar.[1] We proceed to speak of two expeditions much more celebrated, conducted like these by a league of independent chieftains, but directed, not to any part of Greece, but against distant lands; we mean the voyage of the Argonauts, and the siege of Troy, which will conclude our review of the mythical period of Grecian history.

Legend of the Argonautic expedition.

The Argonautic expedition, when viewed in the light in which it has usually been considered, is an event which a critical historian, if he feels himself compelled to believe it, may think it his duty to notice, but which he is glad to pass rapidly over, as a perplexing and unprofitable riddle. For even when the ancient legend has been pared down into an historical form, and its marvellous and poetical features have been all effaced, so that nothing is left but what may appear to belong to its pith and substance, it becomes indeed dry and meagre enough, but not much more intelligible than before. It still relates an adventure, incomprehensible in its design, astonishing in its execution, connected with no conceivable cause, and with no sensible effect. The narrative, reduced to the shape in which it has often been thought worthy of a place in history, runs as follows: In the generation before the Trojan war, Jason, a young Thessalian prince, had incurred the jealousy of his kinsman Pelias, who reigned at Iolcus. The crafty king encouraged the adventurous youth to embark in a maritime expedition full of difficulty and danger. It was to be directed to a point far beyond the most remote which Greek navigation had hitherto reached in the same quarter; to the eastern corner of the sea, so celebrated in ancient times for the ferocity of the barbarians inhabiting its coasts, that it was commonly

[1] A modern author suspects that this was in reality a military expedition against some of the savage Ætolian tribes, and that the name of one of them (the *Aperanti*) suggested the legend. Plass I. p. 45.

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1300 —1200.

supposed to have derived from them the name of *Axenus*, the inhospitable, before it acquired the opposite name of the *Euxine*, from the civilisation which was at length introduced by Greek settlers. Here, in the land of the Colchians, lay the goal, because this contained the prize, from which the voyage has been frequently called the adventure of the golden fleece. Jason having built a vessel of uncommon size — in more precise terms, the first fifty-oared galley his countrymen had ever launched — and having manned it with a band of heroes, who assembled from various parts of Greece to share the glory of the enterprise, sailed to Colchis, where he not only succeeded in the principal object of his expedition, whatever this may have been, but carried off Medea, the daughter of the Colchian king Æetes.

Though this is an artificial statement, framed to reconcile the main incidents of a wonderful story with nature and probability, it still contains many points which can scarcely be explained or believed. It carries us back to a period when navigation was in its infancy among the Greeks; yet their first essay at maritime discovery is supposed at once to have reached the extreme limit which was long after attained by the adventurers who gradually explored the same formidable sea, and gained a footing on its coasts. The success of the undertaking however is not so surprising as the project itself; for this implies a previous knowledge of the country to be explored, which it is very difficult to account for. But the end proposed is still more mysterious; and indeed can only be explained with the aid of a conjecture. Such an explanation was attempted by some of the later writers among the ancients, who perceived that the whole story turned on the golden fleece, the supposed motive of the voyage, and that this feature had not a sufficiently historical appearance. But the mountain torrents of Colchis were said to

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1300

sweep down particles of gold, which the natives used to detain by fleeces dipped in the streams. This report suggested a mode of translating the fable into historical language. It was conjectured that the Argonauts had been attracted by the metallic treasures of the country, and that the golden fleece was a poetical description of the process which they had observed, or perhaps had practised: an interpretation certainly more ingenious, or at least less absurd, than those by which Diodorus transforms the fire-breathing bulls which Jason was said to have yoked at the bidding of Æetes, into a band of Taurians, who guarded the fleece, and the sleepless dragon which watched over it, into their commander Draco: but yet not more satisfactory; for it explains a casual, immaterial circumstance, while it leaves the essential point in the legend wholly untouched. The epithet *golden*, to which it relates, is merely poetical and ornamental, and signified nothing more as to the nature of the fleece than the epithets *white* or *purple*, which were also applied to it by early poets.[1] According to the original and genuine tradition, the fleece was a sacred relic, and its importance arose entirely out of its connection with the tragical story of Phrixus, the main feature of which is the human sacrifice which the gods had required from the house of Athamas. His son Phrixus either offered himself, or was selected through the artifices of his stepmother Ino, as the victim; but at the critical moment, as he stood before the altar, the marvellous ram was sent for his deliverance, and transported him over the sea, according to the received account, to Colchis, where Phrixus, on his arrival, sacrificed the ram to Jupiter, as the god who had favoured his escape[2]; the fleece was nailed to an

[1] Schol. Apoll. R. iv. 177.

[2] Ζεὺς Φύξιος. Mueller, *Orchomenos*, p. 164.

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1300 —1200.

oak in the grove of Mars, where it was kept by Æetes as a sacred treasure, or palladium.

Religious groundwork of the legend.

This legend was not a mere poetical fiction, but was grounded on a peculiar form of religion which prevailed in that part of Greece from which the Argonauts are said to have set out on their expedition, and which remained in vigour even down to the Persian wars. Herodotus informs us, that when Xerxes, on his march to Greece, had come to *Alus*, a town of the Thessalian Achaia, situate near the gulf of Pagasæ, in a tract sometimes called the Athamantian Plain, his guides described to him the rites belonging to the temple of the *Laphystian* Jupiter, an epithet equivalent to that under which Phrixus is elsewhere said to have sacrificed the ram to the same god. The eldest among the descendants of Phrixus was forbidden to enter the council-house at *Alus*, though their ancestor Athamas was the founder of the city. If the head of the family was detected on the forbidden ground, he was led in solemn procession, covered with garlands, like an ordinary victim, and sacrificed. Many of the devoted race were said to have quitted their country to avoid this danger, and to have fallen into the snare when they returned after a long absence. The origin assigned to this rite was, that after the escape of Phrixus, the Achæans had been on the point of sacrificing Athamas himself to appease the anger of the gods; but that he was rescued by the timely interference of Cytissorus, son of Phrixus, who had returned from the Colchian Æa, the land of his father's exile: hence the curse, unfulfilled, was transmitted for ever to the posterity of Phrixus. This story, strange as it may sound, not only rests on unquestionable authority, but might be confirmed by parallel instances of Greek superstition; and it scarcely leaves room to doubt that it was from this religious belief of the people, among whom the

Argonautic legend sprang up, that it derived its peculiar character; and that the expedition, so far as it was the adventure of the golden fleece, was equally unconnected with piracy, commerce, and discovery. It closely resembled some of the romantic enterprises celebrated in the poetry of the middle ages, the object of which was imaginary, and the direction uncertain. And so Pindar[1] represents it as undertaken for the purpose of bringing back, with the golden fleece, the soul of Phrixus, which could not rest in the foreign land to which it had been banished.

Its historical groundwork.

But the tradition must also have had an historical foundation in some real voyages and adventures, without which it could scarcely have arisen at all, and could never have become so generally current as to be little inferior in celebrity to the tale of Troy itself.[2] If however the fleece had no existence but in popular belief, the land where it was to be sought was a circumstance of no moment. In the earlier form of the legend, it might not have been named at all, but only have been described as the distant, the unknown, land; and after it had been named, it might have been made to vary with the gradual enlargement of geographical information. But in this case the voyage of the Argonauts can no longer be considered as an insulated adventure, for which no adequate motive is left; but must be regarded, like the expedition of the Tyrian Hercules, as representing a succession of enterprises, which may have been the employment of several generations. And this is perfectly consistent with the manner in which the adventurers are most properly described. They are Minyans; a branch of the Greek nation, whose atten-

[1] Pyth. iv. 160.

[2] Od. xii. 70. Ἀργὼ πασιμέλουσα] Ἐπίθετον τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἀπὸ τοῦ πᾶσιν ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ εἶναι διὰ τὸ κλέος. ἢ πᾶσι μέλουσα θεοῖς. πᾶσι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν φρουτίδι οὖσα· ἐκ πάσης γὰρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἶχεν ἥρωας — which comes to nearly the same thing as the first explanation.

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1300 —1200.

tion was very early drawn by their situation, not perhaps without some influence from the example and intercourse of the Phœnicians, to maritime pursuits. The form which the legend assumed was probably determined by the course of their earliest naval expeditions. They were naturally attracted toward the north-east, first by the islands that lay before the entrance of the Hellespont, and then by the shores of the Propontis and its two straits. Their successive colonies, or spots signalised either by hostilities or peaceful transactions with the natives, would become the landing-places of the Argonauts. That such a colony existed at Lemnos, seems unquestionable; though it does not follow that Euneus, the son of Jason, who is described in the Iliad as reigning there during the siege of Troy, was an historical personage. But the voyages of the Minyans appear to have been bounded by the mouth of the Euxine, or, if they extended further, to have been confined to its European coast, where Salmydessus, and Cytæa itself, were originally situated: afterwards the former name was transferred to the coast of Asia, and the latter to Colchis, or Scythia. Herodotus mentions Æa (a word signifying a land or country), with the addition of the Colchian, as the term of the Argonautic expedition. And Homer also appears to have heard of Æa, as he had of Æetes, but to have placed his kingdom, as well as the Ææan island, the abode of his sister Circe, in the west.[1] At all events it is very doubtful whether he had ever heard of Colchis, which he never mentions, though Greece must have rung with the name, if the Argonauts had really penetrated so far;

[1] The fountain of Artacia, a scene so memorable in the Argonautic legend, which fixes it in the neighbourhood of Cyzicus, is, in the Odyssey (x. 108.), together with the giants who dwell near it, placed on the coast of Italy. Niebuhr, *On the Sicilians in the Odyssey*, Rh. M. i. 256. (*Phil. Mus.* p. 175.) observes: "In tradition, east and west, like all diametrical opposites, are the same thing (*fuer die Sage identisch*): thus we have the Planctæ in the West, and under the name of Cyaneæ in the East."

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1300 —1200.

and he transports the moving rocks, between which Heré, for the sake of her favourite Jason, had carried his ships, into the Sicilian sea. The conclusion to which we are led by Homer's silence, as well as by all the circumstances of the case, will be little shaken by the supposed monuments of Phrixus and Jason, which Strabo alleges as proofs of the actual presence of these heroes in the countries east of the Euxine, with any one who reflects how easily such monuments start up, where a legend has once become current. It is not even necessary to suppose, that the numerous chapels in honour of Jason, of which however the geographer speaks only from report, were all either fancied or founded by Greeks. When the wonderful tale had spread inland, the barbarians who adopted it would soon be able to produce vestiges of Jason's expedition among them, as at this day some of the Caucasian tribes are said to perform a kind of heathen worship at caverns in their valleys, which they imagine to have been consecrated by the presence of the prophet Elias, whom they hold in the highest reverence, and consult with sacrifices as an oracular deity, without having the slightest notion of his character and history.[1] Strabo himself believed that Jason had marched into Armenia, and that this country derived its name from his companion, the Thessalian Armenus; and he saw nothing improbable in the opinion, that both Jason and Medea had reigned in Media, which was supposed to have been named after the heroine, or her son Medus — a specimen of credulity, which at once marks the degree of deference due to the geographer's authority in such

[1] Klaproth, *Tableau du Caucase*, p. 99. I have been informed by a person well acquainted with this part of Asia, that Klaproth must have been deceived by a similarity of sound, and that the real object of this worship is totally different — a personification, I think, of the sun. The error, however, may serve the purpose of illustration almost as well as the fact.

CHAP. V.

questions, and the tendency of the fable to widen its geographical range.

If however it should be asked, in what light the hero and heroine of the legend are to be viewed on this hypothesis, it must be answered that both are most probably purely ideal personages, connected with the religion of the people to whose poetry they belong. Jason was perhaps no other than the Samothracian god or hero Iasion, whose name was sometimes written in the same manner, the favourite of Demeter, as his namesake was of Heré, and the protector of mariners as the Thessalian hero was the chief of the Argonauts. Medea seems to have been originally another form of Heré herself, and to have descended, by a common transition, from the rank of a goddess into that of a heroine, when an epithet had been mistaken for a distinct name. We have already seen that the Corinthian tradition claimed her as belonging properly to Corinth, one of the principal seats of the Minyan race. The tragical scenes which rendered her stay there so celebrated were commemorated by religious rites, which continued to be observed until the city was destroyed by the Romans. According to the local legend, she had not murdered her children; they had been killed by the Corinthians; and the public guilt was expiated by annual sacrifices offered to Heré, in whose temple fourteen boys, chosen every twelvemonth from noble families, were appointed to spend a year in all the ceremonies of solemn mourning. But we cannot here pursue this part of the subject any further. The historical side of the legend seems to exhibit an opening intercourse between the opposite shores of the Ægean. If however it was begun by the northern Greeks, it was probably not long confined to them, but was early shared by those of Peloponnesus. It would be inconsistent with the piratical habits of the early

navigators, to suppose that this intercourse was always of a friendly nature; and it may therefore not have been without a real ground, that the Argonautic expedition was sometimes represented as the occasion of the first conflict between the Greeks and Trojans. We therefore pass by a natural transition out of the mythical circle we have just been tracing, into that of the Trojan War, and the light in which we have viewed the one may serve to guide us in forming a judgment on the historical import of the other.[1]

We have already seen in what manner Eurystheus, the son of Sthenelus, had usurped the inheritance which belonged of right to Hercules, as the legitimate representative of Perseus. Sthenelus had reserved Mycenæ and Tiryns for himself; but he had bestowed the neighbouring town of Midea on Atreus and Thyestes, the sons of Pelops, and uncles of Eurystheus. On the death of Hercules, Eurystheus pursued his orphan children from one place of refuge to another, until they found an asylum in Attica. Theseus refused to surrender them, and Eurystheus then invaded Attica in person; but his army was routed, and he himself slain by Hyllus, the eldest son of Hercules, in his flight through the Isthmus. Atreus

[1] In the account here given of the Argonautic expedition we have adopted the view of the subject which was first unfolded with a profusion of learning and ingenious combinations by Mueller, in his *Orchomenos*, and which still appears to us, in its leading outlines, the only tenable hypothesis. No other, with which we are acquainted, either explains, or is reconcilable with, all parts of the legend. Weichert (who seems not to have seen Mueller's work, though his own was published a year later), in his book (*Ueber Apollonius von Rhodus*), endeavours to give a more specious form to the common story, but with little success. He makes the fleece to signify the treasures of Phrixus, who flies with them (from some unknown motive), and, of all places in the world, to Colchis; where, according to the barbarous usage of the country, he is murdered by Æetes. Intelligence of this outrage reaches Greece by means of the commerce which, notwithstanding the ferocity of the Colchians, is kept up between them and the Æolids; and the heroes embark, not in a single ship, but in a fleet, to avenge the murder, and to recover the treasure. Plass (i. 315. 416.) attempts to combine Mueller's hypothesis with one of his own, about a settlement of the Phœnicians at Orchomenos. They are driven out of the country by the Minyans, and leave behind them a tradition of the riches which they have carried away (as Plass, following the steps of Boettiger, supposes) to the north-east, and the Minyans now undertake a series of voyages in the hope of finding and plundering them. But why not rather make for Phœnicia?

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1300 —1200.

succeeded to the throne of his nephew, whose children had been all cut off in this disastrous expedition; and thus, when his sceptre descended to his son Agamemnon, it conveyed the sovereignty of an ample realm. While the house of Pelops was here enriched with the spoils of Hercules, it enjoyed the fruits of his triumphant valour in another quarter. He had bestowed Laconia on Tyndareus, the father of Helen; and when Agamemnon's brother, Menelaus, had been preferred to all the other suitors of this beautiful princess, Tyndareus resigned his dominions to his son-in-law. In the meanwhile a flourishing state had risen up on the eastern side of the Hellespont. Its capital, Troy, had been taken by Hercules, with the assistance of Telamon, son of Æacus, but had been restored to Priam, the son of its conquered king, Laomedon, who reigned there in peace and prosperity over a number of little tribes, until his son Paris, attracted to Laconia by the fame of Helen's beauty, abused the hospitality of Menelaus by carrying off his queen in his absence. All the chiefs of Greece combined their forces, under the command of Agamemnon, to avenge this outrage, sailed with a great armament to Troy, and, after a siege of ten years, took and razed it to the ground. (B. C. 1184).

Story of the Trojan War.

Such is the brief outline of a story, which the poems of Homer have made familiar to most readers long before they are tempted to inquire into its historical basis; and it is consequently difficult to enter upon the inquiry without some prepossessions unfavourable to an impartial judgment. Here however we must not be deterred from stating our view of the subject by the certainty that it will appear to some paradoxical, while others will think that it savours of excessive credulity. The reality of the siege of Troy has sometimes been questioned, we conceive, without

How far credible.

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1184.

sufficient ground, and against some strong evidence. According to the rules of sound criticism, very cogent arguments ought to be required to induce us to reject as a mere fiction a tradition so ancient, so universally received, so definite, and so interwoven with the whole mass of the national recollections, as that of the Trojan War. Even if unfounded, it must still have had some adequate occasion and motive; and it is difficult to imagine what this could have been, unless it arose out of the Greek colonies in Asia; and in this case its universal reception in Greece itself, is not easily explained. The leaders of the earliest among these colonies, which were planted in the neighbourhood of Troy, claimed Agamemnon as their ancestor; but if this had suggested the story of his victories in Asia, their scene would probably have been fixed in the very region occupied by his descendants, not in an adjacent land. On the other hand the course taken by this first (Æolian) migration falls in naturally with a previous tradition of a conquest achieved by Greeks in this part of Asia. We therefore conceive it necessary to admit the reality of the Trojan War as a general fact; but beyond this we scarcely venture to proceed a single step. Its cause and its issue, the manner in which it was conducted, and the parties engaged in it, are all involved in an obscurity which we cannot pretend to penetrate. We find it impossible to adopt the poetical story of Helen, partly on account of its inherent improbability, and partly because we are convinced that Helen is a merely mythological person. The common account of the origin of the war has indeed been defended, on the ground that it is perfectly consistent with the manners of the age — as if a popular tale, whether true or false, could be at variance with them. The feature in the narrative which strikes us as in the highest degree improbable, setting the

Helen a mythological person.

character of the persons out of the question, is the intercourse implied in it between Troy and Sparta. As to the heroine, it would be sufficient to raise a strong suspicion of her fabulous nature, to observe that she is classed by Herodotus with Io, and Europa, and Medea, all of them persons who, on distinct grounds, must clearly be referred to the domain of mythology. This suspicion is confirmed by all the particulars of her legend; by her birth[1]; by her relation to the divine Twins, whose worship seems to have been one of the most ancient forms of religion in Peloponnesus, and especially in Laconia; and by the divine honours paid to her at Sparta, and elsewhere.[2] But a still stronger reason for doubting the reality of the motive assigned by Homer for the Trojan War is, that the same incident recurs in another circle of fictions, and that, in the abduction of Helen, Paris only repeats an exploit also attributed to Theseus. This adventure of the Attic hero seems to have been known to Homer; for he introduces Æthra, the mother of Theseus, whom the Dioscuri were said to have carried off from Attica, when they invaded it to recover their sister, in Helen's company at Troy.[3] Theseus, when he came to bear her away, is said to have found her dancing in the temple of the goddess, whose image her daughter, Iphigenia, was believed to have brought home from Scythia; a feature in the legend which perhaps marks the branch of the Lacedæmonian worship to which she

[1] Homer describes her as the daughter of Jupiter, but does not mention her mother Leda, the wife of Tyndareus. The fable, that she was the daughter of Nemesis (Paus. i. 33. 7.), sounds to us, who are only familiar with the later idea of Nemesis, as an allegorical fiction; but it may be quite as ancient as the other, perhaps originally the same as Hesiod's (Schol. Pind. N. x. 150.), that she was a daughter of Oceanus and Tethys.

[2] Herod. vi. 61. At Rhodes she was worshipped under the epithet δενδρῖτις, and a legend was devised to account for it. (Paus. iii. 19. 10.) Compare also the accounts of the temple which she dedicates to Ilithyia (Paus. ii. 22. 6.), of the temple of Aphrodite at Trœzen (Paus. ii. 32. 7.), with Plut. Thes. c. 20, 21.

[3] Il. iii. 144. The line, indeed, has been suspected of being an Attic interpolation (Bode, *Gesch. d. Hell. Dichtkunst*, i. p. 303.), but apparently without sufficient ground (see Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* p. 377.).

belonged. According to another tradition, Helen was carried off by Idas and Lynceus, the Messenian pair of heroes who answer to the Spartan Twins,[1]—variations which seem to show that her abduction was a theme for poetry originally independent of the Trojan war, but which might easily and naturally be associated with that event.[2]

Connection between the Trojan war and the Argonautic expedition.

If however we reject the traditional occasion of the Trojan War, we are driven to conjecture in order to explain the real connection of the events; yet not so as to be wholly without traces to direct us. We have already observed that the Argonautic expedition was sometimes represented as connected with the first conflict between Greece and Troy. This was according to the legend which numbered Hercules among the Argonauts, and supposed him, on the voyage, to have rendered a service to the Trojan king, Laomedon, who afterwards defrauded him of his recompence. The main fact however that Troy was taken and sacked by Hercules, is recognised by Homer; and thus we see it already provoking the enmity, or tempting the cupidity of the Greeks, in the generation before the celebrated war; and it may easily be conceived that if its power and opulence revived after this blow, it might again excite the same feelings.

Expedition of Hercules against Troy.

The expedition of Hercules may indeed suggest a doubt, whether it was not an earlier and simpler form of the same tradition, which grew at length into the argument of the Iliad; for there is a striking resemblance between the two wars, not only in the events, but in the principal actors. As the prominent figures in the second siege are Agamemnon and Achilles, who represent the royal house of Mycenæ and that of the Æacids; so in the first the Argive

[1] Plut. Thes. 31.

[2] On the mythical character of Helen, see an essay of Uschold's in *Zimmermann's Zeitschrift*, 1835. nr. 105—107., entitled, *Bedeutung der Helena und ihrer Wanderungen.*

Hercules is accompanied by the Æacid Telamon [1]; and even the quarrel and reconciliation of the allied chiefs are features common to both traditions. Nor perhaps should it be overlooked that, according to a legend which was early celebrated in the epic poetry of Greece [2], the Greek fleet sailed twice from Aulis to the coast of Asia. In the first voyage it reached the mouth of the Caicus, where the army landed, and gained a victory over Telephus, king of Mysia; but on leaving the Mysian coast the fleet was dispersed by a storm, and compelled to reassemble at Aulis. There seems to be no reason for treating this either as a fictitious episode, or as a fact really belonging to the history of the Trojan War. It may have been originally a distinct legend, grounded, like that of Hercules, on a series of attacks made by the Greeks on the coast of Asia, whether merely for the sake of plunder, or with a view to permanent settlements.

As to the expedition which ended in the fall of Ilion, while the leading facts are so uncertain, it must clearly be hopeless to form any distinct conception of its details. It seems scarcely necessary to observe, that no more reliance can be placed on the enumeration of the Greek forces in the Iliad, than on the other parts of the poem which have a more poetical aspect, especially as it appears to be a compilation adapted to a later state of things. That the numbers of the armament are, as Thucydides observed, exaggerated by the poet, may easily be believed; and perhaps we may very well dispense with the historian's supposition, that a detachment was employed in the cultivation of the Thracian Chersonesus. "My

[1] Welcker, however (in an essay on the Ajax of Sophocles, in the Rh. Mus.), thinks that the genealogy by which Telamon was connected with the line of Æacus was invented after Homer. It was rejected by Pherecydes (Apollod. iii. 12. 6. 8.), who represented Telamon as the friend only, not the brother, of Peleus.

[2] From which it passed into the Cypria of Stasinus, who is probably not later than the eighth century, B.C.

CHAP. V.

father," says the son of Hercules in the Iliad, "came hither with no more than six ships, and few men: yet he laid Ilion waste, and made her streets desolate." A surprising contrast indeed to the efforts and success of Agamemnon, who, with his 1200 ships and 100,000 men, headed by the flower of the Grecian chivalry, lay ten years before the town, often ready to abandon the enterprise in despair, and at last was indebted for victory to an unexpected favourable turn of affairs. It has been conjectured that after the first calamity the city was more strongly fortified and rose rapidly in power during the reign of Priam; but this supposition can scarcely reconcile the imagination to the transition from the six ships of Hercules to the vast host of Agamemnon.[1] On the other hand there is no difficulty in believing that, whatever may have been the motives of the expedition, the spirit of adventure may have drawn warriors together from most parts of Greece, among whom the southern and northern Achæans, under Pelopid and Æacid princes, took the lead, and that it may thus have deserved the character, which is uniformly ascribed to it, of a national enterprise. The presence of several distinguished chiefs, each attended by a small band, would be sufficient both to explain the celebrity of the achievement, and to account for the event. If it were not trespassing too far on the field of poetry, one might imagine that the plan of the Greeks was the same which we find frequently adopted in later times, by invaders whose force was comparatively weak: that they fortified themselves in a post, from which they continued to annoy and distress the enemy, till stratagem or treachery gave them possession of the town.

B.C. 1184.

Historical view of the Trojan war.

Though there can be little doubt that the expe-

Consequences of the war.

[1] See Dio Chrys. *Trojana* (i. p. 329. Reisk.).

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1184.

dition accomplished its immediate object,[1] it seems to be also clear that a Trojan state survived for a time the fall of Ilion; for an historian of great authority on this subject both from his age and his country, Xanthus the Lydian, related that such a state was finally destroyed by the invasion of the Phrygians, a Thracian tribe, which crossed over from Europe to Asia after the Trojan War.[2] And this is indirectly confirmed by the testimony of Homer, who introduces Poseidon predicting that the posterity of Æneas should long continue to reign over the Trojans, after the race of Priam should be extinct. To the conquerors the war is represented as no less disastrous in its remote consequences, than it was glorious in its immediate issue. The *returns* of the heroes formed a distinct circle of epic poetry, of which the Odyssey includes only a small part, and they were generally full of tragical adventures. This calamitous result of a successful enterprise seems to have been an essential feature in the legend of Troy; for Hercules also, on his return, was persecuted by the wrath of Heré, and driven out of his course by a furious tempest. We shall hereafter touch on the historical foundation of this part of the story: for the present we will only remark, that if, as many traces indicate, the legend grew up and spread among the Asiatic Greeks, when newly settled in the land where their forefathers, the heroes of a better generation, had won so many glorious fields, it would not be difficult to conceive how it might take this melancholy turn. The siege of Troy was the last event to which the emigrants could look back with joy and pride. But

[1] If Dio's *Trojana* had been designed to expose the futility of historical reasoning on such subjects, it would have been a very able performance. As it is, it would not be easy to refute its arguments on its own ground, or to elude the force of the remark, that the consequences attributed to the Trojan war would have been far more likely to ensue, if the expedition had failed, and the besiegers had withdrawn baffled and discomfited. p. 358. foll.

[2] Strabo, xiv. 680. xii. 572.

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1184.

it was a bright spot, seen through a long vista, chequered with manifold vicissitudes, laborious struggles, and fatal revolutions. They had come as exiles and outcasts to the shores which their ancestors had left as conquerors: it seemed as if the jealousy of the gods had been roused by the greatest achievement of the Achæans to afflict and humble them. The changes and sufferings of several generations were naturally crowded into a short period following the event which was viewed as their cause, and were represented in the adverse fortune of the principal chiefs of the nation. As the rising spirit of naval adventure blended itself with these patriotic feelings and recollections, the marvellous regions of the East and West, long objects of dim anticipation and of eager curiosity, were drawn into the pathetic picture; and the island of Alcinous reflected the familiar image of a maritime people, which combined a keen relish for social enjoyments with contempt of danger and hardship, and loved to fill up the intervals of perilous voyages with the feast, the song, and the dance.

In discussing the historical reality of the Trojan war, we have abstained from touching on a question connected with it, which is still a subject of active controversy, — the antiquity and original form of the poems which contain the earliest memorial of that event. We have thought it better to keep aloof for the present from this controversy; because, in whatever manner it may be decided, it does not seem to affect any of the opinions here advanced. However near the poet, if he is to be considered as a single one, may be supposed to have lived to the times of which he sings, it is clear that he did not suffer himself to be fettered by his knowledge of the facts. For aught we know, he may have been a contemporary of those

Authority of the Homeric Poems with regard to historical facts.

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1184.

who had fought under Achilles; but it is not the less true that he describes his principal hero as the son of a sea-goddess.[1] He and his hearers most probably looked upon epic song as a vehicle of history; and therefore it required a popular tradition for its basis, without which it would have seemed hollow and insipid, its ornaments misplaced, and its catastrophe uninteresting. But it is equally manifest that the kind of history for which he invoked the aid of the Muses to strengthen his memory, was not chiefly valued as a recital of real events: that it was one in which the marvellous appeared natural, and that form of the narrative most credible which tended most to exalt the glory of his heroes. If in detached passages the poet sometimes appears to be relating with the naked simplicity of truth, we cannot ascribe any higher authority to these episodes than to the rest of the poem, and must attribute their seeming plainness and sobriety to the brevity of the space allotted to them, rather than to superior accuracy in the transmission of their contents. The campaigns of Nestor, the wars of Calydon, the expeditions of Achilles, probably appear less poetical than the battles before Troy, only because they stand in the background of the picture, as subordinate groups, and were perhaps transferred into it from other legends, in which, occupying a different place, they were exhibited in a more marvellous and poetical shape.

[1] Origen. c. Celsum, i. 42. *φέρε γάρ τινα λέγειν, μὴ γεγονέναι τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον, μάλιστα διὰ τὸ ἀδύνατον προσπεπλέχθαι λόγον περὶ τοῦ γεγενῆσθαί τινα Ἀχιλλέα θαλασσίας θεᾶς Θετιδὸς υἱὸν καὶ ἀνθρώπου Πήλεως, ἢ Σαρπήδονα Διός, ἢ Ἀσκάλαφον καὶ Ἰάλμενον Ἄρεος, ἢ Αἰνείαν Ἀφροδίτης· πῶς ἂν κατασκευάσαιμεν τὸ τοιοῦτον, μάλιστα θλιβόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως παρυφανθέντος πλάσματος τῇ κεκρατηκυίᾳ παρὰ πᾶσι δόξῃ περὶ τοῦ ἀληθῶς γεγονέναι τὸν ἐν Ἰλίῳ πόλεμον Ἑλλήνων καὶ Τρώων.* B. Thiersch (*Ueber das Zeitalter und Vaterland des Homer*, p. 194.) thinks that the argument derived from the supernatural machinery, to prove that the poet was not a contemporary of his heroes, may be demolished by a reference to the story of Athenian credulity in Herodot. i. 60., which however, as will be shown, seems to be capable of a different construction.

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1184.

With regard to the state of society described in them.

But though, when we are inquiring into the reality of persons and events, we can allow very little weight to the authority of Homer, there is another more important kind of truth, which we attribute to his poetry with a conviction which would not be at all shaken, even if it could be shown that he was separated from the scenes which he describes by a longer interval than has yet been assumed in any hypothesis. The kind of truth we mean is that which relates to the general condition of society, to institutions, manners, and opinions. Of this kind of truth the poet's contemporaries were competent and unbiassed judges. A picture which did not correspond to a state of things familiar to them, they would have found unintelligible and uninteresting. We cannot ascribe either to them the power of comprehending, or to the poet the ambition of affecting, a learned propriety in his descriptions, and still less can it be supposed that he drew from an ideal model. It seems clear that the generation which he saw was not parted from that of which he sang by any wide break in thoughts, feelings, or social relations. Such a supposition would be not only groundless, but would be at variance with all that we know of the gradual progress of change in the earliest period of Greek history. There may perhaps be room for suspecting, that he has unwittingly passed over some gradations in the advance of society, that he has sometimes transferred to the age of his heroes what belonged properly to his own, and still oftener that he has heightened and embellished the objects which he touches; but there is no ground for the opposite suspicion, that he has anywhere endeavoured to revive an image of obsolete simplicity, or, for the sake of dramatic correctness, has suppressed any advantage in knowledge or refinement which his contemporaries possessed. What he represents most

CHAP. V.

B.C. 1184.

truly is the state of Grecian society near to his own day; but if we make due allowance for the effects of imperceptible changes, and for poetical colouring, we are in no danger of falling into any material error, in extending his descriptions to the whole period which we term the Heroic.

The Homeric world is not a region of enchantment, called into existence by the wand of a magician; it is at once poetical and real. In confining our view to its real side, we do not break the charm by which it captivates the imagination. The historian's aim however is very different from the poet's; it is the province of the former to collect what the latter scatters carelessly and unconsciously over his way; to interpret and supply dark and imperfect hints. For the subjects on which the poet dwells with delight are not always the most interesting and instructive to the historical inquirer, though there are few in which his curiosity is absolutely disappointed. Homer is often minutely exact in describing artificial productions, and technical processes; while the social institutions, the moral and religious sentiments, of his age, as things universally understood, are never formally noticed, but only betrayed by accidental allusions. But the light which he affords is confined to the circle into which he draws us: it is only one period, and one stage of society, that he exhibits, and he is wholly silent as to the steps which led to it. When we desire to look back to an antecedent period, we are reduced to depend on traditions and indications, which are seldom so clear and authentic as his evidence with regard to his own age. They are not however on that account to be indiscriminately rejected; nor can his silence always be held conclusive as to things which, if they existed, must have come within his knowledge. From the materials furnished by the

Homeric poems — examined however by the light of historical analogy, and compared with other accounts and vestiges — we shall now endeavour to trace the main features of the Heroic or Homeric form of society. The order in which we shall review them will lead us successively to consider the state of government, of manners, of religion, knowledge, and arts.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GOVERNMENT, MANNERS, RELIGION, KNOWLEDGE, AND ARTS OF THE GREEKS IN THE HEROIC AGE.

I. Distinction of Classes in the Heroic Age — Slaves — Freemen — Nobles — Kings. — Prerogatives of the Heroic Kings. — Limitations of their authority. — Their Domains and Revenues. — Royalty how far hereditary. — Institutions for preserving the public peace. — Punishments. — Dealings between independent States. — Approach toward national unity.

II. Mutual relations of the Sexes. — Female character. — Friendship. — Hospitality. — Amusements. — Kindness to inferiors. — Usages of War.

III. Earliest form of Natural Religion. — Religion of the Pelasgians. — Origin of the Greek Mythology. — Influence of the Poets on Religion. — Hesiod's Theogony. — Greek Mythology, how far derived from the East. — How far formed by the Poets. — Traces of Monotheism in the Greek Mythology. — Character of Zeus. — Fatalism of the Greeks. — Connection between Religion and Morality. — Homeric view of a future state. — Condition of the soul after death. — Worship and Sacrifices. — Human sacrifices. — Temples and Holy Grounds. — Priests — How far a separate class. — Oracles. — Omens and Divination. — Hero-worship. — Dæmons.

IV. Exaggerated notions entertained by the Greeks of Homer's learning. — Homeric Geography. — Wanderings of Menelaus. — Homer's view of the Northern and Western Seas. — The Ocean. — Course of the sun. — The Ethiopians. — Olympus. — Navigation. — Astronomy. — Commerce. — Degree to which the useful Arts appear to have been cultivated. — Art of War. — Medicine. — The fine Arts. — Poetry. — Music and Dancing. — Architecture. — Statuary. — Letters. — The Art of Writing. — Was the art known to Homer? — Were the Homeric Poems at first committed to writing? — Unity of the Homeric Poems. — The Rhapsodists. — The Homeric Poems the opening of a new period.

I. — THE political institutions of the heroic period were not contrived by the wisdom of legislators, but

B.C. 1184.

I. Distinction of Classes in the Heroic Age.

grew spontaneously out of natural causes. They appear to have exhibited in every part of Greece a certain resemblance in their general outlines, but the circumstances out of which they arose were probably not everywhere the same, and hence a notion of them, founded on the supposition of their complete uniformity, would probably be narrow and erroneous. The few scanty hints afforded to us on the transition from the obscure period which we may call the Pelasgian, to that with which Homer has made us comparatively familiar, do not enable us to draw any general conclusion as to the mode in which it was effected. We can just discern a warlike and adventurous race starting up, and gradually overspreading the land; but in what relation they stood to the former inhabitants, what changes they introduced in the ancient order of things, can only be conjectured from the social institutions which we find subsisting in the later period. These do not generally present traces of violent revolutions, and subjugating conquests, like those of which the subsequent history of Greece furnishes so many examples; yet it is natural to imagine that they took place occasionally, and here and there we meet with facts, or allusions, which confirm this suspicion. The distinction between slaves and freemen seems to have obtained generally, though not perhaps universally[1]: but there is no

[1] The purchase and use of slaves indeed is repeatedly mentioned by Homer: the household of Ulysses is served by slaves, over whom their master exercises the power of life and death. Geppert however (*Ueber den Ursprung der Homerischen Gesänge*, i. p. 382.), considers this as an indication of a different state of society from that described in the Iliad: apparently not sufficiently allowing for the difference between the subjects and scenes of the two poems. But the use of such domestics was perhaps nowhere very common, except in the houses of the great, and in several parts of Greece was not introduced till a later period. This is asserted in Herodotus (vi. 137.), of the Greeks in general, and of the Athenians in particular. The assertion is repeated by Timæus (Athen. vi. 86.), with particular reference to the Locrians and Phocians. But when it is said that the Chians were the first Greeks who used purchased slaves (Theopompus in Athen. vi. 88.), this must be understood of a regular traffic, as on the other hand Pliny's *servitium invenere Lacedæmonii* (N. H. vii. 56.), applies only to the Helots. Though from Steph. Byz. Χῖος, compared with Eustath. ad Dionys. p. 533., it would seem that

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

distinct trace that it anywhere owed its origin to an invasion which deprived the natives of their liberty. As soon as war and piracy became frequent, captives, taken or bought, were employed in servile labours[1]: chiefly, it would seem, those of the house; in those of husbandry the poor freemen did not disdain to serve the wealthier for hire.[2] But a class of serfs, reduced to cultivate the land which they had once owned for the benefit of a foreign conqueror, and either bound to it, or liable to be expelled at his pleasure, if it existed anywhere, must have been an exception to the general rule.[3] On the other hand a broad distinction is drawn between the common freemen and the chiefs, who form two separate classes. The latter are described by various titles, denoting their superior dignity, as the *best*, the *foremost*, *princes*, and *elders*[4]; for this last epithet seems already to have been bestowed with relation rather to the functions of counsellors and judges than to their age.[5] The essential quality of persons belonging

Slaves.

Freemen.

Nobles.

the Chian Θεράποντες were really serfs, like the Helots. But possibly the later authors misunderstood Theopompus.

[1] Δμῶες, δμῶαι· δρηστῆρες, δρηστεῖραι· οἰκῆες· ἀμφίπολοι. Il. vii. 475. was rejected by Aristophanes and Zenodotus, because ἀνδράποδον was νεωτερικὴ λέξις. See Eustathius. Θεράποντες was only used of free retainers.

[2] Θῆτες. See the Scholiast on Od. iv. 644.

[3] Yet in the Odyssey (iv. 176.), Menelaus expresses his willingness to give a settlement to Ulysses and his followers, by ejecting his own subjects from one of the towns in his dominions, and planting the Ithacans in their room. This passage indeed has been condemned as spurious, because such despotic power seemed inconsistent with the ordinary relation between king and people in the heroic ages; and undoubtedly it would imply a kind of subjection very different from that in which the warriors who fought at Troy seemed to have stood to their princes: yet, as the result of peculiar circumstances, it may not be incredible; and the less, since Agamemnon, when he offers to transfer to Achilles seven towns inhabited by wealthy husbandmen, who would enrich their lord by presents and tribute, seems likewise to assume rather a property in them, than an authority over them. Il. ix. 149. And the same thing may be intimated when it is said that Peleus bestowed a great people, the Dolopes of Phthia, on Phœnix. Il. ix. 483.

[4] Ἄριστοι, ἀριστῆες, ἔξοχοι· βασιλεῖς, (used also as an adjective βασιλεύτερος, βασιλεύτατος,) ἄνακτες (applied also to the relation of master and servant, Od. xiv. 60. cf. Od. xiii. 223.) μέδοντες, ἡγήτορες, βουληφόροι, δικασπόλοι· γέροντες.

[5] The transition from the primary to the secondary meaning, in γέρων πρεσβύτερος, *Sheikh*, *Seigneur*, *Ancien*, *Alderman*, &c. is well explained and illustrated by Selden, *De Synedr.* i. c. 14. To his examples may be added *Major* (Suicer. p. 826. Ducange, Gloss. *Majores Natu*), the Polish *Starosta*, and probably many others.

to this higher order was noble birth, which implied nothing less than a connection with the gods themselves, to whom every princely house seems to have traced its origin.[1] But though this illustrious parentage constituted one claim of the great to popular veneration, it would soon have been forgotten or neglected, unless accompanied by some visible tokens, which were not sought in pedigrees or records, but in personal advantages and merits. The legitimate chief was distinguished from the vulgar herd, of merely mortal origin, by his robust frame, his lofty stature, his majestic presence, his piercing eye, and sonorous voice, but still more by the virtues which these bodily endowments promised, by skill in warlike exercises, patience under hardship, contempt of danger, and love of glorious enterprises. Prudence in council, readiness in invention, and fluency of speech, though highly valued, were not equally requisite to preserve general respect. But though the influence of the nobles depended on the degree in which they were thus gifted and accomplished, it also needed the support of superior wealth. It was this which furnished them with the means of undertaking the numerous adventures in which they proved their valour, while their martial achievements commonly increased both their fame and their riches, by the booty which rewarded a successful expedition. If the arm of a single chief could often turn the fortune of a battle, and put to flight a host of common men, this was undoubtedly owing not solely to his extraordinary prowess, but to the strength of his armour, the temper of his weapons, the fleetness of the steeds, which transported his chariot from one part of the field to another, and secured for him the foremost place, whether in the flight or the pursuit.

[1] Klausen (*Rhein. Mus.* iii. 3. p. 467.) observes, "before democracy had levelled all distinctions, every considerable person in Greece derived his descent from those heroes, and gloried in the blood of the gods. Pindar. Nem. iii. 65."

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184. Kings.

The kingly form of government appears to have been the only one known in the heroic age. Its origin is ascribed by Aristotle to the free choice of the people, which first conferred the royal dignity on the man who had rendered some important service to the public, by the introduction of new arts, or by martial achievements, or who had collected a body of settlers, and assigned to them portions of his own or of conquered lands. The latter supposition, unless it carries us back to the very beginning of civil society, is only applicable to the case of a migration or invasion, which implies the previous acknowledgement of a prince or chief. But that the kingly office was originally bestowed by popular election, as the reward of personal merit, seems to be a conjecture which wants historical foundation. Nor do we find among the ancient Greeks any trace of such a distinction as is said to have existed among the ancient Germans, between kings chosen for their illustrious birth, and commanders chosen for their valour; both qualities were expected to meet in the same person; in both, the king was conspicuous among the nobles, as the latter were above the multitude. It is however highly probable, that the monarchical form of government arose from the patriarchal, with and out of the warlike and adventurous character of the heroic age. Where the people was almost always in arms, the office of leader naturally became permanent. The royal houses may sometimes have been founded by wealthy and powerful strangers, but it is quite as easy to conceive that they often grew by insensible degrees into reputation and authority. Homer mentions certain divisions of the nation, in a way implying that they were elements which entered into the composition of every Greek community. Nestor advises Agamemnon to marshal his army according to the larger or smaller bodies in which families were collected, in order that each

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

might derive aid and encouragement from the presence of its neighbour[1]; not to be included in one is the mark of an outlaw or a homeless vagrant.[2] It is probable, that in the heroic age these tribes and clans were still regarded more as natural than as political associations, and that in a yet earlier period the heads of each exercised a patriarchal rule over its members. The public sacrifices, which in the remotest, certainly not less than in later times, formed the bond of their union, were, it may be supposed, celebrated by the chief of the principal family, and these priestly functions seem to have been one of the most ancient branches of the regal office[3], as they were retained the longest. The person to whom they belonged would naturally assume the rest as occasion required. But the causes which determined the precedence of a particular family in each tribe, and in a state, when several tribes were united in one body, may have been infinitely varied, and in almost all cases lie beyond the reach of historical investigation.

Prerogatives of the Heroic Kings.

The nature and prerogatives of the heroic sovereignty however are subject to less doubt than its origin. The command in war, the performance of those sacrifices which were not appropriate to particular priests, and the administration of justice, are mentioned by Aristotle as the three main functions of the heroic kings. It must have been from the discharge of the first that they derived the greatest part of their power. Their authority, if feeble at home, was strengthened by the obedience which they were able to exact in the field, and, if their enterprizes were successful, by the renown of their exploits; in the division of the spoil their share was usually increased by a present previously selected from the common mass. The religious rites which they were

[1] Il. ii. 362.
[2] Il. ix. 63.
[3] See the whole description of the sacrifice at Pylus, Od. iii.

CHAP. VI. B.C. 1184.

entitled to celebrate in behalf of the people, if they invested their persons with some degree of sanctity, can have added little to their real influence. Nor was this greatly increased by their judicial character; not merely because comparatively few occasions occurred to call it into action, but because it did not belong to them exclusively. Notwithstanding the fabulous reputation of Minos and Rhadamanthys, it must be inferred, from the manner in which Homer describes and alludes to the administration of justice, that the heroic kings did not usually try causes alone, and that in their decisions they expressed the judgment of their assessors, if not of the multitude. In the representation of a trial, which fills one compartment in the shield of Achilles, the elders are seated on the polished stones which were ranged, in a sacred circle, in the public place; the crowd stands without, kept in order by the heralds; but no king appears to preside. On the other hand, among the royal prerogatives which Telemachus is said to retain in the absence of Ulysses, the judicial office is expressly mentioned, as a source of honour and profit; not however in a way implying that he exercised it alone. Achilles, swearing by the sceptre which he has received from the herald, speaks of it as passing through the hands of judges in the discharge of their duty, just as we see it used by those in the shield. The king seems only to have occupied the most distinguished place on these occasions. So when Telemachus convenes an assembly in Ithaca, he takes his seat in the public place on his paternal throne, while the elders reverently make way for him. They must be conceived here to occupy a circle, like that of the judges in the scene on the shield: the ring of stones may be fairly presumed to have been a common and permanent ornament of the public places where all assemblies, judicial or deliberative,

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

Limitations of their authority.

were held, and it marks the ordinary limits of the kingly power. It is evident that the kings took no measures, and transacted no affairs, in their official capacity, without the assistance and the sanction of the chiefs and the people. In the camp indeed Agamemnon frequently summons a select council of the princes, who may be considered either as his generals or allies. But even there, on great occasions, the whole army is assembled; and in peace there seems to have been no formal and regular distinction between a popular assembly, and a senate: every public meeting might be regarded in either light. The great men who formed the inner circle were the counsellors who debated; but no freeman was excluded from the outer space; and the presence of the multitude must have had some influence on all proceedings. Even at the trial the heralds do not prevent them from venting their feelings; and their clamour seems to have had the greater weight, in proportion as their interests were affected by the result of the deliberation.[1]

Alcinous is described in the Odyssey as king of all the Phæacians, and yet as only one of thirteen chiefs, who all bear the same title; he speaks of himself rather as the first among equals, than as if he belonged to a higher order. In Ithaca, though there was one acknowledged sovereign, many bore the name of king, and in the vacancy of the throne might aspire to the supreme dignity. There seems to be no good reason for doubting that these instances represent the ordinary relation of the kings to the nobles, nor for suspecting that they are less applicable to the earlier times, than to a period when the royal authority was on the decline: but here it may be especially necessary to remember the remark with which we set out, and to be on our guard against

[1] Od. iii. 150. Il. ii. 282.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

laying down any immutable rule and standard for the power of the heroic kings. Though their functions indeed were pretty accurately determined by custom, the extent of their influence was not regulated by the same measure, but must have varied according to their personal character and circumstances. The love and respect of the people, acquired by valour, prudence, gentleness, and munificence, might often raise the king above the nobles, by a much greater distance than his constitutional prerogatives interposed between them: though royalty might immediately confer little solid power, it furnished means, which a vigorous and skilful hand might apply to the purposes of personal aggrandisement. *It is no bad thing for a man*, says Telemachus, *to be a king; his house presently grows rich, and he himself rises in honour.* Some advantages arising from the discharge of the kingly office have been already mentioned; there were others, perhaps less brilliant, but more definite and certain. The most important of these was the domain, which, as it was originally the gift of the people, seems to have been attached to the station, and not to have been the private property of the person; for Telemachus is described as retaining the domains of Ulysses, among other rights of the crown, which he was nevertheless in danger of losing, if he should not be permitted to succeed his father[1]; but even his enemy Eurymachus, who wishes to exclude him from the throne, declares that no one shall deprive him of his patrimony.[2] Presents appear to have constituted another part of the royal revenue, important enough to be mentioned by Agamemnon, as the chief profit to be expected from the towns which he proposed to transfer to Achilles; but whether they were stated and periodical, or merely voluntary and occasional, is

Their Domains and Revenues.

[1] Od. xi. 185.

[2] Od. i. 402.

uncertain.[1] Achilles brands Agamemnon with an epithet signifying that he was one of those kings who devoured the substance of his people; and Alcinous seems to assert a power very like that of taxing the Phæacians at his pleasure.[2] The administration of justice seems always to have been requited with a present from the parties. The banquets to which the kings were invited, are more than once noticed, as a valuable, at least an agreeable, appertinent of their station.[3]

Royalty how far hereditary.

The crown appears to have been everywhere hereditary, according to general usage, though the observance of this usage might depend on the age and character of the person, whose birth gave him a claim to the succession. The ordinary practice is recognised even in the case of Telemachus, which forms a seeming exception to it. It is indeed represented as uncertain, whether the young prince shall finally wield his father's sceptre in his own right; but while the fate of Ulysses remains unknown, his son continues to enjoy the royal honours and revenues, and even Antinous admits, that his birth gives him a presumptive title to the throne. The uncertainty, in this instance, seems to have arisen, not from the want of an acknowledged law, or custom, to regulate the succession, but from the peculiar situation of the rightful heir. The general usage is confirmed by the cases in which the aged parent resigns the reins of government to his son, as Ulysses reigns over Ithaca in the life-time of his father Laertes, and Peleus sinks into a private station, in which he needs the protection of Achilles. Such instances prove that personal vigour was necessary to maintain the royal dignity; and in general the king's legal prerogatives, unless

[1] The λιπαραὶ θέμιστες, Il. ix. 156., may be considered as stated dues.
[2] Od. xiii. 14. It may however mean a purely voluntary contribution.
[3] Od. xi. 185. Il. xii. 311.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

supported by the qualities of the man, were probably a very feeble restraint on the independence of the nobles. Most of the great families seem to have resided in the same town which contained the royal mansion, which frequently stood on a fortified height, though we also find frequent mention of their sequestered rural habitations.[1] But it would appear that a long absence from the town was unusual, and was regarded as a kind of exile.[2] Homer affords no glimpse of a mode of life among the heroic nobles at all resembling that of the feudal barons, nor of holds from which they sallied forth on predatory excursions: there may be more room to imagine, that, at a distance from the capital, they exercised a separate jurisdiction, as the heads of their tribes or clans.

Institutions for preserving the public peace.

The word answering to *law* in the language of the later Greeks, does not occur in the Homeric poems, nor do they contain any allusion which might lead us to suppose that any assemblies ever met for the purpose of legislation. Rights, human and divine[3], were fixed only by immemorial usage, confirmed and expounded by judicial decisions: in most cases perhaps the judges had no guide but principles of natural equity. These might have been sufficient for such a stage of society, if they could have been uniformly enforced. But unless where the king was able and willing to afford protection and redress, the rich and powerful seem to have been subject to no more effectual restraint than the fear of divine anger, or of public opinion. These motives were both insufficient to check the licence of the suitors in the absence of Ulysses. Phœnix in his youth had quarrelled with his father, and had thought of murdering him; but some friendly deity withheld him, by reminding him of the obloquy, the reproach, and the foul name of

[1] Od. xviii. 358. xi. 188. xxiv. 208. iv. 517.

[2] Od. xi. 138.

[3] δίκη and Θέμις.

parricide, which he would incur by the deed. The state appears not to have interfered in private differences, unless the parties agreed to submit their cause to a public tribunal; such a consent is expressly mentioned in the description of the trial in the shield of Achilles. The whole community however was interested in suppressing quarrels, which threatened to disturb the public peace, and must therefore have compelled one who had suffered a wrong to accept the compensation established by custom from the aggressor. Among a people of strong passions and quick resentment, where the magistrate did not undertake to avenge an injury offered to one of his subjects as an offence to himself, there would have been no end of bloodshed, had not a more peaceful mode of atonement been substituted by common agreement. Accordingly even the vengeance of a family which had been deprived of a kinsman by violence, might be redeemed at a stipulated price. Ajax, when he would set the implacable anger of Achilles in the strongest light, observes, that a man is used to accept a compensation from the murderer of his brother or his son, so that the one remains in his country, after having paid a heavy price, and the vindictive spirit of the kinsman who receives it is staid. An instinctive religious feeling, deeply rooted in the bosom of the Greek, though easily overpowered by the violence of his passions, a feeling which shrank from the stain of kindred blood, as loathsome even to the gods, concurred with the motive of general expediency in introducing this usage: for that feeling, especially in earlier times, embraced all freemen who were connected together by the ties of civil society, the rights of intermarriage, and communion in public worship. From this feeling also arose a practice, which Herodotus describes as prevailing among the Lydians and Phrygians, as well as the Greeks, — that the manslayer withdrew into a foreign

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

land, and did not return to his country, till he had been purified by some expiatory rites. Homer indeed, though he frequently notices this species of exile, nowhere speaks of religious ceremonies accompanying it; but at least the antiquity of the religious sentiment which they imply seems unquestionable.[1] Legends which appear to be very ancient, since the custom they refer to is never mentioned in the historical period, describe a voluntary servitude as part of the expiation. It is clear that it would be easier to effect a compromise in the case of undesigned homicide, than of deliberate murder; yet the voluntary exile seems to have been quite as usual in the former as in the latter. A kind of sanctity seems to have been attached to the person of the fugitive, and it was deemed almost sacrilegious to refuse him shelter.

Punishments.

Acts considered as offences against the community were probably of rare occurrence, and it was only in extraordinary cases that they were visited with capital punishment. Eurymachus, in the name of the suitors, threatens Halitherses with a mulct for his officious interference. It is apparently a sudden irregular burst of popular indignation to which Hector alludes, when he regrets that the Trojans had not spirit enough to cover Paris with a mantle of stones. This however was also one of the ordinary formal modes of punishment for great public offences. It may have been originally connected with the same feeling—the desire of avoiding the pollution of bloodshed—which seems to have suggested the practice of burying criminals alive, with a scantling of food by their side. Though Homer makes no mention of this horrible usage, the example of the Roman vestals affords reason for believing that, in ascribing it to the heroic ages,

[1] Whether such rites are distinctly alluded to by Homer, depends on the reading of Il. xxiv. 482., where Mueller (*Dor.* ii. 8. 6. note m. in the English translation) infers from the Scholiast that we ought to read ἀγνίτεω for ἀφνείου. But propitiatory sacrifices are mentioned Il. ix. 500.

Sophocles followed an authentic tradition. Religious associations seem also to have given rise to the practice, which was likewise common to Greece and Italy, of hurling offenders down a precipice: they were perhaps originally regarded rather as victims devoted to propitiate the anger of the gods, than as debtors to human justice.

Dealings between independent states.

The mutual dealings of independent states were not regulated by steadier principles than those of individuals. Consciousness of a distinct national existence, and of certain rights incident to it, manifested itself, not uniformly and consistently, but only on particular occasions, and under accidental impulses. It seems not to have exerted itself in restraining individuals in one community from attacking the members of another, between which and their own no hostility had been previously declared, or known to exist. The case however was different, when two states were not only at peace, but in alliance, or intimate amity, with each other. The people of Ithaca was violently incensed against the father of Antinous, and was with difficulty restrained from putting him to death, and confiscating his property, because he had joined the Taphian freebooters in molesting the Thesprotians, a friendly nation.[1] Piracy was every where an honourable occupation: and though restitution was sometimes demanded, in the name of the state, for piratical aggressions which injured persons of high station, it is probable that, when the sufferers were of inferior rank, they were left to right themselves as they could. The war between Pylus and Elis, in which Nestor performed his first feat of arms, is represented to have arisen from an unprovoked attack on the part of the Epeans, who took advantage of the defenceless condition in which their neighbours had been left by the invasion of Hercules. In this instance the Pylians

[1] Od. xvi. 428.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

retaliated by a sudden inroad into the Elean territory. In common cases, especially where the countries lay wider apart, it was perhaps more usual first to demand reparation. Heralds, who formed a distinct class, and whose office was accounted sacred, and seems often to have been hereditary, carried on communications between hostile states; but it does not appear that they were employed, like the Italian Fetials, to make formal declarations of war.

Approach toward national unity.

Partial associations among neighbouring states were very early formed, for purposes, partly religious, partly political, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. The Trojan war was, or at least was of old represented as, a national enterprise, and at any rate the legend contributed to awaken the consciousness of a natural unity in the several members of the nation. The name *Hellenes* indeed, by which this unity was afterwards denoted, had not in the Homeric age become generally prevalent, though it seems then already to have been extended beyond the district of Thessaly, to which it was at first confined, to the whole of Greece north of the Isthmus. Its place is most frequently supplied by that of *Achæans*. Nor does the term *barbarous* appear to have been yet applied to nations, or to have implied any notion of intellectual or moral inferiority: in Homer it is only used as an epithet of language; seemingly however to signify, not merely a strange, but a rough and uncouth speech; as the rude sounds of the Sintians are mentioned with evident consciousness of a more harmonious language. But the poet seems to have felt the place which his people filled in the scale of nations, the advantage of their social state over a solitary Cyclopian life, and over the savage manners of the Sicels: and on the other hand, the higher rank which the Egyptians and the Phœnicians had attained in knowledge and arts. The time was yet to come, though the poet

himself was its harbinger, when the contrast between Greek and barbarian should be thought to swallow up all other distinctions in the human race. CHAP. VI. B.C. 1184.

II. The laws and institutions of a people can never be wholly separated from the history of its manners, and are most intimately connected with it in a period, when, as among the Greeks of the heroic age, law and custom have not yet been discriminated, and are both expressed by the same word. Still it is in the relations which afford the widest range for individual freedom, that national character is most clearly unfolded. We shall here touch on a few, which may serve to mark the character of the Greeks, and the stage which society had reached among them, in the period which Homer describes.

Mutual relations of the sexes.

The intercourse between the sexes, though much more restricted than by modern European usages, was perhaps subject to less restraint than in the later times of Greece. If it is entirely destitute of the chivalrous devotion which has left so deep a tinge in our manners, it displays more of truth and simplicity in the degree of respect which the stronger sex pays to the weaker. Before marriage, young persons of different sex and family saw each other only in public, and then at a distance, except when some festival might chance to bring them nearer to each other: as a picture of public rejoicing in the Iliad exhibits youths and virgins of rank linked together in the dance, as well as promiscuously joining in a vintage procession.[1] But the simplicity of the heroic way of life not unfrequently drew the maiden out of doors to discharge various household offices, which were afterwards confined to slaves; for it was thought no more degrading to a young princess to carry her urn to the fountain[2], than

[1] xviii. 567. 593. [2] Od. vii. 20. x. 107. Pindar, Ol. vi. 67. Od. xv. 428.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

for her brother to tend his father's flocks and herds.[1] It was to an occasion still more homely, according to modern prejudices, that Ulysses is represented as owing his first meeting with the daughter of king Alcinous. And it seems to have been not unusual for young women of the highest quality to attend on the guests of the family in situations which appear strangely revolting to modern delicacy.[2] The father disposed of the maiden's hand with absolute authority: but yet it does not seem that the marriage contract was commonly regarded in the light of a bargain and sale.[3] Presents were interchanged, probably proportioned on both sides to the means of the parties.[4] If the connection was dissolved by the wife's infidelity, her friends seem to have been bound to restore what they had received[5]; and if the wife or the widow[6] was forced, without her fault, to return to her father's house, she was entitled to carry her portion back with her. But in this age of heroic enterprise, wealth, and even rank or birth, did not perhaps more powerfully recommend a suitor, than strength, courage, and dexterity

[1] Od. xiii. 223., and Eustathius, Il. vi. 25.

[2] Thus in Od. iii. 464., Nestor's daughter is said to have assisted Telemachus in bathing, anointing, and dressing himself; and in Il. v. 905., Hebe appears to render like services to Mars. In Od. vi. 210., we find Nausicaa ordering her female attendants to attend on Ulysses for the same purpose; but the hero declines their assistance, expressly on the motive which, according to our feelings, should have prevented it from being offered. Yet almost immediately after, in the house of Alcinous, he gladly accepts from them the same attendance which his son is described as receiving from Pericaste. A comparison of these data seems to prove that the common usage cannot have included any thing grossly offensive, even to our more refined conceptions of decency.

[3] Compare, however, Od. xv. 367. xviii. 279. with the constant epithet ἀλφεσίβοιαι.

[4] Il. ix. 146. xiii. 366. In the second of these passages Schneider (Lex. s. v.) thinks that the word ἀνάεδνον, which in the former passage clearly refers to the presents made by the bridegroom, relates to the marriage portion, and is equivalent to ἄπροικος; and so it was understood by some of the ancients (see Eustath.). But this interpretation seems very questionable: it would rather appear that the aid promised by Othryoneus was to supply the place of the ordinary presents. But the former of these passages alone would show the necessity of qualifying Aristotle's assertion (De Rep. II. 5.) ἐσιδηροφορούντό τε γὰρ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐωνοῦντο παρ' ἀλλήλων. on which Van Limburg Brouwer (*Civilisation des Grecs*, i. p. 160.) appears to lay too much stress.

[5] Od. viii. 318.

[6] Od. ii. 133., and the commentators.

in manly sports and martial exercises; and these qualities seem often to have been tried by a public competition, or by the undertaking of some difficult adventure.[1] It accords with this usage, that in many parts of Greece, as among the ancient Romans, the nuptial ceremony wore the show of a forcible abduction of the bride.[2] B.C. 1184.

Female character.

Homer has drawn a pleasing picture of maidenly simplicity, filial tenderness, and hospitable kindness, in the person of the Phæacian princess Nausicaa, one of his most amiable creations: yet he seems to dwell with still greater satisfaction on the matronly dignity and conjugal devotion, which command our respect and admiration in a Penelopé, an Areté, and an Andromaché. If indeed we should draw our notions as to the state of domestic society in the heroic age from these characters, we might be in danger of estimating it too favourably. But the poet himself furnishes hints which may serve to correct this impression, especially when combined with certain mythical traditions, which, however fabulous in their origin, show the view which the later Greeks took of the manners of their ancestors. The stories of the loves of the gods, the adventures of a crowd of heroines, like Tyro, and Æthra, Creusa, and Coronis, seem clearly to intimate, that female purity was not very highly valued. Nausicaa calmly declares, that she herself disapproves of stolen interviews between maidens and their lovers, and that she is therefore the more desirous of avoiding the suspicions which she would certainly incur, if she were seen accompanied by a stranger on her return into the town. In like manner numberless tales of the heroic mytho-

[1] Apollod. I. 9. 12. 1. Dio. Chrys. i. p. 325. Reisk.

[2] This may be inferred, not merely from the Spartan and Cretan usages, but from the religious rites and legends founded on this custom, as to which see Welcker, *Ueber eine Kretische Kolonie in Theben*, p. 68. It is interesting to observe the close resemblance between the Spartan usage described by Plutarch (*Lycurg.* c. 15.) and that of the modern Circassians related by Klaproth, *Tableau du Caucase*, p. 80.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

logy, such as those of Helen, and Clytæmnestra, Antæa, Phædra, and Alcmena, suggest the conclusion, that the faithlessness of the wife — which was undoubtedly often provoked, as in the family of Phœnix [1], by the inconstancy of the husband — was not considered either as an event of rare occurrence, or an offence of great enormity. And here again the Homeric poems seem to confirm the inference, not only by the respect with which we find Helen treated by the family of her paramour, but by the manner in which she is introduced in the Odyssey, which still more plainly marks the wide difference between the feelings of the ancient Greeks, and those of modern civilised Europeans, in this respect. She there appears restored to her home and to her rank, enjoying the unabated confidence and esteem of her injured husband, and neither afflicted by the consciousness of her fault, nor blushing to allude to it.

Friendship.

One of the noblest and most amiable sides of the Greek character is the readiness with which it lent itself to contract intimate and durable friendships; and this is a feature no less prominent in the earliest, than in later times. It was indeed connected with the comparatively low estimation in which female society was held: but the devotedness and constancy with which these attachments were maintained, was not the less admirable and engaging. The heroic companions whom we find celebrated, partly by Homer, and partly in traditions, which if not of equal antiquity, were grounded on the same feeling, seem to have but one heart and soul, with scarcely a wish or object apart, and only to live, as they are always ready to die, for one another. It is true that the relation between them is not always one of perfect equality: but this is a circumstance, which, while it often adds a peculiar charm to the poetical descrip-

[1] Il. ix. 450. Compare Od. i. 433. Il. v. 71. Athen. xiii. p. 556. C.

tion, detracts little from the dignity of the idea which it presents. Such were the friendships of Hercules and Iolaus, of Theseus and Pirithous, of Orestes and Pylades: and though these may owe the greater part of their fame to the later epic, or even dramatic, poetry, the moral groundwork undoubtedly subsisted in the period to which the traditions are referred. The argument of the Iliad mainly turns on the affection of Achilles for Patroclus, whose love for the greater hero is only tempered by reverence for his higher birth and his unequalled prowess. But the mutual regard which united Idomeneus and Meriones, Diomedes and Sthenelus, though, as the persons themselves are less important, it is kept more in the back-ground, is manifestly viewed by the poet in the same light. The idea of a Greek hero seems not to have been thought complete, without such a brother in arms by his side.

Hospitality.

It was a natural effect of the unsettled state of society in this period, that every stranger was looked upon either as an enemy or a guest. If he threw himself on those among whom he came, no other title was requisite to insure him a hospitable reception. When a traveller appears at the threshold of a princely hall, the only anxiety of the master of the house is, lest he should have been kept waiting at his gate. No question is asked as to the occasion of his coming, until he has partaken of the best cheer which the mansion can furnish: and then the inquiries addressed to him imply friendly curiosity, rather than suspicion or distrust. Indeed it was scarcely possible that any disclosure of his condition and purposes could defeat his claim to friendly entertainment. When Telemachus arrives at Pylus by sea, after he has shared the banquet of the Pylians, Nestor asks him whether he is voyaging with any fixed object, or merely roving over the sea as a pirate, bent

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

on indiscriminate mischief. When the character of a stranger was united with that of a suppliant, it commanded still greater respect. The stranger and suppliant, says Alcinous to Ulysses, stand in the place of a brother to a man who has the slightest share of right feeling. It is elsewhere mentioned as a motive for observing the laws of hospitality, that the gods sometimes visit the cities of men in the likeness of strangers.[1] If the suppliant could seat himself at the hearth, his person was deemed peculiarly sacred, and his request could scarcely be rejected without impiety. Numerous occasions of this kind were supplied by the chances of war, domestic feuds, and sudden provocations, which, in the quick temper of the Greeks, easily kindled a flame only to be quenched by blood. And these accidents appear frequently to have led to a close and permanent connection between families seated in distant lands, which might be transmitted through many generations. In an episode of the Iliad, the ties of hospitality, which subsist between the houses of an Argive and a Lycian chief, are represented as of sufficient force to restrain them, though before personally unknown to each other, from a hostile conflict. An interchange of armour ratifies the agreement, which the two heroes make, to shun each other's path thenceforward in the battle.

The convivial usages of the Greeks present an advantageous contrast to the gross intemperance which prevails in the banquets of the northern Europeans at a corresponding period of their social progress. The wine appears to have been always diluted, and perhaps most commonly in the proportion of one to three parts of water.[2] The guests

[1] Od. xvii. 485.

[2] According to the precept of Hesiod, O. et D. 594. Τρὶς δ' ὕδατος προχέειν, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἰέμεν οἴνου. Maro used to mix his wine, which was destined to make the Cyclops drunk, in the proportion of one to twenty. Od. ix. 209., where Eustathius has a learned note on the various proportions used by the ancients.

took their places on seats which were ranged along the walls of the banqueting room, and a separate table was set before each. An ablution, such as is now practised throughout the East, uniformly preceded the repast. The fare, even in the houses of the great, was of the simplest kind: in the luxurious palace of Alcinous the only preparations for a feast, described by the poet, consist of the sheep, the hogs, and the oxen, which are slaughtered for the occasion.[1] A guest sometimes sent a part of his portion, as a mark of respect, to another table. After the cravings of nature had been satisfied, the bowls indeed were replenished with wine, from which libations were to be made in honour of the gods. But the glory of the feast was not held to depend on a lengthened carouse: its appropriate ornaments were the song and the dance.[2] The presence of the bard was almost indispensable at every great entertainment: but the time was not wholly spent in listening to his strains. Alcinous, at the conclusion of the banquet, leads out his guests, after they have been satiated with the lyre, and the song of Demodocus, in the hall, to an open place, where they first amuse themselves with trials of strength in gymnastic exercises. A space is then carefully levelled for a dance, which is exhibited by youths practised in the art, under the control of judges accustomed to preside over such public amusements, and accompanied by the bard with a sportive lay, which perhaps interpreted the movements of the dancers to the spectators. Finally, at the command of Alcinous, two other performers, of incomparable agility, execute an extraordinary feat of leaping and dancing, which terminates the entertainment amid a tumult of applause. Even the suitors, who are con-

B.C. 1184.

Amusements.

[1] On the fare of the heroes, see Athenæus, i. c. 46.; and compare Od. xii. 332. xix. 113. 536. Il. xvi. 747.

[2] *αἱ ἀθήματα δαιτός.*

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

tinually feasting at the expense of Ulysses, are never represented as drinking to excess[1]: and among the abusive epithets which Achilles, in the height of his passion, applies to Agamemnon, the foremost is, *heavy with wine*.[2]

Kindness to inferiors.

Hospitality among the Greeks was not confined to the opulent. It was not exercised only by such men as the wealthy Axylus, who had a house by the way-side, which he kept open to all comers. Eumæus, though in a humble and dependent station, speaks of the relief which he affords to the distressed, as the object which he holds of the first importance, next to the necessary provision for his own wants.[3] None but men callous to shame and piety, like the most boorish and ignorant of the Ithacan suitors, are capable of treating the poor and destitute with disrespect, and there are Powers, both above and in the lower world, ever watching to avenge such wrongs.[4] No less amiable is the indulgence with which slaves, though wholly in the power of their masters, appear to have been treated in well-regulated families. The visible approbation with which the poet mentions the kindness shown by Laertes and his wife to their domestics[5], marks the general tone of feeling that prevailed on this subject among his countrymen. Even the severity with which Ulysses punishes the wantonness of his slaves, seems to imply that their condition left them a title to a certain degree of respect, which they could only forfeit by their own misconduct.

It is the more necessary, for the sake of justice, to observe all these indications of compassionate and benevolent affections in the Greek character, as it must be owned that, if the friendship of the Greek

[1] Compare Od. i. 150. foll. xvii. 605. There seems to be no ground whatever for the conjecture of Eustathius on Od. xx. 391. Compare xxi. 293.

[2] Compare Od. xix. 122. ix. 374. x. 555. [3] Od. xv. 373.

[4] Od. xvii. 475. [5] Od. i. 432. xv. 365. xviii. 323. xxi. 225.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

was warm, and his hospitality large, his anger was fierce, and his enmity ruthless. He was indeed rather resentful than vindictive; though easily provoked, he might be appeased without much difficulty. His law of honour did not compel him to treasure up in his memory the offensive language which might be addressed to him by a passionate adversary, nor to conceive that it left a stain which could only be washed away by blood. Even for real and deep injuries he was commonly willing to accept a pecuniary compensation.[1] But so long as it lasted, his resentment overpowered every other feeling, was regardless of the most sacred ties, and rushed at once to the most violent excess. At a very early age Patroclus has killed his young playmate in a fit of passion, occasioned by a quarrel at their boyish game.[2] Phœnix has had great difficulty in refraining from murdering his father, to revenge a curse which he had himself provoked by a deliberate injury. Ulysses, in one of his fictitious narratives of his own adventures, relates that he had lain in wait with a companion in the dark, and had assassinated a person who had shown a disposition to deprive him of his share in the booty brought from Troy.[3] But even such examples are scarcely sufficient to prepare us for the extreme ferocity of the usages of war, which prevailed among the Greeks of the heroic age, and which perhaps cannot be very well reconciled with other features of their social state, unless it be supposed that they had arisen in a still ruder period, and that custom had contributed to extinguish the sense of humanity, which on other occasions was quickly awakened. In battle, quarter seems never to have been given, except with a view to the ransom of the prisoner. Agamemnon, in the Iliad, reproaches Menelaus with unmanly softness, when he is on the

Usages of war.

[1] Il. ix. 635. 526. [2] Il. xxiii. 88. [3] Od. xiii. 262.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

point of sparing a fallen enemy, and himself puts the suppliant to the sword: and the poet describes the deed in language which shows that he approves of it. The armour of the slain constituted a valuable part of the spoil, and was uniformly stripped off by the conquerors. But hostility did not end here; the naked corpse became the object of an obstinate struggle; if it remained in the power of the enemy, it was deprived of burial, and exposed to the vultures and ravenous beasts; and was not unfrequently mutilated. It was indeed only distinguished persons who were subject to such treatment: an armistice was usually requested, and readily granted to the defeated party, for the purpose of celebrating the obsequies of their friends.[1] But the indignities offered to the body of Hector by Achilles were not an extraordinary example of hostile rage: for Hector himself intended to inflict similar outrages on the corpse of Patroclus[2]: and it is mentioned as a signal mark of respect paid by Achilles to Eetion, whose city he had sacked without any remarkable provocation, that after slaying him, he abstained from spoiling his remains, and honoured them with funeral rites. On the other hand the sacrifice which Achilles makes to the shade of Patroclus, of twelve Trojan prisoners, whom he had taken alive in the battle, for the purpose of slaughtering them at the funeral pile, was certainly not authorised by the established maxims of warfare, any more than the use of poisoned weapons, to which the poet alludes with manifest disapprobation.[3]

The fate of a captured city was fixed in an equally merciless spirit, and by a perhaps still more inflexible rule. All the males capable of bearing arms were exterminated: the women and children were dragged away, to be divided among the victors, as the most valuable part of the spoil.[4] And the evils of slavery

[1] Il. vii. 409.
[2] Il. xviii. 176.; compare Il. xvii. 39.
[3] Od. i. 263.
[4] Il. ix. 592.

were no doubt often aggravated by a partition, which tore a family asunder, and scattered its members over distant quarters of a foreign land. Homer describes a scene which was probably familiar to his contemporaries, when he compares the flood of tears drawn from Ulysses by his painful recollections, with the weeping of a woman, torn from the body of her husband, who had just fallen in defence of his city, and hurried along by the captors, who quicken her steps by striking her on the back and shoulders with their spears.[1] Yet the sanctuaries of the gods sometimes afforded an asylum which was respected on these occasions by the conquerors. Thus Maro, the priest of Apollo, was saved with his family from the common destruction, in which the Ciconians of Ismarus were involved by Ulysses; for he dwelt within the precincts sacred to the god: yet he redeemed himself by a heavy ransom. The priest of Apollo who occasions the quarrel in the Iliad, was not so fortunate: he loses his daughter in the sack of Thebé, and only recovers her through the extraordinary interference of the god.

Earliest form of natural religion.

III. — It has sometimes been made a question whether polytheism or monotheism is the more ancient form of natural religion. This is one of those inquiries grounded on the contemplation of human nature in the abstract, which can scarcely ever lead to any safe conclusion. The form which the religious impressions of a people assume, so far as they are not determined by tradition or example, must depend on the character and condition of each community. Some tribes of the human race appear to receive from the sensible world only a single dim undefined feeling of religious awe, which suggests to them the existence of a superior power. A monotonous sameness in the aspect of nature, an uniform tenor of life, broken only

[1] Od. viii. 528.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

by the exertions necessary to satisfy the simplest animal wants, probably tend to perpetuate such a state of glimmering consciousness, which however is something very remote from that view of nature which is the foundation of a monotheistic religion. It is however equally conceivable and consistent with experience, that a people of quick sense and fancy, especially if placed in a region marked by various and striking features, may associate its earliest religious emotions with the multiplicity of surrounding objects, and may no sooner awake to the consciousness of its situation, than it begins to people its universe with a corresponding multitude of imaginary agents.

How far either of these suppositions applies to the earliest inhabitants of Greece, is a question on which little certain information can reasonably be expected from history. The most ancient direct testimony, if an opinion may be so called, on the subject, is that of Herodotus, or rather that of the priests of Dodona, from whom he heard that the Pelasgians once sacrificed only to nameless deities. Whatever may be the authority of this evidence, its meaning is doubtful; but the least probable of all the inferences that have been drawn from it is, that the Pelasgians worshipped a single god. The words of Herodotus admit of a very different interpretation, which is confirmed by all the traces of the primitive religion to be found in the later Greek mythology. We have no reason for imagining that the first inhabitants of Greece were differently constituted, as to their aptitude for religious impressions, from those who succeeded them. The Greek was formed to sympathise strongly with the outward world: nothing was to him absolutely passive and inert; in all the objects around him he found life, or readily imparted it to them out of the fulness of his own imagination. This was not a poetical view, the privilege of extraordinary minds,

but the popular mode of thinking and feeling, cherished undoubtedly by the bold forms, and abrupt contrasts, and all the natural wonders of a mountainous and sea-broken land. A people so disposed and situate is not immediately impelled to seek a single universal source of being. The teeming earth, the quickening sun, the restless sea, the rushing stream, the irresistible storm, every display of superhuman might which it beholds, rouses a distinct sentiment of religious awe. Every where it finds deities, which however may not for a long time be distinguished by name from the objects in which their presence is manifested. In the Iliad, Agamemnon is calling on the gods to witness a solemn contract. Among those of Olympus he names none but Jupiter; after him he invokes the all-seeing, all-hearing, sun, the rivers, the earth, and, lastly, the gods who punish perjured men in the realms below. In like manner we may suppose the Pelasgians to have worshipped the invisible powers, which, according to the primitive belief of the people, animated the various forms of the sensible world.

Origin of the Greek Mythology.

That such was in fact the eldest form of religion which prevailed among the Pelasgian tribes, is both highly probable in itself, and confirmed by the example of the ancient Persians. In this sense therefore we both can understand, and may accept, the statement of Herodotus. But it is not quite so easy to follow him, when he attempts to trace the steps, by which this simple creed was transformed into the complicated system of the Greek mythology. He seems to distinguish two great changes, which the Greek religion underwent; one produced by the introduction of foreign deities and rites, the other by the invention of native poets. His researches had, as he says, convinced him that all the names of the Greek gods had been derived from the barbarians; and the result of the information which he had

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

gathered in Egypt was, that, with a few exceptions, they had all been transplanted from that country. Some the Egyptian priests themselves disclaimed; but the rest had, as they asserted, been always known among them; and hence Herodotus infers, that the excepted names had been invented by the Pelasgians, all but that of Poseidon, the god of the sea, which had been brought over from Africa. It seems necessary to suppose that, by the names of the gods, both Herodotus and his instructors understood their nature and attributes, and that they conceived the Egyptian appellations to have been translated into equivalent Greek words. But this testimony, or judgment, of Herodotus, combined with the various traditions of Oriental colonies planted in Greece, at a time when its inhabitants are supposed to have wanted the first rudiments of civilisation, with the priestly institutions of the East, the presumed antiquity of the Greek mysteries, and of esoteric doctrines transmitted by them, and coincidences observed in several features of the Greek and the Egyptian mythology, has formed the ground of a hypothesis, which is still a subject of earnest controversy. It assumes that the colonies which migrated into Greece in the darkness of the old Pelasgian period were headed by priests, who long retained the supreme power in their new settlements. They brought with them the faith and the wisdom which they had inherited in their ancient seats, the knowledge of one God, the hidden spring of life and intelligence, but infinitely diversified in his attributes, functions, and emanations. These they proposed to the veneration of the ignorant multitude, not in their naked simplicity, which would have dazzled and confounded those unenlightened minds, but through the veil of expressive symbols and ingenious fables which were accepted by the people as literal truths, and were gradually wrought into a com-

plicated mythological system. The sublime dogmas of the priestly religion were reserved for the chosen few, who were capable of contemplating them in their pure and simple form, and these alone understood the epithets and images which, in the poetry of the temples, conveyed the tenets of the ancient theology. When these priestly governments were every where forced to give way to the rule of the heroic chieftains, as the priests themselves drew back into the shade, so their doctrines were more and more confined to the recesses of their sanctuaries, and were revealed only to those who were admitted to the rites there celebrated in awful obscurity. Meanwhile a new race of poets started up, and gained the ear of the people, — bards, who, blending heroic legends with religious fables, the original meaning of which had been lost, introduced fresh confusion into the mythical chaos. The troubles that accompanied the Dorian invasion contributed to widen the breach between the popular and the priestly religion: the latter however was preserved without any material alteration in the mysteries, which continued to be the vehicles of the more enlightened faith down to the latest days of paganism.

Influence of the Poets on Religion.

Before we make any remark on this hypothesis, we must consider the view which Herodotus takes of the change introduced by native poets into the Greek mythology: *Whence each of the gods sprang, and whether all of them were always existing, and what were their shapes, on these points the knowledge of the Greeks may be said to be but of yesterday.* And he subjoins, as a reason, the comparatively late age of Homer and Hesiod; who, as he says, *were the authors of the Greek theogony, gave titles to the gods, distinguished their attributes and functions, and described their forms. For the poets who are said to have been more ancient than these two, were in my*

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

opinion more recent. This last remark seems only intended to condemn the many spurious works which were current in his time, under the names of Linus, Orpheus, Musæus, Pamphus, Olen, and other bards, who were believed to have sung before Homer. But beside this critical judgment, he undoubtedly expresses his conviction, that Homer and Hesiod had effected an important revolution in the religious belief of their countrymen. This revolution indeed is so great, that it could not with any probability be ascribed to the genius of one or two poets, even if the Homeric poems did not clearly indicate, that their descriptions are founded on conceptions of the divine nature, which had been long familiar to the people: and it is only when Homer and Hesiod are considered as representatives of a whole line of poets, who were the organs and interpreters of the popular creed, and thus gradually determined its permanent form, that this opinion of Herodotus can appear at all reasonable.[1]

Hesiod's Theogony.

Though Herodotus couples Homer and Hesiod together, as if they had lived in the same age, and had co-operated toward the same end, not only were they probably separated by a considerable number of generations, but their works belong to totally different classes. In the Homeric poems the history of the divine persons introduced is foreign to the main subject, and is only mentioned in casual allusions: while the professed design of Hesiod's Theogony is to relate the origin of the world and the gods. It contains a series of rude speculations on the universe, in

[1] Mueller, *History of the Literature of Greece*, viii. § 3. seems to interpret the remark as if it were almost exclusively applicable to Hesiod, whose Theogony he considers as a *religious code* — like the Vedas or the Zendavesta — which established a standard of Pagan orthodoxy, a *test of general acceptance*; so that every worship not included in that register *sank into the obscurity of mere local tradition*. But at least the agreement produced by the poem was always limited by local prepossessions, which led not only to the preference of objects not named in it, but to the neglect of others to which it assigns an eminent rank.

which its several parts are personified, and the order of their production represented under the figure of successive generations. The manner in which the poet treats his subject suggests a strong suspicion, that this Theogony, or cosmogony, was not the fruit of his own invention; and that, although to us it breathes the first lispings of Greek philosophy, they are only the faint echoes of an earlier and deeper strain. Indeed the Homeric poems themselves contain allusions, which disclose an acquaintance with such theories; as when Ocean is termed the origin of the gods and of all things[1], though Zeus is commonly described as the father of gods and men. The Theogony, compared with the hints furnished by Herodotus, and with the tradition of a great body of sacred poetry ascribed to the ancient bards already mentioned, who preceded Homer and Hesiod perhaps by many centuries, has given rise to an opinion, that the Greek mythology was derived from philosophical speculations, which in course of time had been misunderstood, distorted, and blended with heterogeneous fictions. According to this view, some elder poet had described the successive stages of the world's history by a series of terms, which, though they sounded like names of persons, yet to an intelligent mind conveyed only those attributes of the various objects enumerated on which, in the poet's conception, their mutual relation depended. This series Hesiod preserved in the main, though broken by occasional interpolations, but without comprehending its real import. Etymology alone, it is supposed, can furnish the clue to this labyrinth, and enable the inquirer to trace the Greek theology to its fountain head, where it will be found to spring up in the simple form of physical speculation. But its purity was soon troubled, when the vulgar, easily deceived by the slight figurative disguise of the

[1] Il. xiv. 201. 246. Compare Herod. ii. 23.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

language, and incapable of perceiving the coherence of the whole system, began to attribute real life and personality to each of its parts: and thus arose a wild, disjointed mythology, which was continually receiving additions from the fancy of the popular poets, and nourished a blind and gross superstition, which the ancient sage who unwittingly laid its foundation so little dreamt of, that if he himself believed in any divine nature, he had carefully excluded it from his system.[1]

We have been induced to notice these modern views of the subject, because they profess to rest in part on the authority of Herodotus, and to illustrate his meaning. We can only touch very briefly on the reasons which lead us to a different conclusion. The authority of Herodotus is in fact little more than that of his guides, the Egyptian priests, whose judgment certainly cannot be thought decisive on the origin of a foreign mythology, with which they must have been very imperfectly acquainted, and which, even if their information had been sufficiently extensive and accurate, their national prejudices, as well as those of their station, must have prevented them from viewing in its true light. The correctness therefore of the interpretation, by which several of the national gods of Greece were identified with objects of Egyptian worship, is still a questionable point, only to be determined by proofs, which do not appear to have been yet established, of such a coincidence, as could not have been produced either by an original natural community of religious impressions, or by a later, studied or accidental, conformity in their outward signs. Independently of such proofs, or of other evi-

[1] *Briefe ueber Homer und Hesiodus* of Hermann and Creuzer. The most important of the modern mythological systems and views are accurately and impartially described by Mueller, in his *Prolegomena*. To the writers there enumerated may be added Gerhard, *Grundzuege der Archæologie*, in the first part of the *Hyperboreisch Roemische Studien*.

dence, there is very little either in the character or the fables of the Greek deities, that raises any suspicion of a foreign origin, or that may not be referred to well-known elements in the intellectual and moral constitution of the Greeks. On the other hand, what has been said in a preceding chapter may serve to render it credible, if not highly probable, that the religions of the East very early exerted some influence on that of Greece, and even that Egypt may have contributed to this effect, not however directly, but only through the intervention of a different people. But that any colonies were led into Greece by priests, who were elevated above the vulgar by sacred learning, or religious philosophy, is in itself little more than a dream, and is particularly improbable with regard to the supposed Egyptian settlers, both for reasons already given, and because, among the sages who are celebrated as the earliest instructors of the Greeks, though many are represented as foreigners, none are connected with Egypt. The institution of the mysteries does not require any such supposition; and it is extremely doubtful whether any esoteric doctrines were ever delivered in them.[1]

Greek Mythology, how far derived from the

We therefore believe that the religion of the Greeks was in the main purely home-sprung. But the supposition that their mythology was derived from the observations and reflections of some superior minds, which determined the creed of the vulgar, seems repugnant to all analogy, as well as to all internal evidence; and it is in a totally different sense that we should be inclined to adopt the opinion of Herodotus, that poets were the authors of the popular theology. We think it probable, as has been already intimated, that the deities of the earliest Pelasgian period were

How far formed by the Poets.

[1] *Græcorum mysteria eruditendis hominum ingeniis non instituta, neque a sacris publicis quidquam diversa fuisse*, is the thesis proposed by Lobeck (p. 5.) in his great work *Aglaophamus*.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

those whose presence and power appeared to be displayed in the various operations of nature. But as the aspects of nature, and consequently the conceptions formed of the gods, differed widely in different regions, so in each region it might be long before the spheres of the several deities were fixed, and their characters and attributes determined. And it may even be imagined that such a period answers best to that which Herodotus describes, of the nameless gods. To distinguish the provinces and functions of the divine agents, was a task, which might have afforded ample employment to many generations of sacred bards, who however must be considered only as the organs and expounders of the popular views and feelings. But still two important steps remained in the formation of the Greek mythology. The one was that by which the invisible powers were brought down from their spheres, and invested with a human form: the other that by which the local deities of the several tribes were reconciled and united in one family. Each of these steps must have occupied a long period; and it is not necessary to suppose that the one began after the other had ended. The Pierian Thracians seem to have been the people in whose poetry Olympus was first celebrated as the common seat of the gods, and hence to them may probably be ascribed the greatest share in the process of combination and adjustment, which led to that unity which the Homeric poems represent as complete. But it appears to have been in the heroic age, and in that school of poetry which arose out of the new spirit of these times, that the principle of personification was most active in exhibiting the gods in human shape, and in drawing them forth from the awful obscurity in which they had been before shrouded, into familiar intercourse with mankind. And this may perhaps be properly considered as the most prominent contrast

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

between the Pelasgian and the Hellenic period, as to their religious character.

Though in general the Greek religion may be correctly described as a worship of nature, and most of its deities corresponded either to certain parts of the sensible world, or to certain classes of objects comprehended under abstract notions, it is by no means clear, that several tribes did not acknowledge tutelary gods, who were neither embodied powers of nature, nor personified abstractions, but who may rather be said to have grown out of the character and history of the community itself, and to have represented nothing but its general consciousness of dependence on a superior Being. No instances perhaps can be produced which are not ambiguous; but the supposition is both probable in itself, and serves to explain some seeming incongruities in the Greek theology. Most of those fables which offended both the Christian fathers and the Greek philosophers, by the debasing conceptions they suggest of the divine nature, and which still render it difficult to convey the knowledge of the Greek mythology without danger of polluting the youthful imagination [1], were undoubtedly of physical origin. But by the side of these we find titles and descriptions, which express purer and more exalted notions of the gods, and of their relation to mankind, and which may have sprung from the other source just mentioned. This is especially remarkable in the chief of the gods, whose Greek name *Zeus* may frequently have been used without any more definite meaning than was attached to the Latin *Deus* [2], though it was originally assigned to him as the lord

Traces of Monotheism in the Greek Mythology.

[1] It is one among the many merits of Mr. Keightley's Mythology, that he has very skilfully steered clear of this danger.

[2] See Bäumlein in *Zimmermann's Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, vi. p. 1199. Donaldson *Varronianus*, p. 105. Mueller's remark in his *Prolegomena*, c. 12. § 13.: "why should not very different conceptions be comprehended in a name of such general import as Ζεύς, Δεύς, Deus?" requires to be compared with

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

Character of the supreme god.

of the upper regions, who dwelt on the summits of the highest mountains, gathered the clouds about him, shook the air with his thunder, and wielded the lightning as the instrument of his wrath.[1] From elements drawn from these different sources his character, a strange compound of majesty and weakness, seems to have been formed by successive poets, who, if they in some degree deserved the censure of the philosophers, seem at least not to have been guilty of any arbitrary fictions; while on the other hand, by establishing his supremacy, they introduced a principle of unity into the Greek polytheism, which was not perhaps without influence on the speculations of the philosophers themselves, though it exerted little on the superstition of the vulgar. The Olympian deities are assembled round Zeus as his family, in which he maintains the mild dignity of a patriarchal king. He assigns their several provinces, and controls their authority. Their combined efforts cannot give the slightest shock to his power, nor retard the execution of his will; and hence their waywardness, even when it incurs his rebuke, cannot ruffle the inward serenity of his soul. The tremendous nod with which he confirms his decrees, can neither be revoked nor frustrated. As his might is irresistible, so is his wisdom unsearchable. He holds the golden balance, in which are poised the destinies of nations and of men: from the two vessels that stand at his threshold he draws the good and evil gifts, that alternately sweeten and embitter mortal existence. The eternal order of things, the ground of the immutable succession of events, is his, and therefore he himself submits

the observation on the meaning of the name in his later work, *History of the Lit. of Greece*, c. II. § 4. The Russian Admiral Schischkoff, in his *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch in Zweihundert Sprachen*, p. 13., gives a list of twenty-six languages, and another branch of fourteen, in which the word signifying a supreme being is apparently derived from the same root,—which he thinks may be the Sclavonic *den*, day.

[1] Hence Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος, Il. ix. 457.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

to it. Human laws derive their sanction from his ordinance: earthly kings receive their sceptres from his hand: he is the guardian of social rights: he watches over the fulfilment of contracts, the observance of oaths: he punishes treachery, arrogance, and cruelty. The stranger and the suppliant are under his peculiar protection: the fence that incloses the family dwelling is in his keeping: he avenges the denial and the abuse of hospitality. Yet even this greatest and most glorious of beings, as he is called, is subject, like the other gods, to passion and frailty. For, though secure from dissolution, though surpassingly beautiful and strong, and warmed with a purer blood than fills the veins of men, their heavenly frames are not insensible to pleasure and pain: they need the refreshment of ambrosial food, and inhale a grateful savour from the sacrifices of their worshippers. Their other affections correspond to the grossness of these animal appetites. Capricious love and hatred, anger and jealousy, often disturb the calm of their bosoms: the peace of the Olympian state might be broken by factions, and even by conspiracies formed against its chief. He himself cannot keep perfectly aloof from their quarrels: he occasionally wavers in his purpose, is overreached by artifice, blinded by desire, and hurried by resentment into unseemly violence. The relation in which he stands to fate is not uniformly represented in the Homeric poems, and probably the poet had not formed a distinct notion of it.[1] Fate is generally described as emanating from his will; but sometimes he appears to be no more than the minister of a stern necessity, which he wishes in vain to elude.

[1] Dissen, *Klein. Schrift.* p. 348., observes, "It is clear that Zeus was viewed sometimes more as an infinite, sometimes more as a personal being; and hence it is that he occasionally, even in that early period (the Homeric), presented himself to the feelings under the more general and abstract notion of destiny and order of nature; while at other times he stands above it, and is destiny itself."

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

Fatalism of the Greeks.

The fatalism of the Greeks was very remote, both in its nature and consequences, from the dogma, which, instilled into the minds of ferocious and sensual barbarians, sometimes rouses them to a temporary phrenzy, from which they subside into an apathy, that unfits them for useful exertion on ordinary occasions. The belief of the Greeks was the result of their natural reflections on the apparent order of the world, the weakness of man, and the mode in which his conduct and success are swayed by unforeseen and inexplicable causes. It served neither as a substitute for courage, nor as a pretext for indolence. It inspired them with resignation to evils, when arrived, but did not stifle their energies, so long as any prospect remained of escaping by prudence and activity, nor did it divert them from imploring the aid of the gods. The blessed inhabitants of Olympus did not disdain to interest themselves in the affairs of mankind, an inferior and unhappy race [1], but yet of kindred origin [2], not always unworthy of their alliance, and never below their sympathy. But though the gods were accessible to prayer, no invariable rule could be ascertained for securing their favour. A hero of the most exalted virtue was not safe from the persecution of a god whom he had innocently provoked. The motive however by which they were believed to be most uniformly if not exclusively impelled, was that of which their worshippers were most frequently conscious, — concern for their own interest and honour. Pride and insolence, the intoxication of wealth and power, in which men forget their weakness and mortality, were generally odious to them: an open affectation of independence and equality, a crime which they seldom failed to visit with signal punishment.

[1] Il. xvii. 446. Od. xviii. 130.

[2] Hesiod's doctrine, O. *et* D. 108., δμόθεν γεγάασι θεοὶ θνητοί τ' ἄνθρωποι, agrees with Homer's, whether he describes Zeus as πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, or refers the origin of all to Oceanus.

But even a long continuance of uninterrupted prosperity roused their envy of the man whom it brought too near to them, however meekly he might bear his fortunes. The milder view of affliction, as sent with the benevolent purpose of averting the dangerous consequences of unalloyed felicity, seems to have been long foreign to the Greek mode of thinking. In general, no quality was so pleasing to the gods as pious munificence, and no actions so meritorious in their sight as the observances that related singly to their service. These were so important, that even an involuntary neglect of them was sufficient to bring down the heaviest calamities on a whole people.

Connection between Religion and Morality.

Such conceptions of the gods, and of their dealings with mankind, had in themselves no tendency to strengthen any moral sentiments, or to enforce the practice of any social duties. Yet they might produce such effects, when the sanctity of religion was accidentally or artificially attached to the exercise of healthy natural affections, or to useful institutions. They were not unfrequently so applied; with great immediate advantage, but at the fearful risk of involving things really holy and venerable in the contempt incurred by such errors, when detected, which, in a half-enlightened age, is usually extended to the truths of which they have been auxiliaries. On the other hand, the mischief resulting from these mean and narrow views of the divine nature, was probably much less than might at first sight have seemed likely to spring from them. The gods, though their frailties did not abate the reverence which they inspired, were never seriously proposed or considered as examples for imitation, nor did their worshippers dream of drawing a practical inference from the tales of the popular mythology.[1] If the gods were not raised

[1] Heeren, I perceive, has a remark to the same effect (*Werke*, xiv. p. 72.); and the well-known passage of Terence does not seem to me at all to weaken its force. The mischief was so small, because the defect was so enormous.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

above human passions, they were too great, and too remote from earthly affairs, to be tried by the same rules which bind an inferior race. But the interests of morality were chiefly connected with religion by the functions of the Powers whose peculiar province it was to exact the penalty due to divine justice for atrocious crimes. Homer simply designates the office of the Furies, without either fixing their number, or describing their form, which the imagination of later poets painted with terrific exactness; but the mysterious obscurity in which he wraps their outlines, was perhaps no less awful. Their dwelling-place, in the gloomy depths of the invisible world, was an object of horror to the blessed gods, who abode in the perpetual sunshine of Olympus. They shrouded themselves in darkness, when they went forth to execute their work of retribution [1], and, unlike the celestial powers, they could not be propitiated: at least in the Homeric age no rites seem to have been invented to disarm their wrath, and to quiet the alarms of a guilty conscience. They were especially vigilant in enforcing the respect due to age, to parental authority, and kindred blood [2]; but perjury, and probably all other offences proscribed as peculiarly heinous by public opinion, were equally subject to their inquisition.[3] The awe inspired by these inexorable ministers of vengeance was a wholesome check, if not an adequate counterpoise, to the heedless levity which the easy and capricious government of the Olympian gods tended to encourage.

Homeric view of a future state.

The idea of retribution however was not generally associated with that of a future state. Homer views death as the separation of two distinct, though not

[1] Il. ix. 572. [2] Il. ix. 454. xxi. 412. xv. 204.

[3] Il. xix. 260. Od. xvii. 475. Geppert (l. c. i. p. 372.) collects — apparently by a very arbitrary process — from a few of the Homeric examples, that their province was originally confined to the assertion of parental authority and the rights of primogeniture, and considers it as evidence of interpolation when other functions are attributed to them.

wholly dissimilar, substances,—the soul and the body. The latter has no life without the former; the former no strength without the latter. The souls of the heroes are sent down to the realm of Hades (the Invisible), while they themselves remain a prey to dogs and birds. And when it is said of Hercules, that his shade is among the dead, while he himself shares the banquets of the immortal gods, it must be supposed that his virtue has been rewarded with a new undecaying body, and a divine soul. *When a man is dead*, says the shade of Anticlea, *the flesh and the bones are left to be consumed by the flames, but the soul flies away like a dream.* Funeral rites seem not to have been accounted a necessary condition of its entrance into Hades, but it could enjoy no rest there till they had been performed.[1] Hence arose the importance attached to them by surviving friends, the obstinate contests that take place over the slain, Priam's desperate effort to recover the corpse of Hector. Several of the most interesting scenes in Greek poetry and history depend entirely on this feeling. When the soul has made its escape through the lips or th wound, it is not dispersed in the air, but preserves the form of the living person. But the face of the earth, lighted by the sun, is no fit place for the feeble, joyless phantom. It protracts its unprofitable being in the cheerless twilight of the nether world, a shadow of its former self, and pursuing the empty image of its past occupations and enjoyments. Orion, like the spectre of the North American hunter, is engaged in chasing the disembodied beasts, which he had killed on the mountains, over the asphodel meadow. Minos is busied in holding mock trials, and dispensing his rigid justice to a race that has lost all power of inflicting wrong. Achilles retains his ancient pre-eminence among his dead companions, but he would

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

Condition of the soul after death.

[1] Od. xi. 65. Il. xxiii. 71.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

gladly exchange the unsubstantial honour, even if it were to be extended to the whole kingdom of spirits, for the bodily life of the meanest hireling. Nothing was more remote from Homer's philosophy than the notion that the soul, when lightened of its fleshly incumbrances, exerted its intellectual faculties with the greater vigour. On the contrary, he represents it as reduced by death to a state of senseless imbecility. *Alas*, exclaimed Achilles, when the spirit of Patroclus had vanished, *even in Hades there remains a ghost, and an image of the dead, but the mind is altogether gone.* Tiresias alone among the shades enjoys a certain degree of mental vigour, by the especial favour of Proserpine. It is only after their strength has been repaired by the blood of a slaughtered victim that they recover reason and memory for a time, can recognise their living friends, and feel anxiety for those whom they have left on earth. While the greater part of the vast multitude that peoples the house of Hades merely prolongs a dreaming, vacant existence, a few great offenders are doomed to a kind of suffering most in accordance with the character of the infernal realms, — to the torment of unavailing toil, and never-satisfied longings. A more tremendous prison, removed as far below Hades as earth is from heaven, was reserved for the audacious enemies of Jupiter: the abyss of Tartarus, fast secured with iron gates, and a brazen floor. On the other hand, a few favoured heroes, instead of descending into Hades, were transported to a delicious plain, an island of Ocean, cooled by perpetual breezes from the West, and exempt from every inclement change of the seasons.

Worship and Sacrifices.

The favour of the gods was believed to be obtained by means similar to those which are most efficacious with powerful mortals, — homage and tribute, or, in the language of religion, worship and sacrifice. Con-

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

sidered from one point of view, the sacrifices of the Greeks appear in a highly pleasing light, as an expression of pure, though misdirected piety; viewed from another side, they present only the blind impulses of a rude superstition. A simple feeling of dependence on the divine bounty naturally vents itself in the form of an offering, which, however trifling in itself, may be an adequate symbol of the religious sentiment. In many of the Greek rites, as in those of domestic worship, in the libations that accompanied the social meal, in the *eiresionê* and other harvest offerings[1], in the votive locks which youths and virgins frequently dedicated to a guardian deity[2], this merely symbolical character is predominant; and these may have been among the earliest forms of devotion. But the same unworthy conceptions of the divine nature which led the Greeks to treat the material offering as the essential part of every sacred service, gave birth to more luxurious and less innocent rites. The image of earthly kings applied to the heavenly powers, suggested the persuasion, that the efficacy of a sacrifice depended on its value, and that the feeling which prompted the offering was not merely to be expressed, but to be measured by it. This persuasion was cherished by two popular prejudices; by the notion that the gods were capable of envy and jealousy, which men might allay by costly profusion in their gifts, and by the view taken of a sacrifice, as a banquet for the gods, the more agreeable in proportion as it was rich and splendid.[3]

Human sacrifices.

When the sacrifice was designed to soften the anger of an offended deity, it would of course be unusually sumptuous; for it was then at once a propitiatory offering, and a self-imposed penalty. This mode of thinking might easily lead to the notion, that on some

[1] Compare Mueller, *Dorians*, ii. 8. 1. Heffter, *Die Götterd. auf Rh.* p. 81.
[2] Il. xxiii. 142., and the passages collected by Meursius, *Græcia Feriata*, p. 239.
[3] Od. vii. 203.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

extraordinary occasions the divine wrath was to be appeased by no oblation less precious than the life of man. And it seems certain, that before the times described by Homer the Greeks had been brought, either by their own train of thinking, or by the influence of foreign example, to this dreadful conclusion. This high antiquity of human sacrifices among the Greeks has been disputed, on the ground that such rites are not mentioned or alluded to by Homer. We conceive however that Homer's silence would not in the slightest degree shake the authority of the numerous legends which speak of human victims, as occasionally, and even periodically, offered in certain temples[1]; more especially as in the latter case they record the early substitution of other victims, or of milder rites. Though the practice of dedicating living persons to a deity, which was unquestionably very ancient, may not have been originally connected with any effusion of blood, still it indicates the prevailing sentiment; and there is nothing in the manners of the heroic age to prevent us from believing, that the same sentiment sometimes manifested itself in the sacrifice of human life, even if the practice had not been transmitted from earlier times. But in fact Homer himself appears strongly to confirm the testimony borne by later writers to the antiquity of the usage, when he informs us that Achilles immolated twelve Trojan prisoners at the funeral pile of Patroclus, not to indulge his own vengeance, but to soothe his departed friend. The poet indeed considers this as a terrible display of friendship; but it seems clear that he would have found nothing inconsistent with piety or humanity in a similar sacrifice offered to the gods.

Temples and holy grounds.

Offerings of a different kind, designed for the perpetual ornament of holy places, are important rather

[1] Porphyr. de Abst. ii. 54, 55. Theodoret. Græc. Aff. Cur. vii. p. 895.

in the history of the arts, than as affording any new or peculiar illustration of the religious principle which suggested them, and we shall shortly have a fitter occasion for speaking of them. The holy places and edifices themselves belong to the same head. Though the gods abode in Olympus, several of them had territories[1] and domains on the earth, where they sometimes loved to sojourn. The piece of land which was consecrated to a god, bore the same name[2] with that which was assigned for the maintenance of the kingly dignity, and was viewed in a very similar light. It seems to have been always distinguished by an altar, which, when raised in the open air, was probably sheltered by a sacred grove. The cultivated portion served no doubt for the supply of sacrifices and the support of the priest. It was perhaps from some of these consecrated tracts that the poet drew his description of the desert island, where flocks and herds of the sun were tended by the nymphs, and, though they bare no young, never experienced any diminution in their numbers.

Priests.

The nature of the Greek religion implied the existence of persons who exercised the sacred functions which it prescribed — of *priests*, if the word be taken in this general sense. But unless it be ascertained whether these persons formed a distinct class, what notions were commonly entertained of their office, and what privileges and influence it conferred, the name may serve only to mislead. None of the acts which composed the ordinary worship of the gods, neither the sacrifice, nor the accompanying prayer, were among the Greeks appropriated to any certain order of men. The father of a family in his household, the prince in behalf of his people, celebrate all these rites themselves. In poetical or rhetorical language, the heroes who were thus occasionally engaged in the service of the gods,

[1] Κλῆροι, Pindar, Ol. vii. 101.

[2] Τέμενος.

CHAP. VI.

B. C. 1184.

might be called royal priests, or priestly kings, as Virgil's Anius was at once king of men, and priest of Apollo.[1] But an expression which combines the two characters, without marking their mutual relations, explains and defines nothing. The proper use of either title depends on the question, which was original and principal, which derivative and subordinate. There can be no doubt that in the Homeric heroes the sacerdotal character was merely incidental to their public station. Nestor and Agamemnon sacrifice, but they are not priests, like Chryses, and Maro, and Dares, nor are the Ætolian elders, though each might be frequently called on to discharge sacerdotal functions, priests in the same sense with those whom they send to Meleager.[2] Hence Aristotle distinguishes between the sacrifices which belonged to the kings, and those which belonged to the priests, in the heroic times. The term *priest* always related not only to some particular deity, but to some particular seat of his worship; independent of these, it had no more meaning than the title of king, without a certain people or country to correspond with it. In like manner it may fairly be presumed, that whenever a temple, or a tract of ground, was consecrated to a god, a priest was appointed to minister to him there. There may have been a period when no priesthood of the latter kind existed in Greece, when the domestic hearth was the only altar, and the house of the chief the only temple, of the tribe. But in the heroic age, though it was still true that every king was in some sense a priest, the priestly office had so long ceased to be a mere appendage of royal or patriarchal power, that in the Homeric poems we do not find a single instance where it distinctly appears, that one who is described as a priest, was also, like Virgil's Anius, a king. Yet, when a temple was built

[1] Æn. iii. 80. Where Servius remarks, *majorum enim erat hæc consuetudo, ut rex esset etiam sacerdos.*

[2] Il. ix. 575.

for the tutelary god of a tribe, the ruling family may often have been invested with the charge of it, which of course then became an hereditary office, and might frequently survive the civil pre-eminence out of which it arose. Political changes, or some of the numberless accidents that are perpetually varying the course of every popular superstition, frequently enlarged the sphere of a local worship, and transformed it from an obscure domestic ritual into a branch of the national religion. In such cases the hereditary ministers of the god gained a proportionate increase in dignity and wealth, and their priestly character would become their most distinguishing and valued title. On the other hand a priesthood which was originally of a public nature, and arose with and out of the temple where it was exercised, was probably seldom appropriated to a particular family, except where the gift of divination was believed to be likewise inherited, or in cases like that recorded by Herodotus, of Gelon's ancestor, Telines, who had composed the civil dissensions of Gela by the influence of religion, and stipulated that his descendants should be hereditary ministers of the deities in whose name he had prevailed. Homer himself indicates the mode in which such offices were usually conferred, when he mentions that Theano was made priestess of Athene by the Trojans. In the later times of Greece the administration of religion embraced an endless multiplicity of forms: the elective priesthoods were bestowed, sometimes for life, sometimes for a very short term: in the latter case the citizen evidently acquired no new character by the temporary office; but in the former it might frequently become a profession which completely separated him from the rest of the community.

How far a separate class.

The most learned of our historians has observed, that the distinction between the laity and the clergy was unknown to the Greeks and Romans. The asser-

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

tion is true in the sense in which it was meant to be understood; but it may be proper here to notice the limitations which it requires, and to point out, that in another sense the distinction was not unknown to the Greeks. The priestly office in itself involved no civil exemptions or disabilities, and was not thought to unfit the person who filled it for discharging the duties of a senator, a judge, or a warrior, either on the ground that these occupations were less pleasing to the gods, or, that their service claimed the dedication of the whole of a man's time and faculties. But the care of a temple often required the continual residence and presence of its ministers, and thus, in effect, excluded every other employment, and kept them in sacred seclusion, apart from the ordinary pursuits of their fellow-citizens. The Greek priests never formed one organised body, and their insulation was not merely an effect of the political divisions of their country: even within the same state they were not incorporated in any kind of hierarchy, and they had neither means nor motives for entering into voluntary associations. Considered therefore in the aggregate, they appear absolutely powerless and insignificant, nor are there any traces of a party spirit or fellow-feeling among them, even on occasions which might have been expected most to have called it forth. The jealous hostility which beset the progress of Athenian philosophy, and sometimes broke out into open persecution of its professors, appears neither to have sprung from the machinations of the priests, nor to have been cherished or directed by them, though the opinions which excited the popular indignation threatened their peculiar and common interests. But though, as an order, the priesthood had no bond of union, and therefore no engine of ambition at its command, the several local corporations comprised in it, were perhaps on that very ac-

count animated with the more lively consciousness of their peculiar character and interest. The ministers who were permanently attached to a temple, felt their honours to be intimately connected with its renown; and many still more solid advantages often flowed from the control of a much frequented shrine. Priest-craft had inducements as effectual, and as large a field, in Greece as elsewhere, and it was not less fertile in profitable devices, in the invention of legends, the fabrication of relics, and other modes of imposture. The qualifications required for the priesthood were as various as the aspects of religion itself. Herodotus was struck by the contrast which he observed in this respect, between the Greek and the Egyptian institutions: *In Egypt*, he says, *no god or goddess is served by a priestess.* In his own country the female ministers of religion were perhaps as numerous as those of the other sex; and the usage appears to have obtained from the most remote antiquity, even in the temples of deities whom he supposed to have been of Egyptian origin. No period of life was excluded on any general grounds, and the choice of that which was preferred in each case was determined by accident or caprice. It was no part of the priest's duties to expound theological dogmas, or to deliver moral precepts.[1] Even the memory was but lightly tasked by the liturgical forms, in the repetition of which his ordinary functions consisted; so that Isocrates had room to observe, that some men deem the kingly office within every one's ability, as if it were a priesthood.[2] The moral character of the priest was never viewed with regard to the influence of his example or authority on the minds of others; yet the service of the gods was supposed to demand clean hands, and in some degree a pure heart[3]; it could

[1] Heffter, p. 57.
[2] Hom. Il. vi. 266. Æsch. c. Tim. § 188. p. 370. Bek.
[3] Nicocl. p. 17.

CHAP. VI.

B. C. 1184.

not be duly performed by one who was polluted by bloodshed, or by any atrocious crime. Even celibacy was frequently required; but in many instances the same end was more wisely pursued by the selection either of the age when the passions are yet dormant, or that in which they have subsided.[1]

Oracles.

The most important branch of the Greek religion, that which more than any other affected the political institutions, the history, and manners of the nation, grew out of the belief that man is enabled by the divine favour to obtain a knowledge of futurity which his natural faculties cannot reach. Though the gods rarely permitted their own forms to be seen, or their voices to be heard, they had a great variety of agents and vehicles at their disposal, for conveying the secrets of their prescience. Sometimes they were believed to impart the prophetical faculty, as a permanent gift, to some favoured person, or family, in which it was permitted to descend; sometimes they attached it to a certain place, the seat of their immediate presence, which is then termed an *oracle*. It is probable that these oracular sanctuaries belong, for the most part, to that eldest form of religion, which took its impressions from the natural features of the country, and that they were not originally viewed as the abode of any deity more definite than the Powers which breathed the spirit of divination from springs and caves. But when the supremacy of Zeus over the Olympian family was generally acknowledged, and the offices and attributes of the other deities were distinguished, the father of the gods, as destiny was his decree, was naturally regarded as the great source of prophetical inspiration[2], and Apollo, it is not certain how, came to be considered as the general interpreter of his will, and the dispenser of his pre-

[1] Paus. ii. 33. 2. vii. 26. 5. vii. 19. 1. vii. 25. 13. viii. 47. 5. x. 34. 8.

[2] Hence his epithet *πανομφαῖος*. Il. viii. 250.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

The most ancient and celebrated of the Greek oracles were attached to the sanctuaries of these deities at Dodona and Delphi.[2] The political causes that raised the oracle of Apollo at Delphi to its high pre-eminence over all similar institutions, belongs to a later period; but Homer describes it as already renowned and wealthy before the Trojan war. He is equally, or rather more, familiar with the personal and hereditary faculty of divination. The shades of the dead were also believed to possess the power of revealing the future, and there were a few oracles where they might be consulted.[3] But these institutions seem not to have been congenial with the feelings of the Greeks, and to have been seldom resorted to, except by those who had been goaded by remorse into an unwonted superstition.

Another mode of divination, which has prevailed, and perhaps continues to exist, in almost all countries in the world, was known in the earliest ages of Greece, and survived every other similar form of superstition, — the interpretation of casual sights and sounds, which, as they derive all their imaginary importance from the difficulty of perceiving their connection with the ordinary state of things, attract notice precisely in proportion as they least deserve it. Every variation, however minute, from the common and anticipated tenor of life, was regarded as an omen denoting some remarkable turn of events, and was

[1] According to Hermann's explanation (*Brief. an Creuzer*, p. 112.), Apollo predicts that which he causes. He is the Power who sends or averts pestilence and destruction: but, as nothing perishes without making room for something else to fill its place, he is said to foresee the consequences involved in his own acts; "yet, in mythological language, not as possessing prescience in himself, but as the minister of Zeus, the vital principle, which gives birth to the future: in other words, from the destruction of any thing it may be foreseen that the ever-stirring vitality of nature will produce something else."

[2] Hermann (*an Creuzer*, p. 60.) observes that Homer mentions no oracle beside that of Dodona. But the Delphic oracle seems to be very clearly described in Od. viii. 79.

"Ως γάρ οἱ χρείων μυθήσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
Πυθοῖ ἐν ἠγαθέῃ, ὅθ' ὑπέρβη λάϊνον οὐδὸν Χρησόμενος.

[3] Mueller, *Prolegg.* p. 363. (297. Engl.)

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

observed with the deeper interest, when it happened to coincide with a momentous occasion. Thus, in an assembly convened for a grave deliberation, the utterance of a word associated with a pleasing or unwelcome thought might suspend or determine the issue of a debate. The flight and voice of a bird was never witnessed with indifference at a critical juncture; still less, such phenomena as thunder, lightning, and eclipses. The various appearances of a victim, in the several stages of a sacrifice, were believed to indicate the mind of the deity to whom it was offered. Hence arose a system of experimental divination, which in later times afforded employment for a large class of soothsayers. A victim was sacrificed on great occasions, as the eve of an expedition, or a battle, for the purpose of ascertaining the event by the inspection of its entrails. The diviners who interpreted these signs did not usually pretend to any permanent or temporary inspiration, but professed to found their predictions, or advice, on rules discovered by experience. The flight of birds, the changes of the atmosphere, and the heavenly bodies, were likewise at times subject to deliberate inspection. But neither augury, nor the other branches of the art, were so studiously cultivated, and reduced to such a semblance of scientific exactness, by the Greeks, as by the Tuscans; and, in the Homeric age, though accidental omens are carefully noted, experimental divination seems hardly to be known. We are even agreeably surprised to find the poet putting into Hector's mouth a sentiment, which it surpassed the force of Xenophon's mind or character to conceive: *One omen is the best: to fight for one's country.* Dreams also were held to proceed from Zeus, and the art of interpreting them gave a name to a distinct class of diviners. But it does not appear that oracles had yet been founded, in which the established method of in-

CHAP. VI.

tercourse with the deity consisted in nocturnal visions, obtained by passing a night in his temple.

B.C. 1184.

Hero-worship.

The worship of heroes, which in after times forms so prominent a feature in the Greek religion, is not mentioned by Homer. We are very far from adopting the opinion that this worship was the foundation of the Greek religion: but the views and feelings out of which it arose, seem to be clearly discernible in the Homeric poems. The Greek hero-worship presented two sides: it was an expression of religious veneration for departed excellence, which had exalted the deceased mortal above the level of his kind; and it was a tribute of affection and gratitude to a departed friend, kinsman, or benefactor. According to the Homeric theology, eminent virtue might raise a mortal even to the society of the gods, as it had changed the nature of Hercules [1], or it might transport him, as Menelaus and Rhadamanthys, to a state of blessedness little inferior. In either case the person who approached so nearly to deity, was a fit object of similar worship. The piety of surviving friends displayed itself in the most costly offerings at the funeral pile; and it was probably usual at a very early period to repeat such honours at certain intervals over the grave of the deceased. Thus the tomb gradually became an altar, and sometimes the site of a temple.[2] But this kind of worship was indebted for its wider diffusion to an opinion, which appears first expressed in the poetry of Hesiod[3], who speaks of thirty thousand guardian dæmons, spirits of departed heroes, which are continually walking over the earth, veiled in darkness, watching the deeds of men, and dispensing weal or woe. The general notion of a *dæmon* comprehended every species of

Dæmons.

[1] Of Leucothea also it is said, Od. vi. 334., that she was once a mortal, but afterwards obtained divine honours.

[2] See an essay by Col. Mure in the *Rhein. Mus.* vi. 2. p. 268.

[3] O. *et* D. 250.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

mysterious, supernatural agency, which the imagination had not conceived under a distinct form, and afforded a basis for the personifying of all abstract properties and relations, by which they acquired an influence over the feelings, independent of poetical fancy.[1] Whatever, either in nature or in man, excited admiration or wonder, by its excellence or singularity, was considered as partaking of this character. Without entering into this feeling, we shall be unable to comprehend the prodigality with which heroic honours were conferred by the Greeks, as when we find the people of Segesta erecting a chapel, and instituting sacrifices, at the grave of a slain enemy, with no other motive than his extraordinary beauty.[2] The heroes, with whom the notion of a dæmon was thus associated, approach very near to the fairies and goblins of other mythologies.[3] Greek superstition represented them as always active, sometimes beneficent, but not unfrequently wanton and mischievous.[4]

We have dwelt the more largely on this subject here, because the changes which took place in the Greek religion after the age of Homer, affect its external aspect, rather than its essential character. Its relation indeed to the state, to science, and to morality, did not continue always the same: as fresh avenues were opened for commerce with foreign regions, some new objects of worship were introduced: the progress of wealth and art multiplied and refined its rites: but the germ at least of every im-

[1] Some excellent remarks on the principle of personification, and on its religious, historical, poetical, and popular manifestations, are to be found in Dissen's *Kl. Schr.* p. 349. Bode (*Gesch. d. H.D.* i. p. 416.), would refer the introduction of the doctrine of dæmons to the influence of the priestly houses, which devised it to bring the Phrygian worship of Dionysus into harmony with that of Apollo: a theory which, at least in this form, seems almost as difficult to understand as to establish.

[2] Her. v. 47.

[3] Aristoph. Av. 1490. and the Scholiast.

[4] Hesiod, O. *et* D. 122. and the history of the hero of Temesa in Pausanias, vi. 6.

portant religious principle and institution is visible in the Homeric poems.

B.C. 1184.

IV. It is not our intention fully to describe the state of knowledge and of the arts in the heroic ages, or to combine all the scattered touches, by which Homer has illustrated it, into a picture as complete as they might enable us to form. We must confine ourselves to selecting a few of the most striking, which may serve to mark the limits of the progress which the Greeks of this period had made in intellectual acquirements, and in their application to the purposes of life.

Exaggerated notions entertained by the Greeks of Homer's learning.

A just, but undiscriminating, veneration for Homer's genius, led the Greeks of later times, when science and erudition flourished, but the spirit of poetry was nearly extinct, to form very exaggerated notions of his learning. They could not bring themselves to believe, that the divine bard, who for so many centuries had fashioned the mind of Greece, whose wisdom they had been accustomed to revere from their infancy, should have been ignorant of things which in their own day were familiar to the vulgar, and that his conceptions of the objects which lay beyond the narrow range of his knowledge should have been at once mean and extravagant, to a degree which a more enlightened age finds it difficult to comprehend. Strabo employs a considerable space in the introductory part of his work, to refute Eratosthenes, who had presumed to maintain, that the poet's aim was merely to afford entertainment, that his geographical information was confined to the countries inhabited by Greeks, and that as in the description of foreign regions he had freely indulged his fancy, his expositors only wasted their time in labouring to reconcile his accounts with later discoveries. Strabo himself professes to observe a mean

CHAP. VI. B.C. 1184.

between this irreverent criticism, and the excessive zeal of those who regarded Homer as a master of all arts and sciences: yet, rather than admit that he was not acquainted with the rudiments of geography, he does not scruple to put the most violent construction on his words, and to draw the most improbable inferences from them. At present perhaps there is more danger of pushing the opinion of Eratosthenes too far, than of running into the opposite extreme. Some modern writers seem to have assigned too narrow limits to Homer's knowledge of the earth: and they have perhaps sometimes forgotten, that his conceptions of its unknown regions, and of the rest of the universe, were probably very vague and indefinite, as well as erroneous, and have attributed a precision and consistency to his views, which he may never have aimed at. On the other hand it may be fairly assumed, that his descriptions of these objects are not mere poetical fictions, and that, if they do not exactly represent the popular opinion, they are never without some groundwork of general belief. The Homeric cosmology is just such a scheme as might have been expected to be formed by men, who gaze upon nature with unhesitating confidence in the intimations of their senses, and are satisfied with the rudest expedients for explaining and reconciling them, and who willingly allow their imagination to range beyond the bounds of their experience in search of the marvellous.

Homeric Geography.

If we begin by endeavouring to ascertain the extent of the poet's geographical knowledge, we find ourselves almost confined to Greece and the Ægean. Beyond this circle all is foreign and obscure; and the looseness with which he describes the more distant regions, especially when contrasted with his accurate delineation of those which were familiar to him, indicates that as to the others he was mostly left to

depend on vague rumours, which he might mould at his pleasure. In the catalogue indeed of the Trojan auxiliaries, which probably comprises all the information which the Greeks had acquired concerning that part of the world at the time it was composed, the names of several nations in the interior of Asia Minor are enumerated. The remotest are probably the Halizonians of Alybé, whose country may, as Strabo supposes, be that of the Chaldeans on the Euxine. On the south side of the peninsula even the Lycians appear as a very distant race, whose land is therefore a fit scene for fabulous adventures: on its confines are the haunts of the monstrous Chimæra, and the territory of the Amazons: farther eastward the mountains of the fierce Solymi, from which Poseidon, on his return from the Ethiopians, descries the bark of Ulysses sailing on the western sea. These Ethiopians are placed by the poet at the extremity of the earth; but as they are visited by Menelaus in the course of his wanderings, they must be supposed to reach across to the shores of the inner sea, and to border on the Phœnicians: and it is probable that the poet assigned no great extent to the intermediate tract. We find no intimation that Menelaus left his ships on the coast of Syria, to penetrate inland. Nestor indeed speaks of this voyage of Menelaus in terms which, at first sight, might seem to indicate that the regions he visited were quite out of the reach of ordinary Greek navigation: — *He has just returned from parts whence a man could never hope to return, when once driven into a sea so vast and fearful, that even the birds come not back within the same year.* This however is an exaggeration, which indicates only the timidity of the Greek mariners, not an erroneous conception of the distance. For elsewhere we find Ulysses describing a voyage which he performed in five days, from Crete to

Wanderings of Menelaus.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

Egypt: and the Taphians, though they inhabit the western side of Greece, are represented as engaged in piratical adventures on the coast of Phœnicia. On the other hand one general idea, which the poet frequently expresses with regard to these eastern lands, can scarcely have been derived from the experience of his countrymen. He describes their inhabitants as not only abounding in wealth, but in the highest degree hospitable and munificent. The palace of Menelaus is filled with the precious presents which he has collected during his stay in the East: and, in the story told by Ulysses, though his comrades have provoked the Egyptians by plundering their fields, and he surrenders himself a prisoner, yet not only is his life spared by the king, but he is loaded with treasures by the people. It is perhaps of less moment that the Phœnicians and Egyptians mentioned have, for the most part, purely Greek names. But as to Egypt, it seems clear that the poet's information was confined to what he had heard of a river Ægyptus, and a great city called Thebes. Of its distance from the mouth of the river he seems to have no distinct conception. The fertility of the soil is marked by an abundant growth of poisonous and medicinal herbs, and the wisdom of the people by their skill in the healing art, in which they are said to excel the rest of mankind. He mentions the isle of Pharos, but places it at a day's sail from the mouth of the river, and Strabo, to save his credit, is forced to suppose that he meant to intimate the enlargement of the Delta, which Menelaus might have heard of, and which might have induced him to substitute the distance by which Pharos had once been separated from the coast, for that at which he must himself have found it. What part of Africa Menelaus is conceived to have visited does not appear. He describes it as a fortunate land, in which the ewes yean

twice a year, and the lambs are horned from their birth. The position of the part of Libya where Ulysses found the Lotus-eaters — whose favourite fruit still grows, under the name of the jujube, on the same coast — is more precisely fixed by its vicinity to the land of the Cyclopes; from which it seems that the poet imagined less than a day's voyage to intervene between Sicily and the nearest point of Africa. It seems to be implied that a regular traffic subsisted between Libya and Phœnicia.[1]

Homer's view of the northern and western seas.

On the whole we may observe, and it is a remark of some importance, that whatever Homer's knowledge of these eastern and southern countries may have been, his description of them is extremely well fitted to excite curiosity concerning them in his countrymen, and to impel the spirit of adventure in this direction. With the opposite quarters of the world the reverse is the case. They are either wrapt in obscurity, or presented under a forbidding aspect, as only to be approached through the midst of perils, which make the courage of the hardiest quail. Strabo argues that Homer must have been acquainted with the Cimmerian Bosporus, because he speaks of the Cimmerians as a people on the margin of Ocean, near the entrance of the lower world, who are covered with perpetual mist and cloud, and never see the light of the sun. In like manner he concludes, that the poet, who has mentioned the European Mysians, cannot have been a stranger to the Danube. Yet he elsewhere remarks, that in the time of Homer the Euxine was regarded as another ocean, and those who sailed into it were thought to roam into as distant a region as those who proceeded beyond the Pillars of Hercules. In fact it appears highly probable, from the manner in which Homer describes the voyage of the Argonauts, that he was ignorant of the existence of the northern shores of the Euxine, and supposed

[1] v. 295.

CHAP. VI.

B. C. 1184.

Jason to have sailed from the land of Æetes, round the north of Greece and Italy, into the western sea. In later times the Argonauts were made to go up the Danube, and then to descend by another arm into the Adriatic. But Homer was probably not so well informed as to see any need for such a fiction. On the western side of Europe, the compass of his knowledge seems to be bounded by a few points not very far distant from the coast of Greece. A modern writer has even attempted to prove that the author of the Odyssey was so imperfectly acquainted with the group of islands among which the kingdom of Ulysses lay, as to assign a totally false position to Ithaca itself.[1] It seems however possible to reconcile his descriptions accurately enough with its real site.[2] The northern part of the Adriatic he appears, as we have observed, to consider as a vast open sea. The opinion which has generally prevailed among both the ancients and the moderns, that in describing the marvellous island of the Phæacians he had Corcyra in view, seems to have no better foundation than the desire of assigning a definite locality to the poet's fictions[3]: as, in the same spirit, great pains have been taken to investigate the abodes of Circe and of Calypso. The situation of Corcyra may have been very well known to him: but it was not that which he required for his Phæacians: and hence no conclusion can be safely drawn either for or against his geographical learning, from the freedom

[1] Voelcker, *Ueber Homerische Geographie*, c. iv. The most valuable work on this subject after Voss. It is also very learnedly treated by Ukert, *Geographie der Griechen u. Roemer*, vol. i.

[2] This is the object of a little work, *Ueber das Homerische Ithaka*, by R. v. L. Ruehle von Lilienstern. Geppert (i. p. 390.) observes that the particularity of Homer's description is at least no proof that he had any real scene before his mind, as he is no less apparently exact in his description of others which were plainly imaginary.

[3] This has been lately very satisfactorily shown by Professor Welcker, in a most ingenious and interesting essay on Homer's Phæacians, in the new series of the *Rheinisches Museum*, i. 2. But I find it very difficult to assent to his position, which he adopts apparently only on etymological grounds, that the poet does not mean to represent Scheria as an island.

with which he has painted the wonders of their island. Farther westward, Sicily and the southern extremity of Italy are represented as the limits of all ordinary navigation. Beyond lies a vast sea, which spreads to the very confines of nature and space. Sicily itself, at least its more remote parts, is inhabited by various races of gigantic cannibals: whether, at the same time, any of the tribes who really preceded the Greeks in the occupation of the island were known to be settled on the eastern side, is not certain, though the Sicels and Sicania are mentioned in the Odyssey.[1] The marvels with which the poet has embellished this part of his narrative, were no doubt suggested by some real features in the nature of the scenes described, as the dangers of the straits and the appearance of the volcanic islands on the northern coast; but the boldness of his fictions seems to prove that he is only giving shape to an indistinct rumour. Yet the copper mines of Temesa are already so celebrated as to attract the Taphians, who carry iron to barter for it.[2] But Italy, as well as Greece, appears, according to the poet's notions, to be bounded on the north by a formidable waste of waters.

When we proceed to inquire how the imagination of the people filled up the void of its experience, and determined the form of the unknown world, we find that the rudeness of its conceptions corresponds to the scantiness of its information. The part of the earth exposed to the beams of the sun was undoubtedly considered, not as a spherical, but as a plane surface, only varied by its heights and hollows; and as little can it be doubted, that the form of this surface was determined by that of the visible horizon. The whole orb

[1] Niebuhr's conjecture (*Phil. Mus.* i. p. 174.) that the Sicels in the Odyssey, xx. 383., were the people of the savage Echetus, seems hardly consistent with the avowed object of sale: ὔθεν κέ τοι ἄξιον ἄλφοι.

[2] Od. i. 184. It is not however certain that this Temesa was in Italy; the direction in which the speaker is sailing is at least quite as favourable to the opinion of those who took it for a town in Cyprus. But see Eustath.

CHAP. VI.

B. C. 1184. The ocean.

is girt by the ocean, not a larger sea, but a deep river, which, circulating with constant but gentle flux, separates the world of light and life from the realms of darkness, dreams, and death. No feature in the Homeric chart is more distinctly prominent than this: hence the divine artist terminates the shield of Achilles with a circular stripe, representing *the mighty strength of the river ocean*, and all the epithets which the poet applies to it are such as belong exclusively to a river. It is by no means easy to account for this notion, even if it should be supposed to have arisen before the Greeks were acquainted with the Asiatic continent: for still they saw nothing but land to the north; and even if they imagined the earth to be encompassed by waters, there was nothing to suggest the thought of a limitary river. It would rather seem that they must have been led to it in endeavouring to explain the origin of the liquid element by tracing it to a single source, which would naturally be fixed at the extremity of the earth. And accordingly Homer describes all the other rivers, all springs and wells, and the salt main itself, as issuing from the ocean stream, which might be supposed to feed them by subterraneous channels. Still it is very difficult to form a clear conception of this river, or to say how the poet supposed it to be bounded. Ulysses passes into it from the western sea; but whether the point at which he enters is a mouth or opening, or the two waters are only separated by an invisible line, admits of much doubt. On the further side however is land: but a land of darkness, which the sun cannot pierce, a land of Cimmerians, the realm of Hades, inhabited by the shades of the departed, and by the family of dreams. As to the other dimensions of the earth, the poet affords us no information, and it would be difficult to decide, whether a cylinder or a cone approaches nearest to the figure which he may have assigned to it: and as little does he intimate in what

manner he conceives it to be supported. But within it was hollowed another vast receptacle for departed spirits, perhaps the proper abode of Hades. Beneath this, and as far below the earth as heaven was above it, lay the still more murky pit of Tartarus, secured by its iron gates and brazen floor, the dungeon reserved by Zeus for his implacable enemies.

The waters of Ocean, as they nourish the earth, also renovate and purify the lustre of the heavenly fires, among which one only never repairs its waste in the refreshing bath. The sun rises — it would seem, out of a spacious reach, which the river makes in the east — to perform his journey over the vault of heaven. The luminary itself is perpetually confounded with the power which animates it, or controls its career. But the god does not appear under the form of a charioteer, who, as he climbs the heights of ether, darts his beams on the earth: nor is it certain how the poet conceived the close of his daily task to be connected with its renewal. There is no intimation that he was supposed to descend below the surface of the earth, nor indeed would such a revolution be consistent with the other parts of the mundane system. If the necessity of some additional supposition, to explain the vicissitude of day and night, had been observed, it was probably met by a fiction similar to that which became current in later times. The poet Mimnermus, who flourished between the seventh and sixth century B. C., may only have expressed an idea which had been long familiar to the Greeks, when he sang of the golden bowl which Hephæstus had wrought, and furnished with wings, as a floating couch for the god of day, who, after finishing his task, reposes in the enchanted vessel, and is rapidly transported over the surface of the water from the abode of the Hesperides to the land of the Ethiopians, where he finds another chariot and fresh steeds waiting to receive him.

Course of the sun.

CHAP. VI.

B. C. 1184.

It does not appear that the poet was aware of any distinction worth his notice, between the northern and the southern half of the terrestrial plane; but the regions subject to the immediate influence of the rising and setting sun are scenes of wonder, and peopled by a peculiar race. The adjacent shores or islands are blessed with a double portion of light and heat, and teem with inexhaustible fertility. The Elysian plain, though not far remote from the land of darkness and dreams, enjoys an uninterrupted serenity of atmosphere. The people that inhabits these favoured regions of the extreme east and west, attests the neighbourhood of the sun by their swarthy complexion, which is expressed by their name of Ethiopians: the gods themselves sometimes leave their celestial home to share the plenty of their banquets, and to honour their piety and innocence. It has been supposed that a rumour of a dark-coloured race, on the eastern shores of the Euxine, may have suggested the thought of the fabulous Ethiopians: but their colour was determined by their position, and the seats of perfect innocence and justice could only be fixed at the farthest ends of the earth. These Ethiopians became the model of a similar, perfect, happy, and long-lived race, which inhabited a paradise in the extreme north, sheltered from the blasts of Boreas by a barrier of mountains; and when the Greeks became acquainted with the African tribes, Ethiopia was shifted to the shores of the southern sea, where, in the reign of Cambyses, a people was believed to exist of extraordinary beauty, stature, and longevity, in whose country gold was more plentiful than copper, the table of the sun yielded every day spontaneously a banquet of various meats, and a soft and fragrant spring supplied an elixir of life.[1]

The Ethio-

Some of the epithets which Homer applies to the

heaven, seem to imply that he considered it as a solid vault of metal. But it is not necessary to construe these epithets so literally, nor to draw any such inference from his description of Atlas, who *holds the lofty pillars which keep earth and heaven asunder*. Yet it would seem, from the manner in which the height of heaven is compared with the depth of Tartarus, that the region of light was thought to have certain bounds. The summit of the Thessalian Olympus was regarded as the highest point on the earth, and it is not always carefully distinguished from the aerial regions above. The idea of a seat of the gods—perhaps derived from a more ancient tradition, in which it was not attached to any geographical site—seems to be indistinctly blended in the poet's mind with that of the real mountain. Hence Hephæstus, when hurled from the threshold of the palace of Zeus, falls *from morn to noon, from noon to dewy eve*, before he drops on Lemnos[1]; and Zeus speaks of suspending the earth by a chain from the top of Olympus.[2]

B. C. 1184.

Olympus.

A wider compass of geographical knowledge, and more enlarged views of nature, would scarcely have been consistent with the state of navigation and commerce which the Homeric poems represent. The poet expresses the common feelings of an age when the voyages of the Greeks were mostly confined to the Ægean, in the language used by Nestor with regard to the wanderings of Menelaus. So when Troy is said to be at a vast distance from the Achæan land, this is not to be considered merely as the judgment of an Ithacan shepherd. We find the Greeks after the fall of Troy earnestly deliberating at Lesbos on the *long voyage* which lay before them, and uncertain whether they shall cross the open sea from the north

Navigation.

[1] Il. i. 592.

CHAP. VI.

B. C. 1184.

of Chios to Eubœa, or steer along the coast by Cape Mimas. The former course is adopted, and on their arrival at Geræstus they offer many victims to Poseidon, in gratitude for having been brought in safety over so *great a sea*. It accords with this view of the distance, that the failure of the first expedition against Troy was attributed to a mistake of the pilots, who guided the fleet to the coast of Mysia, instead of the kingdom of Priam. The vessels of the heroes, and probably of the poet's contemporaries, were slender half-decked boats: according to the calculation of Thucydides, who seems to suspect exaggeration, the largest contained 120 men, the greatest number of rowers mentioned in the catalogue: but we find twenty rowers the complement of a ship destined for a very solemn occasion[1]: and from another passage it has been inferred, that the largest of those which the poet describes, contained no more than fifty.[2] The mast was movable, and was only hoisted to take advantage of a fair wind, and at the end of a day's voyage was again deposited in its appropriate receptacle. In the day-time, the Greek mariner commonly followed the windings of the coasts, or shot across from headland to headland, or from isle to isle: at night his vessel was usually put into port, or hauled up on the beach; for though on clear nights he might prosecute his voyage as well as by day, yet should the sky be overcast his course was inevitably lost. Engagements at sea are never mentioned by Homer, though he so frequently alludes to piratical excursions. They were probably of rare occurrence: but as they must sometimes have been inevitable, the galleys were provided with long poles for such occasions. The approach of winter put a stop to all ordinary navigation. Hesiod

[1] Il. i. 309. The hecatomb is not to be understood literally.
[2] B. Thiersch, p. 278. Od. x. 208.

fixes the time for laying up the merchant ship, covering it with stones, taking out the rigging, and hanging the rudder up by the fire. According to him, the fair season lasts only fifty days: some indeed venture earlier to sea, but a prudent man will not then trust his substance to the waves.[1] B.C. 1184.

Astronomy.

The practical astronomy of the early Greeks consisted of a few observations on the heavenly bodies, the appearances of which were most conspicuously connected with the common occupations of life. The succession of light and darkness, the recurring phases of the moon, and the vicissitude of the seasons, presented three regular periods of time, which, though all equally forced on the attention, were not all marked with equal distinctness by sensible limits. From the first, and down to the age of Solon, the Greeks seem to have measured their months in the natural way, by the interval between one appearance of the new moon and the next. Hence their months were of unequal duration; yet they might be described in round numbers as consisting of thirty days; and Hesiod speaks of a thirtieth day, as if it belonged to every month: a mode of speaking which, though it has occasioned dispute among modern writers, was not liable to be misunderstood by his contemporaries, even if he has not himself furnished a hint for correcting it.[2] The computation of the days of the month seems to have been important only in a religious point of view, partly through the popular superstition, which stamped each day of the month with its peculiar character of good or evil omen, and partly through the sacred traditions which fixed the festivals of certain deities on certain days. Hesiod de-

[1] The infrequency of maritime intercourse seems to be indicated by the punishment of deportation to an island, which is mentioned (Il. xxi. 454. Od. iii. 270.) as something common.

[2] By the line 766, εὖτ' ἄν, κ.τ.λ. according to Ideler's interpretation (*Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. p. 263.), which is not overthrown by Goettling's objections.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

votes a part of his poem on husbandry to the days of the month, which he enumerates, and describes according to their various imaginary properties, and he enjoins every master of a house to take careful note of them for the instruction of his domestics. It was soon observed that the revolutions of the moon were far from affording an exact measure of the apparent annual revolution of the sun, and that if this were taken to be equal to twelve of the former, the seasons would pass in succession through all the months of the year. This in itself would have been no evil, and would have occasioned no disturbance in the business of life. Seen under the Greek sky, the stars were scarcely less conspicuous objects than the moon itself: some of the most striking groups were early observed and named, and served, by their risings and settings, to regulate the labours of the husbandman and the adventures of the seaman. But though for such purposes it was not necessary to adjust the order of the lunar months to that of the seasons, the interests of religion seem to have required that this should be done. The spirit of a ceremonial worship prescribes a rigid adherence to the established rites, in all their forms and circumstances; and accordingly it was not held sufficient for the due celebration of a sacred festival among the Greeks, that it took place on a stated day of the month, if it did not also conform to the ancient rule in the season of the year. This is the remark indeed of a late Greek writer, but it is so consistent with the whole character of the earliest religion of his countrymen, that it may safely be adopted, and applied to the remotest times.[1] Hence it is highly probable that, even before the time of Homer, the Greeks had begun to compensate for the defect of the lunar year, by the occasional addition of

[1] Geminus, Isag. 6., quoted by Ideler, i. p. 256.

CHAP. VI.

B. C. 1184.

an intercalary month. In the division of the seasons Homer seems to make no distinction between summer and autumn: and the goddesses who preside over them — the Hours — were originally three in number. Their name was not yet given to portions of the day; these the poet usually describes by the civil occupations belonging to them; as, the time when the wood-cutter rests from his toil, and takes his repast[1]; the unyoking of the oxen[2], or the time when the judge quits the seat of justice.[3] The filling of the market-place, so long retained for the like purpose among the Ionian Greeks, was probably derived from the same antiquity. In the night the stars, as they supplied the place of a calendar to the husbandman, served as a clock for those whose habits made them conversant with the aspect of the heavens.

Commerce appears in Homer's descriptions to be familiar enough to the Greeks of the heroic age, but not to be held in great esteem. We find Ulysses taunted by one of the Phæacians, though themselves a maritime people, as a person whose appearance betokened that he was more used to command sailors in a merchant vessel, to take charge of a cargo, and to keep an eye on the outlays and the profits of a voyage, than to engage in athletic sports. And in such a capacity Ulysses, relating his fictitious adventures, describes himself as having been once employed by a Phœnician; but in the same narrative he mentions with pride, that, though left an orphan with a very slender provision, he could never bear to apply himself to any peaceful occupation for acquiring wealth at home: ships were his delight, and he had made many expeditions from Crete to foreign parts, but always with armed comrades, to enrich himself with the plunder of the coasts which he visited. Yet in

[2] Βλωτόνδε. Il. xvi. 779. Od. ix. 58.

CHAP. VI.

B. C. 1184.

the Odyssey we find the goddess, who assumes the person of a Taphian chief, professing that she is on her way to Temesa, with a cargo of iron to be exchanged for copper: and in the Iliad, Jason's son, the prince of Lemnos, appears to carry on an active traffic with the Greeks before Troy. He sends a number of ships freighted with wine, for which the purchasers pay, some in copper, some in iron, some in hides, some in cattle, some in slaves. Of the use of money the poet gives no hint, either in this description or elsewhere. He speaks of the precious metals only as commodities, the value of which was in all cases determined by weight. The Odyssey represents Phœnician traders as regularly frequenting the Greek ports[1]: but as Phœnician slaves are sometimes brought to Greece, so the Phœnicians do not scruple, even where they are received as friendly merchants, to carry away Greek children into slavery.[2]

Degree to which the useful arts appear to have been cultivated.

The general impression which the Homeric pictures of society leave on the reader is, that many of the useful arts—that is, those subservient to the animal wants or enjoyments of life—had already reached such a stage of refinement, as enabled the affluent to live, not merely in rude plenty, but in a considerable degree of luxury and splendour. The dwellings, furniture, clothing, armour, and other such property of the chiefs, are commonly described as magnificent, costly, and elegant, both as to the materials and workmanship. We are struck not only by the apparent profusion of the precious metals, and other rare and dazzling objects, in the houses of the great, but by the skill and ingenuity which seem to be exerted in working them up into convenient and graceful forms. Great caution however is evidently necessary in drawing inferences from these descriptions, as to the

[1] Od. xiii. 272. [2] Od. xv. 452.

state of the arts in the heroic ages. The poet has treasures at his disposal, which, as they cost him nothing, he may scatter with an unsparing hand. It depends entirely upon himself with what degree of magnificence he shall adorn the various scenes which he depicts. Nor has he need of any real models, to enable him to give a minute description of the most elaborate works. A very rude performance may sometimes be sufficient to suggest to him new combinations, more ingenious and artificial than any which his own experience had ever brought under his eye. These remarks are all applicable to Homer. The shield made by Hephæstus for Achilles cannot be considered as a specimen of the progress of art, since it is not only the work of a god, but is fabricated on an extraordinary occasion, to excite the admiration of men: and the figures in silver and gold which adorn the fairy palace of Alcinous, and which in part at least are ascribed to the same divine artist, are undoubtedly such as the poet had never beheld in any human habitation. But, beside this doubt, as to the degree in which his imagination may have overstepped reality in his descriptions of such objects, another is suggested by several passages, which might lead us to suppose that, even where he had some real patterns before him, they were the productions, not of Grecian, but of foreign art. Nor should it be forgotten, that if, as is at least most probable, he was an Asiatic Greek, he may have been familiar with many things which were very little known among his European countrymen before the Trojan war. The palace of Menelaus is all glittering with gold and silver, with ivory and amber; but its splendour excites astonishment in Telemachus: though his father's house is described as a princely mansion, and though he had just left Nestor's royal residence, he can only compare it with what he has been accustomed to con-

CHAP. VI.

B. C. 1184.

ceive of Jove's palace in Olympus. We learn however that these sumptuous ornaments have for the most part been brought by Menelaus from foreign lands. So the breast-plate of Agamemnon, which is not only singularly rich in its materials, but adorned with elegant figures, was a present which he had received from Cyprus. Indeed, it is clear that the poet attributes such a superiority to several Eastern nations, more especially to the Phœnicians, not only in wealth, but in knowledge and skill, that, compared with their progress, the arts of Greece seem to be in their infancy. The description of a Phœnician vessel, which comes to a Greek island freighted with trinkets, and of the manner in which a lady of the highest rank, and her servants, handle and gaze on one of the foreign ornaments, present the image of such a commerce as Europeans carry on with the islanders of the South Sea. It looks as if articles of this kind at least were eagerly coveted, and that there were no means of procuring them at home.

Such an inferiority may however be admitted, without supposing that the Greeks were altogether dependent on foreigners, even for works which demanded a high degree of skill. It is possible that Homer's pictures of the heroic style of living may be too highly coloured, but there is reason to believe that they were drawn from the life. He may have been somewhat too lavish of the precious metals; but some of the others, particularly copper, were perhaps more abundant than in later times: beside copper and iron, we find steel and tin, which the Phœnicians appear already to have brought from the west of Europe, frequently mentioned. There can be no doubt that the industry of the Greeks had long been employed on these materials. There is no ground for supposing that the commerce which Homer represents them as carrying on with the Phœnicians was of very recent origin, and

it could scarcely fail soon to rouse their native ingenuity to imitate and rival Phœnician art. We may therefore readily believe that, even in the heroic times, the works of Greek artisans already bore the stamp of the national genius. In some important points the truth of Homer's descriptions has been confirmed by monuments, brought to light within our own memory, of an architecture which was most probably contemporary with the events which he celebrated. The ruins of Mycenæ and other ancient cities seem sufficiently to attest the fidelity with which he has represented the general character of that magnificence which the heroic chieftains loved to display. They exhibit remains of spacious buildings of a peculiar construction, lined within with plates of metal, and without richly adorned with marble brought from distant quarries, originally destined — as seems to be now ascertained — for purposes of interment; but perhaps after they had thus acquired a degree of sanctity, sometimes used for the reception of the treasures amassed by the great, for which however another space seems to have been regularly assigned in the palaces of the heroes.[1] On the other hand, the same poems afford several strong indications that, though in the age which they describe, such arts were perhaps rapidly advancing, they cannot then have been so long familiar to the Greeks as to be very commonly practised; and that a skilful artificer was rarely found, and was consequently viewed with great admiration, and occupied a high rank in society. Thus the craft of the carpenter appears to be exceed-

[1] The doubt which had existed as to the destination of the Treasury, as it is commonly called, of Atreus at Mycenæ, and of other similar structures, — a question on which the opinion maintained by K. O. Müller in his *Archæologie der Kunst* and elsewhere, has been ably controverted by Welcker in a review of the *Archæologie* (*Rh. Mus.* ii. 1833), — can hardly remain in the mind of any one who has read Col. Mure's admirable essay on this subject, of which a German translation appeared in the new *Rhein. Mus.* vi. 3. (1839). I am not aware whether this very interesting and instructive paper has ever been published in any other form: but it is much to be wished that it should be generally accessible to English readers.

CHAP. VI.

B. C. 1184.

ingly honourable, and under the special patronage of the goddess Athené.[1] He is classed with the soothsayer, the physician, and the bard, and like them is frequently sent for from a distance.[2] The son of a person eminent in this craft is not mixed with the crowd on the field of battle, but comes forward among the most distinguished warriors.[3] And as in itself it seems to confer a sort of nobility, so it is practised by the most illustrious chiefs. Ulysses is represented as a very skilful carpenter. He not only builds the boat in which he leaves the island of Calypso, but in his own palace carves a singular bedstead out of the trunk of a tree, which he inlays with gold, silver, and ivory. Another chief, Epeus, was celebrated as the builder of the wooden horse in which the heroes were concealed at the taking of Troy. The goddess Athené was held to preside over this, as over all manual arts, and to favour those who excelled in it with her inspiring counsels.

Art of war.

Though war was the chief business and delight of the heroic ages, it appears to have been very far from being reduced to any form deserving the name of an art. This is nearly all that we can collect from Homer's descriptions of battles and sieges, though military affairs compose the whole subject of the Iliad. We learn much as to the combats of the chiefs, but little or nothing as to the engagements of the armies. Sometimes indeed the poet seems to attach great importance to the compact array of the troops; and he contrasts the silent and steady advance of the Greeks with the noisy march of the Trojans. But the issue of the conflict is always decided either by the immediate interposition of the gods, or by the personal valour of the leaders. The common warriors serve only as figures in the back-ground, to fill up the picture. A single hero of eminent prowess can put a whole army to flight. Nestor, as the most experienced

[1] Hefftter, *Götterdienste*, p. 127. [2] Od. xvii. 386. [3] Il. v. 60.

general, takes lead in the councils; and in the tenth year of the war he proposes a new order of battle, according to the natural or political divisions of the army: but no result appears to follow from the adoption of this plan. The strength and dexterity displayed by the chieftains in wielding their ponderous weapons are almost supernatural, yet they are probably not much exaggerated, and may be conceived as the effect of a long application to chivalrous exercises; and they serve to explain the terror with which a whole host might be inspired by the presence of a single enemy. The principal heroes are still more distinguished from the throng by their chariots or cars, the use of which is the most striking feature in the heroic warfare: on the field of Troy, horses are not employed for any other purpose. It does not appear that they were used, like those of the ancient Britons, to throw the enemy's ranks into disorder. The warrior stood in his car by the side of his charioteer, and sometimes fought in that position; but he commonly alighted at the approach of a formidable antagonist, and then mounted again for pursuit or flight. But it is not easy to conceive how these operations were conducted, so as to avoid extreme confusion and continual disasters. It is still more surprising to find that the Trojans, on one occasion, think of urging their horses, which naturally shrink from the danger, over a deep and broad ditch, with palisades and a wall on the opposite side.[1] No mention occurs of any artificial means for the attack of fortified towns. If the walls were too strong, or too well defended to be scaled, the besiegers were compelled to wait for an opportunity of effecting an entrance by surprise or stratagem. The walls of Troy are of extraordinary strength, and for years defy the assaults of the Greeks, though at first greatly superior

[1] Il. xii. 50.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

in numbers. Patroclus however thrice attempts to mount by one of the outer buttresses, but is repulsed by the arm of the tutelary god. When the whole of the Trojan army is about to pass the night without the city, Hector directs the boys and old men to keep guard on the walls, to prevent a surprise which they had cause to apprehend from a detachment of the enemy; but he does not take a similar precaution for the protection of his troops, who have no security but their own vigilance against a hostile attack. The art of a general seems to have consisted more in concerting ambuscades, and other stratagems and surprises, than in providing against them.

Medicine.

The chances of war give occasion, as might be expected, for frequent allusions to the healing art. The Greek army contains two chiefs who have inherited consummate skill in this art from their father Esculapius; and Achilles has been so well instructed in it by Chiron, that Patroclus, to whom he has imparted his knowledge, is able to supply their place. But the processes described in this and other cases show that there might often be the least danger from the treatment of the most unpractised hands. The operation of extracting a weapon from the wound, with a knife, seems not to have been considered as one which demanded peculiar skill; the science of the physician was chiefly displayed in the application of medicinal herbs, by which he stanched the blood, and eased the pain. When Ulysses has been gored by a wild boar, his friends first bind up the hurt, and then use a charm for stopping the flow of blood. As the popular credulity excessively exaggerated the virtue of medicinal herbs, so certain regions were supposed to be particularly favourable to their growth, and the same lands were celebrated for their deadly poisons. So the south of Thessaly, where Chiron collected the

potent drugs with which he furnished Esculapius.[1] The name of Ephyra, which anciently belonged to several parts of Greece, as well as to a town or district in Epirus, was especially associated with this belief. The Thesprotian Ephyra indeed is only mentioned as a land of poisons: but the Elean Ephyra was in the kingdom of Augeas, whose daughter Agamedé — like Medea, who belongs as well to the Corinthian Ephyra as to the south of Thessaly — knew every medicine on the face of the earth.[2] The same property was attributed, as we have seen, to the soil of Egypt, where Helen received many excellent drugs from Polydamna; and among them one, the description of which seems to prove that the Greeks, in the time of Homer, were acquainted with the virtues of opium. These instances also indicate that, if in Greece every man was not a physician, as in Egypt, the art, such as it was, was as frequently and successfully practised by the women.

CHAP. VI. B.C. 1184.

The Fine Arts. Poetry.

We have already seen that several of the arts which originally ministered only to physical wants, had been so far refined before the time of Homer, that their productions gratified the sense of beauty, and served for ornament as well as for use. Hence our curiosity is awakened to inquire to what extent those arts, which became in later times the highest glory of Greece, in which she yet stands unrivalled, were cultivated in the same period. Unfortunately, the information which the poet affords on this subject is so scanty and obscure, as to leave room on many points for a wide difference of opinion. If we begin with his own art, of which his own poetry is the most ancient specimen extant, we find several hints of its earlier condition. It was held in the highest honour among the heroes. The bard is one of those persons whom men send for

[1] See Pindar, Pyth. iii.; and the fragment of Dicæarchus on Pelion, at the end of Creuzer's *Meletemata*.

[2] Il. xi. 741.

CHAP. VI.

B. C. 1184.

to very distant parts: his presence is welcome at every feast: it seems as if one was attached to the service of every great family, and treated with an almost religious respect; Agamemnon, when he sets out on the expedition to Troy, reposes the most important of all trusts in the bard whom he leaves at home. It would even seem as if poetry and music were thought an essential part of a princely education; for Achilles is found amusing himself with singing, while he touches the same instrument with which the bards constantly accompanied their strains. The general character of this heroic poetry is also distinctly marked: it is of the narrative kind, and its materials are drawn from the exploits or adventures of renowned men; among which those which had most recently acquired celebrity were the favourite subjects.[1] The bard's memory was expected to be stored with a variety of lays, whether of others or his own[2]: not unfrequently it may have been richer than his invention; but it seems that he would always have been accounted but poorly qualified for his office, unless he had been able to pour forth an unpremeditated strain, rounded into a little whole, so as to gratify the hearer's curiosity, on any theme that might be proposed to him, and to vary the tritest by some fresh touches, or new combinations. There was however another kind of poetry existing at the same period, though probably of much earlier origin, and recognised by Homer, though he notices it much more sparingly, — the sacred poetry, which had per-

[1] Od. i. 351. *τὴν γὰρ ἀοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι,*
ἥτις ἀκουόντεσσι νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται.

[2] Heeren (*Ideen*, iii. 1. p. 134.) lays it down as unquestionable, that the bards always sang their own works; and asserts that there is no trace of their having sung those of others. Welcker, on the contrary (*Ep. Cycl.* p. 346.), contends that there are clear allusions in the Odyssey to their practice of reciting compositions which they had learned from other masters. This he believes to be implied in the assertion of Phemius (Od. xxii. 347.) that he was *self-taught*. So likewise Nitzsch, *Hist. Hom.* i. p. 121.: *Reperimus — alios sua, alios aliorum carmina exhibuisse, ex quibus tamen illi quoque prius aliorum versus didicisse, quam ipsi quidquam componerent, putandi sunt.*

haps been transmitted from the ancient bards, who were celebrated in the Greek traditions as founders of religious rites, and devoted to the service of the gods. B. C. 1184. It was probably with hymns drawn from this source that the anger of Apollo was to be soothed by the Greeks who were sent with a hecatomb to his temple at Chryse. The Odyssey affords a very interesting example of a third kind of poetry, in a little poem with which Demodocus entertains the Phæacians, and which is given as if in the very words of the bard. It describes, not any actions of mortals, but a scene in Olympus: the narrative is conducted in a strain of licentious levity, and the principal persons are placed in ludicrous situations. It is not improbable that this specimen illustrates the manner in which subjects, properly belonging to the sacred poetry, were adapted, by a different mode of treatment, to profane occasions, and to a mixed company.

Music and Dancing.

Poetry and music are, in this period, as they long continued to be, almost inseparably united: the latter art commonly appears only as a humble attendant on the former, which serves to prepare the audience, and to heighten the inspiration of the bard. It is uncertain whether the sound of flutes and pipes, which reaches the ear of Agamemnon from the Trojan station[1], ought to be considered as an exception. In the description of a wedding feast, in the Iliad, instruments of different kinds are combined, to accompany a dance and a choral song. Dancing was very frequently thus united with music and poetry; and the art appears to have been very carefully cultivated, as that which, on public occasions, formed the youth of both sexes into regular groups, and exhibited their agility in graceful and harmonious movements. The early love of the Greeks for such spectacles was undoubtedly connected

[1] Il. x. 13.

CHAP VI.

B.C. 1184.

with that peculiar conception of beauty which subsequently unfolded itself in their statuary, and had no slight influence on its developement.

Architecture.

It would not be equally clear, if we had no other source of information than Homer's descriptions, whether in his time architecture had arrived at such a stage, as to deserve a place among the fine arts. There are two kinds of buildings which he frequently mentions, and which afforded the amplest room for the display of architectural skill — the palaces of the chiefs, and the temples of the gods. But even with respect to the private dwellings, which are oftenest described, the poet's language barely enables us to form a general notion of their ordinary plan, and affords no conception of the style which prevailed in them, or of their effect on the eye. It seems indeed probable, from the manner in which he dwells on their metallic ornaments, that the higher beauty of proportion was but little required or understood; and it is perhaps strength and convenience, rather than elegance, that he means to commend, in speaking of the fair house which Paris had built for himself, with the aid of the most skilful masons of Troy.[1] As to the temples — the dwellings, or houses, of the gods, as they are frequently called[2] — the precise nature of their construction is even still more obscure; though it seems probable that they did not very materially differ in their exterior from the princely mansions, and that they

[1] Il. vi. 314.; compare 242. foll.

[2] *ναός, δόμος.* The temples were probably intended to resemble the dwellings of the gods in Olympus, which were considered as so many royal palaces (Od. iv. 74. foll.). Bode (*Gesch. d. Hell. Dichtkunst*, i. p. 198.) asserts that temples and images of the gods are mentioned (in the Homeric poems) only with reference to Asia: the Hellenic deities have only groves, altars, and victims consecrated to them; and he observes that the passage relating to the temple of Pallas at Athens is doubtful. But it does not appear how he would explain the allusions to the temple at Delphi (Il. ix. 404. Od. viii. 80.), or the proposal of Eurylochus to atone for the meditated slaughter of the sacred herds by the erection of a temple in Ithaca (Od. xii. 345.).

αἰψά κεν Ἠελίῳ Ὑπερίονι πίονα νηὸν
τεύξομεν, ἐν δέ κε θεῖμεν ἀγάλματα πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλά.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

resembled them in several points of internal distribution.[1] The principal features which may be collected from Homer's allusions, are, that they were, in general, at least partially roofed[2]: some, as that of Apollo at Delphi, contained great treasures; and that of the same god at Troy had an innermost sanctuary.[3] The doors of the temple of Athené at Troy are opened by the priestess, when an offering is to be made to the goddess[4]: and in general the idea of a temple is constantly associated, not only with that of sacrifices, but with that of permanent votive offerings[5], consisting of robes, vessels, and other valuable productions of art, which must have required both safe custody and shelter, and would consequently contribute to determine the form of the building. All this however, though it may serve to illustrate the general progress of refinement, does not much assist in fixing the station which architecture held among the arts. But if the remains which we have already noticed, of the buildings known under the name of Treasuries, are rightly referred to the heroic ages, they seem to justify the belief, that design, and architectural decorations,

[1] Beside the remark in the last note, this may be inferred from the word *μέγαρον* being common to the temple and the house, in the sense of the inner or most private part.

[2] This has been questioned on very insufficient grounds; as when it is observed that Pausanias, viii. 44., mentions a temple of Cybele in Arcadia, which remained to his time without a roof. Pausanias, in the same chapter, mentions a temple of Artemis which was in the same state, and probably from the same cause — the ravages of time and fortune. The assertion in the text seems to be clearly proved both by the analogy which has been pointed out, and by several passages in Homer. The temple of Apollo at Chryse has a roof (Il. i. 39.), and the *ἄδυτον* in which Æneas is tended by Latona and Artemis can scarcely be imagined without one. The description of the temple at Delphi (Il. ix. 404.) does not in the slightest degree mark that it was roofless; and with respect to that of Minerva at Athens, the contrary must be inferred from the poet's language, Od. vii. 81., *δῦνε δ' Ἐρεχθῆος πυκινὸν δόμον*, compared with Il. ii. 549. Even Hirt, being led by his theory to underrate the state of the arts in the time of Homer, gives a very unsatisfactory view of this subject in his *Geschichte der Baukunst*, i. p. 207.

[3] Il. v. 448.

[4] In the legend of the temple of Here at Samos (Athen. xv. 12.), which relates to the heroic age, it is an essential feature that the temple at that time had no doors.

[5] Od. xii. 347.

CHAP. VI.

B. C. 1184.

Statuary.

could not have been wholly wanting in the sacred edifices of the same period.[1]

An equally interesting and difficult question presents itself, as to the degree in which Homer and his contemporaries were conversant with the imitative arts, and particularly with representations of the human form. We find such representations, on a small scale, frequently described. The garment woven by Helen contained a number of battle scenes; as one presented by Penelope to Ulysses was embroidered with a picture of a chase, wrought with gold threads. The shield of Achilles was divided into compartments, exhibiting many complicated groups of figures: and though this was a masterpiece of Hephæstus, it would lead us to believe that the poet must at least have seen many less elaborate and difficult works of a like nature. But throughout the Homeric poems there occurs only one distinct allusion to a statue, as a work of human art. The robe which the Trojan queen offers to Athené in her temple, is placed by the priestess on the knees of the goddess, who was therefore represented in a sitting posture.[2] Even this, it may be said, proves nothing as to the Greeks: but, not to mention that the religion and manners of the Trojans are entirely Greek, there is no reason for suspecting, that the numerous legends which ascribed

[1] It was however not beauty, but massiveness, that Pausanias admired in the treasury of Minyaa, which, he says, was a wonder not inferior to any in the world (ix. 36. 5.).

[2] Il. vi. 303. It seems not improbable, that the phrase, Ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται, may have had its origin in the supplication addressed to a visible image. The ancients commonly supposed that the χορός, which is said, Il. xviii. 592., to have been made by Dædalus, in Crete, for Ariadne, was a piece of sculpture; and Pausanias, ix. 40. 3., believed that in his own day it was extant at Cnossus in white marble. K. O. Mueller however, in his *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*, p. 41., observes, that, according to the Homeric usage in Il. iii. 394. Od. viii. 260., the word can only mean *a place for dancing*. It may perhaps be asked, whether an area levelled for this purpose, in the manner described in the passage of the Odyssey, was such a work as would be ascribed to Dædalus, (or, according to Hirt, *Geschichte der bildenden Kuenste*, p. 71.) to Hephæstus himself. I hardly know how to resolve this question, unless by supposing that the poet meant something more artificial — perhaps a kind of tesselated pavement, or an inlaid floor.

CHAP. VI.

B. C. 1184.

an antiquity far more remote than the Trojan war to many of the Greek idols, were grounded on a totally mistaken view of the ancient religion. The golden statues of youths, erected on altars, or pedestals, in the palace of Alcinous, to hold the torches which lighted the hall at night, since, like the silver dogs which guarded the doors, they must be considered as the work of Hephæstus, do not perhaps strictly belong to this inquiry, any more than the female figures which the god had made of the same material, and had endued with motion, thought, and speech, to support his steps. They can only be admitted as additional indications that the poet was not a stranger to such objects. But as all accounts agree that the earliest productions of statuary among the Greeks, and perhaps among every other people, were consecrated to the service of religion, we are here only concerned with the state of this art in the Homeric age, as applied to its noblest use, that of exhibiting the objects of divine worship. On this subject two opposite opinions are still very warmly maintained. It is admitted on both sides, that the earliest objects of adoration among the inhabitants of Greece were not imitative, but symbolical; not idols, but either rude stones, or wooden staves or beams, which were not even carved into a distant likeness of the human form. It was thus that the god of love was worshipped at Thespiæ [1], the goddess of beauty at Paphos [2], the Graces at Orchomenus [3], Zeus and Artemis at Sicyon [4], the Twins at Sparta.[5] Even in the time of Pausanias, the inhabitants of Chæronea paid higher honours to a staff, which they believed to be the sceptre of Agamemnon described in the Iliad, than to any of the gods.[6] And the same author, after relating that at Pharæ, in Achaia,

[1] Paus. ix. 27. 1. [2] Maximus Tyrius, viii. 8. Tacit. Hist. ii. 3
[3] Paus. ix. 38. [4] Paus. ii. 9. [5] Plutarch *De Fraterno Amore*, init.
[6] Paus. ix. 40. 11. Compare the sacred lance at Thebes, mentioned by Plutarch *De Gen. Socr.* 30.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

thirty square stones were adored, each under the name of a separate god, observes that, in ancient times, all the Greeks paid divine honours to rude stones instead of images.[1] The question then is, at what time, and through what cause, this universal mode of worship was exchanged for that of the idols which afterwards occupied the Grecian temples. Some writers conceive that the fact may be sufficiently explained by the natural progress of the rise and fall of art, which, on its first awakening, began to make some rude additions to the old symbols, for the purpose of bringing them nearer to the human form; and gradually introduced complete figures, which, under the hands of successive artists, acquired more and more of truth and grace. To others it has appeared that such a gradual change is highly improbable in itself, because hardly consistent with the veneration paid to the original symbols; and that it contradicts all the best evidence remaining on the subject, which points, not to a progressive alteration of the primitive symbols, but to an immediate substitution of new idols. This substitution, it is supposed, was affected by the foreign settlers, particularly the Egyptian; to whom, in fact, the institution of religious rites, and the dedication of certain images, is ascribed by the Greek traditions, as to Danaus[2], Cecrops[3], and Cadmus.[4] This view of the origin of Grecian art has also the advantage of explaining a fact in its history, which it is otherwise very difficult to account for. It is universally admitted that a great revolution took place in the sixth century before our era, which, in the course of little more than one hundred years, brought Grecian sculpture to its highest stage of perfection. But that revolution was preceded by a period of many centuries,

[1] Paus. vii. 22. 4.

[2] Callimachus, Fr. cv. Herod. ii. 182.

[3] Paus. i. 27. 1.

[4] Paus. ix. 12. 2. Compare the account which follows, of the beam of wood which dropped from the sky, and was adorned with brass by Polydorus, and consecrated under the title of Dionysus.

during which the art appears to have remained, in all its essential points, very nearly stationary: so that intelligent judges, who, like Pausanias, were able to compare the works of all periods, from the earliest to the latest, considered the artists of the first period as all belonging to the same school, that of the most ancient sculptor, Dædalus.[1] This long pause is the more mysterious, the higher we estimate the industry and skill with which, as we have already seen, the Greeks had begun to cultivate many branches of art, even before the time of Homer. But the enigma is solved, if it be supposed that in Greece, as in Egypt, during the early ages, the influence of religion fettered the art which was originally devoted to its service, by prescribing a sacred type, which it was deemed irreverent to alter; and that the form of the old idol remained so long unchanged, because it had been suddenly introduced, and immediately acquired an inviolable sanctity in the eyes of the people, which was extended to all its parts and proportions.

Thus the legends of the Oriental colonists would receive unexpected confirmation from a new side. It may however be observed, that, even if there is nothing improbable in the supposition, that, the Egyptian idols having once been dispersed over Greece, their original form was every where preserved, during the same period, and from the same motive, with equal rigour, still it is difficult to conceive that the new worship could have gained universal admittance, unless it had been suited to the religious wants and ideas of the people: and in this case it appears very credible that it might have sprung up at home, without the intervention of foreigners. This change may have been one of those which distinguished the Hellenic from the earlier Pelasgian period; and may have corresponded to another, of which we have some

CHAP. VI.

B. C. 1184.

more distinct intimations in the national poetry, by which the sacred song of the ancient priestly bards made way for the heroic style of celebrating the deeds of men and gods.[1] The mode in which the change was effected, may indeed often, and even generally, have been the intervention of a new figure, which, either at once, or in process of time, took the place of the old symbol. There were however, probably, many places where there was no visible object of worship, or where some sacred animal was honoured as the representative of a deity; and in such instances there would be no room for a conflict between old and new forms. But, as all accounts agree that wood was the material of the most ancient images of the gods, it seems not at all difficult to imagine that they may sometimes have been produced by a gradual transformation. An upright beam, or plank, has always so much resemblance to the human shape, that a few rudely marked lines are sufficient to suggest it to the spectator's fancy. According to Plutarch's description, the Spartan Twins were anciently represented by two parallel vertical pieces of wood, joined together by two others, also parallel and horizontal. This was perhaps at first a mere symbol of union: but a lively imagination, without any artificial assistance, might have seen in it two persons meeting in a fraternal embrace. Much slighter hints have suggested the names of most of the constellations. Even according to this view of the subject, it may be said that the early Grecian art, after having reached a certain low stage, was long kept stationary by the influence of religion: in other words, the people and the artists were long satisfied with the expression of religious ideas, which was effected partly by the human form, and partly by the

[1] Od. i. 338.

symbols which, in the ancient statues, were commonly united with it. In the old idols, which appear to have been all clothed, the drapery and symbolical ornaments naturally occupied the artist's attention more than the features. The capacities of the art were gradually unfolded by the employment of new materials. The use of clay and bronze preceded that of marble: but the first bronze statue was probably much later than the age of Homer.[1] The slow progress of sculpture, and the uniformity of its early productions, may perhaps be sufficiently explained by the usage according to which the art passed down from generation to generation in the same families. But this is a question which, as it depends on the precise character of the monuments which have been transmitted or described to us, can only be determined by competent judges of such subjects. B.C. 1184.

To pictures, or the art of painting, properly so called, the poet makes no allusion, though he speaks of the colouring of ivory, as an art in which the Carian and Mæonian women excelled. It must however be considered, that there is only one passage in which he expressly mentions any kind of delineation, and there in a very obscure manner, though he has described so many works which imply a previous design.

Letters.

This remark naturally suggests a question, the most important of any connected with the progress of knowledge and art, and which we have therefore reserved for the last place: the question whether the art of writing had been introduced, or to what extent it was practised, among the Greeks in the age of Homer. To understand the real nature of the ques-

[1] According to Pausanias (iii. 17. 6.), it was the work of Learchus of *Rhegium*; therefore not earlier than the latter half of the eighth century B.C. Of Dipœnus and Scyllis, Pliny says (N. H. xxxvi. 4.), that they were the first artists who gained reputation by sculpture in marble, and that they flourished about the fiftieth Olympiad.

CHAP. VI.

B. C. 1184.

tion, it is necessary to distinguish three points, which, though connected by tradition, are in themselves quite independent of each other: the origin of the Greek alphabet, the epoch of its introduction, and the period when the Greeks became familiar with its use. On the first of these points there is now no room for dispute. The names of most of the letters, their order, and the forms which they exhibit in the most ancient monuments, all confirm the truth of the tradition, that the Greek alphabet was derived from Phœnicia; and every doubt on this head, which a hasty view of it, in its later state, might suggest, has long received the most satisfactory solution. Several changes were necessary to adapt the Eastern characters to a foreign and totally different language. The powers of those which were unsuited to the Greek organs were exchanged for others which were wanting in the Phœnician alphabet; some elements were finally rejected as superfluous from the written language, though they were retained for the purpose of numeration; and in process of time, the peculiar demands of the Greek language were satisfied by the invention of some new signs. The alterations which the figures of the Greek characters underwent, may be partly traced to the inversion of their position, which took place when the Greeks instinctively dropped the Eastern practice of writing from right to left; a change, the gradual progress of which is visible in several extant inscriptions. This fact therefore is established by evidence which could scarcely borrow any additional weight from the highest historical authority. But the epoch at which the Greeks received their alphabet from the Phœnicians is a point as to which we cannot expect to find similar proof; and the event is so remote, that the testimony even of the best historians cannot be deemed sufficient immediately to remove all doubt on

B. C. 1184.

The art of writing.

the question. We need not here notice the numerous Greek legends concerning the origin of the art of writing, which are evidently for the most part poetical, or philosophical, or merely arbitrary fictions. A statement much more deserving attention, both on account of its author, and of its internal marks of diligent and thoughtful inquiry, is given by Herodotus. The Phœnicians, he relates, who came with Cadmus to Thebes, introduced letters, along with other branches of knowledge, among the Greeks: the characters were at first precisely the same as those which the Phœnicians continued to use in his own day, but their powers and forms were gradually changed, first, by the Phœnician colonists themselves, and afterwards by the Greeks of the adjacent region, who were Ionians. These, as they received their letters from Phœnician teachers, named them *Phœnician* letters; and the historian adds, that in his own time the Ionians called their books or rolls, though made from the Egyptian papyrus, skins, because this was the material which they had used at an earlier period, as many barbarous nations even then continued to do. It cannot be denied that this account appears at first sight perfectly clear and probable; and yet there are some points in it, which, on closer inspection, raise a suspicion of its accuracy. The vague manner in which Herodotus describes the Ionians, who were neighbours of the Phœnician colony, seems to imply that what he says of them is not grounded on any direct tradition, but is a mere hypothesis or inference. The fact which he appears to have ascertained is, that the Asiatic Ionians, who, as we shall afterwards see, were, according to his own view, a very mixed race, were beforehand with the other Greeks in the art of writing: they called their books or rolls by a name which probably expressed the Phœnician word for the same thing, and they

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

described their alphabet by the epithet which marked its Oriental origin. But as the historian thought he had sufficient grounds for believing that it had been first communicated to the Greeks by the Phœnician colony at Thebes, he concludes that the Asiatic Ionians must have received it, not directly from the Phœnicians, but through their European forefathers. Still, if this was the process by which he arrived at his conclusion, it would not follow that he was in error. But if we examine the only reasons which he assigns for his belief that the most ancient Greek alphabet was found at Thebes, we find that they are such as we cannot rely on, though to him they would seem perfectly demonstrative. He produces three inscriptions in verse, which he had himself seen, engraved on some vessels in a temple at Thebes, and in characters which he calls Cadmean, and which he says nearly resembled the Ionian. These inscriptions purported to record donations made to the temple before the Trojan war, and to be contemporaneous with the acts which they recorded. And that they were really ancient need not be questioned, though imitations of an obsolete mode of writing were not uncommon in Greece; but their genuineness cannot be safely assumed as the ground of an argument. Other grounds he may indeed have had; but since he does not mention them, they are to us as none, and we are left to form our own judgment on the disputed question of the Cadmean colony at Thebes.

Still it may be asked, whether letters must not have been introduced into Greece, if not precisely in the manner, and at the epoch, supposed by Herodotus, yet by the Phœnicians, and before the time of Homer, and even before the Trojan war? The Homeric poems indicate that a commerce had been carried on, at least for some generations, between Greece and Phœnicia. Substances are mentioned as

familiar to the Greeks, which could only have been procured after the Phœnicians had begun to make distant voyages toward the west: for it was undoubtedly from them that the Greeks received their tin and amber.[1] And as this extensive navigation and commerce seems to require a considerable use of the art of writing, which they unquestionably possessed, it has been thought incredible that they should not have communicated it to the Greeks. On the other hand, it might be observed that, though we do not know the exact time at which the Greek commerce with the Phœnicians began, it plainly appears that down to the time of Homer this commerce was a passive one on the side of the Greeks; and there is nothing to show that the intercourse between the two nations might not have been carried on without the aid of writing. But it will be more useful and interesting to inquire whether the Homeric poems themselves supply any proofs or traces of the use or knowledge of it among the poet's countrymen. This inquiry includes two questions: one, whether the art is mentioned or alluded to in these poems; and another, whether it is implied in the existence of the poems themselves.

B.C. 1184.

Was the art known to Homer?

Modern writers, who attribute a high antiquity to the Greek alphabet, sometimes lay great stress on the frequent allusions which the later Greek authors, more particularly the poets, make to the art of writing as practised in the heroic ages. Thus Euripides exhibits Agamemnon despatching a letter to Clytemnestra; Æschylus describes the shield of one of the chiefs at the siege of Thebes as bearing a threatening inscription in letters of gold. But the most obvious inference from this fact would seem to be, that, as the poets who

[1] That it is amber, and not a mixture of gold and silver, that Homer means by the word ἤλεκτρον, will probably no longer be doubted by any one who reads Buttmann's essay on this subject, in his *Mythologus*, ii. p. 337.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

lived when the art was familiar to every one, were naturally led to introduce allusions to it in their descriptions of the heroic ages; so, if Homer should be found no where to have spoken of it, his silence would be a strong proof that he was very little acquainted with it. It cannot however be said that he is absolutely silent on the subject; for there is a celebrated passage in the Iliad in which he certainly may be supposed to have mentioned it, and which can scarcely be explained without some violence in any other manner. It is the history of the calumniated Bellerophon, who is sent by Prœtus, king of Argos, to his ally, the Lycian king Iobates, with a closed tablet, in which Prœtus had *traced many deadly signs;* that is, as the sequel shows, had given instructions to his friend secretly to destroy the bearer. We cannot here enter into a minute examination of this passage, which has been the subject of controversy perhaps more earnest than the case deserved. It has been disputed whether the tablet contained alphabetical characters, or mere pictures. The former seems to be the simplest and easiest interpretation of the poet's words: but if it is admitted, it only proves — what could hardly be questioned even without this evidence — that the poet was not so ignorant of the art as never to have heard of its existence. Such a degree of ignorance would be almost incredible, after the Phœnicians had long frequented the Grecian ports. And on the other hand, if the tablet contained only a picture, or a series of imitative figures[1], it would be evident that, where the want of alphabetical writing was so felt, and had begun to be so supplied by drawing, the step by which the Greeks adopted the Phœnician characters must have been very soon taken; and it might be

[1] It would make no difference in the argument, or would strengthen it, to suppose that the characters were conventional cyphers: but such a supposition is hardly worth mentioning. Some remarks on this point will be found in the Appendix, I.

imagined that the poet was only describing a ruder state of the art, which had acquired a new form in his own time.

Were the Homeric poems at first committed to writing

When however it is considered that throughout the Homeric poems, though they appear to embrace the whole circle of the knowledge then possessed by the Greeks, and enter into so many details on the arts of life, only one ambiguous allusion occurs to any kind of writing, it is scarcely possible to avoid the conclusion, that the art, though known, was still in its infancy, and was very rarely practised. But the very poems from which this conclusion has been drawn, would seem to overthrow it, if it should be admitted that they were originally committed to writing; for they would then seem to afford the strongest proof that, at the time of their composition, the art had made very considerable progress, and that there was no want, either of materials or of skill, to prevent it from coming into common use. Hence the original form of these poems becomes a question of great historical, as well as literary, importance. The Greeks themselves almost universally, and the earliest writers the most unanimously, believed them both to have been the work of the same author, who, though little or nothing was known of his life, and there was much controversy as to his birthplace, was commonly held to have been an Asiatic Greek.[1] The doubt, whether

[1] B. Thiersch has written a volume (*Ueber das Zeitalter und Vaterland des Homer* — of which a second edition appeared in 1832, with an appendix containing a Latin essay republished from a Philological Journal, *Quæstio de diversa Iliadis et Odysseæ Ætate*) to prove that Homer was a European, and that he lived before the Return of the Heracleids. His main arguments may be reduced to four heads. 1. The condition of Greece in the interval between the Trojan War and the Return of the Heracleids peculiarly favourable to the cultivation of poetry, while that of the Asiatic colonies was long adverse to it. 2. The poet's silence with regard to the Heracleid invasion and its consequences. 3. The antiquity of the Homeric language, apparently prior to the division of the four dialects. And, 4. Indications of greater, if not exclusive familiarity with European scenery. The third of these arguments rests on a confusion between a poetical language and a popular dialect, which is briefly noticed by Welcker (*Ep. Cycl.* p. 194.), as if he hardly thought it possible that a modern critic could fall into it. Of the rest,—though under the last head there are some ingenious and interesting remarks,—the second is undoubt-

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

his poems were from the first written, seems hardly to have been very seriously entertained by any of the ancients, and in modern times it has been grounded chiefly on the difficulty of reconciling such a fact with the very low degree in which the art of writing is supposed to have been cultivated in the Homeric age. But as it has been generally thought incredible, that a poem of such length as the Iliad, or even the Odyssey, and still more that two such, should have been produced and preserved without the aid of writing, most of those who deny that they were originally written, have also adopted the hypothesis, that neither of them is the work of a single mind; but that each was gradually composed of a number of smaller pieces, the productions of different authors, which were artificially fitted together so as to form a whole. This hypothesis however does not rest simply on the doubtful assumption, that the art of writing was not sufficiently advanced among the Greeks in the Homeric age, to afford the poet the means of penning or dictating an Iliad. For there is a further and greater difficulty, in conceiving how so great a whole should have been either written, or planned, except for readers. Yet all the intimations it contains as to the earlier condition of Greek poetry, and all that we know from other sources of its subsequent progress, conspire to assure us that the Homeric poems were designed for oral delivery. But in this case, how improbable must it have been, that an audience should be found to listen for successive days

edly the strongest, and is little weakened by the suspicion of the Scholiast on Il. iv. 40. But its force has been exaggerated by Thiersch and others, because they have not done justice to the weight of the evidence extant in favour of the poet's Asiatic origin, which may be found most fully collected and discussed by Welcker in his above-named most valuable work. We have not in this case to balance two arguments of a similar kind against one another; but we have on the one side a mass of positive testimony, on the other some facts which, through our very imperfect knowledge of the poet's life and times, we are unable to account for. Where this is so, there can be little doubt which way the principles of sound criticism require us to decide.

till the recitation of such works could be brought to an end! And how could the poet have been led to form so elaborate a plan, which he could scarcely hope to make known at all, and which could never be distinctly perceived or enjoyed by any one but himself? It has likewise been urged by several modern critics, that the structure of the Homeric verse furnishes a decisive proof that the state of the Greek language, at the time when these poems were written, was different from that in which they must have been composed. And by others it has been thought inconsistent with the law of continual change, to which all languages are subject, that the form in which these works now appear, should differ so slightly as it does from that of the later Greek literature, if it really belonged to the early period in which they were first recited.

These difficulties are, it must be owned, in a great measure removed by the hypothesis, that each poem is an aggregate of parts composed by different authors; for then the poet's memory might not be too severely tasked in retaining his work during its progress, and might be aided by more frequent recitations. But this hypothesis has been met by a number of objections, some of which are not very easily satisfied. That the Iliad and the Odyssey are both the work of the same poet, is not indeed now very generally maintained; and indications have been observed, which seem to distinguish the one from the other, both as to the poetical style, and the state of society described, and to show that they belong to different bards, and to different periods. But the original unity of each poem is maintained by arguments derived partly from the uniformity of the poetical character, and partly from the apparent singleness of plan which each of them exhibits. Even those who do not think it necessary to suppose an original unity of design in the Iliad, still conceive

Unity of the Homeric poems.

CHAP. VI.

B. C. 1184.

that all its parts are stamped with the style of the same author.[1] But with others, from the time of Aristotle to our own day, the plan itself has been an object of the warmest admiration[2]; and it is still contended, that the intimate coherence of the parts is such as to exclude the hypothesis of a multiplicity of authors. If however the objections to that hypothesis rested here, we should think that they might be surmounted without great difficulty. For as to the uniformity of style—not to mention that it is far from perfect, and that both ancient and modern critics have perceived an appearance of great inequality in this respect—it might be observed, that many examples in our own literature prove how difficult it may often be to distinguish a difference of style, where several poets have combined to produce one work: and those who admit that the Iliad and the Odyssey may have been composed by different poets, have scarcely any ground, so far as the style is concerned, for insisting that the same cannot have been the case with either of them separately. As to the unity of plan, much must depend on the precise form in which the disputed hypothesis is presented to the imagination. If indeed the parts out of which the Iliad or the Odyssey was formed, are supposed to have been at first wholly independent of each other, the supposition that they could have been so pieced together as to assume their present appearance, is involved in almost insurmountable difficulties. For how, it may be asked, did the different poets in each instance happen to confine themselves to the same circle of subjects, as to the battles before Troy, and the return of Ulysses? Must we suppose, with a modern critic[3], that in our two

[1] Such is Mr. Clinton's view, Fasti, vol. iii. p. 375. 379.

[2] This admiration has never been more ably justified than by Hug, in the analysis which he has given in his *Erfindung der Buchstabenschrift*.

[3] Hermann, in the *Wiener Jahrbücher*, vol. liv.; reprinted in his *Opuscula*, vol. vi.

great poems we see the joint labours of several bards, who drew their subjects from an earlier Iliad and Odyssey, which contained no more than short narratives of the same events, but yet had gained such celebrity for their author, that the greatest poets of the succeeding period were forced to adopt his name, and to content themselves with filling up his outline? This would be an expedient only to be resorted to in a last emergency. But it seems not to be required, if we give a different turn to the hypothesis, and conceive that the Iliad and the Odyssey, after the main event in each had been made the subject of a shorter poem, grew under the hands of successive poets, who, guided in part by popular tradition, supplied what had been left wanting by their predecessors, until in each case the curiosity of their hearers had been gratified by a finished whole.

But though the principal objections which have been raised against the hypothesis, on the ground just mentioned, may perhaps be silenced in some such way as this, there are some others which are less tractable. If the composition of the Homeric poems may be explained without the aid of writing, by breaking them up into smaller parts, the mode in which they were transmitted is not yet accounted for. A poem which might not be too long for the author himself to retain in his memory without any artificial help, might still be of such length, that no common listener could hope to make himself master of the whole, after any number of recitations, unless they were laboriously adapted by the author to this specific purpose. But who can imagine a Homer so employed? This however it has been thought was the occasion which called forth the astonishing powers of the *rhapsodists*; a class of persons who, though endowed with some poetical invention, possessed a much more extraordi-

The Rhapsodists.

CHAP. VI.

B.C. 1184.

nary tenacity of memory, which enabled them, after a few hearings, accurately to remember many hundreds of verses. It is still a questionable point, whether such a faculty as this, though found here and there in individuals, ever existed in any class of men; and it is equally doubtful whether, in the Homeric age, a class of men existed, which devoted itself to such an occupation. At the same time it is evident, that even the smallest entire portions into which the Homeric poems can rationally be resolved, are constructed on such a scale, that their authors must have relied on some sure method of transmitting these treasures to posterity. They do not belong to the same class as the extemporaneous effusions, which may have flowed from the lips of a Phemius and a Demodocus, when suddenly called upon to entertain their audience on a given theme: and one strong objection against assigning them to a multiplicity of authors, is, that the poet who gave birth to any one of these portions must have produced much more, which would, on this supposition, have been buried in an inexplicable oblivion.

The Homeric poetry

According to every hypothesis, the origin of the Homeric poetry is wrapt in mystery; as must be the case with the beginning of a new period, when that which precedes it is very obscure. And it would certainly be no unparalleled or surprising coincidence, if the production of a great work, which formed the most momentous epoch in the history of Greek literature, should have concurred with either the first introduction, or a new application, of the most important of all inventions. Nor can it be thought extravagant to attribute such an application to the poet, who discovers such a range and depth of observation in every sphere of nature and of art that was placed within his reach. That the art of writing already existed, though probably in a very rude state, before his eyes, it is scarcely possible to doubt; and it

may easily be conceived that, by the new aids which it afforded, it may have roused his genius to a new and bolder flight. Perhaps it may not be necessary to inquire whether he calculated his work for readers or for hearers. To secure his great conceptions from perishing with him, might be a sufficient motive for a poet, even if he was unable to anticipate the future harvest of fame which they were to yield. It seems a waste of labour to invent a complicated hypothesis, merely for the sake of postponing such a use of the art of writing by a few generations. The interval which elapsed between the Homeric age and the following period of epic poetry, which will be hereafter noticed, cannot be precisely ascertained; but within this interval, if not before, the Homeric poems must have been collected, and consequently committed to writing, because they manifestly formed the basis or nucleus of the epic cycle. It is easier to suppose that they were written at first.[1]

[1] Since this question was first agitated by Wolf, it has been placed on a very different footing, more especially by the writings of Nitzsch, *De Historia Homeri Meletemata*, with which should be compared Mueller's review in the *Gottingen Gel. Anzeigen*, Feb. 1831, and Kreuser (*Vorfragen ueber Homeros*, but more especially his later work, *Homerische Rhapsoden*). Hermann's remarks in the review referred to in a preceding note are also a valuable contribution. There is a useful review of some other less important works connected with the subject, by Baumgarten-Crusius, in Jahn's *Jahrbücher für Philologie u. Pädagogik*, 1827. An argument which confines itself to the writings of Wolf and Heyne, can now add but little to our means of forming a judgment on the question, and must keep some of its most important elements out of sight. See Appendix I.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RETURN OF THE HERACLEIDS.

State of Greece after the Trojan War. — The Thessalians migrate from Epirus into Thessaly. — They drive out the Bœotians. — Who conquer Bœotia. — Dorian migration. — Connection between the Dorians and the Heracleids. — Inquiry into the truth of the legend. — The Dorians break into Peloponnesus. — Conquest of Elis. — The Achæans retreat before the Dorians into Ionia. — Partition of the conquered land among the Heracleids. — Means by which the Dorians effected their conquests. — Settlement of Cresphontes in Messenia. — Various accounts of the subjugation of Laconia. — Resistance of Amyclæ. — The Dorians in Laconia joined by the Ægeids. — The Minyans in Laconia and Triphylia. — The Dorians in Epidaurus. — In Træzen — Sicyon — and Phlius. — The Dorians conquer Corinth. — Invade Attica. — Codrus. — Conquest of Megara and Ægina. — Expeditions of the Dorians to Crete. — Colonies founded by Pollis. — By Althæmenes. — State of Crete at the time of the Dorian Conquest. — Cretan institutions. — Subjects. — Slaves. — Freemen. — Form of Government. — Cretan Syssitia. — Education.

State of Greece after the Trojan war.

THE Trojan war, as we find it described, was not, according to any conception that may be formed of the magnitude of the expedition and the conquest, an event that necessarily produced any important effects on the condition of Greece. There is no apparent reason why, as soon as it was ended, all the surviving princes and chiefs might not have returned to their dominions, to enjoy the fruits of their victory in honourable repose, and have transmitted their sceptres in peace to their children.[1] The Odyssey accordingly

[1] See B. Thiersch, p. 165. foll., and his essay, (in Jahn's *Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*, 1826,) *Ueber Homer's Europäischen Ursprung*, p. 440., and, for the opposite view of the subject, Plass, (in Seebode's *Neues Archiv für Philologie und*

represents parts of Greece — especially the dominions of Nestor and Menelaus — as continuing, after the war, under the rule of the heroes who fought at Troy; and we might infer from this description, that the great national struggle was followed by a period of general tranquillity. On the other hand, the poet signifies that, after the fall of Troy, the victors incurred the anger of the gods, who had before espoused their cause. The Odyssey is filled with one example of the calamities which the divine wrath brought upon the Greeks, in the person of Ulysses, king of Ithaca. Menelaus himself, though we find him in the poem reigning in great prosperity at Lacedæmon, was only permitted to reach home after a long course of wandering over distant seas and lands. Ajax, son of Oileus, perished in the waves. Agamemnon was murdered, on his return to Argos, by Ægisthus, who in his absence had seduced his wife Clytæmnestra, and who usurped the throne of the murdered king, which was not recovered before the end of several years by Orestes, the rightful heir. Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, Philoctetes, one of the Thessalian chiefs, Diomed of Argos, and Idomeneus of Crete, are expressly said to have returned safe with all their followers. But the poet does not inform us in what state they found their dominions, or how long they retained possession of them; and in the legends of later times they are related to have been forced by various causes to quit their native land, and to settle in foreign regions. We cannot indeed place any reliance on these and other similar traditions, because the hint which the Odyssey suggests of the disasters which befel the Greeks after their victory[1], might easily be expanded by the imagination of later poets; and still more, because the

Pädagogik, 1828,) *Versuch ueber den Trojanischen Krieg als Historische Thatsache*, p. 60., who represents the return of the heroes as followed by a series of revolutions and conflicts in Greece.

[1] III. 132.

CHAP. VII.

vanity of colonies was always interested in tracing their origin to a remote period, and a renowned name. But in itself it is probable enough that, in many instances, the long absence of the chiefs might give occasion to usurpations or revolutions, and to the expulsion or voluntary migration of royal or noble families. Still, how far this was actually the case, must remain uncertain. One inevitable result however of such an event as the Trojan war, must have been, to diffuse among the Greeks a more general knowledge of the isles and coasts of the Ægean, and to leave a lively recollection of the beauty and fertility of the regions in which their battles had been fought. This would direct the attention of future emigrants in search of new homes, toward the same quarter; and the fact, that the tide of migration really set in this direction first, when the state of Greece became unsettled, may not unreasonably be thought to confirm the reality of the Trojan war.[1]

For sixty years however after the fall of Troy, history is silent as to any great change in the face of Greece. At the end of that period, if not sooner, began a long train of wars, invasions, and migrations, which finally introduced a new order of things both in Greece itself, and in most of the surrounding countries. The original source of this memorable revolution probably lay out of the limits of Greece, and beyond the reach of historical investigation. We are only able to trace it as far as Thessaly, which was the scene of its first visible outbreak. Here, how soon after the Trojan war we are unable to conjecture, the Thessalians, crossing over the chain of Pindus from Epirus, descended into the rich plains on the banks of the Peneus, and began the conquest of the country, which finally derived its name from

The Thessalians migrate from Epirus into Thessaly.

them. As they came from the Thesprotian Ephyra, an ancient seat of the Pelasgians, it seems probable that they belonged to that race; and this is confirmed by the fact, that, though they never rose to a level in civilisation with the other Greeks, they spoke the same language. A few slight peculiarities in their national dress, and the reproach of fickleness, faithlessness, and coarse sensuality [1], which in after-times clung to their character, are hardly sufficient grounds for supposing that they were of a totally foreign origin — an Illyrian tribe, which adopted the speech of the conquered people.[2] Their fabulous progenitor, Thessalus, was called by some a son of Hercules; by others, of Hæmon, from whom Thessaly had anciently received the name of Hæmonia. The motive for inventing the last genealogy, may have been the wish to establish a legitimate title to their conquest; and, as migrations appear to have taken place very early from Thessaly to Epirus, their claim might not be absolutely unfounded. They were likewise said to have been headed by descendants of Antiphus and Phidippus, who traced their line through Thessalus to Hercules; though in the Homeric catalogues these two chiefs lead their forces from Cos and the neighbouring islands on the coast of Asia.[3] Here too there may have been truth at the bottom: though the nation was Pelasgian, some of their chiefs may have been of pure Hellenic blood. The Thessalians were always famous for their love of horses, and their skill

B. C. 1124.

[1] On the faithlessness of the Thessalians see Vœmel, *Proleg. ad Demosth. Phil.* i. § 24. n. 8., and add Livy, xxxiv. 51. On their gluttony, Athen. x. 12. and ii. p. 47. b. On the licentiousness of their entertainments — only a little less gross than that of the Roman Floralia (Val. Max. ii. 10. 8.) — Athen. xiii. p. 607. c.

[2] See Mueller, *Dorians*, Introduction, § 4. and compare the remark of Heraclides Pont. in Athenæus, xiv. 19. Θεσσαλοὶ, οὗτοι γάρ εισι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους Αἰολεῦσι μεταδόντες, παραπλήσιον ἀεὶ ποιοῦνται τοῦ βίου την ἀγωγήν· and the description which follows of the Æolian character: τὸ τῶν Αἰολέων ἦθος ἔχει τὸ γαῦρον καὶ ογκῶδες, ἔτι δὲ ὑπόχαυνον· ὁμολογεῖ δὲ ταῦτα ταῖς ἱπποτροφίαις αὐτῶν καὶ ξενοδοχίαις· οὐ πανοῦργον δὲ, ἀλλὰ ἐξημερμένον καὶ τεθαρρηκός· διὸ καὶ οἰκεῖόν ἐστ' αὐτοῖς ἡ φιλοποσία καὶ τὰ ἐρωτικὰ, καί πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἄνεσις.

[3] See Boeckh. *Explic. ad Pind. Pyth.* x. (vol. iii. p. 332.).

CHAP. VII.

B. C. 1124.

in horsemanship; and it was probably to their cavalry, an arm at this time new to the Greeks, that they were mainly indebted for their success. Their advance however was gradual; and they experienced a long resistance from the Achæans, Perrhæbians, and Magnetes.[1] Among the tribes which yielded soonest to the shock, were the Bœotians, who inhabited the central territory of Æolis, where the Æolians, its ancient occupiers, appear to have been mingled with a different race, which gave its name to the whole population. It was commonly believed to have come from Thebes, having been driven thence by the Thracians and Pelasgians, after the city had been destroyed in its war with Argos[2]: and this is certainly credible enough in itself; though here again we may suspect a fabrication, designed to prove that they were not intruders in their new possessions, but only conquered Bœotia as their rightful inheritance, and exercised a just retaliation in expelling the Pelasgian usurpers; and hence, though the current story is sanctioned by the Homeric catalogue, and by Thucydides, the fabulous genealogy, which makes their ancestor, Bœotus, a son of Itonus and of Arné, daughter of Æolus, may perhaps convey more simply and faithfully all that was really known of their earlier history and relations. For Arné and Iton were two of their principal towns; and the temple of the Itonian Athené, on the river Coralius, their national sanctuary. The Thessalian conquest was attended with a very general migration of the freemen from Æolis: all who remained, either were, or now became, serfs, under the peculiar name of Penests.[3] They directed their march towards the country henceforth called Bœotia. Its subjugation

They drive out the Bœotians;

who conquer Bœotia.

[1] Aristot. Polit. ii. 9.

[2] Strabo, ix. p. 401.

[3] Πενέσται, labourers. According to some authors (Archemachus in Athen., vi. 85.), they were originally called μενέσται, as clinging to the soil.

seems to have been effected slowly, and not without a hard struggle; as may be collected from the story preserved by Ephorus, of an armistice concluded between the Thracians of Helicon and the Bœotians, for a certain number of days, which the former interpreted so strictly that they did not scruple to surprise the Bœotian camp during the night; and from the strange legend of the embassy sent by the Bœotians and the Pelasgians to the oracle of Dodona, which betrayed its partiality to the latter by enjoining their enemies to perpetrate some impious outrage.[1] The Bœotian Arné, which is celebrated by Homer for its fruitful vineyards, was undoubtedly called after the Thessalian, and must have been one of the points first occupied by the invaders. In the time of Strabo, its site was forgotten, and it was only remembered that it had stood not far from the lake Copais. Some placed it so near the lake as to have been covered by the rising of the waters; some found it on the eastern side, in Acræphion, which was said to have been from the beginning a part of the Theban territory: Chæronea too was said to have borne the name of Arné[2], and according to Plutarch[3], was the first city occupied by the invaders; and even in the time of the Romans it numbered among its citizens a descendant of the seer Peripoltas, who accompanied king Opheltas out of Thessaly. There are however some reasons for believing that the most ancient Arné stood near Coronea. It was in that neighbourhood that the national festival of the *Pambœotia* was celebrated with games, on the banks of a river Coralius, near the temple of the Itonian Athené; names which seem to indicate the earliest establishment formed by the invaders, while the scenes which they had left behind them in the vicinity of the Thessalian Arné were fresh in their memory.[4] It would seem to

[1] Strabo, ix. p. 401, 402.
[2] Steph. Byz. Χαιρώνεια.
[3] Cimon, 1.
[4] Strabo, ix. p. 411.

CHAP. VII.

B.C. 1124.

have been from this central position that the Bœotians carried their arms, either successively, or in separate bodies at once, northward against the opulent Orchomenus, and southward against Thebes. A legend which referred the origin of one of the Theban festivals to this epoch, intimates that the army which besieged Thebes was for some time obliged to content itself with ravaging the surrounding country, being unable to make any impression on the town.[1] The fall of Orchomenus and Thebes determined the fate of the whole country. According to the assertion which Thucydides puts into the mouth of the Thebans, in their reply to the captive Platæans, Platæa was conquered after the rest of Bœotia. The Thebans there speak of having founded the city, after having ejected a motley race, which previously occupied it; and this was probably the current opinion at Thebes, being an argument in favour of their claim to supremacy over the Platæans. But the Platæans prided themselves on being an aboriginal people: the only kings they remembered, were Asopus and Cithæron; and their heroine, Platæa, was the daughter of the river-god.[2] The Bœotian name and language may have spread further than the change that took place in the population of the country: and perhaps the hostility to Thebes, which we shall find the Platæans retaining throughout the whole course of their history, may have arisen, or have gained strength, from the consciousness of a different origin. The conquest of Bœotia, as that of Thessaly, drove many from their homes; and a great body of these fugitives, joined by bands of adventurers from Peloponnesus, who were led by descendants of Agamemnon, embarked for Asia. These expeditions constituted the *Æolian migration*, so called from the race which

[1] Proclus *Chrestom.* 26. p. 386. ed. Gaisf. [2] Paus. ix. 1, 2.

took the principal share in it, though it included many others. Its fortunes will be related hereafter. Many families also sought refuge in Attica and Peloponnesus. The Pelasgians who fortified a part of the citadel of Athens, and afterwards took possession of Lemnos, are said to have migrated from Bœotia. Their allies, the Thracians, retired westward, and settled for a time in the neighbourhood of Parnassus, where they entirely disappear from the view of history. B.C. 1124.

Dorian migration.

It is not clear how far, or in what manner, these events were connected with another still more important — the migration of the Dorians from their seats at the northern foot of Parnassus, to Peloponnesus — which Thucydides fixes twenty years later than the expulsion of the Bœotians from Thessaly. It is not certain whether the Dorians were driven out of Thessaly by the same shock to which the Bœotians gave way, or whether they had previously settled at the head of the vale of the Cephisus, and in the adjacent region. Causes enough may be imagined, which in this period of general convulsion might induce them to quit Doris, though the little tract which afterwards bore that name does not seem to have been infested by any hostile inroads. But as it probably formed only a part of their territory, the rest may now have been torn from them, and thus have compelled them to seek new seats. The ancient writers however assign a motive of a different kind for their migration. They unanimously relate, that after the death of Hercules, his children, persecuted by Eurystheus, took refuge in Attica, and there defeated and slew the tyrant. When their enemy had fallen, they resumed possession of their birthright in Peloponnesus; but had not long enjoyed the fruits of their victory, before a pestilence, in which they recognised the finger of Heaven, drove them again

Connection between the Dorians and the Heracleids.

CHAP. VII.

B.C. 1104.

into exile. Attica again afforded them a retreat. When their hopes had revived, an ambiguous oracle encouraged them to believe that, after they had reaped their third harvest, they should find a prosperous passage through the Isthmus into the land of their fathers. But at the entrance of Peloponnesus they were met by the united forces of the Achæans, Ionians, and Arcadians. Their leader, Hyllus, the eldest son of Hercules, proposed to decide the quarrel by single combat; and Echemus, king of Tegea, was selected by the Peloponnesian confederates as their champion. Hyllus fell; and the Heracleids were bound by the terms of the agreement to abandon their enterprise for a hundred years. Yet both Cleodæus, son of Hyllus, and his grandson Aristomachus, renewed his attempt with no better fortune. After Aristomachus had fallen in battle, the ambiguous oracle was explained to his sons, Aristodemus, Temenus, and Cresphontes; and they were assured that the time — the third generation — had now come, when they should accomplish their return; not however as they had expected, over the guarded Isthmus, but across the mouth of the western gulf, where the opposite shores are parted by a channel only a few furlongs broad. Thus encouraged, with the aid of the Dorians, Ætolians, and Locrians[1], they crossed the straits, vanquished Tisamenus, the son of Orestes, and divided the fairest portion of Peloponnesus among them.

Inquiry into the truth of the legend.

The belief that the Dorians were led to the conquest of Peloponnesus by princes of Achæan the rightful heirs of its ancient kings, has the authority of all antiquity on its side. It had become

[1] The Locrians are said to have deceived the Peloponnesians, having engaged to give notice by signals, if the Dorians should attempt to cross the straits. They broke their promise, and the Peloponnesians were taken by surprise. Polybius in Mai, Scr. Vet. ii. p. 386.

current so early as the days of Hesiod; and it was received not only among the Dorians themselves, but among foreign nations. The protection afforded by the Athenians to the Heracleids against Eurystheus continued to the latest times to be one of the most favourite themes of the Attic poets and orators; and the precise district that had been assigned for the abode of the exiles was pointed out by tradition. In the Persian war the victory gained by Echemus over Hyllus was pleaded by the Tegeans as the ground of their title to an honourable post in the Greek army. Few traditions can boast of higher authority; and the fact is in itself by no means incredible, and admits of various explanations, which would remove its principal apparent difficulties. Though the difference between the Dorians and Achæans was undoubtedly very wide in almost all points, still it might be expected entirely to disappear in a few generations after a small body of one nation had been incorporated in the other. The weak and unsettled state of the Dorians, in the earliest period of their history, renders it probable that they were then always willing to receive foreigners among them, who came recommended by illustrious birth, wealth, or merit; and that they might either have formed the Heracleids into a new tribe, or, if they were not numerous enough for this, have admitted them into one which was afterwards called by a new name. Nevertheless, possible as this is, the truth of the story has been questioned, on grounds which are certainly not light or arbitrary, if they do not outweigh all that have been alleged in its support. What is said to have happened might have been invented, and the occasion and motives for the fabrication may be conceived still more easily than the truth of the fact; for such facts in the early history of Greece were undoubtedly much less common than such fictions. It is much

CHAP. VII.

B.C. 1104.

less probable that the origin of the Dorian tribes, as of all similar political forms which a nation has assumed in the earliest period of its existence, should have been distinctly remembered, than that it should have been forgotten, and have been then attributed to imaginary persons. This is so usual a process, that it might have been fairly assumed with regard to the two tribes which are said to have been named after the sons of Ægimius, though, by a singular anachronism, one legend relates, that Pamphylus and Dymas fell in the last expedition by which their countrymen made themselves masters of Peloponnesus, and another represents Pamphylus as still living in the second generation after the conquest.[1] That the royal family should claim Hercules for its ancestor, though it was in truth of Dorian blood, can only be thought surprising by those who believe the exploits ascribed to that hero to have been the actions of one real person. But if there was a Dorian, as well as an Achæan, and a Theban Hercules, the motives which led the Dorians to confound them, after the conquest of their new dominions, may be easily conceived. The Attic and Arcadian traditions, which appear to confirm the common story, might be adapted to it, though their foundation, whether real or imaginary, was originally different: the worship of Hercules, which was introduced in that part of Attica where the Heracleids were said to have taken up their temporary abode[2], and the long struggle between Tegea and Lacedæmon, afforded ample room for fiction to play in. But we have perhaps dwelt too long on a doubtful point, which is, after all, of little moment, since it does not affect either the history or the institutions of the conquering race. We proceed to relate the issue of their expedition.

[1] Apollod. ii. 8. 3. 5. Paus. ii. 28. 6.

[2] Paus. i. 15. 3.

CHAP. VII.

B.C. 1101.

The invaders bent their course westward, and descended upon the coast of the Corinthian gulf near Naupactus, manifestly with a view to strengthen themselves with the aid of the Ætolians of Calydon, with whom they had perhaps before entered into amicable relations, as Hyllus was said to be the son of the Ætolian princess Dejanira. The progress of the fierce inland tribes, which finally extinguished the old Hellenic race of Calydon, may have been the principal motive of the migration with both nations. According to the received legend, the Heracleids were guided into Peloponnesus by Oxylus, an Ætolian chief, and their kinsman; for he belonged to the line of Œneus, the father of Dejanira, who, like Ægimius, had been protected by the arm of Hercules from a formidable enemy, the Thesprotians of Ephyra.[1] Oxylus alleged a title to Elis, like that under which his allies claimed the kingdoms of the Pelopids. The base of his statue in the public place of Elis bore an inscription, importing that Ætolus, his ancestor in the tenth generation, had quitted Elis, the original seat of his people, the Epeans, and had conquered that part of the land of the Curetes which afterwards bore the name of Ætolia; and the truth of this memorial was confirmed by a corresponding inscription on the statue of Ætolus in the Ætolian town of Thermi. Ætolus had migrated because he had chanced to incur the stain of bloodshed; and a like misfortune had driven Oxylus into exile, when he met with the sons of Aristomachus, and stipulated with them for his hereditary kingdom of Elis, as the price of his guidance, which an oracle had declared to be indispensable to their success.[2] He was put into possession of it by the fortunate issue of a single combat, between one of his Ætolian followers and an Epean

The Dorians break into Peloponnesus.

Conquest of Elis.

[1] Apollod. ii. 7. 6. 1.

[2] Apollod. ii. 8. 3. 3.

CHAP. VII

B.C. 1104.

chieftain.[1] It is added that he used the victory wisely and mildly; that he permitted the ancient inhabitants, after resigning a share of their lands to the Ætolian invaders, to retain the remainder as independent owners; that he granted several privileges to Dius, the deposed king, and maintained unimpaired the sacred honours of Augeas and the other native heroes. The substance of this account may be well founded, though there can be little doubt that the new settlement was followed by migration from this, as from other parts of Peloponnesus. Motives of policy may have concurred with those of national affinity, to dispose the Eleans toward a friendly union with the followers of Oxylus. They are described as engaged in constant wars with their southern neighbours, the people of Pisa, and the subjects of Nestor, and they were probably not unwilling to admit, and even to purchase by some sacrifices, an accession of strength which established their superiority. The conquest produced no other immediate revolution on the north-western side of the Peninsula. The territory of Pisa continued, long after, to be governed by its native princes, who owned no subjection to Elis. The remainder of the country, afterwards comprised under the name of Elis, whether it was still under the dominion of the house of Neleus, or had changed its masters, retained its independence for several centuries; though we shall see it occupied, after no long time, by a new colony.

It is said that Oxylus, fearing less the sight of the fertile land, which had been promised as his reward, might tempt the Heracleids to violate their compact with him, led them, not along the western coast, but

[1] Degmenus the Epean came armed with a bow, but was levelled with the ground by the sling of the Ætolian Pyræchmes: Strabo, viii. p. 357. — The street Siopé (silence) at Elis, was believed to preserve the remembrance of an adventure, which implies that Elis was a walled town, and for a time besieged by Oxylus, Paus. vi. 23. 6. Compare Strabo, viii. 337. 358.

CHAP. VII.

B.C. 1104.

through Arcadia, into the region which they claimed as their patrimony. We hear of no opposition made to the invaders by the Arcadians; on the contrary, Cypselus, who is called king of the Arcadians, gave his daughter in marriage to Cresphontes. But, as Arcadia was at this time most probably divided into a number of small states, this friendly disposition of one does not exclude the possibility of resistance having been offered by others; and this may have been the beginning of the struggle between Tegea and Sparta. Here however the invaders effected no settlement, but proceeded to the conquest of the countries subject to the house of Atreus, and now governed by Tisamenus, son of Orestes. Tradition varied greatly as to the fate of Tisamenus himself: according to one legend, he fell fighting against the Heracleids[1]; according to another[2], he withdrew from his territories, and led all the Achaeans who desired independence against the Ionians on the coast of the Corinthian gulf. He is said at first to have proposed to the Ionians to unite his people with them, on condition of being admitted to a fair share of the land; and that it was only the jealousy of the Ionian princes, who feared lest Tisamenus should become sole king of the united nation, that prevented his proposal from being accepted. The contest was decided by arms, and the issue was in favour of the Achaeans. The Ionians, after their defeat, took shelter in Helicé, their principal town, but at length capitulated with the conquerors for leave to quit the country. Henceforth this part of Peloponnesus bore the name of *Achaia*; according to one account, Tisamenus was slain in the decisive battle, and buried in Helicé, whence, at a later period, the Spartans, by command of the Delphic

The Achaeans retreat before the Dorians into Ionia.

[1] Apollod. ii. 8. 3, 5.

[2] Paus. vii. 1. 8.

CHAP. VII.

B.C. 1104.

oracle, transported his bones to Lacedæmon[1]; but another tradition supposed him to have reigned in Achaia after the departure or subjugation of the Ionians.[2] After some years, a part of the Achæans, under Agorius, a descendant of Agamemnon, found a settlement in Elis, invited, it is said, by Oxylus, who was enjoined by an oracle to share his new dominions with one of the Pelopids.[3] The motive of this invitation may have been to establish a claim to the possession of Pisa, the ancient seat of Pelops. The dislodged Ionians first sought refuge among their kinsmen in Attica, and, when the land became too narrow for them, followed the example of the Æolians, and, joined by swarms of fugitives and adventurers of various races, made for the coast of Asia.

Partition of the conquered land among the Heracleids.

After the death or retreat of Tisamenus, the poetical legend of the conquest represents the Heracleids as only busied with the partition of his kingdom. Aristodemus, as it was believed everywhere, except at Sparta[4], had not lived to enter Peloponnesus, but had fallen at Delphi, by a thunderbolt, or a shaft of Apollo; or, as another tale ran, by the hands of assassins, related to the house of Atreus.[5] He had left twin sons, Procles and Eurysthenes, who succeeded to his claim of an equal share with Temenus and Cresphontes. Three altars were erected, and on each a sacrifice was made to the divine father of Hercules. Then three lots were cast into an urn filled with water. It had been agreed that the lots were to be stones, and that the first drawn should give possession of Argos, the second of Lacedæmon, the third of Messenia. But Cresphontes to secure the fairest portion, threw a clod of earth into the water, which, being dissolved, remained at the bottom of the vessel, while the lots of his competitors were

[1] Paus. vii. 1. 8. [2] Polyb. ii. 41. [3] Paus. v. 4. 3.
[4] Herod. vi. 52. [5] Apollod. ii. 8. 2. 9. Paus. iii. 1. 6.

drawn.[1] According to another form of the legend, Argos had been reserved for Temenus, who then conspired with Cresphontes to defraud the children of Aristodemus.[2] After the partition was completed, each of the three altars was found occupied by a portent, from which the diviners augured the destiny and character of the people to which it belonged. A toad was seen resting on that of Argos; a warning that she must abstain from ambitious aggression, and remain content with her natural bounds. The restless hostility of Lacedæmon was prefigured by a serpent; the craft which she imputed to her weaker neighbour, Messenia, by a fox. The descendants of Hercules then took quiet possession of their allotted shares. B.C. 1104.

This poetical legend, as well as other narratives of the same events which wear a more historical aspect, has undoubtedly crowded transactions together which must have occupied many years, probably many generations. The great revolution, which imposed a foreign yoke on the warlike Achæans, was certainly not effected by a momentary struggle. We cannot indeed distinctly trace the steps by which the conquest was really achieved, but fragments of apparently genuine tradition remain to show, what might indeed have been safely conjectured in the absence of positive information, that it was, in general, the tardy fruit of a hard contest. The numbers of the Dorians were probably every where greatly inferior to those of the enemy, and seem to be rather over than underrated when they are estimated at 20,000 warriors. This inequality may have been in some degree compensated by the advantages which their arms, their mode of fighting, tactics, and discipline, may have given them in the field. The Achæan bands, accus-

[1] Apollod. ii. 8. 4. 2.

[2] Paus. iv. 3. 5.

CHAP. VII.

B.C. 1104.

tomed perhaps to depend much on the prowess of their leaders, and furnished with no weapons capable of resisting the long Dorian spear, and of making an impression on the broad shield, which, hanging from the shoulder to the knees, covered the whole body of the warrior, may have been easily borne down by the steady charge of their deep and serried phalanx. But on the other hand the art of besieging was even in later times foreign to Dorian warfare, and much slighter fortifications than those of the Larissa of Argos, of Tiryns, and Mycenæ, would have sufficed to deter the invaders from the thought of attacking them. But, without balancing the resources of the contending nations, we find that, in fact, the issue of the war was not decided either by pitched battles, or regular sieges. Traditions, which may be trusted, since they contradict notions which had become generally current on the subject, prove that the Dorian chieftains adopted a different plan for the subjugation of the country; one which, though tedious, was safer, and better adapted to their means and situation. It consisted in occupying a strong post in the neighbourhood of the enemy's city, and wearing him out by a continued series of harassing excursions. The remembrance of two such stations was preserved to later ages; and the glimpse they afford of the manner in which the conquest was effected, is sufficient to show the groundlessness of the common belief, that the fall of Tisamenus was attended by a sudden and complete triumph of the Dorians. The history of the Turks, at a period when they stood nearly at the same level of civilisation, affords a not uninteresting parallel. While the Turkish empire was yet confined to a small district at the foot of the Mysian Olympus, the rich and strongly fortified cities of Brusa and Nice excited the ambition of Othman, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty. But the force and skill of his

Means by which the Dorians effected their conquests.

tribe were unequal to the task of reducing them by a direct assault, and he therefore occupied forts in the neighbourhood of each, and pressed them with an irregular but wearisome blockade, which kept the garrisons in constant fear of a surprise, and cut off all their ordinary communications with the surrounding country. At the end of ten years, Brusa was so exhausted by this lingering operation, that it capitulated; and in four years more Nice followed its example.[1] A similar plan was pursued by that division of the Dorians which undertook the conquest of Argolis. Between three and four miles from Argos, on the western side of the gulf, is a hillock, which, in the time of Pausanias, was still covered with buildings. Among them was a monument of Temenus, whence the place was called Temenium, which then continued to be honoured with religious rites by the Dorians of Argos. The Temenium, says Pausanias, received its name from Temenus, the son of Aristomachus; for he took possession of the ground, and fortified it, and from this position he and his Dorians carried on the war against Tisamenus and the Achæans.[2] From this account we perceive that Argos was the first object of the invaders' attack: how long it held out we do not learn; but the site of the monument of Temenus would lead us to infer, that the eldest of the Heracleids had fallen before his people had effected this conquest; and in fact we hear nothing more of his personal exploits. The expeditions by which the Dorian dominion was gradually extended over the north-east of the peninsula are ascribed to his successors: to these we shall return after having pursued the fortunes of Cresphontes and the heirs of Aristodemus.

CHAP. VII.

B.C. 1104.

Homer represents Messenia as subject, at the time

Settlement of Cre-

[1] *Osmanischen Reiches*, i. p. 75. and 101.

CHAP. VII.

B.C. 1104.

Cresphontes in Messenia.

of the Trojan war, to the house of Atreus; for Agamemnon offers seven of its towns to Achilles as the price of reconciliation. It constituted a part of the dominions of Menelaus till his death; after which the Neleid kings of Pylus, who were probably already masters of the western coast, took advantage, it is said, of the weakness of his successors to wrest it from them.[1] At the time of the Dorian invasion, Melanthus filled the throne of Messenia: whether he also reigned over Pylus and Triphylia may be reasonably doubted. The people are said to have been disaffected toward him as a foreigner, and hence to have offered no resistance to the Dorians.[2] Melanthus, in consequence, quitted the country, and retired to Attica, where, as we shall see, he became the founder of a house, which supplied the Athenian annals with many of their most illustrious names. But the Messenian Pylus seems long to have retained its independence, and to have been occupied for several centuries by one branch of the family of Neleus; for descendants of Nestor are mentioned as allies of the Messenians in their struggle with Sparta in the latter half of the seventh century B.C.[3] There is however some reason for doubting that the rest of the country submitted so quietly as has been generally supposed to the rule of Cresphontes. Ephorus indeed related that he took possession of Messenia, and divided it into five districts, fixing his own residence in a central position in the plain of Stenyclerus; and it seems certain that he founded a new capital there. But, judging from analogy, we should suspect that this was the result, not of choice, but of necessity, because neither Pylus nor Andania, the seat of the ancient kings, were yet in his power, and that it was only the first step toward the conquest of the whole land. Of the footing on which

[1] Strabo, viii. p. 359. [2] Paus. iv. 3. 6. [3] Strabo, viii. p. 355.

the Dorians here stood with the ancient inhabitants, we shall speak when we reach the period of the Messenian wars. CHAP. VII B.C. 1104

We have little more certain information as to the steps by which the subjugation of Laconia was effected. According to Ephorus, it was completed as quickly as that of Messenia. The strength of the Achæans was collected in Amyclæ; but this city was betrayed, or its inhabitants were induced to capitulate, by the perfidious counsels of one of their countrymen, by name Philonomus. After this, Eurysthenes and Procles divided the whole country into six districts, over which they set governors, with the title of kings. That of Amyclæ they bestowed on Philonomus, as the reward of his treachery; while they themselves fixed their residence in Sparta. During the reign of Eurysthenes, the conquered people were admitted to an equality of political privileges with the Dorians; but his successor, Agis, deprived them of these rights, and from fellow citizens reduced them to subjects of the Spartans. The greater part submitted without resistance. Only the inhabitants of Helos, a town on the coast, attempted to shake off the usurped dominion; but their revolt was quelled, and they lost both their political independence and their personal liberty, giving rise and name to the class of serfs called Helots, whose condition will be hereafter described.[1] There are strong grounds for suspecting that this account disguises a fact, which the later Spartans may have found it difficult to conceive, — that they became masters of Laconia only gradually, and after a long struggle. It would lead us to imagine, that Amyclæ and its district escheated to the Spartan kings after the death of Philonomus. But, instead of this, we find traces which strongly indicate that it

Various accounts of the subjugation of Laconia

Resistance of Amyclæ.

[1] Strabo, viii. p. 364. Conon, 36.

CHAP. VII.

B.C. 1104.

continued to form an independent state for near three hundred years after the invasion. It is certain that its final conquest was not effected before the reign of Teleclus, toward the close of the ninth century B.C. And the terms in which this is related seem plainly to imply, that it had never before submitted to Sparta. *In the reign of Teleclus*, says Pausanias, *the Lacedæmonians took Amyclæ, and Pharis, and Geronthræ, which were in possession of the Achæans. The people of the latter two towns were dismayed at the approach of the Dorians, and capitulated on condition of being allowed to withdraw from Peloponnesus. But the Amyclæans were not ejected at the first assault, but only after a long resistance and many notable deeds. And the Dorians showed the importance they attached to this victory by the trophy they raised over the Amyclæans.*[1] This testimony is confirmed and illustrated by a tradition of a long-protracted warfare, which occasioned the proverb that spoke of *the silence of Amyclæ*. The peace of Amyclæ, we are told, had been so often disturbed by false alarms of the enemy's approach, that at length a law was passed forbidding such reports, and the silent city was taken by surprise.[2] These traditions seem to justify us in rejecting the statement, that Amyclæ revolted from Sparta after the death of Philonomus.[3] If however we suppose that it remained independent till the time of its fall, it will be difficult to believe that the case was different with the other districts of Laconia, which were more remote from Sparta. The most probable view of the matter seems to be, that the Dorians, who must be conceived to have entered Laconia from the north, first encamped at Sparta,

[1] iii. 2. 6. Elsewhere (iii. 12. 9.) he observes of the same monument, *The temple of Jupiter Tropæus (the Discomfiter) was built by the Dorians, after they had overpowered in war both the rest of the Achæans, who at that time were in possession of Laconia, and the Amyclæans.*

[2] Heyne on Virgil, Æn. x. 564.

[3] Conon, 36.

where they found perhaps a few scattered hamlets, and were detained by its advantageous situation, at the opening of the vale of the Eurotas. They no doubt immediately occupied a tract in the adjacent plain, sufficient for their support. Amyclæ, which lay only two or three miles lower down the valley, appears to have been the ancient capital of the Achæan kings: *there* were shown the monuments of Cassandra, of Agamemnon, and Clytæmnestra, attesting the popular belief, that it had been the scene of their sufferings and crimes. It also contained a revered sanctuary, where Apollo was worshipped over the tomb of Hyacinthus, which, even after the city had sunk into a village, continued to be enriched with the most costly offerings by the piety of the Spartans. Sparta indeed is described in the Odyssey as the residence of Menelaus: it is perhaps the same place with the *hollow craggy Lacedæmon*[1]; but it is more probable that in the Homeric poems the name of Amyclæ had been exchanged for one which had of late become more celebrated, than that the Pelopids should have fixed their seat in an unwalled town, such as Sparta appears to have been from its origin to the period of its declining greatness. If Amyclæ was the Achæan capital, we can the better understand how it might be able to hold out against the Spartans, notwithstanding its close vicinity, and might be reduced only after the rest of Laconia had been subdued; though, according to an account which seems as well entitled to credit as that of Ephorus, Helos itself, from which the Achæan serfs are commonly supposed to have been named, preserved its independence down to the reign of Alcamenes, the son of the conqueror of Amyclæ.[2]

[1] If Lacedæmon is not rather the name of the country, as Eustathius (on Od. iv. 1.) understands it, which would explain the ambiguity which Müller (*Dorians*, i. 5. 12.) finds in Homer's use of the name. If however it is to be taken for a city, it is clearly another name for Sparta. Compare Od. ii. 327. 359. with iv. 1. 213.

[2] Paus. iii. 2. 7. Phlegon. Mcurs. p. 144.

CHAP. VII.

B.C. 1104.

The Dorians in Laconia joined by the Ægeids.

Beside the Dorians there were foreigners of other nations who were driven about the same time to Laconia, by the tempest which was now sweeping over Greece, and their presence was attended by some important consequences, though it is not perfectly clear whether they contributed more to promote, or to retard, the conquest. Among these we may reckon the Cadmeans, whom the Bœotian invasion had forced to quit Thebes. Aristodemus had married a princess of the line of Cadmus, who became the mother of Eurysthenes and Procles, and on their father's death Theras, their mother's brother, undertook the guardianship of the royal twins. When they grew up to manhood, Theras was unable to bear the thought of descending from the honours of the regency to a private station, and resolved on leading a colony to the island then called Calliste, afterwards Thera, which was said to have been peopled by followers of Cadmus. He left a son behind him in Sparta, who became the founder of a house, which Herodotus, who relates this story, describes as a great tribe, named the Ægeids, from Ægeus the grandson of Theras. But, according to other accounts, which have stronger internal marks of probability, the Ægeids, so called after an earlier Ægeus, were a Theban clan [1], who accompanied the Dorians, and rendered them important services in their invasion of Laconia, and especially in their war with Amyclæ [2]: so that we are led to suppose that several noble Cadmean families had migrated, on the approach of the Bœotians, to Doris, where they were adopted as kinsmen, and followed the fortunes of that division of the Dorians which settled in Sparta, on account of the connection which they had formed with its leader.

[1] Schol. Pind. Pyth. v. 101. Isthm. vii. 18. They are here called φρατρία; in Herodotus (iv. 149.), φυλή.

[2] Pindar and Ephorus, Aristotle, and other authors, quoted by the Scholiast i.. the passages last cited.

CHAP. VII.

B. C. 1104.

The Minyans in Laconia and Triphylia.

Theras is said to have been joined in his expedition by a band of Minyan adventurers, the posterity of the Argonauts, who had been driven out of Lemnos by those same Pelasgians whom the invasion of Bœotia had forced to take shelter in Attica, whence the consequences of their insolence, or the jealousy of the natives, compelled them to migrate to a new home. According to Herodotus, the expelled Minyans sought Laconia as the land of their fathers, because some of the Argonauts had come from thence, and for the same reason were at first hospitably entertained by the Spartans, who admitted them as kinsmen to the right of intermarriage. When however the strangers abused their good fortune, encroached upon the privileges of their benefactors, and claimed a share in the succession to the throne, the Spartans were indignant, and determined to put them to death. But they were delivered from prison by a pious artifice of their Spartan wives, who, having obtained admission to their husbands under the pretence of the last farewell, exchanged dresses with them, and remained in their stead. The fugitives escaped to the heights of Taygetus at the very time that Theras was preparing to embark for Calliste. A part of them consented to share his adventures; but the main body bent their march to the western coast of Peloponnesus, and invaded the land, which henceforth appears to have borne the name of Triphylia. They expelled its ancient possessors, the Cauconeș, and other tribes, and founded six towns, which formed as many independent states, under the names, Lepreum, Macistus, Phrixa, Pyrgus, Epium, Nudium. The reality of this settlement in Triphylia cannot be reasonably questioned: but whether it took place at the time and under the circumstances described by Herodotus, is extremely doubtful. His account evidently proceeds upon the supposition that the whole of Laconia was subject to

CHAP. VII.

B. C. 1104.

the sons of Aristodemus. If a great part of it, and Amyclæ in particular, was still independent of Sparta, the Minyans would have been at no loss for a place of refuge; and, accordingly, we are informed by Conon, that Philonomus admitted inhabitants from Imbros and Lemnos, who must be the Minyan fugitives, into Amyclæ, and that in the third generation they rose up against the Dorians, but were compelled to migrate. A comparison of these different stories seems to afford ground for concluding, that these Minyans shared the fortunes, not of the Dorian conquerors, but of the Achæans, and that the main body did not quit Laconia before the reduction of Amyclæ had been completed. The connection described by Herodotus between them and Theras may even seem to justify a doubt whether the Ægeids also were not allies of the Achæans.[1] With regard to them however it is certainly safer to adhere to the common view, which is confirmed by the admission of the Ægeids among the Spartans, — an event much more intelligible when referred to the time of the invasion, than after the fall of Amyclæ. It is not necessary to suppose that the Minyans held so closely together, that a part might not join the expedition of Theras, and the Spartans who accompanied him, while their brethren whom they left behind, fought for the Achæans. The six towns founded by them in Triphylia seem to imply that their number was considerable; and certainly there is reason to think that it was sufficient to be of no small moment in the contest between the Spartans and the Achæans; it must however be remembered, that Triphylia was already peopled, in part, by a kin-

[1] Müller (*Orchomenus*, p. 336.) treats the affinity of the Ægeids with the Spartan Heracleids as a mere fiction. But he seems to press Pindar's language too closely, who, when he says that the Ægeids took possession of Amyclæ (Isthm. vii. 18.), probably means only that they aided the Spartans in the conquest of Laconia. The arguments drawn from the honours paid to Timomachus at the Hyacinthia, and from some other indications of a connection between the Minyans and the Ægeids, are not more convincing.

dred race, which may have received them as friends. Beside the colony in Thera, they took part in another expedition, of which we shall soon have occasion to speak. We must now take a view of the manner in which the dominion of the Dorians was established in other parts of Peloponnesus. B.C. 1104.

Temenus is said to have excited the jealousy of his sons by the favour he showed to Deiphontes, a Heracleid, but of another line, who had married his daughter Hyrnetho, and to whose aid he was principally indebted in his conquests. What the extent of these conquests may have been, is, as we have seen, very doubtful: it seems clear however that they did not include the ancient capitals Tiryns and Mycenæ, for otherwise some tradition could not fail to have been preserved of their fall.[1] They probably long retained their independence; and it is not even certain that they ever received a Dorian population. The sons of Temenus plotted against his life, and Ceisus, the eldest, succeeded him at Argos. Deiphontes drew a part of the Dorians over to his side, and, with their aid, undertook the conquest of Epidaurus. It was at this time governed by Pityreus, who is said to have been a descendant of Ion. He offered no resistance to the invaders, but, with the principal families, withdrew to Athens, and Epidaurus became at once a Dorian state. On the other hand we find it mentioned, on the authority of Aristotle, that Ionians from the Attic Tetrapolis accompanied the Dorians in their expedition, and shared the possession of Epidaurus with them[2], —a memorable fact, on account of the influence it may have had on the Attic traditions relating to the return of the Heracleids. The success of Deiphontes however was embittered by a tragical calamity, brought

The Dorians in Epidaurus.

[1] What Strabo says of the subjection of Mycenæ to Argos (viii. p. 372.) seems to be merely an inference from the common story about the defeat of Tisamenus, and its immediate consequences.

[2] Strabo, viii. p. 374.

CHAP. VII.

upon him by the deadly hatred of his kinsmen. Hyrnetho's brothers resolved to separate her from her husband: only Agræus, the youngest of the four brothers, refused to concur in the plot. Cerynes and Phalces, attended by a herald, came to the gates of Epidaurus, and sent to request an interview with their sister without the walls. When she had granted their wish, but turned a deaf ear to the persuasions by which they sought to prevail on her to accompany them to Argos, they forcibly placed her in their chariot, and were hastening away, when Deiphontes, informed of her danger, came up to rescue her. He instantly slew Cerynes, but Hyrnetho herself fell a victim to the violence with which she was detained by Phalces, who made his escape, while Deiphontes and his followers took up his sister's corpse. The youngest brother, Agræus, appears to have conquered the adjacent territory of Trœzen[1], where, as at Epidaurus, the Dorians are said to have been admitted without resistance; and perhaps we may infer, from the part assigned to him in the legend just related, that, in the feuds which seem at this period to have divided the Dorians in Argolis, Trœzen, and Epidaurus, were united against Argos.

B. C. 1104.

In Trœzen,

Sicyon, and

Phalces subjected Sicyon to the Dorian sway. It was already ruled by a prince who traced his origin to Hercules, and who is said to have been on this account spared by the Dorians, when they made themselves masters of the city by a nightly surprise. Phalces contented himself with sharing his power. In the next generation, the Dorian arms were carried up the valley of the Sicyonian Asopus against Phlius, by Rhegnidas, son of Phalces. He appears to have been

Phlius.

[1] Ephorus (in Strabo, viii. p. 389.) mentions Agæus or Ægæus and Deiphontes as conquerors of the Argolic *acte*, — the peninsula including Trœzen and Epidaurus, — which, compared with Paus. ii. 30. 10., seems to warrant the statement in the text, notwithstanding the slight variation in the name of Agræus.

CHAP. VII.

B.C. 1104.

assisted in his expedition by forces sent from Argos. Yet their united strength seems not to have been very formidable, or their moderation was great. Rheginidas invited the people of Phlius to receive the Dorians as friends, and to make a fair partition of their fruitful territory with the new settlers. We are not told who reigned at this time at Phlius; but Hippasus is named as the leading person who opposed the demands of the Dorians, and endeavoured to rouse his countrymen to resistance by urging the baseness of surrendering so fair an inheritance without a struggle. But the greater number were inclined to pacific views: the proposal of the invaders was accepted, and Hippasus with his party joined the Ionian emigrants, who were embarking for Asia. According to one of the many traditions concerning the origin of Pythagoras, Hippasus, who settled in Samos, was an ancestor of the philosopher. Cleonæ seems also to have been occupied by Dorians, who established there a state, independent of Argos, and perhaps hostile to it, as the ruling family was connected with that of Epi-

The Dorians conquer Corinth.

The more important acquisition of Corinth was reserved for another dynasty of Heracleids. When the Dorians were on the point of embarking at Naupactus, Hippotes, one of their chiefs, and a descendant of Hercules, was thought to have incurred the anger of Apollo, which showed itself in a pestilence, that afflicted the whole army. Hippotes, as the guilty cause of the calamity, was forced to quit the camp, and spent many years as a wandering outcast. But his son, whom he had named, from his long wanderings, Aletes, having grown up to manhood, collected

[1] This is indeed no more than a conjecture, drawn from a passage of Pausanias (iii. 16. 6.), where he mentions a descendant of Cteippus (Diod. iv. 37.), who reigned over the Cleestonæans (Κλεεστωναίων). See Mueller, *Dorians*, i. 5. § 3. note *n*. If for this unknown name we substitute that of the Cleonæans, all becomes intelligible, and consistent with the other traditions.

CHAP. VII.

B.C. 1104.

a band of Dorian adventurers, and directed his arms against Corinth. The mode in which he achieved the conquest is variously related. According to one account, the line of Sisyphus was at this time represented by two kings, named Doridas and Hyanthidas, who voluntarily resigned their power to Aletes, and remained at Corinth, while the great body of the people, resisting the invader, were defeated in battle, and migrated to foreign lands.[1] But other traditions, apparently of higher authority, seem to indicate a different course of events, or at least assist us in filling up this outline. Thucydides mentions that the village of Solygia, distant seven or eight miles from Corinth, stood on a hill near the Saronic gulf, where the Dorians had once encamped, while they carried on their war with the Æolian inhabitants of Corinth. Here we see traces of a plan similar to that which the conquerors of Argos pursued, when they occupied the Temenium. Another legend relates, that Aletes surprised the city during the celebration of a funeral sacrifice, and that the gates were opened to him by the treachery of a daughter of Creon, a Corinthian Tarpeia, whom he tempted by the promise of making her his wife.[2]

The fall of Corinth was attended by another expedition, which drew the Dorians to the north of the Isthmus, and brought them, for the first time, into a conflict with Attica. The Bœotians had no sooner completed their conquest, than they began to threaten their southern neighbours. They made inroads on

[1] Paus. ii. 4. 3. Plass (*Geschichte des alten Griechenlands*), vol. i. p. 277. and ii. p. 189., with great probability conjectures Doridas and Hyanthidas to be no more than personifications of the Dorian conquerors and their subjects; comparing the tribe of the Hyatæ at Sicyon (Herod. v. 68.), to which may be added the ancient names Hyantes and Hyanthis in Bœotia and Ætolia (Steph. Byz. "Υαντες, Αἰτωλία). See also Mueller, *Dor.* i. 5. § 9.

[2] Schol. Pind. Nem. vii. 155. probably from Ephorus. Another legend (Schol. Pind. Ol. xiii. 56.) seems manifestly to have arisen out of the festival, the origin of which it professes to explain.

CHAP. VII.

B C 1104.

the Attic border, and claimed some towns [1], as belonging to their territory. When the Attic king, Thymœtes, led an army to meet them, Xanthus, the Bœotian leader, proposed to decide the issue of the war by single combat. Thymœtes shrank from the risk; but Melanthus, the Messenian king, who had been honourably received at Athens, came forward to accept the enemy's challenge. By a stratagem, famous in after-ages, he diverted the attention of his adversary, and slew him as he turned to look at the ally whom Melanthus affected to see behind him. The victor was rewarded with the kingdom, which Thymœtes had forfeited by his pusillanimity, and which now passed for ever from the house of Erechtheus. Melanthus transmitted it to his son Codrus, who was still reigning, though far advanced in years, when some of the Dorian states, impelled by ambition, or pressed, it is said, by a general scarcity, the natural effect of long-protracted wars, united their forces for the invasion of Attica. Aletes was the chief mover of the expedition; but the Messenians, jealous of their old enemies, the Neleids, lent it active support. The Dorian army marched to Athens, and lay encamped under its walls. Aletes had previously consulted the Delphic oracle, and had been assured of success, provided he spared the life of the Athenian king. A friendly Delphian, named Cleomantis, disclosed the answer of the oracle to the Athenians, and Codrus resolved to devote himself for his country in a manner not unlike that which immortalised the name of the Decii. He went out at the gate, disguised in a woodman's garb, and falling in with two Dorians killed one with his bill, and was killed by the other. The Athenians now sent a herald to claim the body of their king, and the Dorian chiefs, deeming the war

Codrus.

[1] Œnoe (Conon, 39.), or Celænæ (Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 146.).

CHAP. VII.

B. C. 1104.

hopeless, withdrew their forces from Attica. Such is the story which continued for centuries to warm the patriotism of the Athenians, and which therefore, as there is nothing improbable in its general outlines, we feel loath to criticise, though we cannot answer for the truth of the details. To some even this may seem to be confirmed by the fact mentioned by the orator Lycurgus [1], that Cleomantis and his posterity were honoured with the privilege of sharing the entertainment provided in the Prytaneum at Athens, for the guests of the state. But we scarcely know how the current tradition is to be reconciled with another preserved by Pausanias: that a part of the Dorian army effected their entrance by night within the walls, and, being surrounded by their enemies, took refuge at the altars of the Eumenides on the Areopagus, and were spared by the piety of the Athenians.[2] If however either must be rejected as a fabrication, this has certainly the slighter claim to credit. But though this expedition was defeated in its main object, it produced one permanent and important result. The little territory of Megara was now finally separated from Attica [3], and occupied by a Dorian colony, which continued long closely united with Corinth as its parent city, or rather was held in a subjection, which at length became too oppressive to be borne. Megara itself was at this time only one, though probably the principal, among five little townships, which were independent of each other, and were not unfrequently engaged in hostilities, which however were so mitigated and regulated by local usage, as to present rather the image,

Conquest of Megara

[1] Leocr. p. 158.

[2] vii. 25. 2.

[3] Pausanias (i. 39. 4.) says, that Megaris was wrested from Athens by the Dorians. But this is inconsistent with the fragments of Megarian tradition, which he has preserved in this and the following chapters of his work, from which it would seem, that the country was not subject even to an Attic prince for more than one reign — that of Nisus, son of Pandion — and that it afterwards fell under the power of a different dynasty. Hyperion, a son of Agamemnon, is said to have been the last king.

CHAP. VII.

B. C. 1104.

than the reality and the baneful effects, of war. They were never allowed to interrupt the labours of the husbandmen; the captive taken in these feuds was entertained as a guest in his enemy's house, and, when his ransom was fixed, was dismissed before it was paid. If he discharged his debt of honour he became, under a peculiar name[1], the friend of his host: a breach of the compact dishonoured him for life, both among the strangers and his neighbours — a picture of society, which we could scarcely believe to have been drawn from life, if it did not agree with other institutions, which we find described upon the best authority as prevailing at the same period in other parts of Greece.

and Ægina.

Though we reserve a general survey of the Greek colonies for another place, we must here mention some which are connected in a peculiar manner with the history of the Dorian conquest. The first of these is that by which Ægina, hitherto the seat of an Æolian population, was transformed into a Dorian island. This colony was led, by a chief named Triaco[2], from Epidaurus, to which Ægina seemed to be assigned by its situation as a natural appendage, though it attained to a much higher degree of prosperity and power than the parent state. The number of the new settlers cannot have been great, and they appear to have mingled on equal terms with the old inhabitants, though their influence was sufficient to introduce the Dorian language, manners, and institutions.[3] But the colonies which passed from Peloponnesus into Crete in the third generation after the conquest, are of still greater importance, because, though they may not have been the first of the Dorian race which settled in the island, they appear to have contributed much more than any previous migrations of the same

[1] Δορύξενος. Plut. Qu. Gr. 17. [2] Tzetz. on Lyc. 176. [3] Paus. ii. 29. 5.

CHAP. VII.

B. C. 1104.

people, which, as we have seen, are not even sufficiently ascertained, to stamp Crete with the character which it retained to the end of its history; and to them therefore the influence which it is commonly believed to have exercised on the institutions and the destinies of the mother country may, so far as it really existed, be most justly ascribed. It is only to be regretted that, though the fact itself is unquestionable, the sources of our information are so scanty and turbid, as to leave our curiosity unsatisfied on some of the most interesting circumstances connected with it.

Expeditions of the Dorians to Crete.

Two principal expeditions are said to have proceeded from Peloponnesus to Crete, about the same time which chronologers fix for the beginning of the Ionian migration, sixty years after the Dorian invasion. One of these expeditions issued from Laconia, the other from Argolis. The Laconian colony is involved in great obscurity, with regard to its leaders and to the people of which it was chiefly composed. The Minyans from Imbros and Lemnos whom Philonomus had planted at Amyclæ, are said to have revolted against the Dorians in the third generation, and in consequence to have migrated anew from Laconia to Crete, accompanied however by some Spartans, and under the command of two chiefs named Pollis and Delphus.[1] In their passage they left a portion of their body in the isle of Melos, which dated its unfortunate connection with Sparta from this epoch. The rest occupied Gortyna (an inland town, but on the south side of the island) without any resistance from the Cretans of the surrounding district, who became their subjects. Another relation of the same events gives a somewhat fuller account of the issue of

Colonies founded by Pollis.

[1] Conon. 36. The name of Delphus seems to have arisen out of an error of the transcribers (for ἀδελφὸς), if it is not a personification, which often occurs, of the oracle which directed the enterprise.

the expedition, but introduces different actors. The Lacedæmonians, Pollis, and his brother Cratæidas, are here named as the chiefs; but the people whom they lead from Amyclæ are not Minyans, but their enemies and conquerors, the Pelasgians. They are said to have defeated the natives in several battles, and to have made themselves masters of Lyctus (an inland town, not very far from Gortyna), and of other cities.[1] The substitution of the Pelasgians for the Minyans in this form of the narrative may perhaps be safely considered as an error, arising from a confusion of the stories told of them by Herodotus, though it is said that the legend in this shape was so current at Lyctus itself, that the Lyctians held themselves to be kinsmen of the Athenians by the side of their mothers, because the Pelasgians had carried off Athenian women to Lemnos. A greater difficulty may at first sight seem to arise from the part which the Spartans are described as taking in the enterprise of the Minyans, with whom, according to all accounts, their intercourse was by no means friendly, at least during the latter part of the sojourn which these strangers made in Laconia. If it were necessary to resort to conjecture for an explanation of the fact, we might perhaps probably enough suppose the occasion to have arisen from that state of disorder and discord which all writers represent to have prevailed at Sparta for many generations after the conquest, and which seems likewise to have given rise to the expedition of Theras. The ruling Spartans were undoubtedly no less willing to rid themselves of the restless and ambitious spirits among their own citizens than of their enemies, whether Minyans or Achæans, who were desirous of migrating to foreign lands. Hence such an expedition, though the bands which embarked in it were chiefly composed of

[1] Plut. *de Mul. Virt.* Τυμβρήνιδες.

CHAP. VII.

B.C. 1104.

strangers, might be made under the sanction of Sparta; and the colonies which it planted would regard her as their parent, and be open to all the influence of the Dorian character and institutions.

By Althæmenes.

The history of the other expedition, though not fuller, is less perplexed by contradictory statements. The domestic feuds which agitated the family of Temenus are said to have continued in the third generation. Althæmenes, the youngest son of Ceisus, at variance with his brothers, resolved on seeking a new home. It was at the time when the failure of the enterprise of the Dorians against Attica left many adventurers without employment; and those who did not find a settlement in Megara were, for the most part, willing to share the fortunes of Althæmenes.[1] It is said that he was invited on the one hand by the Ionians, who were on the point of migrating to Asia, and on the other by Pollis and his Spartan followers, to unite his forces with theirs. But he rejected both proposals, that he might pursue the course marked out for him by an oracle, which had enjoined him to seek the land which should be granted to his prayers by Jupiter and by the Sun. Rhodes was the island of the Sun; the god of day had given it to his children, when it first rose out of the waters: but Crete was the birthplace of Jupiter, and Althæmenes, to comply with the oracle, while he himself bent his course to Rhodes, left a part of his followers in Crete. Their conquests must have been considerable; for Ephorus spoke of Althæmenes as if he had been the sole founder of a Dorian colony in Crete. Yet we are not distinctly informed in what part of the island they established themselves. It may however be conjectured, from some traditions which cannot be more

[1] Conon. 47. Eustath. on Il. p. 313., where Althæmenes is said to have been driven out of Argos. It is nowhere distinctly stated that he shared the expedition against Attica, though this has sometimes been inferred from the words of Strabo, xiv. p. 653.

simply explained on any other supposition, that, as the principal settlements of the Laconian adventurers lay toward the south-east, so those of the Argives were planted on the western side of the island. A legend, which it is scarcely possible to accept in its literal sense, referred the origin of several Cretan towns, among the rest of one named Mycenæ, to Agamemnon, when, on his return from Troy, he was forced by a tempest to land in Crete.[1] If we might suppose that this legend sprang out of the colonies of Althæmenes, it would direct us to the neighbourhood of the ancient town of Cydonia, as the quarter in which they were planted, and there are traces which seem to mark that Cydonia itself had received a part of its population from Argos.[2] Polyrrhenia, on the western coast, near which Agamemnon was said to have raised an altar, was first fortified by Achæan and Laconian colonists.[3] As we here find Laconians in the west, it seems not improbable, that the town of Phæstus, in the eastern quarter of the island, may have been founded by the people of Althæmenes, though it lay in the neighbourhood of Gortyna, and though the Heracleid Phæstus, from whom its name was derived, was subsequently believed to have passed over from Sicyon to Crete before the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus.[4]

State of Crete at the time of the Dorian conquest.

The scantiness of these accounts, which is not surprising when we consider the period to which they relate, is no reason for questioning the importance of the Peloponnesian colonies in Crete. The numbers indeed of the Dorians who took part in them appears to have been very small, compared with the extent of the island, and their whole force was probably slender. But the state in which they found the country seems

[1] Vell. Paterc. i. 1.

[2] There was, it seems, a Hyllean tribe both at Argos and Cydonia (Steph. Byz. and Hesych.). This however strictly proves nothing more than that Cydonia had received some Dorian inhabitants.

[3] Strab. x. p. 479.

[4] Paus. ii. 5. 7., and Steph. Byz. Φαῖστος.

CHAP. VII.

B.C. 1104.

to have favoured their undertaking, and to have enabled them first to gain a firm footing, and then to make a steady progress. The Iliad describes Crete as containing a hundred cities[1]; but the Odyssey reduces that number to ninety, and some of the ancients endeavoured to explain the difference by supposing, that ten cities had been lost, through intestine feuds, after the Trojan war: others believed that ten new ones had been founded between that event and the poet's time, and Ephorus named Althæmenes as the founder. This is no doubt an arbitrary fiction; but a Cretan tradition, apparently quite unconnected with these attempts at reconciling the two Homeric poems, spoke of the whole island having been wasted by plague and famine after the Trojan war, and having been left almost desolate, till its population was replenished by the new race which finally retained possession of it.[2] One point at least appears to be indisputably proved by the condition in which Crete is exhibited to us by the earliest accounts of its subsequent history; that the Dorian settlers found it divided among a number of independent states, kept asunder by the difference of their origin, and perhaps by mutual animosity, and separately unable to resist the invaders. Yet here, still more than in Peloponnesus, the conquest must have been gradual, and it must have been long before the Dorians had spread over the whole island, if no part of it was before inhabited by a kindred race. With respect to this question it is remarkable, that none of the traditions preserved to us concerning the Argive and Laconian colonies, make any mention of Cnossus, the ancient seat of Minos, or of any Dorians previously settled in the island. The renown of Cnossus was transferred to Gortyna and

[1] One Xenion had made out a complete list of the hundred cities (Tzetz. on Lyc. 1214.); it is to be feared that he may now and then have drawn upon his invention for the sake of making up the number.

[2] Herod. vii. 171.

Lyctus[1], and it was in the latter city that Lycurgus was believed to have studied the institutions which he transplanted to Sparta.[2] Those of the ancients who contended that the Cretan institutions were derived from Sparta, built their chief argument on the fact, that Lyctus was her colony, and therefore might naturally borrow from the mother city.[3] On the other hand those who believed that the Spartan lawgiver had copied the model which he found at Lyctus, still held Minos to have been its original author.[4] We have already observed, that this opinion might easily have arisen out of the ambition of the Cretan Dorians, to appropriate the fame of Minos to themselves, and to hallow their own usages by his revered name. But it may also not have been entirely destitute of a real foundation, and may only have been erroneous in extending to the whole system, what was true of no more than a few of its parts, in which vestiges might undoubtedly be preserved of a more ancient polity. But that the social fabric, which struck the ancients by its close resemblance to that of Sparta, and which they concluded must have been either its archetype, or its copy, was already standing in Crete in the period of Minos, is an opinion which requires much stronger evidence to support it.[5] When however this is rejected, the question which divided the ancients as to the relative antiquity of the Cretan and the Spartan systems, falls to the ground of itself, as will be more clearly seen when we come to consider the legislation of Lycurgus.

CHAP. VII. B. C. 1104.

The institutions which we shall shortly have to describe under that head are so similar to those of Crete, that it will be sufficient here to give a brief

Cretan Institutions.

[1] Strabo, x. p. 476.
[2] Aristot. Pol. ii. 10.
[3] Strabo, x. p. 481.
[4] Aristot. Pol. ii. 10.
[5] On the difference between the (supposed) earlier and later Dorian colonies in Crete, see Mueller in the above-quoted Appendix iii. (vol. i. p. 494.).

CHAP. VII. B.C. 1104.

outline of the latter. The inhabitants were divided into three ranks, — slaves, freemen, and an intermediate class, removed at a nearly equal distance from the degradation of the one, and the privileges of the other. This class was undoubtedly composed chiefly of the old possessors of the land, who had submitted without a struggle to the superior force of the conquerors. The name by which they were distinguished marked their condition — that of a rural population dwelling in open towns or villages [1] — in contrast with the citizens, who resided in the capital of each territory. Their lands were subject to a peculiar tax, or tribute [2], from which those of the upper class were exempt; but their persons were free, and their industry unrestricted; an advantage which went far to counterbalance all the burdens imposed upon them, and even the privileges from which they were excluded. These were not only the proper functions of the citizen, those connected with the enactment of laws, the administration of justice, and the government of the state, but also the use of arms, such as the citizen reserved for himself, and the exercises by which he was trained to them in the public schools.[3] The bow appears to have been the ordinary weapon of this class, which in all ages supplied the Grecian armies with their best archers. They were allowed to retain such of their ancient national usages as did not interfere with their dependence on their conquerors; and on the whole, there is no reason to think that their condition was oppressive. The slaves, with respect to the origin of their servitude, may be probably divided into two

Subjects.

Slaves.

[1] Περίοικοι.

[2] Its amount is uncertain, unless it was the *stater*, which the slaves, as they are perhaps improperly called, had to pay towards the public meals. Dosiades in Ath. iv. p. 143.

[3] Aristot. Pol. ii. 5. Aristotle indeed is here speaking of the slaves (δούλοις), but he manifestly uses this as a general term to describe all who were not citizens.

CHAP. VII.

B. C. 1104.

classes, — one consisting of those who were already such at the time of the conquest, the other of freemen taken with arms in their hands, who purchased their lives by the sacrifice of their liberty. With respect to their situation, such as it continued in after-times, they were distinguished by peculiar names, which expressed the relations in which they stood, either to individuals, or to the state. Besides the lands which were left in the possession of their ancient owners, subject to tribute, and those which were occupied by the citizens, each state appears to have reserved a domain for itself, which it cultivated by the hands of public slaves, who constituted a separate body, called a *mnoa*[1], and who probably likewise performed various services of a public nature within the city. Those who tilled the portions of ground allotted to the individual freemen, were designated by a different title, derived from their peculiar condition.[2] Slaves of this and the former class might be sold, but not to be carried out of the country. A third class, which was probably by far the least numerous, and exclusively employed in menial labours, was purchased, as their name imported, from abroad.[3] It might therefore appear that these ought to be discriminated from the former classes, as slaves from serfs. The ancient authors however place them all on the same footing, and do not indicate any difference in the manner of treating them, unless it be by the custom which prevailed at Cydonia, and perhaps in other cities, where the serfs enjoyed certain holidays, during which we are told that they were left in possession of the town, and might even drive out their masters, if

[1] μνῶα, μνοία, μνωΐα, or Μνωΐα σύνοδος, as it is called by Strabo, xii. p. 542. The name however is more probably connected with the word δῆμος than with Minos.

[2] ἀφαμιῶται or κλορῶται, from the ἀφαμίαι or κλῆροι, parcels of land.

[3] χρυσώνητοι. As in most other Greek states all the slaves were acquired in this manner, this epithet would there have been superfluous; in Crete it marked an exception to the general rule.

CHAP. VII.

B. C. 1104.

they would not wait at their table, with the whip,—a perhaps exaggerated description of the Cretan Saturnalia.[1]

Freemen.

The contrast between the lot of the slave and the Dorian freeman, is strongly marked by the language of a Cretan drinking-song.[2] *My great wealth is my spear, my sword, and my stout buckler, my faithful guard: with this I plough, with this I reap, with this I press the sweet juice of the vine: this is my title to be master of the mnoa. They who dare not grasp the spear, or the sword, or the faithful buckler, fall prostrate at my feet, and adore me as their lord, and salute me as the great king.* To be free from all labour, save warlike exercises, to live upon the toil of his subjects and slaves, to know no care but the defence of his station, was the glory and happiness of the citizen; and to secure to him the enjoyment of these privileges, was the main object of all the institutions of the state.

Form of government.

The forms of government established in the Dorian colonies in Crete so closely resembled each other, that we find one only described as common to all:—an uniformity which shows that they sprang naturally out of the character of the age and the people, and were not the result of accident or design. In fact they follow very closely the model exhibited in the Homeric poems, presenting only one material deviation, and perhaps defining more precisely some points, which, in the heroic states, appear to have been left undetermined. The royal dignity seems never to have been known in any of these colonies: none of their leaders perhaps were of sufficient eminence to assume it: when Aristotle observes, that it once existed in Crete, he had most probably the age of

[1] Ephorus in Athen. vi. p. 263., compared with Carystius, Athen. xiv. p. 639.

[2] This Scholion of Hybrias has been separately edited and illustrated by Graefenhahn, Mulhusæ, 1833.

Minos in his view. In the earliest period to which our information goes back, we find the place of the kings occupied by magistrates, who bore the peculiar title of *cosmus*.[1] They were ten in number; the first in rank, the *protocosmus*, gave his name to the year. This title seems to have been chosen with reference to the most important of their functions, that of commanding in war.[2] They also represented the state in its intercourse with foreigners, and held or conducted all deliberations relating to its general interests. They were elected by the whole body of the citizens, but out of a certain number of privileged houses or families: Aristotle's censure implies that, in his day at least, little attention was paid to any qualities of intrinsic worth. They held their office for a year, at the end of which those who had approved themselves worthy of their station, might aspire to fill up the vacancies which occurred in the council or senate. The senate, or council of elders, bore the same name by which bodies exercising similar functions are described in the Homeric poems.[3] But its number was fixed, as Aristotle seems to intimate, to thirty; it was unquestionably not indefinite. They were elected by the people from the most deserving of those who had filled the supreme magistracy, and they retained their office for life. They were the councillors of the ten chief magistrates, administered the internal affairs of the state, and watched over its tranquillity and order. They were also judges, it would seem, as we hear of no distinction, both in civil and criminal causes: subject,

[1] A *king* of the Cretan town of Axus is mentioned by Herodotus, (iv. p. 154.) as grandfather of the founder of Cyrene, according to the Cyrenean tradition. But it is not certain what office may have been described by that name. It may have been substituted for the genuine Cretan title.

[2] See Welcker, *Ueber eine Kretische Kolonie in Theben*, p. 26. He supposes that there was originally a single κόσμος or κᾶδμος in Crete, as a single Archon at Athens.

[3] Γερωνία (Hesych.), βουλή.

CHAP. VII.

B. C. 1104.

it is said, to no responsibility, which perhaps may only mean, that their judgments could not be reversed, and their judicial power was not limited by any written law. It cannot however be supposed that they were independent of all rule and usage, or that they could with impunity disregard principles hallowed by public opinion. We could wish to know whether their jurisdiction extended over the subject and servile classes; but on this, as on many other interesting questions relating to them, the ancients have not satisfied our curiosity. What has been said shows that the Cretan constitution was strictly aristocratical, like those which prevailed throughout Greece in the heroic ages. This appears still more clearly, when we consider the station occupied by the assembly of the people in the Cretan system. The people, it must be remembered, are here the conquering nation, the Dorians, and their fellow adventurers. Among these we have seen that certain families — perhaps those of the pure Dorian blood — were distinguished from the rest, and exclusively entitled to all the honours of the state. The remainder formed a commonalty, which however was itself inconsiderable in number, compared with the subject population. It might be assembled by the magistrates whenever they had any measures to lay before it. But the individual members were not allowed to discuss these measures: the assembly could only pronounce upon them as a body. It is even extremely doubtful whether it had the power of rejecting them, and was not summoned simply to receive and sanction the decrees of its rulers. This may seem indeed to imply a power of withholding its assent: but so long as habit retained its sway, this alternative was perhaps never thought of. The common freemen in the heroic states appear to have enjoyed no higher privileges.

The principal duties of the private citizen were to

be discharged, not in the popular assembly, but in the field of battle: his chief pleasures were those which he derived from the society of his equals; and the main end of the institutions which regulated his private life was to prepare him for the one, and to afford him the amplest opportunities of enjoying the other. The most important feature in the Cretan mode of life, is the usage of the *Syssitia*, or public meals, of which all the citizens partook, without distinction of rank or age. The origin of this institution cannot be traced: we learn however from Aristotle, that it was not peculiar to the Greeks, but existed still earlier in the south of Italy among the Œnotrians.[1] The Cretan usage, in common with all the rest, he attributes to Minos. This however must be considered rather as the philosopher's opinion, than as a historical tradition. But as we have no such reason for questioning his authority with regard to the Italian custom, and as the institution itself bears all the marks of high antiquity, it would seem probable enough that the Peloponnesian colonies might have found it in Crete, even if no people of the same race had before settled in the island. That they introduced it there, could only be proved by showing that it existed in Sparta before the time of Lycurgus, or in other Dorian states, and of this there does not seem to be sufficient evidence. Its analogy with the public banquets of the Homeric heroes is too slight to authorise us to consider it as an old Hellenic usage[2], unless indeed we go back to the patriarchal communities, in the infancy of society[3]; but we then

[1] Pol. vii. 9

[2] Hoeck, *Kreta*, iii. p. 121. refers to Il. iv. 257., which seems to prove nothing, nor does a passage of Athenæus, (iv. p. 148.) to which he appeals in support of his position, that the usage of the Syssitia existed among the Arcadians, appear to have any thing to do with the subject. It evidently relates to an entertainment given at the public expense in Phigalea to two chorusses, on the occasion of some festival.

[3] Huellmann (*Anfaenge der Griechischen Geschichte*, p. 149.) thinks that the

CHAP. VII.

B. C. 1104.

want a historical deduction, to carry it down to the period in which we find it really existing. Still its uniform prevalence in the Dorian colonies in Crete is a strong argument for believing, that they did not adopt it from the conquered people, but brought it with them from the mother country. It may have obtained among the Dorians before the invasion of Peloponnesus, and may have been retained by the Spartans, because it was adapted to the wants of their peculiar situation, while it soon fell into disuse among their brethren. In most of the Cretan cities the expense of the public meals was defrayed by the state out of the revenues of the domain lands, and the tribute they received from their subjects: so that no distinction could arise between the rich and the poor. Each individual received his separate share, out of which he paid his contribution to one of the public tables, and provided for the females of his household.[1] In Lyctus a different system seems to have prevailed: the citizen devoted a tithe of the fruits of his own land to the same purposes[2]; but perhaps there, as elsewhere, the poor were supported from the public stock. These social meals derived their Cretan appellation from the *men* who partook of them[3], who were divided into companies, originally perhaps corresponding to some relations of kindred, but afterwards associated by mutual inclination and free choice. The management of the table was committed to a woman, undoubtedly of free birth, who openly selected the choicest part of the fare for the persons most distinguished for valour or prudence. One regulation, peculiar to the Cretan system, is remarkably characteristic of the friendly intercourse

syssitia arose out of the occasional social repasts by which the union of infant communities was cemented; but he is of course unable to trace the connection between them.

[1] Aristot. Pol. ii. 10.

[2] Dosiades in Athen. iv. c. 22.

[3] They were called Ἀνδρεῖα, or Ἀνδρία.

CHAP. VII.

B. C. 1104.

which prevailed, at least in early times, among the Dorian cities of the island. In every town were two public buildings, destined, the one for the lodging of strangers, the other for the meals of the citizens; and in the banqueting-room two tables were set apart for the foreign guests. The temperate repast was followed by conversation, which was first made to turn on the affairs of the state: and it cannot be doubted that the freedom of discussion allowed at the festive board, made no slight amends for the restrictions imposed on the deliberations of the public assembly. After this, the discourse fell on valiant deeds, and illustrious men, whose praises might rouse the younger hearers to generous emulation.

Whatever may have been the origin of this institution, it manifestly answered several important ends, beside that for which it was immediately designed. On the one hand, it maintained a stricter separation between the ruling and the subject classes; it kept alive in the former the full consciousness of their superior station, and their national character: on the other hand, it bound the citizens together by ties of the most endearing intimacy; taught them to look on each other as members of one family; and gave an efficacy to the power of public opinion, which must have nearly superseded the necessity of any penal laws. To this we may add, that it provided a main part of the education of the young. Till they had reached their eighteenth year, the sons accompanied their fathers to the public hall, with the orphans of the deceased. The younger waited at the table; the rest, seated beside the men on a lower bench, received a portion suited to their age, of plainer fare, and listened to the conversation of their elders. They were here under the eye of an officer publicly appointed to superintend them.[1] How far, in other

Education.

[1] Παιδονόμος. Ephorus in Strabo, x. p. 483.

CHAP. VII.

B.C. 1104.

respects, the state assumed a direct control over their education, does not appear; but it seems highly probable, that the same officer who watched over their behaviour in public, also enforced the other branches of discipline to which they were subject. They were early inured to hardship and laborious exercises: the same coarse garment served them for summer and winter; and their strength and spirit were proved by frequent combats between rival companies. The intervals of leisure left by this species of training were filled up by some simple lessons in poetry and music, and, in later times at least, in the rudiments of letters. The songs which they learnt, contained the precepts and maxims enforced by the laws, hymns to the gods, and the praises of the illustrious dead. From the beginning of their eighteenth year they were subjected to a stricter rule. They were now divided into troops [1], each headed by a youth of some noble family, whose pride it was to collect the greatest number he could under his command. He was himself placed under the control of some elder person, generally his father, who directed the exercises of the troop in the chase, the course, and the wrestling-school. On stated days, the rival troops engaged in a mimic fight, with movements measured by the flute and the lyre; and the blows they exchanged on these occasions, were dealt not merely with the hand and with clubs, but with iron weapons, — probably with a view of putting their skill, patience, and self-command, as well as their strength, to trial, by the necessity of defending themselves without inflicting a dangerous wound. — How long the youths remained in these troops we are not informed. As soon as they quitted them to enter into the society of the men, the law compelled each to choose a bride; who however was not permitted, it is said, to undertake

[1] ἀγελαι.

the duties of a matron, until she was found capable of discharging them; that is, probably, she continued for some time to live under the roof of her parents. The Cretan institutions sanctioned, and even enforced, a close intimacy between the men and the youths, which was undoubtedly designed to revive that generous friendship of the heroic ages, which was so celebrated in song, and to add a new motive to the love of glory in the noblest spirits. But the usage, which was singularly regulated by the law[1], degenerated in later times into a frightful licence, which was often mistaken for its primitive form, and consequently attributed to political views, which, if they had ever existed, would have been equally odious and absurd.[2]

[1] Ephorus in Strabo, x. 483.

[2] Aristotle, Pol. ii. 10.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LEGISLATION OF LYCURGUS.

Opposite views of the subject.— Time and lineage of Lycurgus. — Birth of Charilaus. — Travels of Lycurgus, his Return to Sparta, Actions, and Death. — Antiquity of the Spartan Institutions. — Lycurgus a real person. — Nature of the revolution effected by him. — Difficulty of reconciling the different accounts of it. — State of things which called for his interposition. — Objects which he had in view. — Outline of his measures. — Distribution of Property. — Erroneous views of the subject. — Nature of the partition made by Lycurgus. — Condition of the Laconian Subjects. — The Helots. — Their treatment. — The Cryptia. — The Spartans. — Spartan Tribes. — Spartan Nobles. — Assemblies of the People. — The Gerusia. — The Kings. — Royal Prerogatives. — Honours of the Kings. — The Ephors. — A general principle of the Spartan Institutions. — Provisions for preserving the number of the Spartan families unchanged. — Restrictions on the use of the precious metals at Sparta. — Condition and Education of the Spartan Women. — Education of the Spartan Youths. — Exercises of patience. — Cultivation of intellectual faculties, and of moral habits. — Spartan Syssitia. — Military Institutions. — System of Tactics. — Maxims of Spartan Warfare. — Spartan Laws unwritten. — Connection between the Dorian and the old Hellenic institutions. — Peculiar circumstances which formed the Dorian character. — — Peculiar position of the Spartans.

We now return to the Dorians of Peloponnesus, whose history, scanty as is the information transmitted to us concerning its earlier ages, is still somewhat less obscure, and much more interesting, than that of the other Greek tribes during the same period. Our attention will for some time be fixed on the steps

CHAP. VIII.

by which Sparta rose to a supremacy above the rest of the Dorian states, which was finally extended over the whole of Greece. This is the most momentous event of the period intervening between the Return of the Heracleids and the Persian wars. It was in part an effect of the great addition which Sparta made to her territory, by swallowing up that of her western neighbour. But this conquest may itself be regarded as a result of those peculiar institutions, which, once firmly established, decided her character and destiny to the end of her political existence, and which are in themselves one of the most interesting subjects that engage the attention of the statesman and the philosopher in the history of Greece.

B. C. 884.

Before we attempt to describe the Spartan constitution, it will be necessary to notice the different opinions that have been entertained as to its origin and its author. It has been usual, both with ancient and modern writers, to consider it as the work of a single man — as the fruit of the happy genius, or of the commanding character, of Lycurgus, who has generally been supposed to have had the merit, if not of inventing it, yet of introducing and establishing it among his countrymen. Viewed in this light, it has justly excited not only admiration, but astonishment: it appears a prodigy of art, on which we gaze as on an Egyptian pyramid — a structure wonderful in its execution, but mysterious in its design. We admire the power which the legislator has exerted over his fellow-men: but while we are amazed at his boldness and success, we can scarcely refrain from suspecting that he must have been partly swayed by the desire of raising an extraordinary monument to his own fame. — According to the opposite view of the subject, it was not an artificial fabric, but the spontaneous growth of a peculiar nature, which at the utmost required only a few slight touches from the hand of

Opposite views of the subject.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

man; and the agency of Lycurgus shrinks into so narrow a compass, that even his personal existence becomes a question of much doubt and of little moment. The truth will perhaps be found to lie midway between these two extremes. The reasons which prevent us from unreservedly adopting either opinion, will be best understood, if we consider first the history of Lycurgus himself, as transmitted to us by the general consent of the ancients, and then the mode in which they describe the scope and character of his institutions.

Time and lineage of Lycurgus.

Experience proves that scarcely any amount of variation, as to the time and circumstances of a fact, in the authors who record it, can ever be a sufficient ground for doubting its reality. But the chronological discrepancies in the accounts of Lycurgus, which struck Plutarch as singularly great, on closer inspection do not appear very considerable. Xenophon indeed, in a passage where it is his object to magnify the antiquity of the laws of Sparta, mentions a tradition, or opinion, that Lycurgus was a contemporary of the Heracleids.[1] This however ought not perhaps to be interpreted more literally than the language of Aristotle, in one of his extant works, where he might seem to suppose that the lawgiver lived after the close of the Messenian wars.[2] The great mass of evidence, including that of Aristotle and of Thucydides, fixes his legislation in the ninth century before our era; and the variations within this period, if not merely apparent, are unimportant. There was also a disagreement, indicating some uncertainty, as to his parentage. We have already seen, that after the death of Aristodemus, the throne of Sparta was shared by his two sons, Eurysthenes and Procles. The kingly office continued to be hereditary in their lines, which were

[1] Rep. Lac. 10. 8. [2] Pol. ii. 9.

CHAP. VIII.

equal in power, though a certain precedence of dignity was allowed to that of Eurysthenes, grounded on his supposed priority of birth. It was not however from these remote ancestors that the two royal families derived their distinguishing appellations. The elder house was called the Agids, after Agis, son of Eurysthenes; the minor the Eurypontids, from Eurypon, the successor of Sous, son of Procles: a remarkable fact, not very satisfactorily explained from the martial renown of these princes, and perhaps indicating a concealed break in each series. Agis was followed by Echestratus and Labotas; and, according to Herodotus, it was during the minority of the latter, that Lycurgus, his guardian [1], governing as regent, employed the power thus accidentally placed in his hands, to establish his institutions. This however contradicts both the received chronology, and the better attested tradition, that the lawgiver belonged to the Eurypontid line. He was commonly believed to have been the son of Eunomus, the grandson of Eurypon; though the poet Simonides, following a different genealogy, called him the son of Prytanis, who is generally supposed to have been the father of Eunomus, and the immediate successor of Eurypon. Eunomus is said to have been killed in a fray which he was endeavouring to quell, and was succeeded by his eldest son Polydectes, who shortly after, dying childless, left Lycurgus apparently entitled to the crown. But as his brother's widow was soon discovered to be pregnant, he declared his purpose of resigning his dignity if she should give birth to an heir. The ambitious queen however, if we may believe a piece of court scandal reported by Plutarch, put his virtue to a severer test. She secretly sent proposals to him, of securing him on the throne, on condition of sharing

B. C. 884.

Birth of Charilaus.

[1] Dionysius Hal. ii. 49. names Eunomus as the ward.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

it with him, by destroying the embryo hopes of Sparta. Stifling his indignation, he affected to embrace her offer; but, as if tender of her health, bad her do no violence to the course of nature: — *The infant, when born, might be easily despatched.* As the time drew near, he placed trusty attendants round her person, with orders, if she should be delivered of a son, to bring the child immediately to him. He happened to be sitting at table with the magistrates, when his servants came in with a new-born prince. Taking the infant from their arms, he placed it on the royal seat, and in the presence of the company proclaimed it king of Sparta, and named it Charilaus, to express the joy which the event diffused among the people.

Travels of Lycurgus, his return to Sparta, actions, and death.

Though proof against such temptation, Lycurgus had the weakness, it seems, to shrink from a vile suspicion. Alarmed lest the calumnies propagated by the incensed queen-mother and her kinsmen, who charged him with a design against the life of his nephew, might chance to be seemingly confirmed by the untimely death of Charilaus, he determined, instead of staying to exercise his authority for the benefit of the young king and of the state, to withdraw beyond the reach of slander, till the maturity of his ward, and the birth of an heir, should have removed every pretext for such imputations. Thus the prime of his life, notwithstanding the regret and the repeated invitations of his countrymen, was spent in voluntary exile, which however he employed in maturing a plan already conceived, for remedying the evils under which Sparta had long laboured, by a great change in its constitution and laws. With this view he visited many foreign lands, observed their institutions and manners, and conversed with their sages. Crete and the laws of Minos are said to have been the main object of his study, and a Cretan poet

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

one of his instructors in the art of legislation; but the Egyptian priests likewise claimed him as their disciple; and reports were not wanting among the later Spartans, that he had penetrated as far as India, and had sat at the feet of the Bramins. On his return he found the disorders of the state aggravated, and the need of a reform more generally felt. Having strengthened his authority with the sanction of the Delphic oracle, which declared his wisdom to transcend the common level of humanity, and having secured the aid of a numerous party among the leading men, who took up arms to support him, he successively procured the enactment of a series of solemn ordinances or compacts [1] (*Rhetras*), by which the civil and military constitution of the commonwealth, the distribution of property, the education of the citizens, the rules of their daily intercourse and of their domestic life, were to be fixed on a hallowed and immutable basis. Many of these regulations roused a violent opposition, which even threatened the life of Lycurgus; but his fortitude and patience finally triumphed over all obstacles; and he lived to see his great idea, unfolded in all its beauty, begin its steady course, bearing on its front the marks of immortal vigour. His last action was to sacrifice himself to the perpetuity of his work. He set out on a journey to Delphi, after having bound his countrymen, by an oath, to make no change in his laws before his return. When the last seal had been set to his institutions by

[1] On the proper meaning of the word ῥήτρα see Nitzsch, *De Hist. Hom.* i. p. 52., who adopts the interpretation of the Greek grammarians, ῥήτρα, ἡ ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς συνθήκη. *Suscepta τοῦ ῥητοῦ, i. e. dicti quod obliget, notione ῥήτραν scitum percommoda interpretatione reddi videbimus:* and proceeds to point out the historical connection between the ideas of law and compact: adding (p. 54.), *Quod quum ita sit, multum mirarer, si quis vel tantillum amplius tribueret Plutarcho qui Lyc. 6. init. et 13. extr. rhetras a Lycurgo appellatas interpretatur ὡς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ νομιζόμενα καὶ χρησμοὺς ὄντα.* Schoemann *ad Plutarch. Ag.* 5. (p. 106.) observes: *Proprie nihil nisi ῥῆμα ῥῆσιν λόγον esse apparet.* In an earlier work, *Antiquitates Juris Publici Græcorum*, he had said (p. 120. n. 6.), referring to Plutarch's interpretation: *Significat hæc vox apud Dorienses et Æolenses etiam pactum vel decretum humanum, nulla divinæ auctoritatis significatione adjuncta.*

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

the oracle, which foretold that Sparta should flourish as long as she adhered to them, having transmitted this prediction to his fellow-citizens, he resolved, in order that they might never be discharged from their oath, to die in a foreign land. The place and manner of his death are veiled in an obscurity befitting the character of the hero: the sacred soils of Delphi, of Crete, and of Elis, all claimed his tomb: the Spartans honoured him, to the latest times, with a temple and yearly sacrifices, as a god.

Antiquity of the Spartan institutions.

Such are the outlines of a story which is too familiar to be cast away as an empty fiction, even if it should be admitted that no part of it can bear the scrutiny of a rigorous criticism. But the main question is, whether the view it presents of the character of Lycurgus as a statesman, is substantially correct: and in this respect we should certainly be led to regard him in a very different light, if it should appear that the institutions which he is here supposed to have collected with so much labour, and to have founded with so much difficulty, were in existence long before his birth; and not only in Crete, but at Sparta, nor at Sparta only, but in other Grecian states. And this we believe to have been the case with every important part of these institutions. As to most of those indeed which were common to Crete and Sparta, it seems scarcely to admit of a doubt, and is equally evident, whether we acknowledge or deny that some settlements of the Dorians in Crete preceded the conquest of Peloponnesus. It was at Lyctus, a Laconian colony, as Aristotle informs us, that the institutions which Lycurgus was supposed to have taken for his model, flourished longest in their original purity: and hence some of the ancients contended that they were transferred from Laconia to Crete; an argument which Ephorus thought to confute, by remarking, that Lycurgus lived five genera-

tions later than Althæmenes, who founded one of the Dorian colonies in the island. But unless we imagine that each of these colonies produced its Minos, or its Lycurgus, we must conclude that they merely retained what they brought with them from the mother country. Whether they found the same system already established in Crete, depends on the question whether a part of its population was already Dorian. On any other view, the general adoption of the laws of Minos in the Dorian cities of Crete, and the tenacity with which Lyctus adhered to them, are facts unexplained and difficult to understand. We suspect indeed that the contrary opinion rests on a false notion of the omnipotence of human legislators, which has been always prevalent among philosophers, but has never been confirmed by experience. It may be reasonably doubted, whether the history of the world furnishes any instance of a political creation such as that attributed to Minos or Lycurgus. No parallel is afforded by a legislation in which, as in that of Moses, religion is not merely the basis, but the main element of the system. Without some such extraordinary aid, that union of absolute power and consummate prudence which Plato thought necessary for the foundation of his commonwealth, might still be found incapable of moulding and transforming a people at the will of an individual. We lay no stress however on these general grounds: it is the contemplation of the Spartan institutions themselves that seems to justify the conclusion, that they were not so much a work of human art and forethought, as a form of society, originally congenial to the character of the Dorian people, and to the situation in which they were placed by their new conquests; and in its leading features, not even peculiar to this, or to any single branch of the Hellenic nation.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

This view of the subject may seem scarcely to leave room for the intervention of Lycurgus, and to throw some doubt on his individual existence: so that Hellanicus, who made no mention of him, and referred his institutions to Eurysthenes and Procles[1], would appear to have been much more correctly informed, or to have had a much clearer insight into the truth, than the later historians, who ascribed every thing Spartan to the more celebrated lawgiver. But remarkable as this variation is, it cannot be allowed to outweigh the concurrent testimony of the other ancient writers; from which we must at least conclude, that Lycurgus was not an imaginary or symbolical person, but one whose name marks an important epoch in the history of his country. Through all the conflicting accounts of his life, we may distinguish one fact, which is unanimously attested, and seems independent of all minuter discrepancies, — that by him Sparta was delivered from the evils of anarchy or misrule, and that from this date she began a long period of tranquillity and order. But the origin and the precise nature of the disorders which he found existing, and consequently the real aim and spirit of the remedies which he applied to them, are no where distinctly described, and can only be gathered by a difficult and uncertain process of combination and inference. Herodotus and Thucydides use only very general and vague language in describing the state of Sparta previous to the legislation of Lycurgus. The former says, that it was the worst ordered country in Greece, both as regarded the mutual relations of the citizens, and their inhospitable treatment of foreigners: a singular remark; since, in her most flourishing state, Sparta was celebrated for the jealousy with which she excluded foreigners from

Lycurgus a real person.

Nature of the revolution effected by him.

[1] Strabo, viii. p. 366.

her territory. Thucydides speaks of a long period of civil discord, which had preceded the establishment of the good government existing in his own day. Aristotle gives a somewhat more definite, though a very obscure hint, when he observes that in the reign of Charilaus, the Spartan government changed from a tyranny to an aristocracy.[1] Plutarch indeed is much more explicit, but he seems to have been unable to form a clear conception of the subject. According to him, the root of the evil lay in the relaxation of the royal authority, which had begun in the reign of Eurypon, and had increased until, in the time of Lycurgus, the kingly power was reduced to a shadow; and this he thinks the lawgiver designed to correct, by the institution of a council, which should at once support and restrain the kings, and should maintain an equipoise between them and the people. The next main cause of disorder described by Plutarch, was the excessive disproportion in the distribution of private property: and he informs us, that for this Lycurgus provided an immediate remedy in a new partition of the land, which was not confined to the Spartans, but extended to all the inhabitants of Laconia; and that he then proceeded to attack the disease in its inmost seat, by a series of regulations tending to abolish all distinctions, and to exclude all enjoyments which could supply fuel to private cupidity. Plutarch does not attempt to point out any connection between these two measures, which indeed are directly opposite in their tendency; the first checking popular licence by an aristocratical institution, while the second levels all advantages of rank and property. Accordingly in carrying the former Lycurgus, it is said, was seconded by the leading men; while in the latter he was opposed by the wealthy class with a fury which threatened his life. There is still greater

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

Difficulty of reconciling the different accounts of it.

[1] Pol. v. 12.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

difficulty in reconciling this account with Aristotle's remark, that the tyranny of Charilaus was followed by an aristocratical government. This indeed reminds us of what Plutarch relates; that the first tumult occasioned by the measures of Lycurgus alarmed Charilaus so much, that, fancying a conspiracy formed against himself, he took refuge in the sanctuary of the Brazen House, where Lycurgus himself was afterwards forced to take shelter.[1] We read however that his fears were quieted, and that he even actively joined in promoting the new reform.

State of things which called for his interposition.

If we admit the fact, that a revolution of some kind was really effected by Lycurgus, it seems necessary, in order to understand the various descriptions given of it, to suppose that its objects were not precisely such as the language of the ancient writers at first sight suggests. So long as we confine our view to the Dorians of Sparta, we are at a loss to explain the growing ascendency of a commonalty, which finally tramples on the royal prerogatives, and which it is found necessary to balance by an aristocratical institution; while, in the same state, a small class preponderates over the rest by its overgrown possessions, to a degree which drives the legislator to the democratical expedient of a general repartition. It is true that such extremes may often be found combined in a stage of society immediately preceding a great political convulsion; but if such a convulsion ensues, and the wealthy class is forced to yield, the result will surely not be a rigid and steady aristocratical government: and it would be attributing, not wisdom, but magic, to Lycurgus, to suppose that he extracted such a constitution out of such elements. It seems impossible to comprehend the nature of his reform, unless we may be allowed to think that it determined not merely

[1] Plut. Ap. Lac. 7.

the relations of the Dorians among one another, or to their kings, but that in which they stood to their subjects, the provincials of Laconia: and that this is not a wholly unauthorised conjecture, appears from the tradition, that Lycurgus extended his agrarian regulation over the whole country. Those authors indeed who represent the conquest of Laconia as completed some generations sooner, would lead us to conclude that the relation between the conquerors and their subjects had been long before fixed on its ultimate footing. But as we have seen reason to suspect that the conquest itself was much more gradual, so it seems not improbable that it was reserved for Lycurgus finally to settle the relative position of the several classes. And it must be remembered, that among them, beside the conquered Achæans, were other foreigners, who had aided the Dorians in their enterprise, and might therefore seem to have stronger claims to an equality of political rights. It would be natural, and in accordance with the policy which we find actually pursued by the Dorian kings of Messenia, if these claims had been favoured by one of the royal houses at Sparta; and it would be no uncommon mistake or perversion of language, if this was the fact indicated by Eurypon's ambition of popularity, by the death of Eunomus, and by the tyranny of Charilaus. Eurypon would be a demagogue, and Charilaus a tyrant, in the same sense in which Cresphontes might have been called so by his Dorians, whom he wished to reduce to the same level with his other subjects; and it may have been in a like struggle that Eunomus also lost his life.

The gradual progress of the conquest may perhaps also serve to explain the inequality of property among the Dorians; which must be considered, not as an effect of the original distribution, nor of successive casual transfers, but of encroachment and usurpation;

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

and which therefore, though tolerated for a time, would excite discontent and division among the conquerors. Though at the first irruption a division of land probably took place in that part of the territory which was immediately occupied by the Dorian arms — and, if so, may have been conducted on principles of equality — the subjugation of the several towns and districts which subsequently submitted to Sparta may have afforded some of the leading men opportunities of enriching themselves at the expense of the ancient landowners, and to the exclusion of their less fortunate brethren, who might thus be disposed to favour the pretensions of the Laconian provincials.

Objects which he had in view.

If this supposition at all corresponds to the state of things which Lycurgus found existing, it will not be difficult to understand the double aspect which his legislation presents. He must have had two main objects in view: one, to maintain the sovereignty of Sparta over the rest of Laconia; the other — a necessary condition of the former — to unite the Spartans by the closest ties among themselves. The manner in which he accomplished this twofold purpose may not have been the less admirable, because he found all the instruments he required ready to his hand, and was seconded by the general wishes of the people. Nothing more indeed seems to have been necessary for securing the harmony and the internal strength of Sparta, than that she should return into the ancient track, from which she appears for a time to have been drawn partially aside: that her citizens, where they had cast off the habits of their forefathers, should resume them; and, sacrificing all artificial distinctions, and newly acquired inclinations, should live together after the old fashion, as brothers in arms, under the rigid, but equal, discipline of a camp. This mode of life was undoubtedly not only familiar to the Spartans before the time of Lycurgus, but can never have sunk

into very general disuse: it had probably been most neglected by those whose possessions raised them above the common level; and when this inequality was removed, came again almost spontaneously into force. The occasion however required, that what had hitherto been no more than lax and undefined usage, should henceforth be made to assume the character of strict law, solemnly enacted, and consecrated by the sanction of religion. If Lycurgus did no more than this, after having surmounted the obstacles which interest and passion threw in his way, he will indeed lose the glory of a marvellous triumph over nature; but he will retain the honour of having judiciously and successfully applied the simplest and most efficacious means which nature afforded, to a great and arduous end.

While therefore we do not wish the reader to forget that this is no more than a hypothesis, which must give way as soon as another more probable shall have been proposed, we believe that we come nearest to the truth, in supposing, that the occasion which called forth the legislation of Lycurgus was the danger which threatened the Spartan Dorians, while divided among themselves, of losing the privileges which raised them above their subjects, the common freemen of Laconia: that consequently the basis of all his regulations was a new distribution of property, which removed the principal causes of discord, and facilitated the correction of other abuses; that this was accompanied by a more precise determination of political rights; and finally that this same opportunity was taken to enforce and to widen all those distinctions of education and habits, which, while they separated the citizens from the subjects, bound the higher class more firmly together. Such at least appears to have been the aim and tendency of the Spartan institutions, whatever may be thought as to

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

their origin and author; and we shall therefore follow this order in proceeding to describe their principal features.

Outline of his measures.

Distribution of property.

According to one of the accounts transmitted to us by Plutarch, Lycurgus divided the whole of Laconia into 39,000 parcels; of which 9000 were assigned to as many Spartan families, 30,000 to their free subjects. Plutarch seems to have supposed that these parcels were all equal, so that the Spartan had no advantage over the Laconian, any more than over his fellow-citizens; for he relates that Lycurgus, having once returned from abroad toward the end of harvest, gazed with delight on the uniform aspect of the corn-fields, and observed that all Laconia looked like a heritage newly shared among many brothers. It must however be remembered, in the first place, that in the time of Lycurgus, several districts of Laconia were probably still independent of Sparta; and next, that even if this had been otherwise, and with regard to the part then subject to the conquerors, the nature of the ground must have rendered a nicely equal partition for such an age and people utterly impracticable.[1] Nor does it appear what motive could have induced the legislator to aim at establishing such an equality among the Laconians, in whose case the physical difficulty would be the greatest. On the other hand, we find that it was a question among the ancients, whether the 9000 Spartan parcels were all contained in Laconia itself, or included those which were acquired after the age of Lycurgus in Messenia. Plutarch mentions two opinions on this subject. According to one, 6000 par-

[1] Kortuem, in Schlosser's *Archiv.* iii. p. 157. Lachmann, *Die Spartanische Staatsverfassung*, p. 168. foll. On the other side, see C. F. Mueller, *Antiquitates Laconicæ*, p. 173., where he remarks, *Sponte patet, non tam spatia agrorum quam reditus æquatos esse.* Schoemann, *Antiq. J. P. Græc.* p. 116. n. 4., says, *Sane credibile est Lycurgum nec primum nec solum hoc instituisse, sed tantum modo aut novos agros civibus divisisse aut etiam turbatam aliquo modo æquabilitatem restituisse.*

cels were assigned by Lycurgus himself, and 3000 were added by king Polydorus at the end of the first Messenian war; according to the other, the original number, 4500, was doubled by Polydorus. The latter opinion seems to be strongly confirmed by the plan of the unfortunate Agis, who proposed to divide the Spartan territory into 4500 allotments, at the same time that he assigned 15,000 to the Laconian provincials. And Aristotle, who wrote after Messenia had been wrested from the dominion of Sparta, speaking of the Spartan land in Laconia, appears to say that it is capable of maintaining 3000 infantry and 1500 horsemen[1]; adding, that the Spartans were reported to have once amounted to 10,000. Indeed, if there was any foundation for the assertion of Isocrates, that they originally numbered only 2000, it would be scarcely credible that they should by any means have attained to much more than twice that number in the days of Lycurgus: the causes to which their subsequent increase may have been due, will be hereafter explained. And as Plutarch's statement seems to require correction in this respect, so it may be suspected that it greatly exaggerates the amount of the Laconian free population. The proportion which it bore to that of Sparta in the time of Lycurgus was probably nearly the same as that which Agis endeavoured to restore; otherwise an inexplicable decrease must have taken place before the Persian war, when, on the largest calculation, the military force of the Laconians did not exceed 16,000 men.[2] On this supposition, Plutarch would have been mistaken only as to the number of the allotments made by Lycurgus, but would be correct as to

B. C. 884.

[1] Pol. ii. 6. According to the reading, τρισχιλίους, which the context seems to require.

[2] See Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* ii. p. 407.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

Erroneous views of the subject.

their proportion, 15,000 to 4500.[1] On another very important point however his description suggests a totally erroneous notion; for it supposes, as has been observed, that the 39,000 parcels were all equal, at least in their average dimensions. This was far from being the case. Aristotle appears to intimate, that the largest part of Laconia was occupied by the Spartans.[2] Their share was undoubtedly, as Isocrates expressly remarks, the most fertile and valuable[3]: and, to judge from the population which it supported, it cannot have been much inferior to the rest in extent. At Platæa, each Spartan was attended by seven Helots; and, on the lowest computation grounded on this statement, the Helots must at that time have been to the free Laconians nearly as three to one. But the Helots are every where described as slaves, not of the Laconians, but of the Spartans; so that even if the greater part belonged to Messenia, those of Laconia must have required little less than half the country for the maintenance of themselves and their masters. The whole of the land however was not in private hands; the state remained in possession of a considerable domain, including perhaps most of the mines and quarries, and the woody mountain tracts which afforded the citizens the exercise of the chase; another portion was withdrawn, in scattered parcels, from private uses for the service of the numerous temples.

Nature of the partition made by Lycurgus.

Though what has been said shows that it is scarcely possible to ascertain the exact proportion in which the Lacedæmonian territory was distributed in the days of Lycurgus, it is highly probable that the ten-

[1] C. F. Hermann, *Antiq. Lac.*, p. 58. n. 18., having noticed the opinion, that the land distributed by Polydorus belonged to districts of Laconia which had been conquered after the time of Lycurgus, observes: *Equidem, si quid hariolari liceat, ita statuam, mille quidem et quingentas portiones ex his ad priscas Lycurgeas accessisse, ut sexies mille fierent, reliqua tria millia Messeniaci agri fuisse.*

[2] Pol. ii. 6. Σπαρτιατῶν εἶναι τὴν πλείστην γῆν.

[3] Panath. p. 270

dency of his agrarian regulations, of those at least which related to the Spartans, was toward a general equality of landed property. But it is not clear that for this purpose he was obliged to remove all ancient landmarks, and to make an entirely new partition: he may have found it sufficient to compel the wealthy to resign a part of their possessions, that perhaps to which they had no title but an unauthorised occupation. If we suppose the inequality of property among the Spartans to have arisen chiefly from acts of usurpation, by which the leading men had seized lands of the conquered Achæans, which, if taken from their owners, belonged of right to the state, their resumption might afford the means at once of correcting an evil which disturbed the internal tranquillity of Sparta, and of redressing a wrong which provoked discontent among her subjects. The kings, we are informed, had domains in the districts of several provincial towns[1]; similar acquisitions may have been made by many private Spartans before the time of Lycurgus; and his partition, so far as it regarded the subject Laconians, may have consisted chiefly in the restoration and distribution of such lands.

Condition of the Laconian subjects.

When, from the division of the territory, we proceed to inquire into the condition of its inhabitants, we find three classes, which must be separately considered: the Dorians of Sparta; their serfs, the Helots; and the people of the provincial districts. These last, who stand most apart from the rest, will most fitly come first under our notice. They were a mixed race, composed partly of the conquered Achæans, partly of strangers who had either accompanied the conquerors in their expedition, or had been invited by them to supply the place of the old inhabitants. It is possible that there may have been

Provincials.

[1] Xenoph. *De Lac. Rep.* c. 15.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

also some Dorians among them, as we learn that the town of Bœæ was founded by a chief of the Heracleid race; and, that not long after the time of Lycurgus, Geronthræ, evacuated by the Achæans, was peopled by a colony sent from Sparta.[1] But as the whole body of the invaders was barely strong enough to effect the conquest, the numbers thus detached from it must have been extremely small, even when the Spartan franchise was less valuable than it became after the subjugation of Messenia. Isocrates represented the Dorians as pursuing the policy of weakening the conquered Achæans by dispersing them over a great number of miserable hamlets, which they dignified with the name of cities, and which lay in the least productive part of the territory. This is perhaps not a mere fiction of the rhetorician; though, as the description of an uniform system, it undoubtedly distorts, or greatly exaggerates, the truth; since the population of Bœæ, for instance, is said to have been collected from three more ancient towns. Still what Isocrates mentions may sometimes have happened, and may serve to account for the extraordinary number of the Laconian cities, as they were called, which are said to have amounted to a hundred, and to have occasioned the yearly sacrifice of a hecatomb; for it does not seem necessary to suppose that this number included those of Messenia. It is also credible enough that Sparta always viewed the subject towns with jealousy, and would never have permitted them to attain a very high degree of strength or opulence. There is no doubt much rhetorical exaggeration in the description of the territory assigned to the conquered people, as seems clear from the fact that it included a large part of the crown lands; but still it is unquestionable that the Spartans occupied the best and fairest portion.

[1] Paus. iii. 22.

The provincial land was tributary to the state; but this tribute was perhaps regarded less as a source of revenue than as an acknowledgment of sovereignty. The provincials were subjects; they shared none of the political privileges of the Spartans[1]; perhaps even their municipal government was not wholly exempt from the control of Spartan officers[2]; and yet they bore the heaviest share of the public burthens, and were liable to be torn from their fields and hearths, to shed their blood in quarrels which only interested the pride or ambition of Sparta. These were their principal grievances; but in other respects, and compared with the most numerous class of the population, they were highly favoured subjects, and on the whole they might perhaps see little to envy in the condition of the Spartans themselves. Their political dependence was compensated by their exemption from many irksome restraints and inflictions, which habit only could render tolerable, to which the ruling caste were forced to submit. If they were compelled to bestow their labour on an ungrateful part of the soil, they on the other hand enjoyed undivided possession of the trades and manufactures of the country. It is true that the value of this advantage was very much diminished by the peculiar character of the Spartan institutions, which banished luxury and its minister-

[1] See Mueller, *Dor.* iii. 2. § 2., whose view is adopted in its full extent by Schoemann, *Ant. J. P. G.* p. 113. With regard to the right of voting in the general assembly, C. F. Hermann, *A. L.* p. 44., seems inclined to adopt the opposite opinion; though, for a reason which will be stated in a subsequent note, he regards the question as of little moment.

[2] See Arnold, *Thucyd.* i. p. 649. The opinion there expressed with some degree of doubt, is adopted by Schoemann, *Ant. J. P. G.* p. 113., but is very decidedly rejected by C. F. Hermann, u. s. p. 25., who observes on the argument from Thucyd. iv. 53., Κυθηροδίκου *certe prorsus singularis ratio est*; and seems to believe that he was only a military officer, which however seems hardly consistent with the title. Schoemann is also inclined to think that the twenty harmosts mentioned by the Scholiast on Pindar, *Ol.* vi. 154. (ἦσαν δὲ ἁρμοσταὶ Λακεδαιμονίων εἴκοσιν) were governors of as many districts in Laconia. Hermann contends that at least they were only military præfects. Mr. Lewis (*Phil. Mus.* ii. p. 45.), refers to Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. 3. 8. as confirming Dr. Arnold's view: but the bearing of this passage on the point seems very questionable.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

ing arts from the capital, and discouraged, if it did not wholly prevent, all influx of strangers; but though the simplicity of the Spartan mode of life, and the jealous policy of the government, tended to check the industry of the artificer, it must have found very profitable employment in the public buildings and festivals which displayed the piety and magnificence of the state: for Sparta yielded to no Grecian city in her zeal for religion, and forgot her parsimony in the service of the gods. Hence the higher as well as the subordinate arts were cultivated by the provincials, though they would have been thought all alike degrading to a Spartan; and Laconia contributed several celebrated names to the list of Grecian artists. We should be led to form a still higher estimate of the prosperity of this class, and of the respect with which it was viewed, if we might believe that it had sent forth several successful competitors to the Olympic games. But the instances which at first sight appear to attest this fact, are none of them altogether free from ambiguity. There are some other interesting points connected with this subject, on which at present we cannot decide with any greater certainty. The division of Laconia into six districts, which Ephorus supposed to have taken place immediately after the conquest, seems at least to imply that the province was once distributed into cantons, which were governed by Spartan magistrates[1]; but we know neither the precise nature of this institution, nor how long it lasted. The example of Cythera, where we find a Spartan officer under a peculiar name (*Cytherodices*[2]), affords no ground for any con-

[1] See however C. F. Hermann, u. s. p. 25. who draws a different inference from the statement of Ephorus, and proposes a correction in Strabo, viii. p. 364., διελεῖν εἰς ἓξ μέρη καὶ πολίσαι τὴν χώραν, (which Mr. Lewis, p. 42., would render *built towns in the country*, or *fortified the country*,) *ut pro* πολίσαι *potius* πόλεις *cum quacunque demum nota numerali legamus. Possis etiam* πόλεις ἴσας, *ut pariter atque in Messenia totidem civitates quot portiones constitutæ fuerint.*

[2] Thuc. iv. 53.

clusion as to the administration of Laconia. We may infer from the difference of armour among the provincials engaged at the battle of Platæa, where each of their men at arms was accompanied by a light-armed soldier, that there was a corresponding distinction of ranks among them, by which one class, included under the general name of Laconians, was perhaps no less widely parted from another than the whole body was from the Spartans. Whether however this was a difference of birth or of occupations, a casual or a permanent one, we have no means of ascertaining. B. C. 884.

In general the provincials seem to have had little to complain of but the want of political independence; and if they were in great part strangers who had settled in the country with the permission of the Dorians, this could not be considered as a wrong or a hardship. Very different was the condition of the Helots, whose name, according to every derivation of it, recalled the loss of personal liberty as the origin and the essential character of their state. The ancients looked upon them as Achæans, who in consequence of their obstinate resistance had been reduced to slavery by the conquerors; and upon their lot as the most wretched and degrading kind of servitude. A modern historian views them in a totally different light, as an aboriginal race, subdued at a very early period, which immediately passed over as slaves to the Dorians, and who suffered no worse treatment than was necessarily incident to their station, or than they had probably experienced under their former masters.[1] The two questions, as to their origin and their treatment, are intimately connected. As to the former, we have no sufficient direct evidence, and are left to the uncertain guidance of etymological con- The Helots. Their treatment.

[1] Mueller, *Dor.* iii. 3. 1.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

jectures.[1] But as to the second point, we have more satisfactory information; and though the degree of oppression to which the Helots were subjected may have been sometimes exaggerated, it is incontestible that they were always viewed with suspicion by their masters, as enemies who only waited for an opportunity to revolt; that they were placed under the inspection of a vigilant police; and that measures of atrocious violence were sometimes adopted to reduce their strength, or to break their spirit. This is very intelligible, according to the common notion of their origin; but if they belonged to a race which the Dorians at their first invasion found already enslaved, it is not so easy to explain this hereditary enmity between them and their masters. For if they did not lose their liberty, they would appear to have been gainers by the Dorian conquest. They were obliged indeed to share the produce of the land which they cultivated with its new lords; but the rent demanded from them was moderate, and it was fixed; so that they could reckon on the whole benefit of extraordinary industry, frugality, and prosperous seasons. They were bound to the soil; but in return they could not be torn from it, and were secured by express compact, or by unbroken custom, from the danger of being sold to be carried away from their homes, — a calamity to which the cultivators of the soil were long liable in Attica. A part of them was employed in public works, a part in domestic service: a less profitable occupation indeed, but one which afforded them a chance of emancipation as a reward of zeal and activity. The same prospect and opportunities of enriching themselves with booty, sweetened their compulsory attendance in the camp, and their share in the dangers of the field. Hence, unless their political condition had undergone a change, there ap-

[1] See Goettling's *Excursus ad Aristot. Pol.* p. 465.

pears no cause in their ordinary and permanent relations that should have rendered them impatient of the new yoke, which at least cannot have been heavier than the old one. On the other hand, though humanity was not one of the Dorian virtues, the conquerors would have been deterred by prudence from using wanton cruelty or contumely toward a numerous class of men, on whose submissiveness the existence of the state depended. But they seem to have been conscious that they had no claim to the good-will of their serfs, and that they could only hope to keep them under by a strong arm and a threatening countenance. Hence the usual treatment of the Helots seems to have been ordered to the intent that the distinction between the freeman and the slave might be as conspicuous and as deeply felt by each party as possible. All that belonged to the ruling caste was held to be profaned by the touch of the inferior race: a Helot, for instance, would not have dared to be heard singing one of the Spartan songs[1], or to be seen in any but the rustic garb, which was the livery of his servitude.[2] If this was the principle of the policy pursued toward these unfortunate beings, it matters little whether we believe Plutarch's account of particular outrages inflicted on them, such as that they were sometimes forced to make themselves drunk, that in this state they might be exposed to the derision of their young lords, for a practical lesson of sobriety. That in this and in similar stories there is much exaggeration or misconception, cannot be doubted; and this will not surprise us, when we reflect how difficult it was for the Greeks themselves of other states to procure accurate information as to the

[1] Plut. Lyc. 28.

[2] Myron in Athen. xiv. p. 657. Mueller (*Dor.* iii. 3.) treats this as a palpable misrepresentation, because it could be no hard-ship for the helots to wear a usual peasant's dress. But Welcker (*Theognis*, p. xxxv.) very judiciously observes, *Est aliquid tam singulis quam populis galerum villosum et gestare posse, et deponere.*

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

Spartan institutions. So it is impossible to believe as literally true, though it was related by Aristotle, that the Ephors, when they entered on their office, made a formal declaration of war against the Helots. Whatever may have been the precise fact thus misrepresented, it was most probably connected with a commission which was given every year to a select number of young Spartans to range the country in certain directions secretly with daggers. This was the famous *cryptia;* a name, if Plutarch's explanation of it is correct, never to be mentioned without horror. According to him, it was a system of legal assassination, levelled against those of the Helots who excited the jealousy of the government by eminent qualities of mind or body. Plutarch himself is unwilling to impute such a nefarious institution to Lycurgus; and we may reasonably doubt whether it ever existed in the form which he describes. But still it cannot be questioned that the name expressed a reality, and that this was a kind of secret commission. A usage somewhat similar, only without any affectation of secrecy, was established in Attica for the twofold end of exercising the young citizen, and providing for the security of the country; and Plato proposes for his Cretan colony an institution in most respects analogous, though without any sanguinary purpose, under the same name. The object of the Spartan *cryptia* was undoubtedly not merely to inure the young warriors to the hardships of a military life. The very exaggerations of the ancients seem to show that in later times at least it was chiefly directed against the Helots; and that it was not confined to a simple inspection of them. We need not indeed suppose that victims were regularly marked for midnight assassinations: but on the other hand it is to be feared that the dagger was not worn merely for defence; and that the boldest of the disaffected were intimidated

The *Cryptia.*

by the knowledge that their movements were watched, and that they were always liable to the stroke of an invisible hand. That no scruples of justice or humanity would have diverted the government, or their agents, from giving such warnings, where policy might seem to require it, is abundantly evident from that deed of blood, which, in its singular atrocity, leaves every other crime recorded in Greek history far behind it, and over which Thucydides, though without leaving room for the slightest doubt as to the fact, draws a veil of mystery which serves to heighten its horror. He informs us that on one occasion, when the weakness of Sparta gave reason to dread an insurrection of the Helots, all those whose past services in war seemed to entitle them to freedom were publicly invited to come forward and claim their reward. The bravest and most aspiring presented themselves, and out of the whole number two thousand were selected as the worthiest. They crowned themselves in joy, and went round the temples to pay thanks to the gods; and then they were all destroyed, but with the decent secrecy which commonly marks the proceedings of an oligarchy; so that the historian, though he well knew what was done, was unable to learn the exact manner.

Emancipation of Helots was not unfrequent, and there appear to have been several degrees between bondage and the full freedom of a Spartan citizen. But the story just mentioned can scarcely be reconciled with the notion that this ascent was open, of right or by custom, to every serf, as a reward of merit, which it depended on his own exertions to earn. It is only surprising that a government, which sometimes granted this boon, should ever have resorted to so horrible an expedient as the stratagem related by Thucydides. It must however be remem-

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

bered that there was probably a great difference in the treatment which the Helots experienced at different periods. Plutarch observes, that in later times the Spartans became more jealous, and consequently more cruel; and for this there appear to have been more causes than the partial insurrection to which he refers the fact.[1] We shall also soon have to relate an event which gave rise to a new class of Helots, who, as they were widely distinct in position and feelings from those of Laconia, were probably dealt with according to different maxims.

The Spartans.

The servitude of the Helots was the foundation on which the existence of the Spartans, as a separate people, rested. The subjection of the rest of Laconia contributed indeed very materially to their power and security; but the district cultivated by the Helots, and their services in the field and in the city, were required to afford the ruling class that leisure, which was the essential condition of all the Spartan institutions. To minister by his toil to this leisure was, according to the Spartan system, the only end for which the Helot existed: to enjoy it, or to use it in the immediate service of the commonwealth, was the only occupation which did not degrade a freeman. In this respect the Spartans were all equal; contrasted with the serfs who tilled their land, and waited at their table, all gentle; compared with the tributary provincials, who were excluded from the councils and the government of the state, all noble. Since however such a relative equality does not exclude internal distinctions of rank, we have still to inquire whether the Spartans were all equal among themselves. That at a period, the history of which is better known than that of the age of Lycurgus, but when great changes had taken place in their con-

[1] Lyc. 28.

dition, there subsisted among them a disparity of rank, which involved the most important consequences, is indisputable; but it is an interesting and difficult question, whether this difference was an ancient one, and founded on their original relations, or was of later growth, and introduced by altered circumstances. There were undoubtedly certain divisions of the ruling class, some as old as the conquest, others still more ancient; but it is not clear how far these implied any distinction in rank or privileges. The Dorians, in general, were divided into three tribes, and a portion of each joined in the invasion of Laconia. Among these the Hylleans, as that to which the two royal families belonged, would naturally have some precedence in dignity over the Dymanes and Pamphylians. But we find no intimation that this pre-eminence, if it existed, was ever legally recognised, or attended with any political advantages. But beside this division, which was common to the Dorian race, we hear of others which were peculiar to Laconia. The Cadmean Ægeids, according to Herodotus, were a great tribe (a *phyle*) at Sparta; and so the Heracleids, and even the Dorians, are sometimes described as separate tribes. It seems however most probable that this last statement is a mere mistake, and that the Ægeids and Heracleids were both incorporated in the national threefold division. But there appear to have been also local tribes at Sparta, corresponding to the quarters or regions of the capital, or perhaps more properly to the hamlets or boroughs of which it was composed: four are enumerated, but without including the name of Sparta, which most probably raised the number to five. All natural or genealogical tribes include sundry subdivisions: at Sparta, the next lower unity bore the peculiar name of an *obe*, which

Spartan Tribes.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

originally signified a village or district[1], though we do not find that it was at all connected with the local tribes. There were thirty of these *obes*, — a number which corresponds perfectly well with the triple division of the nation; but yet it is not inconsistent with those of five, six, and ten, which different authors have assigned to the Spartan tribes. But still, except the hereditary right to the crown, which was lodged in two families of the Heracleid race, we do not find any privilege attached to any of these bodies, or any trace of an order of nobles, distinct from the common freemen of Sparta.[2]

Spartan nobles.

It may however be thought that the existence of such an order may be safely inferred from analogy; and it is certainly probable enough, whether the Heracleids were foreigners or not, that there were among the Dorians other races, distinguished from the common mass by their illustrious descent. We would not even deny that the division of the three tribes may have originally imported a political inequality; but it would not follow that this should have subsisted after the conquest. The common enterprise, the glory, and the danger, which, as we have seen, did not immediately cease, tended to level all political distinctions among the conquerors; and there seems to be no ground for believing that there was any class intermediate between the kings and the main body of the people; all seem to have formed one commonalty of nobles. The original Spartan constitution therefore, though it did not exclude all inequality either of rank or property, may be described as a democracy, with two hereditary magistrates at its head; and the institutions of Lycurgus appear to have tended rather

[1] Ὠδή, κώμη, according to the true reading in Hesych., and perhaps ὦας, κώμας. The ϝ supplies the place of a digamma. See note 5. p. 801. of Alberti's Hesychius.

[2] This position is ably maintained by C. F. Hermann, u. s. p. 33., against the conjectures of Kortuem, Schlosser, Lachmann, and Plass.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

to efface, than to introduce, artificial distinctions. It will belong to the history of a later period to show how this state of things was changed.

Assemblies of the people.

At Sparta, as in all other Greek republics, the sovereign power resided in the assembly of the people; where a Heracleid, however respected from his birth, had no advantage in his vote over the common Dorian. In later times we hear of two assemblies, a greater and a lesser; but this appears to have been an innovation, connected with other changes to be hereafter described. The first of the ordinances for which Lycurgus procured the sanction of the oracle, — regulating no doubt an ancient custom, — directed that assemblies of the people should be held periodically in a field near the city[1]; that the magistrate who convened them should have the right of proposing measures, and the people the power of approving or rejecting. But it appears that the assembly could only express the general will by its vote, and that none but persons in office were entitled to deliver their opinion. The licence of amending a proposition was for a time assumed by the assembly; but it seems to have been considered as a departure from the principles of the constitution, and, as we shall see, was formally abolished in a subsequent reign. The ordinary business of the Spartan assembly, especially in early times, must have been small, and the extraordinary of rare occurrence: the former perhaps confined to the election of those magistrates and priests who held their offices for a fixed term; and the latter relating chiefly to questions of war or peace,

[1] Mueller, *Dor.* iii. 2. § 2., considers this limitation of the locality as a proof that the provincials did not possess the right of voting in these assemblies. C. F. Hermann, on the other hand, u. s. p. 44., cites with approbation a remark of Clavier, *Hist. d. prem. tems*, t. ii. p. 167., *Mais Lycurgue ayant ordonné que les lois proposées par le sénat et adoptées par le peuple assemblé entre le Babyre et le Cnacion, fussent observées dans toute la Laconie, les habitans des villes un peu éloignées qui ne pouvoient pas se rendre à ces assemblées, se trouvoient réellement asservis au peuple de Sparte et ses environs.*

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

and to those of imposts, treaties, and the like, arising out of them. Proposed changes in the constitution, and disputes concerning the succession to the throne, were also, whenever so singular a subject occurred, decided by the same supreme authority.

The *Gerusia.*

As it cannot be doubted that assemblies of the people had been held at Sparta long before the time of Lycurgus, and that, in this respect, the ordinance did little more than describe what had been always customary; so there is the strongest reason to believe, that among the Dorians, as in all the heroic states, there was from time immemorial a council of *elders*. Not only is it utterly incredible that the Spartan council (called the *gerusia*, or senate) was first instituted by Lycurgus; it is not even clear that he introduced any important alteration in its constitution or functions.[1] It was composed of thirty members, corresponding to the number of the *obes*, a division as ancient as that of the tribes; which alone would suffice to refute the legend, that the first council was formed of the thirty who aided Lycurgus in his enterprise, even without the conclusive fact that two of the *obes* were represented by the kings. This privilege of the two royal families might indeed seem to favour the suspicion, that Lycurgus, though he did not create the senate, effected an important innovation in it; and that before his time the other twenty-eight places were also filled up by certain families, the most ancient or illustrious in each *obe*. This however is no more than a conjecture; so far as we know, the twenty-eight colleagues of the kings were always elected by the people, without regard to any qualification beside age and personal merit. The mode of election breathes a spirit of primitive simplicity: the candidates, who were required to have reached the age of sixty, pre-

[1] On the difference between the Spartan council and those of the Homeric states and of the Cretan Dorians, see C. F. Hermann, *u. s.* p. 41.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

sented themselves in succession to the assembly, and were received with applause proportioned to the esteem in which they were held by their fellow-citizens. These manifestations of popular feeling were noted by persons appointed for the purpose, who were shut up in an adjacent room, where they could hear the shouts, but could not see the competitors. He who in their judgment had been greeted with the loudest plaudits, won the prize — the highest dignity in the commonwealth next to the throne. The senators held their office for life, no provision being made for the extraordinary case of decrepitude or dotage, and were subject to no regular responsibility; as men raised above suspicion by a long career of honour, and yet liable to punishment if convicted of misconduct. Their functions were partly deliberative, partly judicial, partly executive: they prepared measures which were to be laid before the popular assembly; they exercised a criminal jurisdiction, with the power of inflicting death or civil degradation, and not confined by any written laws; and they also appear to have interposed with a kind of patriarchal authority, to enforce the observance of ancient usage and discipline. But it is not easy to define with exactness the original limits of their power, particularly in the last-mentioned branch of their office; because a part of their functions was very early assumed by a magistracy of later growth, the ephors, who, as we shall see, gradually reduced both the senate and the kings to comparative insignificance.

The kings.

The twenty-eight senators, as we have observed, were colleagues of the kings: and this is one side from which it is necessary to consider the Spartan royalty, in order to understand its peculiar nature. In general we may remark, that what rendered it so singular an object in later times was not merely that it stood alone after the kingly office had been abolished

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

in the rest of Greece, but that while in most of its functions and attributes it presented a lively image of the royalty of the heroic ages, it was tempered and restrained in a manner unknown to the constitution of any of the heroic states. Most of these restrictions were introduced after the age of Lycurgus, by the growing power of the ephors: in the early period there was perhaps only one important feature in which the kings of Sparta differed from most of those described in the Homeric poems — the division of the sovereignty between two persons. But even this was not peculiar to Sparta: the legends of Thebes, as well as numerous instances in the catalogue of the Iliad, seem to prove that a *diarchy*, though less usual than a monarchy, was not a very rare form of government, at least in the latter part of the heroic ages. It was probably one of the first fruits of the jealousy of the nobles, which in the end swallowed up the kingly power.[1] This may not be a sufficient ground for rejecting the substance of the Spartan legend, according to which the two royal families sprang from the twin sons of Aristodemus; but it tends to show that design had probably as great a share as chance in producing this institution. Its inevitable effect, the rivalry of the two royal lines, was undoubtedly not unforeseen: but this rivalry, which might have been pernicious if the royal authority had been greater, was likely to prove useful to the state, as that of the Roman consuls, when both parties were placed under due control; and this may have been the result contemplated by those who procured the sanction of the oracle for the divided royalty. According to those authors in-

[1] Schwenck (*Rhein. Mus.* vi. p. 482.) lays it down that *the division of royalty between two persons in early times was always occasioned by a combination of two tribes.* But this proposition seems too general to be admitted without proof. Welcker (*Kret. Kol.* p. 81.) observes, that the diarchy was *a mode of dividing and limiting the supreme power, which occurs in other instances beside those of Sparta and Rome.* Compare his note in the *Prolegomena* to *Theognis*, p. xxviii.

deed who believed that the senate was founded by Lycurgus, the dismemberment of the crown might have seemed necessary for the protection of the liberty of the people; but according to the view we have here taken of the senate, as an original and essential part of the Spartan institutions, the power of the kings can never have been formidable. In council the voice of each told for no more than that of any o er senator: in their absence their place seems to have been supplied, according to some regulation which is not clearly explained, by the senators of the same tribe; and it is not improbable that the king of the elder house had a casting vote.[1] They also presided in a separate tribunal, which, before the rise of the ephoralty, perhaps exercised a more extensive civil jurisdiction, but was subsequently confined to certain questions of inheritance, and legal forms, connected with the patriarchal character of the kings. Like all the kings of the heroic ages, they were the high-priests of the nation: both were priests of Jupiter; but with the distinction, that the one, probably the elder, ministered to the god under his Dorian title, the other under that which he bore in Laconia, probably before the conquest.[2] They had likewise, apparently as a branch of the same office, the more important charge of consulting the Delphic oracle by officers of their own appointment, and of preserving the answers received. But the most important of all their prerogatives was the command of the armies, and it was in time of war that the royal majesty was seen in its highest lustre. Though to make war or peace rested with the nation, the kings appear originally to have had the unfettered direction of all military operations, assisted however by a council of war; and it was long

Royal prerogatives.

[1] This may perhaps reconcile the difference between Herod. vi. 57. and Thucyd. i. 20.

[2] Her. vi. 56.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

before any inconvenience was found to arise from their taking the field together. Their military authority, especially in expeditions beyond the border, seems to have been nearly unlimited: at home, in the same capacity of hereditary generals of the nation, they provided for the maintenance of the public roads [1], and appointed officers, in the nature of consuls, to protect the interests of strangers.

Honours of the kings.

The honours attached to their office were however still greater than its power, and suffered little diminution after this had been most reduced. They were revered not simply as the first magistrates of the state, but as persons allied to the gods by their heroic descent. But the outward marks of this reverence were such as it became freemen and Spartans to bestow, and were conformable to the simplicity of the heroic times from which they were derived. The ensigns of the royal dignity did not consist in pomp and ceremony, in personal splendour and luxury. A king of Sparta was not distinguished from his fellow-citizens either in his dress or his manner of living; he was subject to the same laws which regulated the diet of the common freeman; but the state made an ample provision for the maintenance of his household, and for a species of hospitality which he exercised rather in his character of priest than of king. For this purpose, beside the domains which were assigned to each king in the provincial districts, he was entitled to certain payments in kind, which enabled him at stated seasons to sacrifice to the gods, and to entertain his friends. At every public sacrifice offered by other citizens, he was of right the most honoured guest; to him belonged the foremost place in every assembly; and, before the ephors made an exception, every one rose at his approach. In the camp he was

[1] And hence perhaps exercised a special jurisdiction over the Helots and provincials, on whom the repair of the highways usually fell. Herod. i. 57.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

surrounded with still more state than at home; he was guarded by a chosen band of a hundred men; his table, at which he entertained the principal officers, was maintained at the public expense: and though he was relieved from every care, but that of conducting the general operations of the campaign, by a number of inferior functionaries, it was provided that they should in no case act without his express permission. How the two kings shared the command, when they both led the same expedition, we are not distinctly informed. Both the accession and the decease of the kings were marked by usages, which, as Herodotus observed, have rather an Oriental than a Hellenic aspect. On the one occasion, the public joy was expressed by a release of all debts due from individuals to the state; for the Spartan treasury perhaps no great sacrifice. The royal obsequies were celebrated by a ten days intermission of all public business, and by a general mourning, in which the Helots and the provincials were compelled to take the most active part: horsemen carried the tidings through the country, and thousands of the subject class, as well as of the serfs, attended the funeral, rent the air with their wailings, and proclaimed the virtues of the deceased prince superior to those of all his predecessors.

The ephors.

The little that is known of the functions of the inferior magistrates is not important enough to be here detailed; and, for a different reason, we must here confine ourselves to a few remarks on the office of the ephors, though they ultimately acquired the supreme authority in the state. Neither the name of these magistrates, nor their original functions, seem to have been peculiar to Sparta: they occur in other Dorian cities [1], and were therefore probably of higher antiquity

[1] As at Cyrene. Heracl. Pont. 4.

CHAP. VIII.

B.C. 884.

even than Lycurgus, though by some authors their origin was referred to him, by others to a later reign. Their number, five, which, so far as we know, was always the same, was probably connected with that of the local tribes, or quarters, of Sparta. They were elected annually, and appear from the first to have exercised a jurisdiction and superintendence over the Spartans in their civil concerns, which was perhaps never exactly ascertained, and therefore admitted of indefinite enlargement. In the ordinance which contains the general outline of the constitution as it existed in the time of Lycurgus, they are not mentioned; from which it may be inferred, that no new powers accrued to them from any of the changes which he introduced. It is at all events clear that their political importance arose at a later period: and the new character which their office then assumed appears to be so intimately connected with the history of the times, that it will be most convenient to consider both together.

In the institutions hitherto described, we have found nothing that can with any probability be attributed to Lycurgus, and little that was originally peculiar to Sparta. But as the Spartans were at all times chiefly distinguished from the other Greeks by the usages of their civil and domestic life, so it is in these that the influence of the legislator is generally thought to be most conspicuous. And here, as we have already given reasons for believing that in many points he reduced habit and custom to rule and law, we have no doubt that, in the same spirit, he not only modified and corrected, but also added much that was new. No one however can now pretend to distinguish these various elements from each other, except so far as some are more, some less, accordant with the general practice of Greek antiquity. There is indeed one principle which pervades all the Spartan institu-

A general principle of

tions: the citizen is born and lives but for the state: his substance, time, strength, faculties, and affections are dedicated to its service: its welfare is his happiness, its glory his honour. But this principle was assuredly not introduced by Lycurgus, even if he was the first Spartan in whose mind it became a distinct thought. It was the necessary result of the circumstances by which a handful of men were placed in a country of which they occupied only a single point, in the midst of a population greatly superior to them in numbers, over which nevertheless they were determined to lord as princes and masters. Lycurgus however seems both to have recognised it as the supreme principle of his legislation, and in the application of it to have gone some steps further than any one before him.

The sacrifice exacted from the wealthy, whom he compelled to resign a part of their lands, was an acknowledgment of the precarious tenure by which every Spartan held his immovable property: if indeed he could be said to have any. For in fact he was far from having an absolute control over the portion of land assigned to him; his interest in it was most narrowly limited. The Helots who cultivated it might rather have been considered as the real owners of it, since they were only charged with the payment of an invariable quantity of the produce, with which their lord was to support his household as he could. The average amount of this rent seems to have been no more than was required for the frugal maintenance of a family of six persons. The right of transfer was as strictly confined as that of enjoyment: the patrimony was indivisible, inalienable, and descended to the eldest son, and, it would appear, in default of a male heir, to the eldest daughter. The object seems to have been, after the number of the allotments became fixed, that each should be constantly

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

Provisions for preserving the number of the Spartan families unchanged.

represented by one head of a household. But the nature of the means employed for this end is one of the most obscure subjects in the Spartan system. The first difficulty was to provide that the whole number of families to be maintained should not exceed or fall short of the number of lots assigned for their support. To guard against the evils which might arise, even while this equality was preserved, from a great disproportion between the numbers and the property of each family, was the second difficulty. A superabundant population might have been easily discharged by the ordinary expedient of a colony. But, in fact, this was an evil which seems never to have been felt or feared at Sparta. We read of penalties enacted by Lycurgus against celibacy [1], and of rewards assigned, in later times, to the fathers of a numerous offspring. Yet we find that the number of Spartan citizens was continually decreasing. Hence the common stock was always amply sufficient for the wants of the community, and the only practical difficulty was, to regulate its distribution, so as to guard against the extremes of enormous wealth and utter indigence. In the better times of the commonwealth, this seems to have been principally effected by means of adoptions, and marriages with heiresses, which provided for the younger sons of families too large to be supported on their hereditary property. It was then probably seldom necessary for the state to interfere, in order to direct the childless owner of an estate, or the father of a rich heiress, to a proper choice. But as all adoption required the sanction of the kings, and they had also the disposal of the hand of orphan heiresses, where the father had not signified his will, there can be little doubt that the magistrate had the power of interposing on such

[1] Plut. Lyc. 15. Clearchus in Athenæus, xiii. 2.

occasions, even in opposition to the wishes of individuals, to relieve poverty, and check the accumulation of wealth. What further foundation there may have been for Plutarch's assertion, that every child at its birth was brought to the assembled elders of its tribe, and, if pronounced worthy to live, had one of the 9000 lots assigned for its subsistence[1], is now only matter for very uncertain conjecture.

Restrictions on the use of the precious metals at Sparta.

The institutions which restrained the Spartan from every kind of profitable industry, except so far as the chase might be viewed in that light, left him to depend wholly on the produce of his land. For the few and simple transactions by which he provided for the wants of his household, he needed but little money at a time. Hence, when the progress of trade and commerce had occasioned the coining of the precious metals in Greece, no need of them was yet felt at Sparta for the common business of life: they were regarded as a dangerous novelty, and the possession of them was forbidden. Iron, the native produce of Laconia, prepared so as to be of no use for other purposes, at first in little bars, afterward in a more convenient form, continued to the latest times the only legal currency at Sparta, unless we may believe what some authors relate, that leather was applied to the same use.[2] This restriction has been often ascribed to Lycurgus, but must have been introduced later, if, as seems most probable, the coinage of silver money was unknown to the Greeks for more than a century after him.[3] With regard to gold indeed, the prohibition would in his time have been superfluous, since it is certain, from two well-

[1] Lyc. 16.

[2] Seneca, *De Benef.* v. 14. Nicol. Dam. ap. Stobæum Serm. t. 44. 41. (Gaisf. ii. p. 228.)

[3] See Nitzsch, *De Hist. Hom.* i. p. 60., who refers to Diog. Laert. i. 117. Hermann, u. s. p. 56.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

attested facts [1], that, down to the Persian wars, this metal was so rare as to be quite out of the reach of a private Spartan. It seems however that the acquisition of gold or silver money was interdicted only to private Spartans: for the provincials, who were not debarred from commerce, it must have been indispensable; nor can it have been the design of the legislator to impose any such restriction on the state itself: whether the kings were originally exempt from it, or only owed the privilege, which they undoubtedly exercised, of amassing wealth, to subsequent changes in the commonwealth, is a more doubtful question. This prohibition must certainly have contributed to preserve the simplicity of the ancient manners; but it seems to have been attended with another consequence, which was often very injurious to the public interests. The tendency of human nature to hanker after all that is forbidden, renders it probable that this was the secret spring of that venality, of which we find so many remarkable instances in Spartan history. Avarice appears to have been the vice to which the Spartan was most prone: money, for which he had scarcely any use, a bait, which even the purest patriotism could seldom resist.

Condition and education of the Spartan women.

The same spirit which exercised this absolute control over private property, appears in all the regulations by which the citizen was to be trained to the service of the state, and even in those which laid the foundation of the family itself. The character of the Spartan system is nowhere more conspicuous than in its mode of determining the relations of the sexes. The treatment of the women may serve to illustrate the manner in which old Hellenic usages were here

[1] The Spartans send to Lydia for a small quantity (Herod. i. 69.); Hiero to Architeles the Corinthian, the only man in Greece who had amassed a considerable stock. Theopompus in Athen. vi. p. 232.

modified by the peculiar design of the legislator. The freedom they enjoyed, and the deference paid to them, which were censured as excessive in later ages, when they formed a contrast to the custom then prevalent in Greece, were vestiges of remote antiquity, and conformable to the habits described in the Homeric poems. But it was more especially the liberty allowed to the young unmarried women that distinguished the Spartan institutions. Their education was conducted with a view, not so much to the discharge of household duties, as to the citizens which they were to give to the commonwealth. They were to be the mothers of a robust race, and hence were early subjected to the same athletic exercises as the harder sex: and it even seems to have been the legislator's intention that they should be looked upon only in this light, and should excite no affection directed to any other object. It was perhaps not without design, though probably with one very different from that which Plutarch supposes, that their persons were frequently exposed in public processions and dances, in a manner which to modern feelings would betoken the last stage of public licentiousness.[1] Yet it is certain that in this respect the Spartan morals were at least as pure as those of any ancient, perhaps of any modern people. These spectacles, probably a relic of a primitive usage, and connected with the rites of religion, were far from lowering the Spartan virgin in the esteem of the other sex; and the praise or blame which on such occasions she was permitted to dispense to the bystanders, was found one of the most efficacious means of quickening the emulation of the youths. A Spartan marriage retained the form which had, no doubt, been given

[1] Yet it seems necessary to distinguish between the private exercises, in which they laid aside all covering, and the public exhibitions, in which they wore the species of half-open tunic (the σχιστὸς χιτών) which procured for them the epithet of φαινομήριδες.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

to the ceremony in the Dorian highlands, and which to this day prevails among the Circassian tribes. The bride was considered as a prize of courage and address, and was always supposed to be carried off from the parental roof by force or stratagem. The Spartan matrons appeared in public much more rarely than before marriage; and, though the pleasures of domestic society were little valued at Sparta, where it was even disreputable for the young husband to be seen in company with his wife, they were treated with a respect, and exercised an influence, which seemed to the other Greeks extravagant and pernicious: but it became such only, if at all, after the whole nation had degenerated. In the better times, they alone among the Greek women show a dignity of character, which makes them worthy rivals of the Roman matrons. Adultery was long unknown at Sparta: yet so little sanctity was attached to the nuptial compact, that it was sacrificed without scruple, and in a manner which shocks our notions of decency, to maxims of state policy, or private expe-

of the Spartan youths.

From his birth every Spartan belonged to the state, which decided, as we have seen, whether he was likely to prove a useful member of the community, and extinguished the life of the sickly or deformed infant.[2] To the age of seven however the care of the child was delegated to its natural guardians, yet not so as to be left wholly to their discretion, but subject to certain established rules of treatment, which guarded against every mischievous indulgence of parental tenderness. At the end of seven years began a long course of public discipline, which grew constantly more and more severe as the boy approached

[1] Plut. Lyc. 15. See also some remarks of Mr. Lewis in the Philological Museum, vol. ii. p. 70. note 43.

[2] It was exposed in a glen of Taygetus, hence called the Ἀποθέται. The twelve tables contained a similar enactment. Cic. De Leg. iii. 8.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

toward manhood. The education of the young was in some degree the business of all the elder citizens; for there was none who did not contribute to it, if not by his active interference, at least by his presence and inspection. But it was placed under the especial superintendence of an officer[1] selected from the men of most approved worth; and he again chose a number of youths, just passed the age of twenty, and who most eminently united courage with discretion, to exercise a more immediate command over the classes[2], into which the boys were divided. The leader of each class directed the sports and tasks of his young troop, and punished their offences with military rigour, but was himself responsible to his elders for the mode in which he discharged his office. The Spartan education was simple in its objects; it was not the result of any general view of human nature, or of any attempt to unfold its various capacities: it aimed at training men who were to live in the midst of difficulty and danger, and who could only be safe themselves while they held rule over others. The citizen was to be always ready for the defence of himself and his country, at home and abroad, and he was therefore to be equally fitted to command and to obey. His body, his mind, and his character were formed for this purpose, and for no other: and hence the Spartan system, making directly for its main end, and rejecting all that was foreign to it, attained, within its own sphere, to a perfection which it is impossible not to admire. The young Spartan was perhaps hardly able either to read or write: he scarcely possessed the elements of any of the arts or sciences by which society is enriched or adorned: but he could run, leap, wrestle, hurl the disk, or the javelin, and wield every other weapon,

[1] The παιδονόμος.

[2] ἀγέλαι, as in Crete.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

Exercises of patience.

with a vigour, agility, and grace which were no where surpassed. These however were accomplishments to be learnt in every Greek palæstra: he might find many rivals in all that he could do; but few could approach him in the firmness with which he was taught to suffer. From the tender age at which he left his mother's lap for the public schools, his life was one continued trial of patience. Coarse and scanty fare, and this occasionally withheld, a light dress, without any change in the depth of winter, a bed of reeds, which he himself gathered from the Eurotas, blows exchanged with his comrades, stripes inflicted by his governors, more by way of exercise than of punishment, inured him to every form of pain and hardship. One test of this passive fortitude was very celebrated among the ancients. In early times, probably before the Dorian conquest, human victims appear to have been offered in Laconia to an image of Artemis, which Orestes was believed to have brought with him from Scythia. Lycurgus, it is said, abolished this bloody rite, but substituted for it a contest little less ferocious, in which the most generous youths, standing on the altar, presented themselves to the lash, and were sometimes seen to expire under it without a groan. Another usage, not less famous, served to train the Spartan boys at once to suffering and to action. They were at times compelled, either by the express command of their leader, or by the cravings of hunger, to forage in the fields or houses which they might contrive to enter by stealth. The ingenious and successful pilferer gained applause with his booty: one who was detected was made to smart, not for the attempt, but for the failure. It seems a gross, though not an uncommon, mistake, to treat this practice as a violation of property, and an encouragement to theft; it was a preparation, not more remarkable than many others,

for the hardships and shifts of a military life. The hateful *cryptia* was apparently a similar institution, but made subservient to a political end.

Cultivation of the intellectual faculties, and of moral habits.

The Muses were appropriately honoured at Sparta with a sacrifice on the eve of a battle, and the union of the spear and the lyre was a favourite theme with the Laconian poets, and those who sang of Spartan customs.[1] Though bred in the discipline of the camp, the young Spartan, like the hero of the Iliad, was not a stranger to music and poetry. He was taught to sing, and to play on the flute and the lyre: but the strains with which his memory was stored, and to which his voice was formed, were either sacred hymns, or breathed a martial spirit; and it was because they cherished such sentiments that the Homeric lays, if not introduced by Lycurgus, were early welcomed at Sparta; for the same reason, Tyrtæus was held in honour, while Archilochus, the delight of Greece, was banished, because he had not been ashamed to record his own inglorious flight from a field of battle.[2] As these musical exercises were designed to cultivate, not so much an intellectual, as a moral taste: so it was probably less for the sake of sharpening their ingenuity, than of promoting presence of mind, and promptness of decision, that the boys were led into the habit of answering all questions proposed to them, with a ready, pointed, sententious brevity, which was a proverbial characteristic of Spartan conversation. But the lessons which were

[1] Plut. Lyc. 21. Athen. xiv. 33. Διετήρησαν μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν μουσικὴν, πλειστῇ αὐτῇ χρώμενοι καὶ συχνοὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο μελῶν ποιηταί. τηροῦσι δὲ καὶ νῦν τὰς ἀρχαίας ᾠδὰς ἐπιμελῶς, πολυμαθεῖς τε εἰς ταύτας εἰσὶ καὶ ἀκριβεῖς. Mueller. *Dor.* iv. 9. § 3. But see C. F. Hermann, u. s. p. 101., who quotes a remark of Welcker's on Alcman. Fragm. p. 5., *Spartanorum lyricos primarios haud faisse indigenas, artemque musicam Lacedæmone honoratam quidem, sed tanquam hospitam quandam aut μέτοικον habitam esse, ex variis indiciis perspicere mihi videor.*

[2] Plut. Inst. Lac. 34. Valerius Maximus (vi. 3. E. 1.) assigns a different and much less probable motive, but refers the expulsion, which according to Plutarch befel the poet himself, to his works.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

most studiously inculcated, more indeed by example than by precept, were those of modesty, obedience, and reverence for age and rank; for these were the qualities on which, above all others, the stability of the commonwealth reposed. The gait and look of the Spartan youths, as they passed along the streets, observed Xenophon, breathed modesty and reserve. In the presence of their elders they were bashful as virgins, and silent as statues, save when a question was put to them. It was, as Plutarch supposes, to signify the importance of these virtues, that the Temple of Fear was erected near the mansion-house of the ephors.[1] In truth, the respect for the laws, which rendered the Spartan averse to innovation at home, was little more than another form of that awe with which his early habits inspired him for the magistrates and the aged. With this feeling was intimately connected that quick and deep sense of shame, which shrank from dishonour as the most dreadful of evils, and enabled him to meet death so calmly, when he saw in it the will of his country.

The interval between the age of twenty and thirty was looked upon as a stage of transition from boyhood to manhood. During this period the young Spartan was released indeed from the discipline of the classes, but he was not yet permitted to appear among the men in the assembly, and was perhaps chiefly employed in all military service which might be required within the frontier. But his education could scarcely be said to have ceased even after he had reached his full maturity, and had entered on the duties of a husband and a father. The life of the Spartan, in time of peace, was one of leisure; for this was essential to the dignity of a freeman: but it was not one of ease and indolence, for this would have unfitted him for the duties of a citizen and a warrior.

[1] Cleom. 9.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

His time, little occupied by domestic cares when not engaged by any public service, was principally divided between the exercises of the palæstra and the toils of the chase. From these he rested at the public meals. Of this institution, which Sparta, in common with Crete, retained to the latest times, we need here only speak to point out one or two features which were peculiar to the Spartan usage. At Sparta, the entertainment was provided at the expense, not of the state, but of those who shared it. The head of each family, as far as his means reached, contributed for all its members: but the citizen who was reduced to indigence lost his place at the public board. The guests were divided into companies, generally of fifteen persons [1], who filled up vacancies by ballot, in which unanimous consent was required for every election. No member, not even the kings, was permitted to stay away except on some extraordinary occasion, as of a sacrifice, or a lengthened chase, when he was expected to send a present to the table; such contributions frequently varied the frugal repast [2], which was constantly enlivened by sallies of tempered mirth and friendly pleasantry. The sixtieth year closed the military age. The period which ensued was one of peaceful repose, yet not of monotonous inaction: it was cheered by the natural reward of an honourable career, by respect, and precedence, and authority: it found a regular and gentle employment, if not in the affairs of the state, in the superintendence and direction of the young. When disabled from more active recreations, the old man could still enjoy the society of his equals in the *lesche*, a place dedicated, at Sparta, as in most Greek cities, to meetings for public conversation, where he might beguile

Spartan *Syssitia.*

[1] Plut. Lyc. ἀνὰ πεντεκαίδεκα, καὶ βραχὺ τούτων ἐλάττους ἢ πλείους. Schol. Plat. Legg. i. 195. 18. (p. 449. Bek.) οἱ συσσιτοῦντες δέκα ἦσαν.

[2] Hence the name φιδίτια, according to Plut. Lyc. 12.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

Military institutions.

the evening of his life with recollections of his well-spent youth.

The ancient authors who most admired the Spartan institutions condemned their exclusively warlike tendency: and it can scarcely be denied that the life of a Spartan was a continual preparation for war, though undoubtedly it was something more. It is perhaps only in this sense that the military system of Sparta can be properly ascribed to Lycurgus, though he is said to have introduced some technical improvements.[1] It has been more generally believed that he was the author of a maxim of policy, which is said to have been sanctioned by one of his ordinances, and which tended to restrain the martial ardour of his countrymen within the bounds of prudent moderation. It forbade them to make frequent expeditions against the same enemy: a precaution, some supposed, against the danger of training a weak adversary, by repeated attacks, into a bold and skilful one.[2] Plutarch thinks that Sparta's first great reverse was owing to the violation of this rule. But it is difficult to name any period of history during which it appears to have been observed. It must however be admitted, that caution was a prominent quality in the Spartan character, and, combined with the consciousness of superiority, it may sometimes have supplied the place of humanity, in softening the ferocity of warfare, as another of their military maxims restrained the pursuit of a routed enemy.[3] A wholesome superstition, which respected certain religious festivals as sacred armistices, contributed to the same end. But the

[1] Plut. Lyc. 23.

[2] Plut. Lyc. 13. Nitzsch, *Hist. Hom.* i. p. 61., observes, *Ea ut ab ipso Lycurgo proposita videatur, requiri videtur alia ratio, atque vulgo interpretantur. Potuit eo spectare ut unaquaque ad bellum profectione pacem redimere, et semel fortiter debellare juberentur: quanquam aliter visum est Muellero.* (iii. 12. § 9.) C. F. Hermann, *Ant. Lac.* p. 43.: *Non opinor ea de causa quam Plutarchus arguit, sed ne ipsi reges per militaris obsequii occasionem potestate sua abuterentur.*

[3] Plut. Lyc. 22.

martial spirit of the Spartan institutions is evinced, not only by the whole system of education, but still more strongly by the care taken to render war as attractive as possible. As the city in many respects resembled a camp, so the life of the camp was studiously freed from many of the hardships and restraints imposed on that of the city. War was the element in which the Spartan seems to have breathed most freely, and to have enjoyed the fullest consciousness of his existence. He dressed his hair and crowned himself for a battle as others for a feast; and the mood in which he advanced to the mortal struggle was no less calm and cheerful than that in which he entered the lists for a prize at the public games.

CHAP. VIII.

B.C. 884.

This spirit, in itself almost invincible, was seconded by a system of tactics, which Xenophon praises for an admirable simplicity in the midst of seeming intricacy, and which he describes with a minuteness which we do not venture to imitate. Its principles were probably derived from an antiquity even more remote than the conquest of Peloponnesus, and perhaps contributed mainly to that event; but it was undoubtedly perfected by the experience of succeeding generations. Some details on the organisation of the Spartan army will be subjoined in another place[1]: here a few general remarks will suffice. The strength of the Spartan army lay in its heavy-armed infantry, and no other kind of service was thought equally worthy of the free warrior, because none called forth courage and discipline in the same degree. Hence little value was set on the cavalry; and, though in the Peloponnesian war it was found necessary to pay more attention to it, it never acquired any great efficacy or reputation. The name of horsemen was indeed a title of honour, borne by a band of 300 picked

System of tactics.

[1] See the Appendix, III.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

youths, chosen by three officers appointed for that purpose by the ephors, who served in the field as the king's body-guard: but notwithstanding the title, they fought on foot, and, if they were mounted, used their horses only on a march, or in executing the king's commissions.[1] On the same principle, the Spartan shrank from the assault of fortified places, in which, as Lycurgus was reported to have observed, a brave man might fall by the hand of a woman, or a child.[2] Hence too the sea was an element never congenial to the spirit of Spartan warfare, and the Helots were mostly employed in the sea-service, as on land they served as light troops, or attended the camp in a menial capacity. The superiority of the Spartan infantry depended on a nicely graduated system of subordination, by means of which the orders of the general were rapidly transmitted, and executed with ease and precision. The leader of the *enomoty*, the lowest subdivision, or first element of the whole body, was at once the organ which communicated the word of command to his company, and the pivot of the various movements by which its position was adapted to the exigencies of the march or the field. The promptness with which its evolutions were performed, and the harmonious combination of the movements of the several subdivisions, were greatly promoted by the choral dances, more especially the war dance, called the Pyrrhic, in which the Spartan youth were habitually exercised.[3] We have already remarked, that the caution of the Spartan character may have dictated the general maxim, which however was very

Maxims of Spartan warfare.

[1] From Thuc. v. 72., the title would appear to be merely nominal. Wachsmuth, ii. I. p. 378., supposes it to have been derived from the ages when the chiefs fought in chariots; and this may seem to be confirmed by Ephorus (Strabo, x. p. 481.), where they are spoken of as an ἀρχή. But Dionys. R. A. ii. 13., and Herod. viii. 124., seem to prove that they were mounted.

[2] Plut. Ap. Lac. Lyc. 25.

[3] Athenæus, xiv. 26.

CHAP. VIII.

B.C. 884.

far from being constantly observed, of avoiding repeated conflicts with the same enemy. The same prudence appears in the care taken to keep the force of every expedition secret, and in all the regulations of the camp. And to the like motive we may probably ascribe the rule, which we learn from Thucydides[1] was really enforced, of pursuing a flying enemy no further than was necessary for securing the victory. We should be glad to believe that humanity had any share in this practice: but it seems no more to deserve this praise than another injunction peculiar to Spartan warfare, which forbade the stripping of the slain before the end of the battle.[2] If the Spartans abstained from suspending the spoils of the dead in their temples, this may have arisen from a religious scruple. The reason, that the spoils of cowards were not a fit offering for the gods, was worthy of the frantic insolence of the first Cleomenes.[3] In the days of their glory, the Spartans were too little used to defeat to be much elated with the success of their arms. The tidings of an important victory were celebrated with the sacrifice of a cock, and procured no greater reward for the bearer than a dish of meat from the table of the ephors.[4] During this period, the watch-word of the Spartan warrior was, *victory or death*; or, as the Spartan matron is said to have expressed it[5], he was to bring his shield home, or to be borne upon it. To survive its loss was to incur disgrace such as no generous spirit could endure. The recreant[6], who had separated his lot from that of his fellow-combatants, was degraded from all the privileges of society, and became a butt for public scorn and insult. He was excluded from every honourable place, and company, and was compelled to appear with

[1] v. 73.
[2] Plut. Ap. Lac. Lyc. 31. Æl. V. H. vi. 6.
[3] Plut. Ap. Lac. Cleom. xviii.
[4] Plut. Agesil. 33.
[5] In five words: ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶς.
[6] ὁ τρέσας.

CHAP. VIII.

B.C. 884.

his beard half shaved, in a dress of shreds and patches. His daughters, if he had any, found no husbands; if unmarried, he could not hope for a wife, and yet was condemned to the legal penalties of voluntary celibacy. The young owed no respect to his age; and those who did not shun him, might strike him with impunity. *I am not surprised*, says Xenophon, *that men prefer death to such a life.*

Spartan laws unwritten.

Lycurgus, it is said, forbade the use of written laws[1]; though the ordinance which contained this prohibition appears itself, among others, to have been committed to writing; believing perhaps that the general stability of the system would be more effectually ensured, if room were thus left for occasional alterations in its details, which might be required by change of circumstances, and conformable to its spirit. But undoubtedly it was early perceived, that the security of the Spartan institutions depended, not on stones or parchments, but on the national feeling in which they lived: and it was probably with the view of preserving this in its full strength and purity, that citizens were forbidden to go abroad without leave of the magistrates, and that the presence of foreigners was discouraged. Whether they were excluded by a standing ordinance, from which the magistrate alone could grant an exemption, or were only subject to be sent away at the magistrate's pleasure, is a point not quite clear, but of little practical moment. It is more important to observe, that in the early times, before

[1] Plut. Lyc. 13. μὴ χρῆσθαι νόμοις ἐγγράφοις. Nitzsch, *Hist. Hom.* i. p. 61.: *A vero is aberret, qui forte ex ipsa rhetra conficere velit, nihil unquam Spartæ literis esse mandatum, quod legum genere ac nomine contineatur. Quod jam sapius monitum est, νόμοι nunc dicuntur leges civiles, quarum cura penes magistratus, usus præcipuus in judiciis est.* C. F. Hermann, u. s. p. 52.: *Tantum aberat ut moribus in leges mutatis* (according to a phrase quoted with approbation by Limburg Brouwer, *Hist. de la Civilisation des Grecs depuis le Retour des Heraclides*, t. i. p. 127. n. 67.: *A Sparte les mœurs ont ployé sous les lois, à Athènes les lois ont obéi aux mœurs.*) *quidquid vetere consuetudine traditum non esset, illegitimum Lycurgus judicaret, ut pauca tantum, ubi privata arbitria damnum rei publicæ minabantur, certis normis describeret, in reliquis, modo privatim sibi omnia constarent, nihil publice sanciendum esse putaret.*

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

the jealousy of the government was awakened by rivalry with Athens, this exclusion appears to have been very rarely enforced, and distinguished foreigners, able to serve the state, were not only permitted, but invited, to sojourn at Sparta.[1]

Our imperfect knowledge of the internal condition of the other Dorian states in the period to which the legislation of Lycurgus is referred, renders it difficult to ascertain how near their institutions may once have approached to those of Sparta. It has been inferred, from a hint casually preserved by an ancient writer, that the usage of the *syssitia* continued to subsist in still later times at Corinth.[2] This inference, which would lead to other conclusions affecting the personality of Lycurgus, is perhaps not sufficiently warranted; but it seems highly probable that, if we could distinguish all the parts of the Spartan system which it had in common with other ancient states, those which were properly and exclusively its own would be found comparatively few. The character of the Dorian race, which was stamped on its arts, its language, and its religion, was undoubtedly distinguished by many peculiar features, from that of the other Hellenic tribes; and much that is most singular in their manners and institutions must be ascribed to this, as the last inscrutable cause, which bounds all inquiry. But the ground-work of the Dorian commonwealth belongs to the old Hellenic frame of society; and the ruling ideas and feelings by which the form of government, and the habits of life, were determined, were transmitted from the heroic ages. The conquerors of Peloponnesus, with the martial spirit, retained the political maxims of their ancestors,

between the Dorian the old Heller inst

[1] See C. F. Hermann, u. s. p. 95. Lachmann, *Spartan. Staatsv.* p. 166.

[2] Mueller collects this from the story of Æthiops (Athen. iv. c. 63.), who, in the voyage to Sicily with Archias, the founder of Syracuse, sold his portion of land for a honey-cake to his messmate (*τῷ ἑαυτοῦ συσσίτῳ*). But the custom at Corinth cannot be proved by the fact that two persons messed together during the voyage.

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

which were those of the whole Hellenic nation. They considered the possession of arms as the highest privilege of a freeman, the exercise of them as the only employment that became him. According to the rules of the heroic equity, he who excelled in this noblest of arts was born to command; the race that showed itself inferior in warlike virtues, was destined to obey and to serve: the most perfect order of things was that in which the higher class was occupied by no care or labour that did not contribute to the species of excellence which was the supreme end of its being, and where the subject ranks were mere instruments, only needed to relieve the higher from necessary but degrading toil: a view of society, not peculiar to any race of mankind, though among the nations in which the same maxims have not been hallowed by superstition, none appears to have been governed by them more uniformly than the ancient Hellenes, and no Hellenic tribe applied them so steadily and consistently as the Dorians.[1] The predominance of this military spirit in the early period of a nation's history, though accompanied by an aversion and contempt for the arts of peace, — which however are not to be ascribed without much qualification even to the Spartans, especially before the Persian wars[2], — ought not certainly to lower any race in our esteem. It has appeared most signally in the noblest portions of our species; and is in itself no more inauspicious sign for the future growth of intelligence and humanity, than the overflow of animal spirits, the impatience of mental application, and the petulance of superior strength and activity, in a vigorous boy. But a neglected or vicious education, or untoward circumstances, may disappoint the intention of nature, check the growth

[1] Herod. ii. 167.

[2] See C. F. Hermann, u. s. ii., *Disputatio de novis Lacedæmoniorum post Lycurgum institutis.*

of the higher faculties, or confine them to a single direction and a narrow compass; and may thus detain nations and individuals in a state of intellectual infancy, ripe and robust only in its passions and physical powers. Such a misfortune, which has sometimes been celebrated as a singular advantage, or as the noblest fruit of legislative wisdom, befel the Dorians in Crete and Sparta.

Peculiar circumstances which formed the Dorian character.

In the Dorian race, the primitive Hellenic character had been moulded, by the circumstances under which the people was formed and trained, into a peculiar form. Before the invasion of Peloponnesus, the conquerors had passed through a severe school. In the mountain tracts where they had wandered or settled, they had maintained a long struggle with danger and hardship; and they undoubtedly brought the habits and feelings which grow out of such a discipline, along with them, into the happier seats, in which they finally established their dominion. Many of the Spartan virtues and vices seem to have flowed from this source. A people inured to poverty and toil, learns to pride itself in the fortitude with which it meets privation and suffering: it places its point of honour in disdaining all superfluous enjoyment, and shrinks from whatever serves merely to grace and refine life, as unmanly and pernicious luxury. This austere simplicity, though not inconsistent with kindly affections, is almost inseparable from a proportionate coarseness and harshness of sentiments, which is careless of the more delicate observances of social intercourse, and is too apt to degenerate into ferocity and cruelty. A strong tendency to superstition, which several causes contribute to cherish in the mountaineer, distinguished the Spartans, even among the Greeks, down to a late period of their history: a habit of mind closely allied, or it may be said sub-

CHAP. VIII.

B. C. 884.

stantially one, with the attachment to ancient usages, the veneration for established rights, privileges, and authority, which generally prevails in mountain tribes, and which was a conspicuous feature in the character of the Spartan Dorians; tempered however by a natural love of freedom, and by the feeling of independence produced by the need of constant exertion.

Considered from this point of view, the comparison drawn by some of the ancients between the Spartans and the Sabines, though connected with an idle fancy of a real kindred between the two nations, was by no means inappropriate.[1] But what has been here said, is equally applicable to all the Dorian conquerors of Peloponnesus, and would not suffice to explain the singular rigour of the Spartan discipline, and the minute exactness with which the Spartan system regulated details, which in most communities are considered beyond or below the attention of the state. Those who attribute the whole system to Lycurgus, can give no better general view of his legislation, than by saying that he transformed Sparta into a camp. But it seems nearer the truth, to say that Sparta was a camp from the beginning of the conquest. For no description can better suit an unwalled city, occupied by an invading army, in the midst of a hostile and half-subdued people: and hence, to the latest times, the Spartan, throughout the military age, was said to be on guard.[2] A community which had taken up this position, and, as seems to have been the case with Sparta, was compelled to retain it until it became habitual and agreeable, was also constrained to adapt its institutions to its situation. A rigid discipline, a vigilant superintendence, which allowed the least possible room for the discretion of

Peculiar position of the Spartans.

[1] Dion. H. ii. 49.

[2] ἐμφρούρους.

individuals in the employment of their time, uniform rules for all the stages and transactions of life;—this artificial state of society was a necessary consequence of its forced posture, and required no extraordinary genius to prescribe the form which it should assume.

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 776.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MESSENIAN WARS AND AFFAIRS OF SPARTA DOWN TO THE SIXTH CENTURY B. C.

Wars of Sparta with Argos and Arcadia. — State of Messenia. — Policy of the Messenian Kings. — First quarrel between Sparta and Messenia. — Story of Polychares. — Beginning of the first Messenian War. — Authorities for the history of the Messenian Wars. — The Messenians fortify Ithomé. — Aristodemus. — End of the first Messenian War. — Consequences arising to Sparta from the conquest of Messenia. — Admission of new citizens to Sparta. — Rise of a new distinction among the citizens of Sparta. — Enlargement of the power of the Ephors. — Comparison between the Ephors and the Roman Tribunes. — Mode of election and authority of the Ephors. — Pheidon, King of Argos. — Beginning of the second Messenian War. — Aristomenes and Tyrtæus. — Victories of Aristomenes. — The Messenians fortify Eira. — Wonderful exploits and escape of Aristomenes. — Surprise of Eira. — End of the second Messenian War. — Messenian Exiles; Death of Aristomenes. — War between Sparta and Tegea; Conquest of Cynuria; Othryades. — Growing power and reputation of Sparta.

Wars of Sparta with Argos and Arcadia.

TOWARD the first olympiad (B.C. 776), Laconia was subdued and tranquil; the Spartans were united by the institutions of Lycurgus, and their warlike youth ready, and perhaps impatient, for new enterprises. Until the fall of Amyclæ, and the other conquests of Teleclus, had secured the submission of Laconia, they were probably too much occupied at home to enter into any wars with their neighbours, which might require a long-continued exertion of their strength. We find them indeed very early engaged in contests on the side of Arcadia and Argos: but these were not

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 776.

very vigorously prosecuted, or attended with very important results. An expedition of Sous, son of Procles, against Cleitor, in Arcadia, in which he is said to have delivered his army from jeopardy by a stratagem, stands unexplained as an isolated fact. Jealousy soon sprang up between Sparta and Argos, and disturbed the harmony which the family compact should have secured. In the reign of Echestratus, son of Agis, the Spartans had made themselves masters of Cynuria, where a remnant of the old Ionian population had preserved its independence. Having thus become neighbours, they soon became enemies of the Argives. The quarrel broke out in the reign of Prytanis, son of Eurypon; and his successors, Charilaus and Nicander, made inroads on the Argive territory: the Dryopes of Asiné were induced to aid the Spartans, whose subjects had been excited to revolt by the Argives; but the Asinæans were shortly after punished with the loss of their city, and were forced to take refuge in Laconia.[1] The same Charilaus who invaded Argolis, carried his arms into Arcadia — deceived, it is said, by an oracle, which seemed to promise the conquest of Tegea. Herodotus saw there the fetters which the Spartans had brought with them for the Tegeans, and in which, when they were defeated, the prisoners were forced to till the enemy's land. For many generations they continued to war against Tegea, but always with like ill success.

State of Messenia.

An easier and more inviting conquest now offered itself to them on another side. They had perhaps long observed with inward discontent, how much fairer the land which, by chance or fraud, had fallen to the share of Cresphontes, was than their own. Under circumstances different from those by which the Spartans had been formed, the Messenians had

[1] Paus. iii. 2. 3. and 7. 4.

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 776.

become a different people. The Achæans of Messenia are said to have submitted without reluctance to their new sovereigns; and the Heracleid kings appear to have adopted a wise and liberal system of government. Cresphontes either did not share the prejudices of his Dorians, or he rose above them. He fixed his residence indeed in a new capital, which he founded in the plain of Stenyclerus, — a central position far from Andania and Pylus, the ancient seats of the Messenian kings, — but he divided the country into five districts, and designed that their chief cities should enjoy equal rights with Stenyclerus: the Dorians however shrank from all intermixture with the old inhabitants, and compelled their king to collect them in the capital, and to reduce all the other towns to the rank of dependent villages. But, though thwarted in his first plan, he seems not to have abandoned his generous policy; and the favour he showed to the lower class of his subjects, — by which we are probably to understand the old Messenians, — is said to have provoked a conspiracy among the rich (the Dorian oligarchy), by which he was cut off with his whole family, except one son. The survivor, Æpytus, whose mother, Meropé, was the daughter of Cypselus, king of Arcadia, or of some Arcadian canton, escaped into the dominions of his grandfather. At a riper age, with the assistance of the other Heracleid kings [1], he recovered his hereditary throne, and punished the murderers of his father, whose example he seems to have followed with better success; for the honours and boons with which he is said to have won the nobles and the commonalty of Messenia probably consisted in the abolition of the distinctions that had separated them

[1] The Spartans seem to have had a legend, that the sons of Cresphontes ceded the sovereignty of Messenia to them, as the price of their assistance. Isocrates, Archid. p. 120.

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 776.

from the rebellious Dorians. The successors of Æpytus, who reverenced him as the founder of their dynasty, inherited his maxims: at least the principal acts ascribed to them indicate a desire to conciliate the affections of the whole people, and to soothe all hostile feelings. We find them dedicating temples, and instituting rites, in honour of the old Messenian gods and heroes, apparently for the purpose of effacing national distinctions by a common worship. A like motive may have led one of them to direct the attention of his subjects toward the sea, by works and buildings at the port of Methoné. In a subsequent reign, we hear that the Messenians sent a chorus of men, with a sacrifice, across the sea to Delos: the hymn with which they approached the altar of Apollo was preserved to after-ages, and was regarded as the only genuine work that remained of the Corinthian poet Eumelus. Thus the country prospered; the arts of peace flourished: but the more united the nation, the less did any one class aim at excelling in the use of arms; and hence perhaps, in military skill and discipline, the Messenians were inferior to the people of Lycurgus.

Policy of the Messenian kings.

When two neighbouring states are disposed to war, they are never long at a loss for provocations or reasons to justify it. Sparta did not draw the sword till she had injuries and insults to allege, which cried aloud for vengeance. The Messenians, on the other hand, held Sparta to have been the aggressor in the quarrel, and believed that she was impelled by no motive but her restless ambition. At a place called Limnæ (*the pools*), on the western skirts of Taÿgetus, was a temple of Artemis Limnatis, which, standing on the confines of the two nations, was a common sanctuary for both, and open to no other people, even of the Dorian race. In the reign of Teleclus, the seventh from Agis, the Spartans sent a company of virgins to celebrate a fes-

First quarrel between Sparta and Mes

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 776.

tival at this temple, and Teleclus went with them. Some Messenians who were present offered violence to the maidens; a fray arose, and the king himself was slain in attempting to protect them from dishonour. Such was the Spartan story; but, as the Messenians gave out, Teleclus had laid a stratagem for taking off some of their noblest citizens at the festival, and for this purpose had disguised a band of Spartan youths as women, and had hidden daggers under their dress: but the plot being detected, he and they fell by the hands of their intended victims; and their countrymen, conscious of their injustice, made no demand of reparation.

Story of Polychares.

Before this grudge was healed, a fresh quarrel broke out. Alcamenes had succeeded his father Teleclus; Theopompus was his colleague; and two brothers, Androcles and Antiochus, sat on the throne of Messenia, when the wrongs and the revenge of a private man kindled a fatal war between the two nations. A Messenian named Polychares, a man of great note among his countrymen, who had gained the prize at the Olympic games, possessed some cattle for which he had no pasture, and contracted with a Spartan[1] named Euæphnus, to feed them on the latter's land. Euæphnus sold both the cattle and the herdsmen to some traders who had touched at one of the Laconian ports, and went to Polychares with a plausible tale of pirates that had landed and carried all off. While the lie was in his mouth, one of the herdsmen, who had escaped from his confinement, came back to his master and related the truth. Euæphnus, overwhelmed with fear and shame, intreated Polychares to be satisfied with the price of the oxen, and to send his son along with him to receive it. Suspecting no further trea-

[1] So he is called by Pausanias; but all the incidents of the story, unless it has been entirely disfigured, show that he must have been a Laconian of the subject class.

chery, the Messenian consented: the youth went with Euæphnus; but when they were on Laconian ground, the Spartan, instead of making restitution, killed his companion. The injured father first sought redress at Sparta; but when the kings and ephors were deaf to his complaints, he took his revenge into his own hands, waylaid passengers on the border, and spared no Lacedæmonian that fell into his power.

The Spartans now, in their turn, sent to demand that Polychares should be given up to them. The Messenian kings held an assembly to deliberate on their answer: opinions were divided, and the two kings took opposite sides. Androcles was willing to surrender Polychares to justice: Antiochus thought it hard that a man so grievously injured should suffer, while the aggressor remained unpunished. The passions of the contending parties grew warm; force took the place of argument; and a bloody conflict ensued, in which Androcles and some of the chief men on his side lost their lives: his children fled to Sparta. Antiochus, now sole king, sent proposals to Sparta for settling the dispute by the decision of some impartial tribunal, such as the Argive Amphictiony, or the Athenian Areopagus. Sparta made no reply, but silently resolved to cut the knot. In the course of a few months, Antiochus died, and was succeeded by his son Euphaes. In the beginning of his reign, in the second year of the ninth olympiad (B. C. 743), the Spartans first bound themselves by an oath, never to cease from warring against Messenia, let the struggle be long or short, fortune fair or foul, till they had made the land their own by the right of conquest. After this, without declaring war by a herald, they crossed the border, under the command of Alcamenes, in the dead of night, and marched against Amphea, a fortified town in the adjacent part of Messenia. Its gates were open, as in time of peace; and the invaders, en-

Beginning of the first Messenian war.

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 743.

tering without resistance, massacred the defenceless inhabitants in their beds, or at their altars. As Amphea stood on a high hill, supplied with copious springs of water, the Spartans determined to make it their place of arms, from which to carry the war at all seasons into the heart of the enemy's country. This was the beginning of the first Messenian war.

Authorities for the history of the Messenian wars.

Before we proceed, a word must be said as to the evidence on which the following narrative rests. Almost every thing we know of the two first Messenian wars is drawn from Pausanias; who, beside the general histories of Ephorus and others, had before him the works of two writers who selected the Messenian wars as their peculiar subject, and to them he appears to have been chiefly indebted for the details he communicates. Both of them flourished late, probably after Alexander. One, Rhianus, of Bené in Crete, related the principal events of the second war in an epic poem; the other, Myron of Priené, wrote a prose history of the first war, beginning from the surprise of Amphea. From the poet it would be unreasonable to expect historical accuracy, and Pausanias charges him with a gross anachronism. But he gives a still more unfavourable notion of the prose writer, and expressly accuses him of generally neglecting truth and probability. It need not be observed, that a narrative drawn from such sources cannot be entitled to full confidence; it may rather be questioned whether it deserves a place in history; for the importance of the Messenian wars would not justify a historian in admitting a fictitious description, though he might have no other way of filling up a large blank. But though little reliance can be placed on the circumstances related by Pausanias, there seems to be enough of truth in the whole history to claim room for it here. Its general outlines may be safely depended on; and of the rest, it cannot be doubted that many, perhaps most, touches

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 743.

belong to a very ancient popular tradition, which, notwithstanding its poetical colouring, faithfully transmitted the genuine spirit of the men and the times. This — the essence probably of heroic songs, which cheered the outcast nation in its exile, and kept alive the hope of better days till they came — it would be unwisely fastidious to reject because it is mixed up with much that is false and worthless; and this neither Rhianus nor Myron can be supposed to have entirely perverted or corrupted. The latter has probably injured it most by arbitrary and tasteless interpolations: he seems to have been a rhetorical historian, who selected this half-mythical subject, which, after the restoration of Messenian independence, excited a general interest in Greece, as an exercise for his pen; and, like Dionysius of Halicarnassus, filled up the intervals of a long period, in which he found only a few insulated poetical incidents, with wordy harangues, and elaborate descriptions of great battles that produce no consequences. Yet, careless as he may have been about any higher object than this display, neither he nor Rhianus can have spun their materials wholly out of their own brains; and therefore we may still listen to them, in the hope of catching many sounds that breathe the life of ancient days.

When the Messenians heard of the surprise of Amphea, they knew that they must prepare for a long and hard struggle; and they turned their thoughts more than before to warlike arts and exercises: but seeing themselves unequal to their enemy in the field, they avoided battle, and sheltered themselves behind the walls of their towns. These the Spartans were unable to force: but they made inroads into the heart of the country from Amphea, and began already to look upon Messenia as their own; for they spared the farm-houses, and the vines, and olive trees, and only carried away the fruit, and corn, and cattle, and slaves. The

CHAP. IX.

Messenians, on their part, were not inactive, but made incursions into Laconia, and infested its coasts.

B. C. 739.

In the fourth year of the war, the Messenians are said to have gathered courage so far as to take the field; but their king, Euphaes, still did not venture to face the Spartans on even ground. He intrenched himself in a strong position, where they could not attack him without great risk; and after a few skirmishes of the light troops, the two armies parted as they met. The next year, a great battle is said to been fought, in which the Spartans were assisted by Cretan archers, and by the Dryopes whom Argos had expelled from Asiné: but neither side raised a trophy; and they buried their dead, not by leave prayed, but by mutual consent.

Thus the war crept on, and every year Messenia suffered more and more from the enemy's presence. It was necessary to keep garrisons in all the towns at great cost; the husbandmen had scarcely heart to till the ground, and the slaves ran away to the Spartans. Diseases, such as commonly attend upon war and scarcity, began to spread their ravages through the unhappy land. The Messenians now resolved to try a new plan; not to scatter their forces over the country, but to collect them in an impregnable hold, where they might keep the enemy in check, and cover the region that lay behind them. On the western side of the vale of the Pamisus rise two lofty hills, connected together by a narrow ridge about half a mile long. The southern hill is mount Evan; the northern, mount Ithomé. The latter towers high above all in its immediate neighbourhood, and commands a view over all Messenia from the southern to the western coast. It descends steeply to the south and the west; but on the side of the river, and toward the north, its summit is guarded by precipitous cliffs. On this summit, a little town had been built in early times, probably

The Messenians fortify Ithomé.

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 734.

by the Æolian settlers from the north of Thessaly. And now the Messenians resolved to enlarge the ancient circuit, or to join a new city at the foot of the hill to the citadel on its top.

But at the same time, lest any secret anger of the gods should render these precautions vain, they sent to consult the oracle at Delphi. The god declared, that an unsullied virgin of the blood of Æpytus, selected by lot, must be made the victim of a nocturnal sacrifice to the powers below: should the lot fall wrong, one willingly offered must suffer instead. The lot was drawn, and fell on a daughter of Lyciscus: but a soothsayer forbad the sacrifice; for he knew by his art that the maid was not of the lineage of Æpytus: meanwhile, in the midst of the general amazement, Lyciscus carried her away, and fled to Sparta. Hereupon Aristodemus, an Æpytid also, and renowned for valour, freely offered his own daughter; though he had already betrothed her, and the day fixed for her marriage was at hand. The disappointed lover, after many unavailing remonstrances, forged a tale to defeat the father's purpose, alleging that the maid would not be an unsullied victim; that she was about to become a mother. Aristodemus, furious or impatient, killed his daughter with his own hand: her honour was cleared, but the soothsayer pronounced that a murder was not a sacrifice; that a fresh victim must be sought. The people was enraged with the calumnious lover; but the king, Euphaes, who was his friend, persuaded them that the oracle had been duly obeyed. So, believing that they had made their peace with the gods, they celebrated the event with joy and feasting.

The new ground which the Messenians had taken, and the report of their awful rites, discouraged the Spartans; and it was only in the sixth year after Ithomé had been fortified, that their king Theo-

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 730.

pompus led an army against it. The Messenians gave battle; but as before, though the fight lasted till nightfall, no victory was gained. Only the chiefs came forward, like the heroes of old, and proved their prowess in single combat. Euphaes himself attacked Theopompus, and fell: he was rescued by his friends, but died soon after of his wounds, without an heir. The people elected Aristodemus to succeed him, though the soothsayers warned them to beware of a man who would bring the stain of blood upon the throne of Æpytus. The new king however won the hearts of high and low by his good government; and he sent to obtain succour from his neighbours the Arcadians, and from Argos and Sicyon. The Arcadians joined the Messenians in ravaging Laconia: for beside petty inroads, which never ceased to be made from time to time, each hostile nation regularly invaded the other's territory before the harvest. Argos and Sicyon waited for a fit occasion.

In the fifth year of the reign of Aristodemus, the Spartans are said to have been defeated in a great battle at the foot of Ithomé. Their spirit began to sink, and they sought advice from Delphi. The oracle promised success to stratagems, and Sparta tried many in vain: but Aristodemus also was warned by the god to beware of Spartan cunning; and it was darkly announced, that prodigies should mark the approaching fall of Ithomé. These warnings were not understood, till the year arrived in which Messenia was overtaken by the destined calamity. The city was now closely besieged by the Spartans; but Apollo declared to the Messenians, that their land should belong to the nation which should first dedicate a hundred tripods at the altar of Jupiter in Ithomé. While they were preparing the offering, for which, in lack of brass, they were forced to use wood, a Spartan, who had heard of the oracle, stole

CHAP. IX.

B.C. 723.

into the temple by night, and placed a hundred small earthen tripods round the altar. And now rumours spread of portents, which seemed to answer to the oracular warning; and Aristodemus himself was dismayed by many visible signs of impending ruin. His daughter too appeared to him as he slept, clad in black; and, showing her wounds, took away his arms, and adorned him, as for his obsequies, with a golden crown and a white robe. Thus certain of his own fate, and of that which he could no longer avert from his country, he slew himself at his daughter's tomb. After his death, the hopes of the Messenians sank, but not their courage. They chose a chief, though without the royal title; and, when they were hard pressed by famine, made a vigorous sally: but their scale had kicked the beam; their bravest leaders fell; and at length, in the twentieth year of the war, the first of the fourteenth olympiad, they fled, as Tyrtæus sang, from the great mountains of Ithomé, leaving their rich fields in the possession of the conquerors. Such was the end of the first Messenian war (B.C. 723).

End of the first Messenian war.

From the romantic history which records this event, we do not learn the precise circumstances of the flight from Ithomé: whether the besieged effected their retreat by force, or by capitulation, or by sufferance. But we hear that only a few withdrew into foreign lands: the men of higher rank, who were connected by hospitable ties with Sicyon, or Argos, or any of the Arcadian towns, took refuge there; the priestly families retired to Eleusis: but the main body of the besieged is said to have dispersed, and to have settled in those parts of Messenia, from which they had been collected in Ithomé. The Spartans however, after the fall of this city, which they razed to the ground, soon made themselves masters of all the other Messenian towns, except, it would seem, Methoné and Pylus, and disposed of the country at their

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 723.

pleasure.[1] They repaid the services of their allies, the Dryopes, by giving them a portion of the coast near the western cape of the Messenian gulf, where they founded another Asiné; in which, to the time of Pausanias, they fondly preserved their national name and recollections. The descendants of Androcles were restored to their country: a district called Hyamia was assigned to them by the conquerors. What treatment the rest of the nation — the bulk of it at least — experienced, we know from the unsuspicious evidence of Tyrtæus, who, in the third generation after the conquest, roused the pride of the Spartans, by reminding them how their ancestors had forced the vanquished to stoop like asses under wearisome burthens, and to pay to their masters one half of the fruits of the land which they were allowed to till. In a word, they were reduced to the same condition with the Laconian Helots, but on more rigorous terms: like them, they were compelled to attend with their wives, as mourners, at the obsequies of the Spartan kings.

Consequences arising to Sparta from the conquest of Messenia.

The conquest of Messenia was the event, which, more than any other, determined the character and the subsequent history of Sparta. It appears to have been also connected with some important changes in the Spartan constitution, though in a manner which it is scarcely possible to collect with certainty from the scanty and confused traditions which remain on the subject. There can be no doubt that the greater part of the conquered land was divided among Spartan citizens; but it is a question whether these were the old citizens, or were now for the first time admitted to the franchise. We have already seen that, according to some accounts, Polydorus, one of the kings

[1] Lachmann, u. s. p. 192., supposes that the conquerors only took possession of the Stenyclerian plain, leaving the more mountainous parts to their former owners: and this opinion is mentioned with approbation by C. F. Hermann, *Ant. Lac.* p. 59.

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 723.

under whom the conquest was completed, doubled, or at least augmented by a third, the number of the portions of land possessed by the Spartans; and these accounts plainly imply, that the number of the citizens was also increased. And this supposition is in some degree confirmed by the various legends concerning the foundation of Tarentum, so far as they agree in indicating, that the emergencies of the war had induced the Spartans to relax the rigour of their principles, by permitting marriages between Spartan women and Laconians or others of inferior condition. Some stories connect these marriages, in a manner which can hardly be considered credible in the literal sense, with the oath taken by the Spartans, not to return home before the war should be ended.[1] The colony which founded Tarentum, in the interval between the first and second Messenian wars, is said to have been a band of youths, the offspring of such unequal marriages, who, finding themselves excluded from the rank of citizens, were only diverted from a dangerous conspiracy against the state, which they had concerted with the helots, by the proposal that they should seek a new country, and by the promise, that, if the expedition failed, they should on their return obtain a fifth part of Messenia. Theopompus however had related, that the Spartans, to supply the losses they sustained in their war with the Messenians, gave the widows of the deceased to helots, whom they afterwards admitted to the franchise under a peculiar name.[2] This incident indeed may properly belong to

[1] Antiochus and Ephorus in Strabo, vi. p. 278—280., compared with Theopompus in Athen. vi. 271. C. F. Hermann, *Ant. Lac.* p. 61. n. 30., adds Acron ad Horat. Od. ii. 6. 12., *Phalantus Lacedæmonius fuit, ejectus patria hac culpa, quod absentibus Lacedæmoniis filiæ eorum ex servis gravidatæ natos ediderant, postea reversi patres tali culpa genitos expulerunt, quorum dux Phalantus fuit*: and proceeds to observe, *neque aliena est Antiochi narratio apud Strab.* vi. p. 278. *Si quidem hi quos ille ait μὴ μετασχόντας Λακεδαιμονίων τῆς στρατείας κριθῆναι δούλους καὶ ὀνομασθῆναι Εἵλωτας, ipsi potius Helotes habendi sunt, quorum ex genere Partheniæ prodiere.*

[2] ἐπεύνακτοι. So too Diodorus, vii. 10. (in Mai. Vet. Scr. tom. ii. p. 10.) calls the partisans of Phalanthus ἐπευνακταί, and seems to confound them with the παρθενίαι.

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 723.

Admission of new citizens to Sparta.

the second War, in which such a measure is said to have been adopted on the advice of Tyrtæus; but it may serve to illustrate the state of things in the former period. Should we however believe that Polydorus increased the number of the Spartans by a considerable body of new citizens, drawn from the servile or the subject class of Laconians, or from the issue of marriages formed between such persons and Spartan women, it would still remain to be explained how this act of wise liberality could be connected with that discontent, which is uniformly mentioned, certainly not without some historical ground, as the occasion of the migration to Tarentum. And this seems inexplicable, unless we suppose that a distinction was made between the new and the old citizens, which provoked a part of the former to attempt a revolution, and compelled the government to adopt one of the usual means of getting rid of disaffected and turbulent subjects. It must be remembered that the Lacedæmonian settlers formed only a part of the colony at Tarentum, where, as at Croton and Locri, they were blended with other Greeks. We know that in later times a distinction existed at Sparta between two classes, one termed the Equals or Peers [1], the other the Inferiors.[2] To the Equals, who appear to have composed a select assembly [3], the election of the Senate seems to have been exclusively reserved; but the lower franchise must have entitled to a vote in the general assembly. It seems not improbable that a similar distinction may have arisen in the reign of Polydorus, and it may easily be conceived that it gave birth to violent contests. This too was perhaps the occasion of an ordinance enacted under the sanction of Delphi in the reigns of Theopompus and Polydorus, by which the powers of the general assembly were expressly limited to the simple receiving or re-

Rise of a new distinction among the citizens of Sparta.

[1] ὅμοιοι. [2] ὑπομείονες. [3] ἡ μικρὰ ἐκκλησία.

jecting of propositions presented to it, without change or addition.[1] CHAP. IX. B. C. 723.

The assumption of such an enlargement and consequent graduation of the franchise, would perhaps also afford the easiest way of reconciling the various accounts of the origin of the ephoralty. Herodotus ascribes the institution of this office to Lycurgus, perhaps only in a sense in which we might also do so, if Lycurgus be considered as representing the ancient Spartan constitution. Other writers, with as good reason, describe the ephoralty as an innovation introduced by Theopompus, the colleague of Polydorus, who is said to have been reproached by his queen with having thus parted with the best half of the royal prerogatives, and to have vindicated his prudence by alleging, that by this concession he had secured the remainder to his successors. Here however arises a difficulty: to reconcile this statement with the above-mentioned ordinance which manifestly tended to strengthen the royal authority; and it has been thought necessary to suppose that the ordinance provoked a reaction, which ended in the triumph of the people, who, to secure themselves against further encroachments of the royal prerogative, extorted the concession of a new popular magistracy, or at least of a great addition to its powers.[2] It must however be observed, that the kings, from motives of policy, were always favourable to an extension of the franchise, and that this was also apparently the natural tendency of the ephoralty: while the character which this institution afterwards assumed may have been so little foreseen, that Theopompus might regard it as a useful auxiliary. The anecdote itself seems to show, that he did not view it as a formidable antagonist. In the latest times of Sparta Cleomenes endeavoured to

[1] Plut. Lyc. 6.
[2] Arnold, Thucyd. *Appendix*, ii. vol. i. p. 646. note n.

CHAP. IX.

B.C. 723.

spread an opinion, that the ephors had been originally appointed by the kings, when occupied by the Messenian war, to fill their place at home in the seat of justice, but that these new magistrates made their authority first independent, and then paramount over that of the kings themselves. Asteropus is named as the ephor who contributed most to strengthen the power of the college; but he is said to have lived many generations after their first institution.[1] This account of the origin of the office, though not improbable in itself, is rendered very doubtful both by the example of Cyrene, by the number of the ephoral college corresponding to the local divisions of the capital, and by the analogy of other states, which seems to indicate, that at Sparta the civil and criminal jurisdictions were originally separate from each other, and that neither was ever wholly in the hands of the kings. And as the criminal jurisdiction belonged to the senate, it is most probable that the civil was from the first exercised by the ephors. And this may very early have been united with a censorial authority, such as we find was possessed by the ephors of Cyrene.[2] The antiquity of this branch of the Spartan office seems to be proved by the obsolete symbolical language of the edict, with which the ephors regularly entered upon it, in which they bade the citizens shave the upper lip, and obey the laws.[3] This general superintendence over the execution of the laws was an attribute of the ephoralty, which might often bring it into collision with the royal authority, and, in the hands of a dexterous and enterprising man, might alone have proved an instrument of unlimited power. It may have been by virtue of this that the ephors received an oath (if we may believe Xenophon, every

[1] Plut. Cleom. 10.

[2] Heracl. Pont. iv. Νόμος δὲ ἦν, τοὺς πολυδίκους καὶ κακοπράγμονας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐφόρων προάγεσθαι, καὶ ζημιοῦν τούτους καὶ ἀτίμους ποιεῖν.

[3] Plut. Cleom. 9.

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 723.

mouth) from the kings, that they would govern according to law, and in return bound themselves and the nation to a conditional obedience, in terms not unlike those used on similar occasions by the Aragonese. Another prerogative of the ephors, which enabled them at the end of every eight years — a period observed for many purposes from early times by the Dorian race — to suspend the functions of the kings, would seem to have been connected with a religious, rather than a political, character of their office. They chose, it is said, a clear but moonless night, to observe the sky, and the appearance of a meteor in a certain quarter was regarded as a token of the displeasure of the gods against the kings, who were forthwith interdicted from the discharge of their office, and could only be restored by the intervention of an oracle. But beside these powers, the ephors, in later times, possessed that of convoking the assembly of the people, of laying measures before it, and of acting in its name; and it was undoubtedly this representative character which afforded them the principal means of encroaching on the royal prerogatives, and of drawing the whole government of the state into their hands.

Enlargement of the power of the ephors.

This last, the most important branch of their authority, may have arisen in the reign of Theopompus, and from the cause to which Cleomenes assigned the institution of the office itself, the temporary absence of the kings. That it was unknown in earlier times, seems to follow from the two ordinances cited by Plutarch, which regulated the assembly of the people, and which are silent as to the functions of the ephors. But still it may be reasonably doubted, whether that enormous increase of their power, by which it came to overshadow all others in the commonwealth, was derived solely or mainly from any such accident, and whether it was on this account that the reign of Theopompus was fixed on as the epoch of their creation.

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 723.

But if in this reign the franchise was extended to a body of new citizens, who nevertheless were not admitted to a complete equality of privileges with the old ones, the ephors, as representatives of the whole people, would take up a new position with respect to the kings and the senate.[1] The comparison which Cicero draws between the ephoralty and the Roman tribunate[2], would in this case be more applicable than he himself suspected, and it will serve to throw light on a seeming contradiction which strikes us in the character of the ephors, who are all-powerful, though the class which they more especially represent enjoys only a limited franchise. But as the relations of the several classes of Spartan citizens underwent great changes in the course of their history, the causes which maintained the stability of these relations in later times will demand a different explanation in its proper

Comparison between the ephors and the Roman tribunes.

[1] The view here taken of the origin of the ephoralty is only to be considered as a conjecture, which would no doubt be an objection to it, if it were possible to fill up the blanks in our historical information on this subject without one. But perhaps it is not a bolder conjecture than Dr. Arnold's, of a reaction, which it is the more difficult to adopt, as the ordinance which is supposed to have provoked it was never repealed: a fact which seems very much to weaken the force of the illustration drawn from the reign of our Charles I., and it would seem that every hypothesis which (like C. F. Hermann, *Handbuch*, c. 11. 4. § 43.) treats the power of the ephors as *a legal organ extorted from the king* by the jealousy of the people, needs some such conjecture to reconcile it with the famous anti-popular ordinance. The view taken in the text is apparently confirmed by a passage in Aristot. Pol. v. 6., where he observes that the resemblance between oligarchy and aristocracy is most apparent, ὅταν ᾖ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πεφρονηματισμένων ὡς ὅμοιον κατ' ἀρετήν· οἷον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι οἱ λεγόμενοι παρθενίαι· ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων γὰρ ἦσαν οὓς φωράσαντες ἐπιβουλεύσαντας ἀπέστειλαν Τάραντος οἰκιστάς. On which Schoemann, *Ant. J. P. G.* p. 119. not. 17., remarks, *satis mature homœorum ordinem extitisse conjeceris ex Arist. Polit.* v. 6. 1. *si certum esset hunc accurate loquutum esse*; interpreting, it seems, ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων *ex Homeis procreatos* — an error which is corrected by C. F. Hermann, *Ant. Lac.* p. 127. not. 44. On the other hand, it may seem difficult to understand why the colony should have been sent to Tarentum, if the inferior class was under the protection of the ephors. But the contest may have been terminated by a compromise, the number of the citizens entitled to equal privileges being raised to 9000, and the rest going abroad. According to C. F. Hermann, *Ant. Lac.* p. 62., *Lacedæmonii post primum bellum Messeniacum civium numero novem millibus circumscripto et absoluto, reliquos, qui progenie quidem peregrini Lycurgeæ tantum legis beneficio propter educationem cives facti essent, capite deminutos ejecerunt ipsamque illam Lycurgi largitatem ab hoc inde tempore propius ad naturam redeuntes ad spurios tantum vel adoptaticios restrinxerunt.*

[2] iii. 7. v. Limburg Brouwer, *Hist. de la Cir.* iii. p. 208., attributes the comparison to Aristotle, *Aristote, qui compare les éphores très à propos avec les tribuni plebis des Romains.* Compare Val. Max. iv. 1. E. 8.

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 723.

Mode of election and authority of the ephors.

place. Here we may observe, that Aristotle speaks of the mode in which the ephors were elected, as no less puerile than that adopted in the case of the senate [1]; from which we must infer that there was little difference between the two, and are led to suppose that an allusion of Plato's, by which he seems to intimate that chance had some share in the creation of the ephors, does not refer to the form of the election, but to another mark of a democratical office [2]: for such the ephoralty appeared to the ancients, when considered with respect to its origin, though it was tyrannical in the extent of its power. This seems never to have been defined, and therefore probably varied with the character of the men who held it, and the state of the times. But it is remarkable that, with the substance, the ephors assumed the outward signs of the supreme authority. The royal dignity was forced on all occasions to bow to them; and as they could control the proceedings of the kings by their orders, could fine them for slight offences at their discretion, and could throw them into prison to await a trial on graver charges, so they alone among all the Spartans kept

[1] Polit. ii. 6. He applies the epithet παιδαριώδης to both. That the election of the ephors belonged to the general assembly is the opinion of most writers, as Mueller, *Dor.* iii. 7. 1., Mr. Lewis, *Phil. Mus.* ii. p. 54., Arnold, *Thuc.* i. p. 647., Schoemann, u. s. p. 129., Lachmann, *Spart. Staatsv.* p. 209. (where it seems at least to be implied), Tittmann, *Gr. Staatsv.* p. 107., Pastoret, *Hist. de la Leg.* v. p. 254. But C. F. Hermann, *Ant. Lac.* p. 66. n. 48., rejects it as inconsistent with the words of Aristotle, Polit. iv. 7. (δύο τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς τὴν μὲν αἱρεῖσθαι τὸν δῆμον, τῆς δὲ μετέχειν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ γέροντας αἱροῦνται, τῆς δ' ἐφορείας μετέχουσιν), and supposes that the ephors were always appointed by the kings, *eo modo qui fortunae plus arbitrii quam regibus permitteret.* But the inference from Aristotle's language does not seem so clear as to require this supposition, which is particularly improbable according to the view taken of the ephoralty by Hermann himself in his *Handbuch*, u. s., as *a legal organ extorted from the king.* On the interpretation of the passage in Aristotle proposed by Wachsmuth, i. 2. p. 214. n. 36., some remarks will be found in an appendix to vol. iv.

[2] Leg. iii. 11. ἐγγὺς τῆς κληρωτῆς δυνάμεως. Goettling, ad Aristot. Polit. Excursus, i. p. 468., supposes that lot decided between candidates who had been elected: but the words may refer to the democratical character of the electors, which, according to Plato's view, rendered their choice as capricious and uncertain as if it had been determined by lot; and indeed Aristotle speaks of the ephors as οἱ τυχόντες.

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 748.

their seats while the kings were passing, whereas it was not thought beneath the majesty of the kings to rise in honour of the ephors, and it was their acknowledged duty to attend, at least on the third summons, before the ephoral tribunal. It will however be seen, that, even when the power of the ephors was at its greatest height, the kingly station continued to confer important prerogatives, and means of extensive influence; and Agesilaus, who went beyond all his predecessors in the respect which he showed to the ephors, was the most powerful prince of his house.

It has probably been owing to the poetical form in which the events of the first Messenian war have been transmitted to us, that we hear so little of the part which Argos took in it. But it appears from some facts which have been accidentally preserved, that, as might have been expected, she was far from remaining inactive, while her enemy was engaged in the struggle with Messenia, but that she seized this opportunity of recovering Cynuria. And there is even reason to believe, that it was at this period she made herself mistress of the whole eastern coast of Laconia, as far as Cape Malea, and of the island of Cythera, which, as we learn from Herodotus, once formed part of her territory.[1] These conquests may probably be attributed to Pheidon, who is usually called tyrant of Argos, but was, in fact, an hereditary ruler, the tenth from Temenus, though he had broken through the restraints which limited the kingly power at Argos.[2] It seems to have been Pheidon's aim to assert the supremacy of his house over the other branches of the Heracleid race, and to enforce all the titles which he derived from his mythical descent.[3] On this ground, in the eighth Olympiad, he deprived the Eleans of

Pheidon, king of Argos.

[1] i. 82.
[2] Aristot. Pol. v. 8. See Mueller, *Æginetica*, p. 52. foll.
[3] Strabo, viii. p. 358.

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 748.

their presidency at the Olympic games, which, as legends told, had been founded by his divine progenitor, and conferred it on the Pisans. It may have been in prosecution of this vast plan, that he furnished his brother Caranus with the means of founding a little kingdom, which became the core of the Macedonian monarchy. This powerful and active prince introduced a new system of weights and measures, which bore his name, and replaced the old rude money by a more convenient coinage, called the Æginetan, because it was in Ægina, which formed a part of his territories, that he established his mint. He may also have extended his dominions along the western coast of the Argolic gulf, as far as Malea: a rocky barren tract of little value, except as it afforded a passage into the heart of Laconia.

At the death of Pheidon his genius and fortune seem to have deserted the Argives: and these conquests, whatever may have been their extent, fell back to Sparta. Her territory had thus reached its utmost limits: but power founded on wrong, and used without mercy, is never secure. A new generation sprang up in Messenia, which, while it groaned under a degrading yoke, remembered nothing of the evils of the war which their fathers had waged, but heard of their heroic deeds. The Messenians who had been exempted, by the policy or the generosity of Sparta, from the servile condition to which their countrymen were reduced, felt the exception to be ignominious, as the price of slavish submission. Many born in exile were eager to recover their patrimonies. When all hearts were full, all spirits roused to expect the signal for revolt, the destined champion appeared: a second Aristodemus arose in Aristomenes.

His birth was noble, like that of the elder hero; for he also sprang from the race of Æpytus: it was even thought to have been half divine, like that of Hercules

CHAP. IX.

B.C. 685.

and Theseus. In strength and courage he surpassed Aristodemus, and no fearful remembrance weighed upon his soul. From Andania, his birth-place, he cheered the hopes of the exiles, fanned the indignation of the oppressed people, and drew promises of aid from foreign cities. Argos and Arcadia were more than ever hostile to Sparta, and Elis too was ready to assist in the deliverance of Messenia. In the thirty-ninth year after the capture of Ithomé, the fourth of the twenty-third Olympiad (B.C. 685), the second Messenian war began.[1]

Beginning of the second Messenian war.

The first battle was fought before any succours had come from abroad: the victory was not clear on either side; yet the valour of Aristomenes struck fear into his enemies, and inspired his countrymen with confidence. They offered him the crown, but he declined the regal title, and contented himself with the labours and dangers of the supreme command. To prove himself worthy of it, and to open the war with a happy omen, he crossed the mountains, came down at night on the plain of Sparta, and fixed a shield which he had taken in the battle against the temple of Athene, surnamed Chalcioecus (of the brazen house); an inscription declared that Aristomenes had dedicated it from Spartan spoils.

The Spartans saw that they had no common enemy to contend with, and they sent to Delphi for advice. The god bad them seek an Athenian counsellor. No dealings, friendly or hostile, had passed between Attica and Laconia from the ancient times, when the twin sons of Jupiter were said to have carried back their sister Helen, after storming the Attic town of Aphidnæ. From the same place an ally and a counsellor now came to the aid of Sparta; for, according to the most credible accounts, this was the birth-place or the home of Tyrtæus; though, as he is also said

Aristomenes and Tyrtæus.

[1] But see Clinton, Fast. i. p. 256.

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 685.

to have been a Milesian[1], his family at least seems to have sprung from the Athenian colony, Miletus. The legendary character of Tyrtæus is almost as marvellous as that of Aristomenes. It is however perfectly certain, both that the hero fought, and that the poet sang; for a few fragments of his poetry remain, full of the spirit with which he warmed his hearers. But the popular tradition in later ages was, that the Athenians, divided between their reverence for the Delphic god and their reluctance to further the cause of Sparta, thought they could not better effect their purpose than by selecting a lame man, who taught letters, for the counsellor whom they were requested to send.[2] The truth has evidently been distorted; though it is impossible to restore its genuine features with certainty. The only fact in the story which there is no reason to doubt, is that Tyrtæus came from Attica to Sparta.[3] But the oracle may have grown, as usual, out of the event; and Tyrtæus was probably neither lame nor a schoolmaster.[4] He taught

[1] Suidas. Τυρταῖος Ἀρχιμβρότου Λάκων ἢ Μιλήσιος. This article in Suidas has been considered as the more authentic because it has preserved the name of the poet's father (see Bach *ad Tyrtæum*, p. 43.). But Mueller, *Dor.* vol. i. p. 167. Eng. Tr. ed. 2., thinks that "*Archimbrotus* looks like an etymological invention: *the ruler of men.*" Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* p. 377., believes that Tyrtæus came from Miletus for the purpose of making the poetry of Homer and Arctinus known in Attica.

[2] Paus. iv. 15. According to Mueller, u. s., *an absurd and distorted fable.* Weber, *Die elegischen Dichter des Hellenen*, p. 458., finds nothing incredible in any of the circumstances related by Pausanias, though one of them is that Tyrtæus was supposed to be of weak intellect: νοῦν ἥκιστα ἔχειν δοκῶν.

[3] As Tyrtæus in one of his poems — evidently speaking as a Dorian — says that he and his comrades had left the windy Erineus (a town of Doris) for Peloponnesus, Strabo, viii. p. 362., understanding him literally, concludes that the authors, who, like Philochorus and Callisthenes, brought him from Athens, or Aristides, contradicted the testimony of the poet himself. Yet even this is more tolerable than the explanation given by Franck, in his edition of Callinus and Tyrtæus, p. 194., where he will not even allow Erineus to be the name of an Attic township, but of a tree. *Convenerant Tyrtæi comites in Attica ad capificum quandam, atque inde fuerant in Peloponnesum profecti.*

[4] Welcker however, u. s., thinks it by no means incredible that he taught, though not simply letters, nor in a public school, but *gave private instruction to the sons of distinguished persons in the reading of Homer and other poets, as Livius and Ennius (according to Sallust) translated Greek poetry, and read their own, to the youth of Rome.* This parallel, so far as it refers to the productions of other poets, is not quite satisfactory: if applied to those of Tyrtæus himself, it

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 685.

indeed, but verses, like Pindar or Simonides: and perhaps the unequal lines of the couplets to which he married his fiery thoughts, may have suggested the thought of a personal defect; or it may have been simply the form in which tradition expressed the fact, that he served the Spartans with his mind more than with his body. The motive that led him to devote his muse to their cause is still more doubtful; we can only suspect, that it was connected with the above-mentioned mythical legend, concerning the invasion of the Laconian twins. We know that in the later times of Greece, political relations were sometimes contracted on grounds not more solid. Aphidnus, the hero who was thought to have given his name to the birth-place of Tyrtæus, had, it was said, adopted the brothers of Helen as his sons[1]; Aphidnæ may have regarded their country with feelings of kindred, and may have sent Tyrtæus, whether as warrior or as bard, to raise his arm or his voice in behalf of the Spartans.[2]

They were also joined by auxiliaries from Corinth, and from Lepreum, which gladly assisted the enemies of Elis. The Messenians, on the other hand, were reinforced by their exiled countrymen, who brought with them the ministers of the Eleusinian rites, and by their allies from Sicyon and Argos, Arcadia and Elis: for the issue of the contest was to determine which state should have the mastery in Peloponnesus. A great battle was fought in the plain of Stenyclerus,

would not be inconsistent with the view taken in the text, which is well expressed by Nitzsch, *De Hist. Hom.* p. 11., "Risui fere erant qui Tyrtæum ludi magistrum, altero pede claudum, Spartam arcessitum esse memoriæ prodiderant. Verum ut primis auctoribus non ipsum, sed versus ejus claudos dictos esse credimus, ita quicunque se non Wolfio sed historiæ addixit, non invitus mecum ludi magistrum, vel potius τὸν διδάσκαλον γραμμάτων (hunc enim dicit Pausan iv. 15. non γραμματιστήν) in *doctorem* (carminum) *scriptorum* refinget. . . . . Tyrtæi ætate quum nondum pervulgato literaturæ usu scriptores præter poetas nulli essent, carmina γραμμάτων nomine dicta esse non magis sumimus quam illo ipso testimonio, sane memorabili, convincimus."

[1] Plut. Thes. 33.

[2] See Mueller, *Dorians*, Engl. tr. ed. 2. i. p. 167.

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 685.

Victories of Aristomenes.

at a place called, from an ancient legend, the Boar's Pillar. The Messenian priests and Tyrtæus kept aloof from the fight, and only animated the combatants by their voice. But Aristomenes, at the head of a little band of the bravest Messenian youths, successively broke each division of the Spartan forces, till all were scattered in disorderly flight. He pursued the routed foe with impetuous ardour, and forgot the warning of the soothsayer, Theoclus, who had enjoined him not to pass a tree which he pointed out to him in the plain, where the Twins, as he said, were sitting; doubtless to protect the retreat of their countrymen. The hero passed the limit, and dropped his shield: it was carried away by an invisible hand, and while he searched for it the fugitives escaped. But Messenia was freed for a time from the presence of her enemy; and when Aristomenes returned to Andania, the women, as they strewed fillets and flowers on his head, sang, in strains that were remembered and repeated for a thousand years, how he had chased the Lacedæmonians over the Stenyclerian plain, and up to the top of the mountains. The lost shield too, adorned with the device of a spread eagle, he recovered shortly after, when, by the direction of Apollo, he descended into the cavern of Trophonius at Lebadea. On his return from this journey, he took a threatening, instead of a defensive posture; and hanging like a dark cloud over the trembling Spartans, fell with the suddenness of lightning on their towns and villages. With his chosen companions he surprised and plundered Pharæ, put to flight the Spartan king Anaxander when he came to its relief, and was only stopped in the pursuit by an accidental wound. When this was healed, he meditated an attack on Sparta itself: but Helen and the tutelary Twins interposed, and in a dream admonished him to drop his design. He however laid a successful ambush for the Spartan virgins, who were

CHAP. IX.

B.C. 683.

celebrating the worship of Artemis with festive dances at Caryæ, a town among the hills near the sources of the Eurotas, and carried them over the border. Generous as brave, he protected them from the violence of his young followers, and restored them, though not without a heavy ransom, to their kinsmen. At Ægila he made a similar attempt with different fortune; for the first time he fell into the hands of an enemy; he was surrounded by the women, who were celebrating the rites of Demeter, stunned by their blazing torches, and fettered; but in the night he snapt the cords that bound him, or they were loosened by the compassion of the priestess, and he returned safe to Messenia.

In the third year of the war Sparta again prepared for battle; but now distrustful of her own strength, she stooped to seek victory from unworthy arts. The Messenians were joined on this occasion by no allies but the Arcadians, who were commanded by Aristocrates, son of Hicetas; king, some say, of Arcadia, but more probably of Orchomenus. He was seduced by Spartan bribes, drew off his men in the heat of the battle, and, after throwing the Messenian ranks into disorder by his retreat, left them exposed on all sides to superior numbers. Even the valour of Aristomenes and his little band could not save the day. After a great slaughter, in which many of the noblest Messenians perished, he collected the fugitives, a feeble and disheartened remnant, in Andania. All looked to him for counsel. He advised them to do as their ancestors had done: to collect all the remaining strength of Messenia in a mountain citadel, where they could defy the attacks of a Spartan army; not however in Ithomé (which was perhaps in the enemy's power), but in mount Eira, at the foot of which the Neda separates Messenia from Triphylia. Here therefore they fortified themselves; while the Spartans, masters

The Messenians fortify Eira.

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 682.

of the whole country, except Pylus and Methone, and the adjacent coast, lay at the foot of Eira, hoping soon to reduce it by force or famine.

While they were reckoning on a speedy surrender, Aristomenes was planning new attacks. He increased his band to the number of three hundred, forced or turned the Spartan lines, and swept the vales of Messenia and Laconia without distinction, for, except a few little nooks, both alike were Sparta's, and returned to Eira laden with booty. The Spartans, thus compelled to feed the enemy whom they wished to starve, resolved to turn Messenia and the Laconian border into a desert, and forbad their citizens to till their lands in all this region, until the war should be ended. But this ordinance, when enforced, produced a general scarcity, and the owners of the land murmured at their loss. Civil broils would have ensued; but Tyrtæus, who, after the disaster of the Boar's Pillar, had roused the sinking courage of the Spartans by his stirring strains, now touched a different chord, and allayed their angry passions, by celebrating the blessings of concord and obedience to the laws.

Wonderful exploits and escape of Aristomenes.

Emboldened by his success, Aristomenes aimed at a higher mark. He sallied forth late in the evening, and by a wonderfully rapid march reached Amyclæ before the next sunrise; ere succour arrived from Sparta, he had gathered his booty, and was gone. But in a second inroad he found the Spartans better prepared; half of their whole force, with both the kings at their head, opposed his retreat. His little army was surrounded; he himself long kept his enemies at bay; at length, weakened by loss of blood, he was stunned by a stone, and made prisoner with fifty of his companions. All were condemned, as the vilest malefactors, to be thrown down a high rock into a pit called the Ceadas. The rest were dashed to pieces by the fall; he alone came to the ground un-

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 682.

harmed; saw the sky above, the naked sides of the precipice that inclosed him, and a cavern dark as night at its foot; and wrapped himself in his field cloak to wait for death. But on the third day a sound of life caught his ear; uncovering his face, he perceived that a fox had found its way into the cave; through a passage therefore which he might thread. Motionless, he awaited its approach, caught hold of its tail, and guided by it as it struggled to escape, crept on till he saw a glimpse of light in the bowels of the rock, enlarged the opening with his hands, and the next day was again in Eira.

It would be long to relate all the other like exploits and adventures of the invincible hero; how he cut to pieces a Corinthian army which was marching to join the Spartans; afterwards, in time of truce, fell into an ambush of Cretan bowmen, and was taken, but again burst his bonds, through the pity of a maid whom he rewarded with the hand of his son Gorgus. Thrice Aristomenes offered to Jupiter of Ithomé the extraordinary sacrifice, called *Hecatomphonia*, because it was reserved for the warrior who had slain a hecatomb of foes. But he was said to have provoked the anger of the twin Protectors of Sparta, by impiously counterfeiting their appearance, and disturbing a festival which the Spartans were celebrating in their honour with bloodshed.[1] The gods turned their faces away from Messenia. The eleventh year of the siege of Eira brought with it a sure sign that the end of the contest was approaching. *When a goat shall drink the water of the Neda*, so the oracle had spoken, *the destruction of Messenia is at hand.* But in the dialect of Messenia, the same word signified a goat and a wild fig-tree. One of these trees overhung the stream, and at length stretched its boughs down to the water. When Theoclus, the seer,

[1] Polyænus, xi. 31. 3.

saw this, he knew that the oracle was accomplished, and that the fated term of resistance had arrived; and he warned Aristomenes to resign himself to the loss of his country. B.C. 685.

Surprise of Eira.

The will of the gods was accomplished through treachery and female weakness. The herdsman of a Spartan high in rank had gone over to the enemy with his master's cattle. He fed them on the banks of the Neda, which were still open to the garrison of Eira. Here he caught the eye of a Messenian woman, as she came to draw water; she admitted him into her house, while her husband was guarding the citadel. On a rainy night the Messenian suddenly returned home, and related the cause that had drawn him off his post to his wife, while her paramour overheard him from a hidingplace. Aristomenes was prevented by a wound from making his usual rounds; in his absence the discipline of the garrison had relaxed; in foul weather the sentinels left their stations to seek shelter, and abandoned the walls to the protection of the elements. The herdsman resolved to turn this discovery to account by carrying it as the price of forgiveness and favour to his master Emperamus, who, in the absence of the kings, had the command of the Spartan army at Eira. Under his guidance the Spartans scaled the walls of the citadel, and before the alarm was given were already within. The besieged however were still determined to dispute every inch of ground that remained; and Aristomenes, in spite of his wound, and though he had lost all hope, urged them to the conflict. As soon as the returning light enabled the assailants to push forward, a fierce and obstinate combat arose in the streets and open places. Even the women took a share in it, and as the violence of the tempest prevented them from mounting on the roofs, to hurl stones and tiles on the enemy below, they armed themselves, and fought among the men.

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 685.

But the fury of despair was fain to yield to fate; the rain poured down in torrents; the lightning seemed to flash in the eyes of the Messenians; the thunder sounded like the voice of an angry god in their ears. Still, for three days and nights, they maintained the hopeless struggle: while the Spartans were relieved by fresh troops, their little band, fighting continually without rest, food, or shelter, dwindled and flagged from wounds and weakness. At length Theoclus, after exhorting Aristomenes to abandon the useless strife with destiny, and to save the last hopes of Messenia, and warning the Spartans that their triumph would not be perpetual, rushed into the thickest of the fight, and fell amidst heaps of slain enemies. Then Aristomenes checked the ardour of the foremost among his warriors; bade them form themselves into a hollow square, inclosing their wives and children, and himself advanced towards the enemy, and by his gestures demanded a free passage. The Spartans, fearing to drive him to the last extremity, opened a road through their ranks for the fugitives, who retreating in good order, safely gained the borders of Arcadia.

Here they were received with hospitable kindness: their generous allies would even have shared their own lands with them; but the thoughts of Aristomenes were bent, not on rest and ease, but on a new enterprise; while the Spartans were securely gathering the fruits of their recent victory, he meditated an expedition to surprise Sparta itself, and thus to take hostages for the moderation of the conquerors. But the plan was betrayed by the faithless Aristocrates, whose repeated treachery was now proved by an intercepted answer, in which the Spartan king Anaxander thanked him for his ancient and his present services. When the assembly of the Arcadian people heard this, they stoned the traitor to death, and raised

a monument inscribed with a record of his crime and of his punishment. CHAP. IX.

After this disappointment, fifty of the exiles, with a kinsman of Aristomenes at their head, secretly crossed the border, fell upon the Spartans, who were still plundering Eira, and died, sword in hand, in the land of their fathers. B.C. 668.

Thus, in the first year of the twenty-eighth olympiad (B. C. 668), ended the second Messenian war. As many of the Messenians as remained in the country became helots; but probably few freemen submitted to this lot. Those of Pylus and Methone, seeing no hope of retaining their independence after the fall of Eira, betook themselves to their ships, and sailed to Cyllene, the Elean port. Methone was given by the Spartans to the Nauplians, whom Argos had expelled from their own town: arrived in Elis, the Messenians sent to Aristomenes, and desired him to lead them to a new country. He however could not yet abandon the task he had chosen for his life — to wage ceaseless war with Sparta; but he appointed his two sons, Gorgus and Manticlus, to be the founders of the intended colony. The question was to what land they should steer their course. One of their leaders proposed that they should seize Zacynthus, and from its ports infest the coasts of their conquerors. Manticlus bad them drop the thoughts of revenge and continual war, and sail to the great island of Sardinia, a rich and easy conquest. Neither advice prevailed: one band however, under the two sons of Aristomenes, sought the city of Rhegium, on the straits that separate Italy from Sicily. There they found some of their kinsmen, who had settled there at the end of the former war. At a later period, in the 71st olympiad, one of their countrymen, named Anaxilaus, raised himself to the supreme power in Rhegium: with his aid they made themselves masters of the town of End of the second Messenian war.

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 668.

Zancle, on the opposite side of the straits, which a band of Samian exiles had already wrested from its rightful owners. They named it Messene: it is still called Messina; and flourished there till many were induced to leave it for a new Messene in their ancient land.

Messenian exiles; Death of Aristomenes.

Many however of the exiles remained in Greece, waiting for an opportunity of vengeance, which came, though long delayed. Aristomenes himself died in peace, at Rhodes, in the house of his son-in-law, Damagetus, who had been directed by the Delphic oracle to ally himself to the *best of the Greeks*. The Rhodians honoured him with a noble monument, and with the sacred rites due to a hero: his posterity were long the most illustrious family in the island. This tradition at least seems less fabulous than one which, founded perhaps on a poetical epithet, related that the Spartans had opened his body and found in it a hairy heart.

The yoke appeared now to be fixed on the neck of Messenia for ever; and henceforward Sparta continued to rise toward undisputed pre-eminence in Peloponnesus, and in all Greece. She rewarded her friends, humbled her rivals, and punished her enemies. Soon after the close of the war she stept in to decide a quarrel that had subsisted for more than a century, if not ever since the return of the Heracleids, between Elis and Pisa. The latter state had more than once successfully asserted, not only its independence, but its claim to the right of presiding at the sacred games which were celebrated on its territory; first, as we have seen, with the aid of Pheidon in the eighth olympiad, and again in the 34th, when it was governed by a native prince, named Pantaleon. Pantaleon had also led succours to the Messenians in the second war; and it is probable that, by so doing, he determined his enemies the Eleans to abandon the Messenian cause,

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 668.

and to ally themselves with Sparta. She requited their services by reducing the whole country that separated the Hollow Elis from Messenia, under subjection to them. Pisa was still ruled by her native kings, but they were now vassals of Elis; and Demophon, son of Pantaleon, was compelled to soothe the jealousy of the sovereign state by the most abject submission. His successor, Pyrrhus, excited some of the Triphylian and other subject towns to revolt; but the struggle ended in the complete subjugation of all the insurgents.

War between Sparta and Tegea; Conquest of Cynuria Othryades.

The old contest with Tegea, from which Sparta had hitherto reaped only shame and loss, was at length terminated in her favour. Toward the middle of the 6th century before our era, in the reigns of Ariston and Anaxandridas, an oracle bad the Spartans, if they would prevail in the war, bring the bones of Orestes, son of Agamemnon, to Sparta. Another mysterious answer directed them to search for the relics at Tegea. Some gigantic remains were accordingly dug up there and carried away. Tegea had now lost her palladium; the arms of her enemy prospered; and she sank into the rank of a dependent ally of Sparta, distinguished only by the privilege of occupying one of the wings in the armies of her confederate. The rivalry of Argos was not so easily subdued: she still could not brook the loss of Cynuria: the growth of the Spartan power rendered this little tract valuable as a barrier against its inroads. But about the same time that Tegea yielded, Sparta accomplished this conquest by an effort which made the name of Othryades immortal. He was celebrated in the songs of the Spartan youth as the hero who alone, of three hundred Spartans, survived the battle which they fought with as many Argives, to decide the dispute about Cynuria, and, while the two remaining champions of Argos hastened home with the tidings of victory, raised a trophy which he

CHAP. IX.

B. C. 668. Growing power and reputation of Sparta.

inscribed with his blood, and then fell on his sword, that he might share the fate of his comrades. The fame of Sparta spread so far, that Crœsus, the great king of Lydia, when he was directed by the Delphic oracle to make the most powerful of the Greeks his friends, sent his ambassadors with gifts to court her alliance. And Sparta was not slow to accept the Lydian gold, and willingly entered into a strict league with Crœsus: she would perhaps even have assisted him with her arms when he was threatened by Cyrus; but his sudden ruin frustrated her intentions, and the conflict in which she seemed on the eve of engaging with Persia was put off to another season.

CHAP. X.

CHAPTER X.

NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.

Causes which tended to keep the Greeks asunder. — Origin of partial Associations among the Greek Tribes. — Amphictyonies. — Amphictyonic Congress at Calaurea. — Amphictyonic Meetings at Delphi and Thermopylæ. — Tribes which composed the League. — Changes in the composition of the League. — Effect of the Dorian conquests on the state of the League. — Mode of representation in the Amphictyonic Council. — Functions of the Council. — First Sacred War begins. — The Delphic Oracle. — Olympic Festival. — Presidence of the Olympic Games. — Athletic Contests. — Nemean and Isthmian Games. — Effects of the Olympic Festival as an instrument of national union. — Its effects on the diffusion of knowledge and the cultivation of the Arts. — Effects on the national character and habits. — The Games considered as Spectacles. — Difference in the Forms of Government a cause of disunion among the Greeks. — Causes which led to the abolition of Royalty. — Definitions of various Forms of Government. — Origin of Oligarchy. — Means by which Oligarchies maintained their power. — Timocracy; Polity; Æsymnetes. Causes which led to the ruin of Oligarchies. — Origin of Tyranny. — Policy of the Tyrants. — Causes of the short duration of the tyrannical dynasties. — Interference of Sparta in their overthrow. — Definition of Democracy. — Different Forms of Democracy in practice. — Corruption of Democracy; Ochlocracy. — Forms of Government in Arcadia. — Tegea, Mantinea, Heræa. — Elis. — Achaia. — Argos. — Epidaurus and Ægina. — Corinth; the Bacchiads. — Cypselus overthrows the Bacchiads. — Character of Periander. — End of his Dynasty. — Sicyon; Dynasty of Andreas. — Myron and Cleisthenes. — Megara; subject to Corinth. — Theagenes Tyrant of Megara. — Violence of civil discord at Megara. — Theognis the aristocratical poet. — Bœotia; Legislation of Philolaus at Thebes. — Bœotian Confederacy. — Locrian Tribes. — Phocis; Delphi; Eubœa. — Ancient War between Chalcis and Eretria. — Political division of Thessaly. — Distinction of Classes among the Thessalians. — Office of Tagus. — Factions of Larissa.

The series of migrations and conquests by which the Thessalians, Bœotians, and Dorians became masters of

CHAP. X.

the countries which they finally occupied, was attended by changes of two kinds, one affecting the internal condition of Greece itself, the other the foreign lands in which the numerous colonies, which received their first impulse from the revolutions of the mother country, successively settled. We shall take a review of the colonies in another chapter; in the present we will notice some of the most important effects produced by the above-mentioned causes on the state of Greece. This subject will fall under two heads: we shall first consider some national institutions, which either sprang up in this new period, or assumed a new character in it; and shall then enquire into the political changes which took place within particular states, in the interval between the Return of the Heracleids, and the time when we shall see Greece first engaged in a struggle with Persia.

We have hitherto made scarcely any mention of institutions tending to embody the Greeks in one nation. In the Trojan expedition indeed, as it is described by Homer, we see them united by a common language, a common religion, and a common enterprise. The former two were permanent bonds of union; but the latter was an accidental and transitory one; nor does the poet indicate any which could supply its place. The causes which kept the Greeks asunder, notwithstanding their community of language and religion, have been already pointed out, in the natural features of the country, and the equable distribution of strength, by which the neighbouring tribes were enabled to balance each other, and to preserve mutual independence. We have also alluded to partial associations formed among neighbouring states, partly for religious, partly for political purposes. Of these associations in general, and particularly of one among them, which widened its original range, so as to assume the aspect of a national confederacy, we

Causes which tended to keep the Greeks asunder.

shall now speak, principally to explain the causes which prevented it from becoming in reality what it appeared to be.

Origin of partial associations among the Greek tribes.

From the earliest times, the divided and unsettled state of Greece afforded abundant occasions of hostility among neighbouring tribes: there were always temptations to rapine, disputed claims, public or private encroachments, injuries unredressed, or too violently retaliated. The transition from the earlier period to that new order of things which is represented by the diffusion of the sons of Hellen, most probably tended to multiply these feuds, and the consequent alternation of wrongs and revenge. This actual relation, in which most communities were placed to each other, naturally suggested the notion, that enmity and war was the necessary state of mankind, unless where there was some express agreement to restrain or temper it, and that the right of each state to overpower its neighbours, and to exercise the superiority thus acquired in whatever manner it might see fit, could only be limited by compact. The only exception that seems to have been admitted to this supposed law of nature, was, where the division by which two tribes of the same race were separated into distinct communities had either not lasted long enough to efface the consciousness of their original connection, or had taken place under circumstances which, notwithstanding their political independence, kept them united as members of the same kindred. Where this tie subsisted, it undoubtedly excluded ordinary incentives to discord, and restrained wanton sallies of unprovoked hostility; so that though, between two tribes so linked together, occasional quarrels might break out into war, peace was the habitual and regular condition of their mutual intercourse. Such appears to have been the degree of union which once subsisted among the inhabitants of Attica, and in Megaris and Eubœa; and in the two lat-

CHAP. X.

ter instances the mode and terms of civil warfare were prescribed by ancient custom. A similar effect to that which in these cases was produced by the feeling of affinity, arose in others out of accidental neighbourhood. Perpetual warfare, pushed to the last extremity of hostile rage, would in no long time have consumed or ruined the little tribes whose territories occupied only a few adjacent valleys, always open to invasion: the necessity of mutual forbearance for general safety would naturally suggest the prudence of entering into friendly associations, without any ulterior views, either of aggrandisement, or of protection against a common enemy. Such an association, formed among independent neighbouring tribes for the regulation of their mutual intercourse, and thus distinguished on the one hand from confederations for purposes offensive or defensive, and on the other, from the continued friendly relations subsisting among independent members of the same race, is the one properly described by the Greek term *amphictyony*.

Amphictyonies.

This Greek word, which we shall be obliged to borrow, has been supposed by some ancient and modern writers to have been derived from the name of Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, who is said to have founded the most celebrated of the Amphictyonic associations, that which is always to be understood under the title of the Amphictyonic Confederacy. There can however be scarcely any reasonable doubt, that this Amphictyon is a merely fictitious person, invented to account for the institution attributed to him, the author of which, if it was the work of any individual, was probably no better known than those of the other amphictyonies, which did not happen to become so famous. It would be a coincidence too marvellous to be ascribed to chance, that his name, with the change of a single letter, should be significant of the institution itself, which is not only his

sole title to celebrity, but the whole groundwork and essence of his mythical being. The term *amphictyony*, which has probably been adapted to the legend, and would be more properly written *amphictiony* [1], denotes a body referred to a local centre of union, and in itself does not imply any national affinity [2]; and in fact the associations bearing this name include several tribes, which were but very remotely connected together by descent. But the local centre of union appears to have been always a religious one — a common sanctuary, the scene of periodical meetings for the celebration of a common worship; and this, among the Greeks, especially in the earliest times, implies the belief of a certain degree of kindred, which, as far as we know, was always confirmed by community of language. It seems therefore not unreasonable to consider the amphictyonic associations as founded on the same principle which united tribes of the same race in peace and amity, though distance, or other accidental causes, might exclude some which, by blood, were as well entitled to share in the union as those which entered into it.

It is probable that many amphictyonies once existed in Greece, all trace of which has been lost: and even with regard to those which happen to have been rescued from total oblivion, our information is for the most part extremely defective. One is merely mentioned by Strabo [3], as having held its meetings at Onchestus in Bœotia, probably in the sanctuary of Poseidon, where a periodical festival appears to have been celebrated with chariot races.[4] No account is

[1] The correct spelling, though rare, is found occasionally; as in a coin published by Brondsted in the frontispiece of his *Reisen*, AMΦIKTIO. See Boeckh in the *Berlin Jahrbücher*, 1827, i. p. 32.

[2] See C. F. Hermann, *Lehrbuch*, § 11. and in the *Berlin Jahrbücher f. w. K.* 1837, ii. p. 219, where he observes that an amphictyony was so far from proving a national affinity among its members, that it was rather designed to supply the want of such a relation.

[3] ix. p. 412.

[4] Homer Il. in Apoll. 53.

CHAP. X.

Amphictyonic congress at Calaurea.

given of the states which composed it, or of any other particulars. Another, our knowledge of which we owe to the same author [1], must, if we may judge from the names of its members, have been once of considerable importance. Its place of congress was also a sanctuary of Poseidon, long a revered and celebrated asylum, in the island of Calaurea. It included seven states, three towns of Argolis, Epidaurus, Hermione, and Nauplia, Prasiæ in Laconia, the island of Ægina, Athens, and the Bœotian Orchomenus. It seems clear that this confederacy must have been founded for a political, rather than for a religious, purpose, since Trœzen, though so near to the place of congress, and though Poseidon was its tutelary god, was not a party to it. Its antiquity is attested by the names of its members; for Orchomenus must have entered into it while still independent and powerful; that is, before the Æolian conquest of Bœotia. But the motives which gave rise to this association, among states so remote from one another, and apparently so little connected by interest, can only be matter for very uncertain conjecture. It has been suspected [2], that the weaker states, those of Peloponnesus, sought the protection of the more powerful against some formidable neighbours: but we do not venture so to fill up a blank in history. All that is certain is, that, after the political relations out of which the confederacy arose had been entirely altered, and it had sunk into utter insignificance, Argos stept into the place of Nauplia, and Sparta into that of Prasiæ, for the performance of the religious ceremonies, which became the sole object of the league.

These are not the only instances by which we are led to conclude, that Amphictyonic associations were anciently much more numerous than appears from the scanty notices left of them in history. There

[1] viii. p. 374. [2] By Müller, *Æginetica*, s. 8.

seems to have been one in Argolis distinct from that of Calaurea[1]; and another, of which Delos was the centre, attained to considerable celebrity.[2] But of all such institutions the most celebrated and important was the one known, without any other local distinction, as the Amphictyonic League or Council. This last appellation refers to the fact, that the affairs of the whole Amphictyonic body were transacted by a congress, composed of deputies sent by the several states according to rules established from time immemorial. One peculiar feature of this congress was, that its meetings were held at two different places. There were two regularly convened every year; one in the spring, at Delphi, the other in the autumn, near the little town of Anthela, within the pass of Thermopylæ, at a temple of Demeter. This diversity of the places of meeting suggests a great variety of difficult questions as to the origin of the league. It is very improbable that they were selected together, and it is not easy to determine which of them was appointed first. The ancients seem to have considered Delphi as the original centre of the union; and this opinion is confirmed by its ancient sanctity and the early renown of its oracle; whereas the choice of Thermopylæ could only have been dictated by its peculiar position, the importance of which was not connected with any of the ordinary objects of the league. On the other hand, the name of Pylæa, which was applied as well to the assembly held at Delphi, as to that of Thermopylæ, seems strongly to indicate the priority of the latter place of meeting; nor, if Delphi had been the earlier, is it easy to imagine why the other should ever have been chosen. The readiest mode of reconciling these conflicting arguments may be to suppose that there were originally two distinct confederations; one perhaps formed of inland, the

Amphictyonic meetings at Delphi and Thermopylæ.

[1] Paus. iv. 5.

[2] See Bröndsted, *Reisen*, p. 59.

CHAP. X.

other of maritime, tribes; and that, when these were united by the growing influence of Delphi, the ancient places of meeting were retained, as a necessary concession to the dignity of each sanctuary. This conjecture seems to be confirmed by the legends which couple the name of Acrisius, king of Argos, with that of Amphictyon, in the history of the council. He is said to have founded the assembly at Delphi, in emulation of that which Amphictyon had founded at Thermopylæ, and then to have combined the two, and to have regulated them by new laws.[1] This account might be substantially correct, though the agency of Acrisius should have been referred to the wrong point, as we are elsewhere informed that he founded the temple at Anthela, which would indicate that he was more immediately connected with the congress of Thermopylæ. That he was the first who brought the confederacy into order, fixed the number of its members, the distribution of the votes in the council, and the nature of the causes which were to be subject to its jurisdiction, is likewise mentioned by Strabo as a received opinion.[2] But the main question, how Argos acquired such influence, or what power Acrisius more properly represents, is left in almost total obscurity: we can only suspect that he may in this legend have belonged rather to the northern than to the southern Achæans.

Tribes which composed the league.

The more important part of the subject is that which relates to the constitution, functions, and authority of the council. It is said to have been originally composed of deputies, sent by twelve tribes or nations, each of which might include several independent states. The confederate tribes are variously enumerated by different authors. A comparison of their lists enables us to ascertain the greater part of the names, and to form a probable conjecture as

[1] Schol. Eur. Orest. 1087. [2] ix. p. 420.

to the rest; but it also leads us to conclude, that some changes took place at a remote period in the constitution of the council, as to which tradition is silent. The most authentic list of the Amphictyonic tribes contains the following names: — Thessalians, Bœotians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhæbians, Magnetes, Locrians, Œtæans, or Enianians, Phthiots, or Achæans of Phthia, Malians, or Melians[1], and Phocians. The orator Æschines, who furnishes this list, shows, by mentioning the number twelve, that one name is wanting. The other lists supply two names to fill up the vacant place; the Dolopes, and the Delphians. It seems not improbable that the former were finally supplanted by the Delphians, who appear to have been a distinct race from the Phocians.[2]

Changes in the composition of the league.

The mere inspection of this list is sufficient to prove at once the high antiquity of the institution and the imperfection of our knowledge with regard to its early history. It is clear that the Dorians must have become members of the Amphictyonic body before the conquest, which divided them into several states, each incomparably more powerful than most of the petty northern tribes, which possessed an equal number of votes in the council. It may however be doubted, whether they were among the original members, and did not rather take the place of one of the tribes which they dislodged from their seats in the neighbourhood of Delphi, perhaps the Dryopes.[3] On the other hand the Thessalians were probably not

[1] It is not certain whether these are names of two different races, or variations of the name of one tribe, nor, in the former case, which is the right name. From Diodor. xviii. 11. it would seem that the Melians included the Malians, who were seated more to the north of the Malian gulf.

[2] They disclaimed the name of Phocians (Paus. iv. 34. 11.), and appear, before the Peloponnesian war, distinct from them in their interests and political relations, connected by the latter with Sparta, as the Phocians with Athens (Thuc. 1. 112.). Hence, and from other indications, it has been inferred that the Dorians formed the ruling class at Delphi, — a suspicion which is confirmed by the local dialect.

[3] C. F. Hermann, *Lehrbuch*, § 12. 4., suspects that the Dryopes were supplanted by the Thessalians.

CHAP. X.

received into the league, before they made their appearance in Thessaly, which is commonly believed to have taken place only twenty years before the Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus.[1] It is therefore highly probable that they were admitted in the room of some other tribe, which had lost its independence through the convulsions of this eventful period. And this may have been one of those which inhabited Bœotia, before the Æolians from Arne gave their name to the country — the Minyans of Orchomenus, or the Cadmeans of Thebes. But so scanty is our information, that it has been conjectured[2], perhaps with equal probability, that they did not gain entrance into the league before the sixth century B.C., when they took an active part in a war, which will be hereafter mentioned, between the Amphictyons and the town of Crissa. Hence it would appear that, before the Return of the Heracleids, the Amphictyonic body comprehended most of the Greek states north of the Isthmus; but probably notwithstanding the mention of Acrisius, none of those within it. It may already at that time have been considered as a Hellenic confederacy; and this may have been the cause from which the Achæans of Phthia were not designated, in the proceedings of the council, by the name of Hellenes, which is peculiarly applied to them in the Homeric poems: but there seems to be no reason for referring a title which is sometimes given to the council in later times, of a general congress of the Hellenes, to the period when the Hellenic name was confined to a few northern states, the original members of the confederacy.

Effect of the Dorian conquests on the state of the league.

After the Return of the Heracleids, the number of the Amphictyonic tribes — then perhaps already hallowed by time — continued the same; but the geographical compass of the league was increased by

[1] Schoemann, *Ant. J. P. G.* p. 387. [2] By Wachsmuth, i. 119.

all that part of Peloponnesus which was occupied by the new Dorian states. And though a considerable part of Greece was still not included in it, — for Arcadia, Elis, Achaia, Ætolia, and Acarnania never belonged to it, — the power of the league, if measured by the extent of its territory, or unanimously exerted, would have been sufficient to command the obedience of the other states; and it might therefore have been looked upon as a national confederation. The causes which prevented it from really acquiring this character will be evident, when we consider the mode in which the council was constituted, and the nature of its ordinary functions. The constitution of the council rested on the supposition, once perhaps not very inconsistent with the fact, of a perfect equality among the tribes represented by it. Each tribe, however feeble, had two votes in the deliberation of the congress: none, however powerful, had more. The order in which the right of sending representatives to the council was exercised by the various states included in one Amphictyonic tribe was perhaps regulated by private agreement; but, unless one state usurped the whole right of its tribe, as seems to have been the case with Athens, it is manifest that a petty tribe, which formed but one community, had greatly the advantage over Sparta, or Argos, which could only be represented in their turn, the more rarely in proportion to the magnitude of the tribe to which they belonged.[1] This right would have been of still less value, if it had been shared among all the colonies of an Amphictyonic tribe; and this was the case with the Ionians[2]: but the Æolian and Dorian colonies

Mode of representation in the Amphictyonic council.

[1] See Tittmann, *Ueber den Bund der Amphiktyonen*, p. 75. Hüllmann, *Würdigung des Delphischen Orakels*, p. 54.

[2] Æschines, *De Fals. Leg.* p. 43. ἔδειξα ἕκαστον ἔθνος ἰσόψηφον γενόμενον (see Tittmann, u. s. p. 74.) τὸ μέγιστον τῷ ἐλάττονι, τὸν ἥκοντα ἐκ Δωρίου καὶ Κυτινίου ἴσον δυνάμενον Λακεδαιμονίοις (δύο γὰρ ψήφους ἕκαστον φέρει ἔθνος), πάλιν ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν Ἐρετριέα καὶ Πριηνέα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις.

CHAP. X.

seem not to have claimed the same privilege. With regard to other details less affecting the general character of the institution, it will be sufficient here to observe, that the council was composed of two classes of representatives, called *pylagores* and *hieromnemons*, whose functions are not accurately distinguished. It seems however that the former was the body entrusted with the power of voting; while the office of the latter consisted in preparing and directing their deliberations, and carrying their decrees into effect. At Athens three *pylagores* were annually elected, one *hieromnemon* was appointed by lot: we do not know the practice of other states. Beside the council, which held its sessions either in the temple, or in some adjacent building, there was an Amphictyonic assembly [1], which met in the open air, and was composed of persons residing in the place where the congress was held, and of the numerous strangers who were drawn to it by curiosity, business, or devotion. It would seem however that this assembly was only called together in extraordinary cases, as when its aid was required for carrying the measures decreed into execution, or when it was thought necessary to appoint an extraordinary convention in the interval between the two regular times of meeting.

It is evident that a constitution such as we have described could not have been suffered to last, if it had been supposed that any important political interests depended on the decision of the council. But, in fact, it was not commonly viewed as a national congress for such purposes; its ordinary functions were chiefly, if not altogether, connected with religion, and it was only by accident that it was ever made subservient to political ends. The original objects, or at least the essential character, of the institution, seem to be faithfully expressed in the terms

[1] ἐκκλησία τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, described by Æschines, Ctes. § 124.

of the oath, preserved by Æschines, which bound the members of the league to refrain from utterly destroying any Amphictyonic city, and from cutting off its supply of water, even in war, and to defend the sanctuary and the treasures of the Delphic god from sacrilege. In this ancient and perhaps partly symbolical form we perceive two main functions assigned to the council; to guard the temple, and to restrain the violence of hostility among Amphictyonic states. There is no intimation of any confederacy against foreign enemies, except for the protection of the temple, nor of any right of interposing between members of the league, unless where one threatens the existence of another. It is true that this right, though expressly limited to certain extreme cases, might have afforded a pretext for very extensive interference if there had been any power capable of using it; but so far was the obligation of the oath from being strained beyond its natural import, that no period is known when it was enforced even in its simplest sense. The object of mitigating the cruelty of warfare among the Amphictyonic tribes was either never attained, or speedily forgotten. In the historical period, the remembrance of the oath seems never to have withheld any of the confederates from inflicting the worst evils of war upon their brethren; much less could it introduce a more humane spirit into the nation.

Functions of the council.

A review of the history of the council shows that it was almost powerless for good, except perhaps as a passive instrument, and that it was only active for purposes which were either unimportant or pernicious. In the great national struggles it lent no strength to the common cause; but it now and then threw a shade of sanctity over plans of ambition or revenge. It sometimes assumed a jurisdiction uncertain in its limits, over its members; but it seldom had the power of executing its sentences, and com-

CHAP. X.

monly committed them to the party most interested in exacting the penalty. Thus it punished the Dolopes of Scyrus for piracy, by the hands of the Athenians, who coveted their island.[1] But its most legitimate sphere of action lay in cases where the honour and safety of the Delphic sanctuary were concerned; and in these it might safely reckon on general co-operation from all the Greeks. Thus it could act with dignity and energy in a case where a procession, passing through the territory of Megara toward Delphi, was insulted by some Megarians, and could not obtain redress from the government; the Amphictyonic tribunal punished the offenders with death or banishment.[2] A much more celebrated and important instance of a similar intervention, was that which gave occasion to the war above alluded to, which is commonly called the *Crissæan*, or the first *sacred* war. Crissa appears to be the same town which is sometimes named Cirrha. Situate on that part of the Corinthian gulf which was called from it the gulf of Crissa, it commanded a harbour, much frequented by pilgrims from the west, who came to Delphi by sea, and was also mistress of a fruitful tract, called the Cirrhæan plain. It is possible that there may have been real ground for the charge which was brought against the Crissæans, of extortion and violence used toward the strangers who landed at their port, or passed through their territory: one ancient author, who however wrote nearly three centuries later[3], assigned as the immediate occasion of the war an outrage committed on some female pilgrims as they were returning from the oracle. It is however at least equally probable, that their neighbours of Delphi had long cast a jealous and a wishful eye on the customs by which Crissa was enriched, and considered all that was there exacted from the pil-

First Sacred War.

[1] Plut. Cim. 8. [2] Plut. Qu. Gr. 59. [3] Callisthenes. Athen. xiii. p. 560.

CHAP. X.

B. C. 595.

grims as taken from the Delphic god, who might otherwise have received it as an offering. A complaint, however founded, was in the end preferred against Crissa before the Amphictyons, who decreed a war against the refractory city. They called in the aid of the Thessalians, who sent a body of forces under Eurylochus; and their cause was also actively espoused by Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon: and, according to the Athenian tradition, Solon assisted them with important advice. They consulted the offended god, who enjoined, as the condition of success in the war, that they should cause the sea to beat upon his domain. In compliance with this oracle, at the suggestion of Solon, they vowed to dedicate the Crissæans and their territory to the god, by enslaving them, and making their land a waste for ever. If the prospect of such signal vengeance animated the assailants, the besieged were no doubt goaded to a more obstinate defence by the threat of extermination. The war is said to have lasted ten years, and at length to have been brought to a close by a stratagem, which we could wish not to have found imputed to Solon. He is reported to have poisoned the waters of the Pleistus, from which the city was supplied, and thus to have reduced the garrison to a state in which they were easily overpowered. When the town had fallen, the vow of the conquerors was literally fulfilled. Crissa was razed to the ground, its harbour choked up, its fruitful plain turned into a wilderness. This triumph was commemorated by the institution of gymnastic games, called the Pythian, in the room of a more ancient and simple festival. The Amphictyons, who celebrated the new games with the spoils of Crissa[1], were appointed perpetual presidents.

[1] Hence at the first celebration valuable prizes were given (it was an ἀγὼν χρηματίτης): for which chaplets were substituted in the following Pythiads (it became στεφανίτης).

CHAP. X.

The Delphic oracle.

As the Delphic oracle was the object to which the principal duties of the Amphictyons related, it might have been imagined to have been under their control, and thus to have afforded them an engine by which they might, at least secretly, exert a very powerful influence over the affairs of Greece. But though this engine was not unfrequently wielded for political purposes, it appears not to have been under the management of the council, but of the leading citizens of Delphi, who had opportunity of constant and more efficacious access to the persons employed in revealing the supposed will of the god. In early times the oracle was often consulted, not merely for the sake of learning the unknown future, but for advice and direction, which, as it was implicitly followed, really determined the destiny of those who received it. The power conferred by such an instrument was unbounded; and it appears, on the whole, not to have been ill applied: but the honour of its beneficial effects must be ascribed almost entirely to the wisdom and patriotism of the ruling Delphians, or of the foreigners who concerted with them the use of the sacred machinery. But the authority of the oracle itself was gradually weakened, partly by the progress of new opinions, and partly by the abuse which was too frequently made of it. The organ of the prophetic god was a woman, of an age more open to bribery than to any other kind of seduction[1]; and, even before the Persian wars, several instances occurred in which she had notoriously sold her answers. The credulity of individuals might notwithstanding be little shaken: but a few such disclosures would be sufficient to deprive the oracle of the greater part of its political influence.

[1] The Pythias had once been a maiden, chosen in the flower of youth; but this practice having been attended with inconvenient consequences, women were appointed, who had passed the age of fifty, but still wore the dress of virgins. Diodor. xvi. 26.

Olympic festival.

The character of a national institution, which the Amphictyonic council affected, but never really acquired, more truly belonged to the public festivals, which, though celebrated within certain districts, were not peculiar to any tribe, but were open and common to all who could prove their Hellenic blood. The most important of these festivals was that which was solemnised every fifth year on the banks of the Alpheus, in the territory of Elis; it lasted four days, and, from Olympia, the scene of its celebration, derived the name of the Olympic contest, or games; and the period itself which intervened between its returns, was called an *Olympiad*. The origin of this institution is involved in some obscurity, partly by the lapse of time, and partly by the ambition of the Eleans, to exaggerate its antiquity and sanctity. As all its lustre was reflected on them, its ministers and directors, they endeavoured to establish the belief that it had been founded, and from time to time renewed, by gods and heroes, long before the Trojan war; that after the Ætolians had effected a settlement in Elis, their whole territory, by a compact between them and the Dorians, their companions in arms, was consecrated to Zeus, who had an ancient temple and oracle at Olympia; and that in the time of Lycurgus, their king Iphitus, in concert with the Spartan law-giver, and with the sanction of the Delphic oracle, as a remedy for the disorders of Greece, revived the festival, and ordained a periodical suspension of hostilities throughout the nation, to enable Greeks from every land to attend it without hindrance or danger. Though however the legends fabricated or adopted by the Eleans to magnify the antiquity and glory of the games deserve little attention, there can be no doubt, that, from very early times, Olympia had been a site hallowed by religion; and it is highly probable that festivals of a nature similar to that which afterwards

CHAP. X.

became permanent had been occasionally celebrated in the sanctuary of Zeus. Without supposing some such traditional title to veneration attached to the ground, it would be difficult to explain why it was adopted by the Eleans for the purpose to which it was finally dedicated. For Olympia, not so much a town, as a precinct occupied by a great number of sacred and public buildings, originally lay in the territory of Pisa, which, for two centuries after the beginning of the olympiads, was never completely subject to Elis, and occasionally appeared as her rival, and excluded her from all share in the presidency of the games. The celebration of the ancient festival had probably been long interrupted by the troubles consequent on the Dorian invasion, and its renewal may have been suggested as well by political as by religious motives. Pestilence is mentioned as one of the evils which it was designed to relieve, by propitiating the displeasure of the gods; and the sacred truce might seem a happy expedient for stilling the fierce passions of hostile tribes. This however is little more than a conjecture; nor do we venture to speak with much greater confidence of the authors of the measure. Iphitus, Lycurgus, and Cleosthenes of Pisa[1] are represented as the persons who were most active in bringing it about; and the names of Iphitus and Lycurgus were inscribed on a disk, which was preserved as a kind of charter, and as evidence of their solemn compact.[2] But all that can safely be inferred from this tradition, which has been embellished with a variety of legends, seems to be, that Sparta concurred with the two states most interested in the plan, and mainly contributed to procure the consent of the other Peloponnesians.

[1] Phlegon, p. 139., who mentions Peisus as the first founder of the games.
[2] Plut. Lyc. 1. Paus. v. 20. 1.

It is probable that the northern Greeks were not at first either consulted, or expected to take any share in the festival; and that, though never expressly confined to certain tribes, in the manner of an Amphictyonic congress, it gradually enlarged the sphere of its fame and attraction, till it came to embrace the whole nation. The sacred truce[1] was proclaimed by officers sent round by the Eleans[2]: it put a stop to warfare, from the time of the proclamation, for a period sufficient to enable strangers to return home in safety. During this period the territory of Elis itself was of course regarded as inviolable, and no armed force could traverse it without incurring the penalty of sacrilege. But the Eleans, with a bold contempt of historical evidence, which seems to have deceived many writers, ancient and modern, pretended that, by the original contract, their land and persons had been made for ever sacred, and entitled to enjoy perpetual peace. Unless we could suppose that such a privilege might have existed, without imposing a corresponding obligation, we have the strongest proof that it was never recognised by the other Greeks; for they themselves did not abstain from the use of arms, though their situation, and political circumstances, tended to keep them generally exempt from war.[3] After the fiftieth olympiad, Elis had the whole regulation of the festival, and appointed the judges of the contest, who were instructed and exercised in the duties of their office, for ten months before the time of their presidency, by Elean magistrates.[4] But, originally, it is probable that Pisa had an equal share in the administration of the festival, and the election of the pre-

Presidence of the Olympic games.

[1] ἐκεχειρία. [2] σπονδοφόροι

[3] Phlegon, p. 145., relates that the Eleans, when about to aid the Spartans in reducing Helos, were enjoined by the Delphic oracle to abstain from war. Strabo, viii. p. 358., represents the sanctity of the Elean territory as having been first violated by Pheidon, after which, therefore from the 8th olympiad, the Eleans no longer refrained from the use of arms.

[4] Paus. vi. 24. 3.

CHAP. X.

siding officers; and this seems to have been the main cause of those feuds which were carried on for several centuries between the two states, and ended only with the destruction of Pisa. The presiding people possessed a jurisdiction in matters connected with the festival, by virtue of which it might impose penalties on individuals, and on states, and might exclude all who resisted its decrees. But this authority might be considered as a trust held by one tribe for the benefit of the whole nation, to which the festival really belonged. It was very early frequented by spectators, not only from all parts of Greece itself, but from the Greek colonies in Europe, Africa, and Asia: and this assemblage was not brought together by the mere fortuitous impulse of private interest or curiosity, but was in part composed of deputations which were sent by most cities as to a religious solemnity, and were considered as guests of the Olympian god.[1]

Athletic contests.

The immediate object of the meeting was the exhibition of various trials of strength and skill, which, from time to time, were multiplied so as to include almost every mode of displaying bodily activity. They included races on foot, and with horses and chariots; contests in leaping, throwing, wrestling, and boxing; and some in which several of these exercises were combined; but no combats with any kind of weapon. The equestrian contests, particularly that of the four-horsed chariots, were by their nature confined to the wealthy; and princes and nobles vied with each other in such demonstrations of their opulence. But the greater part were open to the poorest Greek, and were not on that account the lower in public estimation. One of the most celebrated pugilists, Glaucus of Carystus, had first given proof of his uncommon strength while he was following the

[1] Θεωρίαι. θεωροί.

plough[1]; but the most illustrious family in Rhodes, those Diagorids, who boasted of the blood of Aristomenes, gloried in having produced many successful competitors for the like prize. No accidents of birth or station could affect the inherent dignity of contests, in which the most renowned of the heroes had excelled and delighted. In one respect those of the later period were more honourable than those of the heroic ages. In the games described by Homer valuable prizes were proposed, and this practice was once universal; but, after the seventh olympiad, a simple garland, of leaves of the wild olive, was substituted at Olympia, as the only meed of victory. The main spring of emulation was undoubtedly the celebrity of the festival, and the presence of so vast a multitude of spectators, who were soon to spread the fame of the successful athletes to the extremity of the Grecian world. But other honours and advantages were annexed to this triumph by the pride or policy of particular states. Even the most powerful city regarded an Olympic victory, gained by one of its citizens, as reflecting additional lustre on its name; and the victor was sometimes solicited to let himself be proclaimed as the citizen of a town not his own: so Astylus of Croton, who had won the foot-race in three successive olympiads, was induced by Hiero, the Syracusan tyrant, to transfer the honour of the last two victories to Syracuse; an affront for which his countrymen revenged themselves by taking down his statue, and turning his house into a prison.[2] At Athens, by a law of Solon, a citizen who had gained an Olympic prize, was rewarded with five hundred drachmas, and with the right to a place at the table of the magistrates in the prytaneum: at Sparta he was honoured with a conspicuous post on the field of battle. The *Altis*, as the ground consecrated to the games was called at

[1] Paus. vi. 10. 1.

[2] Paus. vi. 13. 1.

CHAP. X.

Olympia, was adorned with numberless statues of the victors, erected, with the permission of the Eleans, by themselves or their families, or at the expense of their fellow-citizens. It was also usual to celebrate the joyful event, both at Olympia and at the victor's home, by a triumphal procession, in which his praises were sung, and were commonly associated with the glory of his ancestors and his country. The most eminent poets willingly lent their aid on such occasions, especially to the rich and great. And thus it happened that sports, not essentially different from those of our village greens, gave birth to masterpieces of sculpture, and called forth the sublimest strains of the lyric muse.

Nemean and Isthmian games.

The celebrity of the Olympic games gave occasion to several other festivals of a similar nature. Of the Pythian, which were celebrated in every third Olympic year, we have already spoken. The Nemean and Isthmian were celebrated each twice in every olympiad, at different seasons of the year: the former in the plain of Nemea, in Argolis, under the presidency of Argos; the latter on the Corinthian isthmus, under the presidency of Corinth. These, like the Pythian and Olympic games, claimed a very high antiquity, though the form in which they were finally established was of late institution; and it is highly probable that they were really suggested by the tradition of ancient festivals, which had served to cement an Amphictyonic confederacy. These four contests were chiefly distinguished from the numerous games celebrated in other parts of Greece, which never rose to the dignity of national festivals, by the nature of the prize, which in the former was a garland, in the latter something of greater intrinsic value, but which, on that account, seems to have had less power of kindling emulation.

To estimate the importance of the Olympic festival, which may be taken as the representative of all the

rest, we must consider it in more than one point of view. Its value must depend, partly on the degree in which it answered the purpose of a bond of national union, and partly on the share it had in forming the national character. Viewed in the former light, it appears to have possessed so little efficacy, that it can scarcely be looked upon as any thing more than an opportunity, which, for want of a disposition to use it, was destined to lie for ever barren. The short periodical interruption of hostilities hardly lessened the effusion of blood, and did not at all allay the animosity of warring tribes. The contrast indeed between Greeks and foreigners, was placed in a stronger light by a scene in which the spectator himself surrounded with objects which recalled to especially to the mind of those who came from the more distant regions, the most peculiar features of the religion, the arts, and manners of his countrymen. There was perhaps no other occasion on which the Greek was so forcibly impressed with the consciousness of the distinctions which separated him from the barbarians; none therefore which so much tended to strengthen the feelings which bound him to his race. All foreigners were excluded from competition at Olympia, and the kings of Macedonia were only admitted after strict proof of their Hellenic origin: it is even probable, that the final prevalence of the name of Hellen was mainly determined by the use made of it there. But, on the other hand, there was no place where the Greek was less able to bury his local and domestic patriotism in a more comprehensive sentiment. The business of the festival itself ministered constant fuel to the selfish and malignant passions of rival cities, each of which felt its honour concerned in the success of the individual competitors. Among the indications of this spirit of emulation, which so easily degenerated among the Greeks into envy and

Effects of the Olympic festival as an instrument of national union.

CHAP. X.

jealousy, may be numbered the separate treasuries, built at Olympia, as at Delphi, by several states, for the reception of their offerings, which were often monuments of their mutual enmity. At every step, there was as much to recal the political disunion of the Greeks to their remembrance as their national affinity.

Its effects on the diffusion of knowledge and the cultivation of the arts.

The remote and contingent effects produced by the institution were probably much more important than any which were contemplated by its founders. The scene of the Olympic festival was, during the holy season, a mart of busy commerce, where productions, not only of manual but of intellectual labour, were exhi d and exchanged. In this respect it served many of the same purposes which, in modern times, are, more effectually indeed, answered by the press, in the communication of thoughts, inventions, and discoveries, and the more equable diffusion of knowledge. The story that Herodotus read his history at Olympia has been disputed on grounds which certainly render it doubtful; but that literary works were not unfrequently thus published, is unquestionable. Such effects were independent of the declared object of the festival, and must have resulted from any occasion which drew Greeks from all parts of the world together in periodical meetings. The impulse given to poetry and sculpture, by the events of the contest, was more closely connected with the nature of the institution, though still only an accidental consequence, and one which did not depend on its particular form. The most material question, with a view to the effects which it produced on the national character, is whether the ardent emulation, excited by the honours of an olympic victory, was wisely directed. It must be owned that the merit of such exertions as those which earned the prize at Olympia was greatly overrated in the popular opinion; and that no religious sanction, no

Effects on the national character and habits.

charms of art, can ever really ennoble a mere display of man's animal powers. Some philosophical Greeks however not only refused their respect to the exhibitions which the vulgar admired, but condemned them as pernicious. It was observed, that the training which enabled the competitors at the games to perform their extraordinary feats tended to unfit them for the common duties of a citizen.[1] This remark was perhaps more particularly applicable to the preparation for the pugilistic contests, and the *pancratium*, in which boxing and wrestling were combined; and it was probably on this account, more than on any other, that Sparta forbad her citizens to engage in either. For, though one or two instances of savage [illegible] are recorded[2], and others may have occurred [illegible] conflicts, this cannot have been the motive [illegible] caused them to be prohibited at Sparta, where battles of a like nature were among the habitual exercises of the young. On the other hand, there were intelligent and thoughtful observers among the Greeks, who believed that the gymnastic games were intimately connected with the whole system of national education[3]; and that, though the training of the competitors might be useless, or even mischievous, in other respects, still the honours conferred on them were well applied, as they encouraged the cultivation of the manly exercises to which the Greek youth devoted the greatest part of his time. And it cannot be denied, that these exercises were not only an important part of education, where every citizen was a warrior, but that they contributed to the healthiness, freshness, and vigour of the Greek intellect itself. But, instead of holding that the alacrity with which they were prosecuted in the private schools was a result of the honours bestowed on the victorious masters of the gymnastic art at the

[1] Aristot. Pol. vii. 14. 8. Athen. x. p. 413.
[2] Paus. viii. 40.
[3] Lucian. Anacharsis.

CHAP. X

public games, we should be inclined to consider the former as the cause, the latter as a natural, perhaps inevitable, but not very desirable, effect; which however may have reacted on its cause, and have strengthened the attachment of the Greeks to that part of their ancient usages out of which it arose.

The games considered as spectacles.

Viewed merely as a spectacle designed for public amusement, and indicating the taste of the people, the Olympic games might justly claim to be ranked far above all similar exhibitions of other nations. It could only be for the sake of a contrast, by which their general purity, innocence, and humanity would be placed in the strongest light, that they could be compared with the bloody sports of a Roman or a Spanish amphitheatre. And the tournaments of our chivalrous ancestors, examined by their side, would appear little better than barbarous shows, widely removed from the simplicity of nature, and yet immeasurably inferior to the Greek spectacle in the genuine refinement of art — if this comparison did not remind us of the law by which women were forbidden, under pain of death, to be seen at Olympia during the games [1], and did not thus present the most unfavourable aspect in which they can be viewed.

Difference in the forms of government a cause of disunion among the Greeks.

The institutions thus described, though, under other circumstances, any one of them might perhaps have become an instrument for uniting the Greeks, those at least who were seated between the Ægean and the Adriatic, in a confederacy, strong enough to prevent internal wars, yet so tempered as not to encroach on their domestic liberty, were so far from effecting this object, that they do not seem even to have suggested the idea of it. The mutual jealousy which stifled this natural thought was very early heightened by the great diversity of the forms of government which rose up in the several Greek states. The same cause in-

[1] Paus. v. 6, 7. Compare Ælian, V. H., x. 1.

deed, at a later period, mainly contributed to the formation of alliances, by which parts of the nation were intimately united together under one head. But these partial combinations, as they were perpetually widening the breach out of which they arose, only served to render a general union more hopeless, and war the habitual state of Greece. A minute account of all the forms of government adopted in the Greek cities, both of the mother country and the colonies, would be inconsistent with our plan and limits; but the present seems a fit place for a description of the general outlines, under which these forms, notwithstanding the infinite variety of their particular feature[illegible]e classed: and this we shall illustrate both by [illegible]l examples, and by a sketch of the internal [illegible]e some of the states, next in importance to Sparta and Athens, down to the Persian wars.

Causes which led to the abolition of royalty.

We have already seen that the constitution, which, so far as we can collect from Homer, was universally prevalent in the heroic states, was a monarchy, limited both by ancient custom, and by a body of powerful chiefs, who were every where raised much higher above the level of the people than they were below that of the kings. It was, in fact, — to use a term which we shall hereafter more exactly explain, — an aristocracy with a hereditary prince at its head. Many of the learned men who hold that the Odyssey belongs to a later period than the Iliad, think that it represents the monarchical power as on the decline, and already sunk below the position in which it appears in the earlier poem. Without relying much on this opinion, we may observe that, in the first two or three centuries following the Trojan war, causes were at work which tended to reduce the power, and to abolish the title, of royalty throughout Greece. The general state of things was such, that the influence of the royal houses was sure to be diminished, that of the nobles increased, by

CHAP. X.

every revolution; and, in the period just mentioned, almost every part of Greece underwent some violent changes. The enterprises of the heroic age, as we see from the example of the Trojan war itself, often led to the extinction, or expulsion, of a royal family, or of its principal members; and no principle appears to have been generally recognised which rendered it necessary, in such cases, to fill a vacant throne or to establish a new dynasty, while every such calamity inevitably weakened the authority of the kings, and made them more dependent on the nobles, who, as an order, were not affected by any disasters of individuals. But the great convulsions which attended the Thessalian, Bœ ı, and Dorian migrations, contributed still more effectually to the same end. In most parts of Greece they destroyed or dislodged the line of the ancient kings, who, when they were able to seek new seats, left behind them the treasures and the strongholds which formed the main supports of their power: and, though the conquerors were generally accustomed to a kingly government, it must commonly have lost something of its vigour when transplanted to a new country, where it was subject to new conditions, and where the prince was constantly reminded, by new dangers, of the obligations which he owed to his companions in arms. Yet even this must be considered rather as the occasion which led to the abolition of the heroic monarchy, than as the cause; that undoubtedly lay much deeper, and is to be sought in the character of the people, — in that same energy and versatility which prevented it from ever stiffening, even in its infancy, in the mould of oriental institutions, and from stopping short, in any career which it had once opened, before it had passed through every stage.

Definitions of various forms of

It seems to have been seldom, if ever, that royalty was abolished by a sudden and violent revolution;

CHAP. X.

government.

the title often long survived the substance, and this was extinguished only by slow successive steps. These consisted in dividing it among several persons, in destroying its inheritable quality, and making it elective, first in one family, then in more, first for life, then for a certain term; in separating its functions, and distributing them into several hands. In the course of these changes it became more and more responsible to the nobles, and frequently, at a very early stage, the name itself was exchanged for one simply equivalent to ruler, or chief magistrate.[1] The form of government which thus ensued might, with equal propriety, be termed either aristocracy or [illegible] but, in the use of the terms to which these [illegible] the Greek political writers made a distinct[illegible] may at first sight appear more arbitrary than it really is. They taught, — not a very recondite truth, — that the three forms of government, that of one, that of a few, and that of the many, are all alike right and good, so long as they are rightly administered, with a view, that is, to the welfare of the state, and not to the interest of an individual or of a particular class. But when any of the three loses sight of its legitimate object, it degenerates into a vicious species, which requires to be marked by a peculiar name. Thus a monarchy, in which selfish aims predominate, becomes a tyranny. The government of a few, conducted on like principles, is properly called an oligarchy. But, to constitute an aristocracy, it is not sufficient that the ruling few should be animated by a desire to promote the public good: they must also be distinguished by a certain character; for *aristocracy* signifies the rule of the *best* men. If however this epithet is referred to an absolute ideal standard of excellence, it is manifest that an aristocratical government is a mere abstract notion, which has nothing in history or in

[1] Ἄρχων, Πρύτανις (connected with πρῶτος).

CHAP. X.

nature to correspond to it. But, if we content ourselves with taking the same terms in a relative sense, we shall perhaps be able to assign a definite, intelligible value to them, and to fix, with sufficient precision, the place which belongs to aristocracy in the order of the Greek constitutions, and the line by which it is separated from oligarchy. *Aristocracy*, in this sense, will be that form of government in which the ruling few are distinguished from the multitude by illustrious birth, hereditary wealth, and personal merit. But the kind of merit required in our notion of the ancient Greek aristocracies is not to be tried by any ideal, or any very high, practical standard. It ir led only such a superiority as commonly resulted from the advantages of fortune enjoyed by the wealthy nobles: excellence in arms, and in all warlike exercises; the possession of some kinds of knowledge, more especially of that relating to sacred things, which could not be acquired without leisure; together with such a degree of mildness and justice as was necessary to prevent the government from degenerating, which could not be very rare in an age of simple manners, when wants were few, and neither the cupidity nor the jealousy of the rulers was often provoked by the governed.[1]

Origin of Oligarchy.

Whenever such a change took place in the character or the relative position of the ruling body, that it no longer commanded the respect of its subjects, but found itself opposed to them and compelled to direct its measures chiefly to the preservation of its power, it ceased to be, in the Greek sense, an aristocracy; it became a faction, an *oligarchy*. But, more distinctly to understand the peculiar nature of the Greek oligarchies, it is necessary to consider the variety of circumstances under which they arose. In the mi-

[1] On the political sense of the terms ἀγαθοὶ, ἄριστοι, καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ — κακοί, etc. see Welcker's instructive *Prolegomena ad Theognidem*, § 10. foll.

grations which took place in the century following the Trojan war, most parts of Greece were occupied by a new race of conquerors. Everywhere their first object was to secure a large portion of the conquered land; but the footing on which they placed themselves with regard to the ancient inhabitants. was not everywhere the same: it varied according to the temper of the invaders, or of their chiefs, to their relative strength, means, and opportunities. In Sparta, and in most of the Dorian states, the invaders shunned all intermixture with the conquered, and deprived them, if not of personal freedom, of all political rights. But elsewhere, as in Elis, and p in Bœotia, no such distinction appears to en made; the old and the new people gradu ed into one. Where this was the case, the conquest scarcely produced any other effect on the internal relations of the state than an extensive transfer of property, and the introduction of a new body of nobles, and perhaps a new royal dynasty: the nature of the government might continue the same, and might be liable to no other changes than it would otherwise have passed through. But, where a rigid separation was made between the new and the old inhabitants, so that the former only were citizens, or, in the highest sense, freemen, the latter subjects or slaves, there the constitution assumed an ambiguous aspect: it might appear from one point of view an oligarchy, while from another it might be considered as a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a democracy. The freemen were equally raised above their inferiors, but they might, or might not, be all on a level with one another: they might form an aristocracy, or an oligarchy within an oligarchy; and indeed this was the natural tendency of things in a state where one class was in continual jealousy and apprehension of the other.

An oligarchy, in the sense which we have assigned

CHAP. X.

to the word, could only exist where there was an inferior body which felt itself aggrieved by being excluded from the political rights which were reserved to the privileged few. Such a feeling of discontent might be roused by the rapacity or insolence of the dominant order, as we shall find to have happened at Athens, and as was the case at Mitylene, where some members of the ruling house of the Penthalids went about with clubs, committing outrages like those which Nero practised for a short time in the streets of Rome.[1] But, without any such provocation, disaffection might arise from the cause which we shall see producing a revolution at Corinth, where the arist .cy was originally established on a basis too narrow to be durable: as Aristotle relates of the Basilids at Erythræ, that, though they exercised their power well, they could not retain it, because the people would no longer endure that it should be lodged in so few hands.[2] In general however it was a gradual, inevitable change in the relative position of the higher and lower orders, which converted the aristocracy into an oligarchical faction, and awakened an opposition which usually ended in its overthrow. In the natural progress of society, while the ruling body remained stationary, or was even losing a part of its strength, the commonalty, the class which, though personally free, was at first excluded from all share in the government, was constantly growing in numbers and wealth, was becoming more united in itself, more conscious of its resources, and more disposed to put forward new claims. One of the steps which led to this result was the increase which took place in the population of the cities, when the inhabitants of several scattered hamlets were collected within the same walls. This continued at all times to be considered as one of the most effectual methods

[1] Aristot. Pol. v. 8. [2] Pol. v. 6.

of shaking the power of an oligarchy, and the most fatal blow which could be inflicted on the interests of the commonalty was to disperse it again over the country in open villages. In the maritime towns the class which drew its subsistence from manufactures, trade, and commerce, made still more rapid strides than in the inland districts, and, though more despised by the nobles, was less inclined to reverence their hereditary privileges than the cultivators of the land.

Means by which Oligarchies maintained their power.

But, notwithstanding the growing strength of this formidable adversary, an oligarchy, if not excessively narrow, might be able, by prudence and moderation, long to maintain its ground; unless it w[illegible]d by unforeseen disasters, or divided i[illegible]d betrayed by its own members. The preca[illegible]ch were used by the ruling class, when it began to perceive its danger, were of various kinds. The most simple and congenial to its spirit, were those by which it provided against inward decay, and preserved the original foundation of its power as much as possible unimpaired. This was the object of the laws by which, in several oligarchical states, restraints were laid on the alienation of landed property, tending to prevent any change in the number of the estates into which the country had been once parcelled, and to keep the same estates always in the same families; and these regulations were commonly coupled with others, designed to guard against any material increase or diminution in the numbers of the privileged body. Of the last two the former was the most dangerous change, since it burdened the state with citizens who were unable to maintain their hereditary rank, and might therefore easily become hostile to the government. So long as means could be found to preserve the established proportion between the property and the numbers of the ruling freemen, the oligarchy might be said to be in the fulness of its

CHAP. X.

natural vigour, which was often further secured by an exclusive right to the use of a certain kind of armour, and by the possession of numerous strongholds, more especially of a citadel in the capital itself. These, together with the actual exercise of the powers which were the main object of contention between the two parties, formed its natural defences.

But the utmost which it could effect in this way, by the highest degree of energy and prudence, was to keep itself stationary. It could neither prevent the growth of the commonalty, nor meet it by a corresponding expansion of its own frame. Hence, when the ancient relation between the two classes had been so far altered that even the least discerning could not but perceive the necessity of some change of system, other expedients were resorted to for averting an open struggle. The extreme rigour of the exclusive principle was relaxed by concessions, which were calculated to appease discontent with the smallest possible sacrifice on the part of the powerful. It was perhaps sometimes sufficient for this purpose to impart certain political rights to the mass of the commonalty, as a share in the election of magistrates and the enactment of laws. But it was more frequently found necessary to widen the oligarchy itself, by the admission of new families, and to change the principle of its constitution by substituting wealth for birth as the qualification of its members. The form of government in which the possession of a certain amount of property was the condition of all, or at least of the highest, political privileges, was sometimes called a *timocracy*, and its character varied according to the standard adopted. When this was high, and especially if it was fixed in the produce of land, the constitution differed little in effect from the aristocratical oligarchy, except as it opened a prospect to those who were excluded of raising themselves to a

Timocracy;

higher rank. But, when the standard was placed within reach of the middling class, the form of government was commonly termed a *polity*, and was considered as one of the best tempered and most durable modifications of democracy. The first stage however often afforded the means of an easy transition to the second, or might be reduced to it by a change in the value of the standard.

Polity;

Another expedient, which seems to have been tried not unfrequently in early times, for preserving or restoring tranquillity, was to invest an individual with absolute power, under a peculiar title, which soon became obsolete: that of *æsymnete*. At C[illegible]d, and in other cities, this was the title of [illegible]y magistracy, probably of that which su[illegible]e hereditary monarchy; but, when applied to an extraordinary office, it was equivalent to the title of protector or dictator. It did not indicate any disposition to revive the heroic royalty, but only the need which was felt, either by the commonalty of protection against the nobles, or by all parties of a temporary compromise, which induced the adverse factions to acquiesce in a neutral government. The office was conferred sometimes for life, sometimes only for a limited term, or for the accomplishment of a specific object, as the sage Pittacus was chosen by universal consent[1] at Mitylene, when the city was threatened by a band of exiles, headed by the poet Alcæus and his brother Antimenidas. Other persons who are said to have been elsewhere armed with like powers, as Phœbias at Samos, Chæremon at Apollonia on the Adriatic, though otherwise unknown, are described as men qualified by their eminent virtue to

Æsymnetes.

[1] Of the commonalty (Alcæus in Aristot. Pol. iii. 14.) Welcker (*Jahn's Jahrbücher*, xii. p. 16.) observes that the case of Pittacus is an exception to Wachsmuth's account of the æsymnety (i. p. 280.) as proceeding from the condescension of the higher orders.

CHAP. X.

calm the rage of civil discord.[1] They were surrounded with a body of guards for the maintenance of their authority; but it is expressly observed, that this force was always cautiously limited to the number which seemed to be required for the public safety.[2] As the choice was always grounded on the extraordinary merit of the individual, which probably in all cases suggested the expedient, so we do not hear that it was ever abused for the foundation of a permanent dynasty; and it never proved more than a palliative of the evils against which it was directed, though Pittacus, and perhaps other æsymnetes, was the author of some laws which were lasting monumen[illegible] f his administration.

Causes which led to the ruin of oligarchies.

The fall of an oligarchy was sometimes accelerated by accidental and inevitable disasters, as by a protracted war, which at once exhausted its wealth and reduced its numbers, or by the loss of a battle, in which the flower of its youth might sometimes be cut off at one blow, and leave it to the mercy of its subjects; a case of which we shall find a signal instance in the history of Argos. But much more frequently the revolutions which overthrew the oligarchical governments arose out of the imprudence or misconduct, or the internal dissensions, of the ruling body, or out of the ambition of some of its members.

Origin of tyranny.

The commonalty, even when really superior in strength, could not, all at once, shake off the awe with which it was impressed by ages of subjection. It needed a leader to animate, unite, and direct it; and it was seldom that one capable of inspiring it with confidence could be found in its own ranks. But if the oligarchy had unwisely narrowed its pale, and shut out some who felt themselves the natural equals of those who enjoyed its privileges; or if, while its form remained

[1] Theod. Metochita, quoted by Neumann on Aristot. Pol. p. 123.
[2] Aristot. Pol. iii. 15.

the same, the substance of power was engrossed by a few overbearing families; or if, as is said to have happened at Chios and Cnidus, it excited the indignation of the more moderate among its members by its insolence or injustice; or if feuds arose within it, in which the weaker party was unable to obtain redress for its wrongs, or either thought itself aggrieved by a legal sentence; or if the heir of a noble house had lost or wasted his patrimony, and was unable either to endure poverty or to repair his fortunes by any legitimate means; or, finally, if among the oligarchs there were restless spirits, impatient of equality even in the highest rank, or de[illegible] new field of action; — in all these cases a [illegible] not long be wanted to espouse the cause of the commonalty; and the ablest champion of popular rights was he who asserted them against the interests of his own order. But, as the motives by which this new ally was impelled were generally very distinct from patriotic zeal, it frequently happened that the defeat of the oligarchy, achieved with such aid, was not immediately a triumph of the commonalty, but only a step by which the popular leader exalted himself above both parties to supreme power. In many cases indeed it is probable that the bulk of the people was not merely passive, but hailed with pleasure a revolution which placed the helm of the state in the hands of a man in whose character they confided, and who perhaps by his birth as well as by his personal qualities, revived the welcome image of the heroic royalty, which was hallowed by long-cherished tradition, and by epic song. Such was the origin of most of the governments which the Greeks described by the term *tyranny*, — a term to which a notion has been attached, in modern languages, which did not enter into its original definition. A *tyranny*, in the Greek sense of the word, was the irresponsible do-

CHAP. X.

minion of a single person, not founded on hereditary right, like the monarchies of the heroic ages and of many barbarian nations; nor on a free election, like that of a dictator or æsymnete; but on force. It did not change its character when transmitted through several generations, nor was any other name invented to describe it when power which had been acquired by violence was used for the public good; though Aristotle makes it an element in the definition of tyranny, that it is exercised for selfish ends. But, according to the ordinary Greek notions, and the usage of the Greek historians, a mild and beneficent tyranny is an expression which involves no contradicti On the other hand, a government, legitimate in its origin, might be converted into a tyranny, by an illegal forcible extension of its powers, or of its duration; and we are informed by Aristotle that this was frequently the case in early times, before the regal title was abolished, or while the chief magistrate, who succeeded under a different name to the functions of royalty, was still invested with prerogatives dangerous to liberty. Such was the basis on which one of the ancient tyrants, most infamous for his cruelty, Phalaris of Agrigentum, established his despotism.

But most of the tyrannies which sprang up before the Persian wars owed their existence to the cause above described, and derived their peculiar character from the occasion which gave them birth. It was usually by a mixture of violence and artifice that the demagogue accomplished his ends. A hackneyed stratagem, which however seems always to have been successful, was, to feign that his life was threatened, or had even been attacked by the fury of the nobles, and on this pretext to procure a guard for his person from the people. This band, though composed of citizens, he found it easy to attach to his interests,

CHAP. X.

and with its aid made the first step towards absolute power by seizing the citadel: an act which might be considered as a formal assumption of the tyranny, and as declaring a resolution to maintain it by force. But in other respects the more politic tyrants set an example which Augustus might have studied with advantage. Like him, they as carefully avoided the ostentation of power as they guarded its substance. They suffered the ancient forms of the government to remain in apparent vigour, and even in real operation, so far as they did not come into conflict with their own authority. They assumed no title, and were not distinguished from private citizens by any [illegible]s of superior rank. But they did not the less [illegible] jealous eye on all whom wealth, or character, or [illegible]nce, might render dangerous rivals; and commonly either forced them into exile, or removed them by the stroke of an assassin. They exerted still greater vigilance in suppressing every kind of combination which might cover the germ of a conspiracy. The lowest class of the commonalty they restrained from licence, and provided with employment. For this purpose, no less than to gratify their taste or display their magnificence, they frequently adorned their cities with costly buildings, which required years of labour from numerous hands: and, where this expedient did not suffice, they scrupled not to force a part of the population to quit the capital, and seek subsistence in rural occupations. On the same ground they were not reluctant to engage in wars, which afforded them opportunities of relieving themselves, in a less invidious manner, both from troublesome friends and from dangerous foes, as well as of strengthening and extending their dominion by conquest.

Policy of the tyrants.

Such was the ordinary policy of the best tyrants; and by these arts they were frequently able to reign in peace, and to transmit their power to their children.

Causes of the short duration of the tyran-

CHAP. X.

nical dynasties.

But the maxims and character of the tyranny generally underwent a change under their successors, and scarcely an instance was known of a tyrannical dynasty that lasted beyond the third generation. The youth who was bred up to enjoy the power which his father had acquired, even if he was not inferior to him in ability, seldom imitated his prudence; and, even when he began with good intentions, he might be precipitated by one false step into a career of crime, where he could never stop. If even he was not the slave of his passions, and was not conscious of incurring general contempt or hatred by the manner in which he indulged them, he might be alarmed by some atte to shake off his yoke, and might be rendered remorseless and cruel by his fears. Thenceforth the whole aspect of the government was changed. The new tyrant placed his sole reliance on foreign troops, and on the means he possessed of weakening, dividing, and overawing his subjects. He endeavoured to level all that was eminent in birth, wealth, or merit, by death, banishment, and confiscation; lent an ear to flatterers and informers, sent his spies into every social circle, and rewarded the treachery of faithless slaves or unnatural relatives. These features may perhaps belong more generally to the tyranny of later times than to that of the period which we are now considering, — the century or two preceding the Persian wars; yet, in a greater or less degree, they appear to have been common to both. But, even where the tyrant did not make himself universally odious, or provoke the vengeance of individuals by his wantonness or cruelty, he was constantly threatened by dangers, both from within and from without, which it required the utmost vigour and prudence to avert. The party which his usurpation had supplanted, though depressed, was still powerful, more exasperated than humbled by its defeat, and ever

ready to take advantage of any opportunity of overthrowing him, either by private conspiracy, or by affecting to make common cause with the lower classes, or by calling in foreign aid. And in Greece itself such aid was always at hand: the tyrants indeed were partially leagued together for mutual support. But Sparta threw all her might into the opposite scale. She not only dreaded the contagion of an example which might endanger her own institutions, but was glad to extend her influence by taking an active part in revolutions, which would cause the states restored, by her intervention, to their old government to look up to her with gratitude and dependence as their natural protectress. And accordingly [illegible] les ascribes the overthrow of most of the tyra[illegible]ch flourished in Greece before the Persian war to the exertions of Sparta; though neither he, nor any other ancient author, has left an account of the manner in which it was effected, and only a few instances of her interference are mentioned by Plutarch, in a casual allusion.[1] Her co-operation to this end was undoubtedly very important to her own interests, and may have laid the immediate foundation of her subsequent greatness; but it probably only hastened the natural course of events, which, nearly at the same time, without her aid, led to a similar general revolution in many of the western colonies.

Interference of Sparta in their overthrow.

The immediate effect produced by the fall of the tyrants depended on the hands by which it was accomplished. Where it was the work of Sparta, she would aim at introducing a constitution most in conformity to her own. But the example of Athens will show, that she was sometimes instrumental in promoting the triumph of principles more adverse to her views than those of the tyranny itself. When however the struggle which had been interrupted by the tem-

[1] De Her. Mal. 21.

CHAP. X.

porary usurpation was revived, the parties were no longer in exactly the same posture as at its outset. In general the commonalty was found to have gained, in strength and spirit, even more than the oligarchy had lost; and the prevalent leaning of the ensuing period was on the side of democracy. Indeed the decisive step was that by which the oligarchy of wealth was substituted for the oligarchy of birth. This opened the door for all the subsequent innovations, by which the scale of the timocracy was gradually lowered, until it was wholly abolished. The term *democracy* is used by Aristotle sometimes in a larger sense, so as to include several forms of government, which notwithstanding their common character, were distinguished from each other by peculiar features; at other times in a narrower, to denote a form essentially vicious, which stands in the same relation to the happy temperament to which he gives the name of *polity*, as oligarchy to aristocracy, or tyranny to royalty. We shall not confine ourselves to the technical language of his system, but will endeavour to define the notion of democracy, as the word was commonly understood by the Greeks, so as to separate the essence of the thing from the various accidents which have sometimes been confounded with it by writers who have treated Greek history as a vehicle for conveying their views on questions of modern politics, which never arose in the Greek republics. It must not be forgotten, that the body to which the terms oligarchy and democracy refer formed a comparatively small part of the population in most Greek states, since it did not include either slaves or resident free foreigners. The sovereign power resided wholly in the native freemen; and whether it was exercised by a part or by all of them, was the question which determined the nature of the government. When the barrier had been thrown down, by which all political

Definition of democracy.

rights were made the inheritance of certain families, — since every freeman, even when actually excluded from them by the want of sufficient property, was by law capable of acquiring them, — democracy might be said to have begun. It was advancing, as the legal condition of their enjoyment was brought within the reach of a more numerous class; but it could not be considered as complete, so long as any freeman was debarred from them by poverty. Since however the sovereignty included several attributes which might be separated, the character of the constitution depended on the way in which these were distributed. It was considered as partaking more of democracy than of oligarchy, when the most important hem were shared by all freemen without distinction, though a part was still appropriated to a number limited either by birth or fortune. Thus, where the legislative, or, as it was anciently termed, the deliberative, branch of the sovereignty was lodged in an assembly open to every freeman, and where no other qualification than free birth was required for judicial functions, and for the election of magistrates, there the government was called democratical, though the highest offices of the state might be reserved to a privileged class. But a finished democracy, that which fully satisfied the Greek notion, was one in which every attribute of sovereignty might be shared, without respect to rank or property, by every freeman.

Different forms of democracy in practice.

More than this was not implied in democracy; and little less than this was required, according to the views of the philosophers, to constitute the character of a citizen, which, in the opinion of Aristotle, could not exist without a voice in the legislative assembly, and such a share in the administration of justice as was necessary to secure the responsibility of the magistrates. But this equality of rights left room for a great diversity in the modes of exercising them,

CHAP. X.

which determined the real nature of a democratical constitution. There were indeed certain rights, those which Aristotle considers as essential to a citizen, which, according to the received Greek notions, could, in a democracy, only be exercised in person. The thought of delegating them to accountable representatives seems never to have occurred either to practical or speculative statesmen, except in the formation of confederacies, which rendered such an expedient necessary. Where all the powers of the state were lodged in a certain number of citizens, though they were elected by the whole body of the people, the [illegible] was looked upon as an oligarchy; and, in [illegible]ns that, in all such cases, the functions so [illegible]ere held for life, and without any responsibility. But still, even in the purest form of democracy, it was not necessary that all the citizens should take an equally active part in the transaction of public business; and the unavoidable inequality in the advantages of fortune, and of personal qualities, fixed a natural limit to the exercise of most political rights. The class which was raised, by its station, above the need of daily labour seemed to be pointed out by nature for the discharge of all offices and duties which required leisure and freedom of thought. It could only be on extraordinary occasions that the poor man could be willing to leave his field or his workshop, to take his place in the legislative assembly or the court of justice; and the control which his right, however rarely it might be called into action, gave him over the public officers, who were the men of his choice, was a sufficient safeguard against every ordinary danger to be apprehended from them.

Corruption of democracy.

But the principle of legal equality, which was the basis of democracy, was gradually construed in a manner which inverted the wholesome order of nature, and led to a long train of pernicious conse-

quences. The administration of the commonwealth came to be regarded, not as a service, in which all were interested, but for which some might be qualified better than others, but as a property, in which each was entitled to an equal share. The practical application of this view was the introduction of an expedient for levelling, as far as possible, the inequality of nature, by enabling the poorest to devote his time without loss, or even with profit, to public affairs. This was done by giving him wages for his attendance on all occasions of exercising his franchise; and, as the sum which could be afforded for this purpose was necessarily small, it attracted precisely the persons whose presence was least desirable. A farth[illegible]i-cation of the same principle was, as much as [illegible], to increase the number, and abridge the duration and authority of public offices, and to transfer their power to the people in a mass. On the same ground, chance was substituted for election in the creation of all magistrates, whose duties did not actually demand either the security of a large fortune or peculiar abilities and experience. In proportion as the popular assembly, or large portions detached from it for the exercise of judicial functions, drew all the branches of the sovereignty more and more into their sphere, the character of their proceedings became more and more subject to the influence of the lower class of the citizens, which constituted a permanent majority. And thus the democracy, instead of the equality which was its supposed basis, in fact established the ascendancy of a faction, which, although greatly preponderant in numbers, no more represented the whole state than the oligarchy itself; and which, though not equally liable to fall into the mechanism of a vicious system, was more prone to yield to the impulse of the moment, more easily

CHAP. X.

misled by blind or treacherous guides, and might thus, as frequently, though not so deliberately and methodically, trample, not only on law and custom, but on justice and humanity. This disease of a democracy was sometimes designated by the term *ochlocracy*, or the dominion of the rabble.[1]

Ochlocracy.

A democracy thus corrupted exhibited many features of a tyranny. It was jealous of all who were eminently distinguished by birth, fortune, or reputation; it encouraged flatterers and sycophants; was insatiable in its demands on the property of the rich, and readily listened to charges which exposed them to death or confiscation. The class which suffered such pression, commonly ill satisfied with the principle of the constitution itself, was inflamed with the most furious animosity by the mode in which it was applied, and regarded the great mass of its fellow-citizens as its mortal enemies. But the long series of calamities which flowed from this source, both to particular states and to the whole nation, more properly belongs to a later period; and we have even gone a few steps beyond the limits of this part of our history in pointing out their origin, which however could not be omitted here without leaving this sketch of the subject imperfect and obscure.

Aristotle's survey of the Greek forms of government, which we have taken as our guide in the foregoing sketch, was founded on a vast store of information which he had collected on the history and constitution of more than a hundred and fifty states, in the mother country and the colonies, and which he had consigned to a great work now unfortunately lost. Our knowledge of the internal condition and vicissitudes of almost all these states is very scanty and fragmentary: but some of the main facts concerning them, which have been saved from oblivion,

[1] See Lobeck, *ad Phrynichum*, x. p. 526.

will serve to throw light both on the picture just given, and on several parts of the ensuing history.

Forms of government in Arcadia.

We have scarcely any thing to say, during this period, of the state of parties, or even the forms of government, in Arcadia, Elis, and Achaia. If Arcadia was ever subject to a single king, which seems to be intimated by some accounts of its early history, it was probably only, as in Thessaly, by an occasional election, or a temporary usurpation. The title of king however appears not to have been everywhere abolished down to a much later time, as we find a hint that it was retained at Orchomenus even in the fifth century before our era.[1] That the republican [illegible] were long aristocratical can scarcely be [illegible] the two principal Arcadian cities, Tegea and Mantinea, were at first only the chief among several small hamlets, which were at length united in one capital. This, whenever it happened, was a step toward the subversion of aristocratical privileges; and it was no doubt with this view that the five Mantinean villages were incorporated by the Argives, as Strabo mentions without assigning the date of the event. But it is not probable that Argos thus interfered before her own institutions had undergone a like change, which, as we shall see, did not take place before a later period than our history has yet reached. Whether the union of the nine villages, which included Tegea as their chief, was effected earlier or later, does not appear. But, after she had once acknowledged the supremacy of Sparta, Tegea was sheltered by Spartan influence from popular innovations, and was always the less inclined to adopt them when they prevailed at Mantinea: for as the position of the two Arcadian neighbours

Tegea and Mantinea.

[1] Plut. Paral. 32. The story of the murder of Romulus transferred to Arcadia. The whole being so palpable a fiction, I should hardly have thought it a sufficient ground even for the remark in the text, if it had not been cited with confidence by Mueller, *Dor.* i. 7. 11. n. s. [In the second edition of the English translation Mueller has added the remark, *In this strange composition* (the Parallels) *arbitrary fictions are curiously mixed with learned notices.*]

CHAP. X.

tended to connect the one with Sparta, and the other with Argos, so it supplied occasion for interminable feuds between them, especially as the contiguous plains, which formed the main part of their territories, were liable to be much damaged by the waters that descended from their mountains, which might easily be diverted toward either side.[1] At a much later period a like incorporation took place, through Spartan intervention, at Heræa, which had also been the chief of nine hamlets.[2] It was probably after this event that the constitution of Heræa underwent the changes mentioned by Aristotle[3], produced by the extraordinary heat of competition for public offices, which rendered it necessary to fill them up by lot, instead of the ancient mode of election. But, in general, the history of the western states of Arcadia is wrapt in deep obscurity, which was only broken, in the fourth century B. C., by the foundation of a new Arcadian capital.

Heræa.

Elis.

In Elis the monarchical form of government continued for some generations in the line of Oxylus, but appears to have ceased there earlier than at Pisa, which, at the time it was conquered and destroyed by the Eleans, was ruled by chiefs, who were probably legitimate kings. Immediately after the conquest, in the fiftieth olympiad, the dignity of Hellanodices, which had been held by the kings of Elis, or shared by them with those of Pisa, was assigned to two Elean officers by lot; a proof that royalty was then extinct. The constitution by which it was replaced seems to have been rigidly aristocratical, perhaps no other than the narrow oligarchy described by Aristotle[4],—who observes that the whole number of citizens exercising any political functions was small — confined perhaps

[1] Thuc. v. 65.
[2] Strabo, viii. p. 337.
[3] Pol. v. 3.
[4] Pol. v. 6. In the comparison with the Spartan Gerusia, a negative seems to have dropt out of the text.

to the six hundred mentioned by Thucydides[1]; and that the senate, originally composed of ninety members, who held their office for life, and filled up vacancies at their pleasure, had been gradually reduced to a very few. Elis, the capital, remained in a condition like that of the above-mentioned Arcadian towns until the Persian war, when the inhabitants of many villages were collected in its precincts.[2] This was probably attended by other changes of a democratical nature — perhaps by the limitation which one Phormis is said to have effected in the power of the senate[3] — and henceforth the number of the Hellanodicæ corresponded to that of the tribes or regions into which the Elean territory was divided; so that, whenever any of these regions was lost by the chance of war, the number of the Hellanodicæ was proportionately reduced.[4] So too the matrons who presided at the games in honour of Heré, in which the Elean virgins contended at Olympia, were chosen in equal number from each of the tribes.[5]

In Achaia, the royal dignity was transmitted in the line of Tisamenus down to Ogyges, whose sons, affecting despotic power, were deposed, and the government was changed to a democracy[6], which is said to have possessed a high reputation.[7] From the language of

Achaia.

[1] v. 47. [2] Strabo, viii. p. 337. [3] Plutarch, Reip. Ger. Præc. c. 10.

[4] Paus. v. 9. The text of Paus. manifestly requires some correction in the date assigned to the appointment of nine Hellanodicæ, in the room of the two who are said to have filled that office for a very long time (ἐπὶ πλείστων) after the 50th olympiad. But it is doubtful what number ought to be substituted for that which is found in the manuscripts — ol. 25. Mueller, in an interesting essay on the subject, in the new *Rheinisches Museum*, ii. 2. p. 168., proposes ol. 75. as the epoch mentioned by Pausanias. He has there rendered it highly probable, that, of the twelve regions which composed the Elean territory in its greatest extent, four belonged to the proper, or *hollow*, Elis, four to Pisa, and four to the Triphylian states. It was this last portion that often changed masters in the wars between Elis and her neighbours, and thus occasioned the variation in the number of the Hellanodicæ. Yet it is remarkable that the nine, who were appointed when the number was first enlarged, had not all one office, but presided, three over the chariot-race, three over the pentathlon, and three over the other contests. (Paus. v. 9. 5.)

[5] Paus. v. 16. 5. [6] Polybius, ii. 41. [7] Strabo, v. p. 384.

CHAP. X.

Pausanias it would rather seem as if the title of king had been held by a number of petty chiefs at once.[1] If so, the revolution must have had its origin in causes more general than those assigned to it by Polybius. It was probably accelerated by the number of Achæan emigrants who sought refuge in Achaia from other parts of Peloponnesus, and who soon crowded the country, till it was relieved by its Italian colonies. What Polybius and Strabo term a democracy may however have been a *polity*, or a very liberal and well-tempered form of oligarchy. Of its details we know nothing: nor are we informed in what relation the principal Achaian towns — a division adopted Ionians — stood to the hamlets, of which seven or eight in its territory, like those of Tegea and Mantinea.[2] As little are we able to describe the constitution of the confederacy in which the twelve states were now united.

More light has been thrown by ancient authors on the history of the states in the north-east quarter of Peloponnesus, those of Argolis in the largest sense of the word. At Argos itself, regal government subsisted down to the Persian wars, although the line of the Heracleid princes appears to have become extinct toward the middle of the preceding century. Pausanias remarks, that, from a very early period, the Argives were led by their peculiarly independent spirit to limit the prerogatives of their kings so narrowly, that Medon (grandson of Temenus the Conqueror) and his posterity retained no more than the name of royalty, and his descendant Maltas was condemned by the people, and entirely deprived of his dignity.[3] We cannot however place much reliance on

Argos.

[1] vii. 6. 2.

[2] Strabo, viii. p. 386., who remarks, *οἱ μὲν Ἴωνες κωμηδὸν ᾤκουν, οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ πόλεις ἔκτισαν.*

[3] ii. 19. 2. *Ἀργεῖοι, ἅτε ἰσηγορίαν καὶ τὸ αὐτόνομον ἀγαπῶντες, ἐκ παλαιοτάτου τὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῶν βασιλέων ἐς ἐλάχιστον προήγαγον. κ. τ. λ.*

such a general reflection of a late writer. But we have seen that Pheidon, who, about the year 750 B. C., extended the power of Argos further than any of his predecessors, also stretched the royal authority so much beyond its legitimate bounds, that he is sometimes called a tyrant, though he was rightful heir of Temenus. After his death, as his conquests appear to have been speedily lost, so it is probable that his successors were unable to maintain the ascendency which he had gained over his Dorian subjects, and the royal dignity may henceforth have been, as Pausanias describes it, little more than a title. Hence t o on the failure of the ancient line, about B. C. 5(:gon, though of a different family, may have me .t the less opposition in mounting the throne. sub-stance of power rested with the Dorian freemen: in what manner it was distributed among them we can only conjecture from analogy. Their lands were cultivated by a class of serfs, corresponding to the Spartan helots, who served in war as light-armed troops, whence they derived their peculiar name.[1] They were also sovereigns of a few towns, the inhabitants of which, like the Laconians subject to Sparta, though personally free, were excluded from all share in their political privileges. The events which put an end to this state of things, and produced an entire change in the form of government at Argos, will be hereafter related.

Epidaurus and Ægina.

Among the states of the Argolic *acte*, Epidaurus deserves notice, not so much for the few facts which are known of its internal history, as on account of its relation to Ægina. This island, destined to take no inconsiderable part in the affairs of Greece, was long subject to Epidaurus, which was so jealous of her sovereignty as to compel the Æginetans to resort

[1] γυμνῆτες (Pollux, iii. 8. § 83.) γυμνήσιοι (Steph. Byz. Χίος. Eustath. ad Dion. Per. 533.).

CHAP. X.

to her tribunals for the trial of their causes. It seems to have been as a dependency of Epidaurus that Ægina fell under the dominion of the Argive Pheidon. After recovering her own independence, Epidaurus still continued mistress of the island. Whether she had any subjects on the main land standing on the same footing, we are not expressly informed. But here likewise the ruling class was supported by the services of a population of bondmen, distinguished by a peculiar name (*Conipodes*, the dusty-footed), designating indeed their rural occupations, but certainly expressive of contempt. Toward the end of the seventh century B. C., and the beginning of the next, Epidaurus was subject to a ruler named Procles, who is styled a tyrant, and was allied with Periander the tyrant of Corinth. But nothing is known as to the origin and nature of his usurpation. He incurred the resentment of his son-in-law Periander, who made himself master of Procles and of Epidaurus. It was perhaps this event which afforded Ægina an opportunity of shaking off the Epidaurian yoke. But, had it been otherwise, the old relation between the two states could not have subsisted much longer. Ægina was rapidly outgrowing the mother country, was engaged in a flourishing commerce, strong in an enterprising and industrious population, enriched and adorned by the arts of peace, and skilled in those of war.[1] The sepa-

[1] Doctor Alessandro Pini, a Florentine, who was settled in the Morea under the Venetian government in 1703, and wrote a Description of the Peninsula, which has not yet been published, says of Ægina: "Sul mare verso la parte di Morea si osservano le reliquie d'un vastissimo e smisurato molo, che formava un porto sicuro, e capace: adesso, oltre l'essere rovinato il molo, è imbonito il porto, ne vi si possono ancorare che piccole barche. Nè posso darmi pace che Tucidide, Pausania, Strabone, e tanti altri chiarissimi istorici e geografi Greci, gente secondo Plinio *in laudem curiosissimi*, non encomino un sì magnifico molo che traspasso le mar-

[illegible] envious admiration of its Athenian neighbours and enemies; and refers to Demosth. c. Aristocr. p. 691., where however no such feeling appears to be expressed, but rather the reverse: νῆσον οἰκοῦντας οὕτω σμικρὰν καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντας ἐφ' ᾧ μέγα χρὴ φρονεῖν αὐτούς.

ration which soon after took place was embittered by mutual resentment; and the Æginetans, whose navy soon became the most powerful in Greece, retaliated on Epidaurus for the degradation they had suffered by a series of insults. But the same causes to which they owed their national independence seem to have deprived the class which had been hitherto predominant in Ægina of its political privileges. The island was torn by the opposite claims and interests arising out of the old and the new order of things, and became, as we shall see, the scene of a bloody struggle.

Corinth; the Bacchiads.

At Corinth, the descendants of Aletes retained [illegible] power and the title of royalty for five genera[illegible]r which, according to Pausanias, the sceptre [illegible]o another family, called the Bacchiads, from Bacchis, the first king of their race, and was transmitted in this line for five generations more; when Telestes, the last of these princes, having been murdered, the kingly office was abolished, and, in its place, yearly magistrates, with the title of prytanes, were elected, exclusively however from the house of Bacchis. This account indeed cannot be reconciled with Strabo's, that the Bacchiads, as a body, ruled 200 years, which, if added to the ten generations of Pausanias, would bring down the termination of the Bacchiad dynasty more than a century too low. But we do not know the grounds of Strabo's calculation, and it seems not improbable that his 200 years may include a period during which the Bacchiads permitted members of their house to exercise an authority which may have been gradually limited, as at Athens. The Bacchiads must not be considered as a single family, but probably comprehended many, which, though bearing a common name, were but distantly connected by blood. On the other hand, they undoubtedly included only a small part of the Dorian freemen, and they appear to have

CHAP. X.

estranged themselves as much from the great body of their countrymen as from the conquered Æolians; for they not only engrossed all political power, but intermarried exclusively with one another. It seems natural to suppose, that the effect of this exclusion would be to efface the distinctions which before separated the other classes in the state, and to leave only two orders, conscious of different views and interests, the dominant caste and their subjects. The situation of Corinth inviting the commerce of the east, and stimulating its people to extend it toward the west, the influx of strangers, augmented from time to time by the national games celebrated on the Isthmus, and consequences hence arising to the numbers, the condition, and habits of the industrious class, must have contributed to the same result. With the wealth of Asia, Corinth seems very early to have admitted Asiatic vices and luxury, which flourished under the shelter of an exotic superstition.[1] The ruling class itself was not exempt from this contagion. The great wealth attributed to the Bacchiad Demaratus, in the Roman story, indicates that the Corinthian nobles did not disdain to enrich themselves by commerce. Aristotle indeed speaks of a very ancient Corinthian legislator, named Pheidon, who had endeavoured so to regulate and limit the acquisition of property, and the numbers of the citizens, as to preserve either the same amount or the same proportions. But these institutions, which probably related only to the nobles, if they were ever adopted, seem not to have been durable.

Cypselus overthrows the Bacchiads.

It would have been scarcely possible that so narrow an oligarchy could have kept its ground long under such circumstances, even if it had used its power with

the utmost moderation and wisdom. But the Bacchiads seem not to have been sufficiently careful to preserve the respect of their subjects[1], though they were probably by no means negligent of precautions for securing the stability of their government; among which may be numbered the colonies by which they discharged a part of their growing population on the coasts of the western seas. The revolution by which they were overthrown about the year 660 B.C., though it only served for a time to raise another dynasty in their room, was undoubtedly the work of the commonalty, which had grown weary of their usurpation. Cypselus, the author of this revolution, was [illegible] an opulent and very ancient family, though [illegible], not Dorian, nobility; for he traced his des[illegible]neus, a king of the Lapiths, and one of his nearer ancestors had been an associate of Aletes in the conquest of Corinth.[2] The legend which explained, and perhaps grew out of, his name[3], represents him as sprung from a daughter of the Bacchiads, and as from his birth an object of their jealousy. For thirty years he ruled Corinth, and, in the language of a later generation, is termed sometimes a king[4], sometimes a tyrant. But Aristotle calls him a demagogue, and assigns, as the proof of his real character, that he never employed guards about his person.[5] Yet a Corinthian orator in Herodotus charges him with having banished many citizens, and with having deprived many of their property, and still more of their lives; and a later author asserts, that, in the course of ten years, he took away the whole amount of the property of the Corinthians

[1] See the story of Archias in Fr. Diodor. l. viii., and in M. Tyrius, 241.; and that of Diocles and Alcyone, Aristot. Pol. ii. 9., and Ælian, V. H. i. 19.

[2] Paus. ii. 4.; v. 18. 2.

[3] From the coffer (κυψέλη) in which he had been concealed by his mother, which was said to be preserved at Olympia. The one dedicated by his family as a relic and a monument of his deliverance was of cedar-wood, inlaid with gold and ivory, and adorned with many groups of figures.

[4] In the oracle in Herod. v. 92.

[5] Pol. v. 9.

CHAP. X.

in taxes[1], and, in pursuance of a vow, dedicated it to Jupiter: and a statue of pure gold at Olympia, which was celebrated as his offering, though it was not in his lifetime inscribed with his name[2], and the costly works with which he adorned other Grecian temples[3], must have seemed to confirm a part of these accusations. The fact may have been, that Cypselus did not spare the oligarchs, whom he had overthrown, but that he maintained himself by the confidence and affection of the people, which continued to regard him as its deliverer and protector to the end of his life.

Character of Periander.

He was succeeded by his son Periander, a very celebrated person, but the subject of so many contradictory accounts that it is extremely difficult to discover his real character. He was famed for his wisdom, and was even frequently numbered among the seven most eminent sages of his age: he was a lover of poetry, and himself made it a vehicle of moral or political instruction: his administration is praised by Plato's scholar, Heraclides, as prudent, just, mild, and even paternal; for he is said to have shown a tender solicitude, not merely for the prosperity, but for the moral well-being, of his subjects.[4] On the other hand, he is described as a man incapable of self-command, who made himself and others miserable by the indulgence of his passions; and, in his public capacity, as a rapacious, oppressive, and cruel despot. It is however added by those who treat his character most unfavourably, that it underwent an unhappy change in the course of his reign, and was good and amiable before it was corrupted. According to one view, which Herodotus found prevalent, this change was produced by the evil counsels of a contemporary tyrant, Thrasybulus of Miletus: according to another view it was

[1] Pseudo-Aristot. Œcon. 2.
[2] Paus. v. 2, 3.
[3] As that of Delphi. Plut. Sep. Sap. Conv. c. 21.
[4] Heracl. P. 5.

the effect of a dreadful domestic calamity.[1] But Aristotle, without seeming to know of any such change, observes that Periander was reputed to be the first of the Greek tyrants who had reduced the policy of despotic government to a system; and that the acts by which he provided for the stability of his power, and which had been of old familiar to the courts of the east, consisted in devices for depressing and destroying the most eminent and aspiring of his subjects, for impoverishing the wealthy, and trampling on the low, for scattering the seeds of general discord and distrust among different orders, and severing all the ties by which the noblest spirits were united, and in which they might find the means of . . .
It is impossible perfectly to reconcile all thes s, and the utmost we can attempt is to trace some of the more prominent features in Periander's character. We ought not to receive without distrust the tragical story of his private life, which has probably passed through the hands of a hostile party; but still it seems clear that, if he was unfortunate, he was by no means virtuous or innocent. The fatal excess of his mother's passions did not teach him to moderate his own. In a fit of anger or jealousy he killed his beautiful wife, Lysis, or Melissa, the daughter of Procles, whom he loved with passionate fondness; took a horrible revenge on the persons who had instigated him to the deed, and sought refuge from his remorse in the darkest rites of a barbarous superstition. The latter part of his life was embittered by the implacable aversion of a favourite son, to whom Procles had revealed the secret of his mother's fate. He punished Procles, as we have seen; but lost the child of his hopes, to whom he was on the point of resigning his power, through the hatred or dread with which his own character had impressed the people of Corcyra,

[1] Parthenius, 17. Diog. Laert. Periand. 94. [2] Pol. v. 11.

CHAP. X.

who are said to have destroyed the son, in order to avoid the presence of the father. It would therefore seem that, if Periander merited the title of Wise, it can only have been by his political prudence; but whether this was the instrument of an odious tyranny, or of a gentle and beneficent rule, would still remain a question. Perhaps we shall not be far wrong if we suppose that, as he had not the same claims with his father on the gratitude of the commonalty, so he was less disposed by nature to depend upon their good-will, and that he early showed a resolution of reigning by force, and not, as Cypselus had done, by popular favour. He secured his person by a guard of mercenaries and strengthened his state by alliance or friendship with foreign tyrants, and even with barbarian kings; and he must have maintained a force which enabled him, by other expeditions beside that which we have mentioned against Epidaurus, to earn the praises bestowed by Aristotle on his military skill. The new position in which he stood toward the commonalty is indicated by his regulations for preventing the influx of new inhabitants into the city, or for compelling some of the poorer sort to quit it.[1] If however he lost the affections of the people, he had the more cause to apprehend the enmity of the noble families; and was thus perhaps driven to the acts described by Aristotle, without needing the counsels of Thrasybulus, of whom indeed it was not known whether he had sent or received the famous warning, which one of these tyrants was believed to have given the other[2], by striking down the tallest ears in a corn-field. It has been supposed, apparently without sufficient ground, that it was Periander's object to abolish the Dorian institutions at

[1] Diog. Laert. Periand. 98. *οὐκ εἴα ἐν ἅστει ζῆν τοὺς βουλομένους*: from Ephorus and Aristotle.

[2] Aristotle, in two passages of the Politics, makes Periander the adviser of Thrasybulus.

CHAP. X.

Corinth.[1] We can only collect from Aristotle that he kept an eye of watchful jealousy on all eminent individuals, and all aristocratical combinations, which might threaten his safety. But it is easier to see how, by the measures which he may have taken to avert such dangers, he might incur the charge of injustice and cruelty, than to decide how far he deserved it. Aristotle intimates that it was a part of his policy to drain the opulent of their wealth for works consecrated to the gods[2], which at the same time furnished employment to the poor: and this may not be inconsistent with the statement of Heraclides, that he contented himself with the revenue derived from the cu[illegible] of the port and the duties of the market. But [illegible]rding to Aristotle's view, it is difficult to un[illegible] and with what motive he could have instituted a court to prevent any of his subjects from indulging in expenses beyond their income. Yet it seems clear that he established some sumptuary regulations, which may have had a financial as well as a moral object; and this was perhaps the foundation of the story so variously related, that he stript the Corinthian women of the ornaments with which they appeared at some sacred festival. His reign lasted upwards of forty years, and yet is said to have been shortened either by violence or by his grief for the loss of his son. He was succeeded by a nephew, or a cousin, Psammetichus, the son of Gordias, names which apparently indicate the relations maintained by the Cypselids with princes of Phrygia and Egypt. With his reign, which only lasted three years, the dynasty ended, about 582 B.C., overpowered by Sparta, which nearly

End of his dynasty.

[1] This has been inferred by Mueller (*Dor.* i 8. 3.) and others from the mention of the *Syssitia* in Aristot. Pol. v. 11. But the passage no more warrants such a conclusion than the story of Æthiops in Athenæus, iv. p. 167., which Mueller elsewhere advances for the same purpose.

[2] According to Ephorus, in Diog. Laert. (Periander), it was he who dedicated a golden statue at Olympia, for which he seized the women's ornaments; and this seems to agree better with the story in Paus. (v. 2.) about the inscription.

CHAP. X

at the same time dislodged another branch of the family from Ambracia. This revolution was not followed by the restoration of the Bacchiads, but apparently by the establishment of a more comprehensive oligarchy, the exact constitution of which is unknown, but which long kept Corinth in close alliance with Sparta. The period of Corinth's highest prosperity closed with the government of the Cypselids; and the loss of Corcyra, which had been kept in subjection by Periander, but revolted soon after his death, proved a blow to her power from which she never recovered.

Sicyon.

The history of Sicyon presents a series of revolution in many points resembling those of Corinth. At what time, or in whose person, royalty was there extinguished, and what form of government succeeded it, we are not expressly informed; but, as we know that there was a class of bondsmen at Sicyon, answering to the helots, and distinguished by peculiar names, derived from their rustic dress or occupation [1], there can be little doubt that other parts of the Dorian system were also introduced there, and subsisted until a fortunate adventurer, named Orthagoras, or Andreas [2], overthrew the old aristocracy, and founded a dynasty, which lasted a century: the longest period, Aristotle observes, of a Greek tyranny. Orthagoras is said to have risen from a very low station—that of a cook [3]—and was,

Dynasty of Andreas.

[1] They were called either *Catonacophori*, from the *Catonaca*, a dress bordered at bottom with sheepskin; or, *Coryncphori*, club-bearers, which Mueller (*Dor.* iii. 4. 3.) supposes to relate to their military service, while Ruhnken (Timæus, p. 214.) conceives the club to have been merely a badge of their pastoral occupation. If it was considered as a weapon, we should be inclined to suspect that the tyrant of Sicyon had employed guards, taken from the peasantry, and armed like those of Pisistratus, who bore the same name.

[2] Herodotus (vi. 12. 6.) omits the name of Orthagoras among the ancestors of Cleisthenes, and only goes back as far as Andreas. But from the fragment in Mai (11. p. 12.) it seems evident that Diodorus had described Andreas as the founder of the dynasty, and he also calls him a cook. Hence Mueller (*Dor.* 1. 8. 2. n. *x*) justly infers, that Andreas and Orthagoras are the same person.

[3] Libanius, III. p. 251., Reiske, and Diodorus, who relates, that Andreas had in

therefore, probably indebted for his elevation to the commonalty. The long duration of his dynasty is ascribed by Aristotle to the mildness and moderation with which he and his descendants exercised their power, submitting to the laws, and taking pains to secure the goodwill of the people. His successor, Myron, having gained a victory in the Olympic chariot-race in the thirty-third olympiad, erected a treasury at Olympia, which was remarkable for its material, copper of Tartessus, which had not long been introduced into Greece; for its architecture, in which the Doric and Ionic orders were combined; and for its inscription, in which the name of Myron was coupled with that of the people of Sicyon.[1] It may be collected, from expression of Aristotle's, that though Myron was succeeded, either immediately or after a short interval, by his grandson Cleisthenes, son of Aristonymus, this transmission of the tyranny did not take place without interruption or impediment[2]; and if this arose from the Dorian nobles, it would explain some points in which the government of Cleisthenes differed from that of his predecessors. He seems to have been the most able and enterprising prince of his house, and to have conducted many wars, beside that in which we have seen him engaged on the side of the Amphictyons, with skill and success: he was of a munificent temper, and displayed his love of splendour and of the arts both in the national games and in his native city, where, out of the spoils of Crissa, he built a colonnade, which long retained the name of the Cleisthenean.[3] The

Myron.

Cleisthenes.

this capacity attended a company of Sicyonians, who were sent to consult the Delphic oracle, and that he had also served the magistrates, either as police officer, or executioner (*μαπτιγοφορῶν*). If however, as Mueller seems to think, the term *cook* was only a nickname, applied to him by the nobles (of which Libanius affords no hint), it would not even prove that he was not of an ancient family, and could only be understood as an allusion to his political measures, like some of those which Aristophanes makes to the craft of his hero in the Knights.

[1] Paus. vi. 19.

[2] Pol. v. 12. He says that one tyranny is sometimes exchanged for another, as at Sicyon that of Myron for that of Cleisthenes.

[3] Paus. ii. 9. 6.

CHAP. X.

magnificence with which he entertained the suitors who came from all parts of Greece, and even from foreign lands, to vie with one another, after the ancient fashion, in manly exercises, for his daughter's hand, was long so celebrated, that Herodotus gives a list of the competitors. It proves how much his alliance was coveted by the most distinguished families; and it is particularly remarkable, that one of the suitors was a son of Pheidon, king of Argos, whom Herodotus seems to have confounded with the more ancient tyrant of the same name. Still Cleisthenes appears not to have departed from the maxims by which his predecessors had regulated their government with regard to th commonalty, but, in the midst of his royal state, to have carefully preserved the appearance, at least, of equity and respect for the laws. On the other hand, toward his Dorian subjects he displayed a spirit of hostility which seems to have been peculiar to himself, and to have been excited by some personal provocation. It was probably connected with a war in which he was engaged with Argos, and it impelled him to various political and religious innovations, the real nature of which can now be but very imperfectly understood. One of the most celebrated was the change which he made in the names of the Dorian tribes, for which he substituted others, derived from the lowest kinds of domestic animals [1]; while a fourth tribe, to which he himself belonged, was distinguished by the majestic title of the Archelai (the princely). Herodotus supposes that he only meant to insult the Dorians; and we could sooner adopt this opinion than believe, with a modern author, that he took so strange a method of directing their attention to rural pursuits.[2] But Herodotus adds, that the new names were retained for sixty years after the death of Cleisthenes and the

[1] From the sow, the ass, and the pig: — Ὑᾶται, Ὀνεᾶται, Χοιρεᾶται. Herod. v. 68.
[2] Mueller, *Dor.* iii. 4. 3.

fall of his dynasty, when those of the Dorian tribes were restored, and, in the room of the fourth, a new one was created, called from a son of the Argive hero, Adrastus, the Ægialeans. This account leads us to suspect that the changes made by Cleisthenes were not confined to the names of the tribes, but that he made an entirely new distribution of them, perhaps collecting the Dorians in one, and assigning the three rustic tribes to the commonalty, which, by this means, might seem to acquire a legitimate preponderance. Afterwards perhaps this proportion was inverted; and, when the Dorians resumed their old division, the commonalty was thrown into the single tr[illegible]led not from the hero, but from the land), [illegible]gialeans.[1]

We do not know how this dynasty ended, and can only pronounce it probable that it was overthrown at about the same time with that of the Cypselids (B. C. 580), by the intervention of Sparta, which must have been more alarmed and provoked by the innovations of Cleisthenes than by the tyranny of Periander. It would seem, from the history of the tribes, that the Dorians recovered their predominance; but gradually, and not so completely as to deprive the commonalty of all share in political rights.

Megara;

On the other side of the Isthmus, the little state of Megara passed through vicissitudes similar to those of Corinth and Sicyon, but attended with more violent struggles. Before the Dorian conquest, royalty is said to have been abolished there after the last king, Hyperion, son of Agamemnon, had fallen by the hand of an enemy, whom he had provoked by insolence and

[1] In the second edition of the English translation of the *Dorians*, vol. ii. p. 59., the conjecture proposed in the text is noticed by Mueller with the remark: *A measure of this kind appears to be unexampled in the history of the Greek constitutions, and could hardly have been confounded by Herodotus with a mere change of names.* But what Herodotus relates was probably no less extraordinary, and his statement is not inconsistent with the conjecture proposed in the text.

CHAP. X.

wrong: and a Megarian legend seems to indicate that the elective magistrates, who took the place of the kings, bore the title of *æsymnetes*.[1] The Dorians of Corinth kept those of Megara, for a time, in the same kind of subjection to which Ægina was reduced by Epidaurus; and the Megarian peasantry were compelled to solemnize the obsequies of every Bacchiad with marks of respect, such as were exacted from the subjects of Sparta on the death of the king.[2] This yoke however was cast off at an early period; and Argos assisted the Megarians in recovering their independence.[3] Henceforth it is probable Megara assumed a more decided superiority over the hamlets of her territory, which had once been her rivals; and she must have made rapid progress in population and in power, as is proved by her flourishing colonies in the east and west, and by the wars which she carried on in defence of them. One of her most illustrious citizens, Orsippus, who, in the fifteenth olympiad, set the example of dropping all incumbrances of dress in the Olympic foot-race, also conducted her arms with brilliant success against her neighbours — probably the Corinthians — and enlarged her territory to the utmost extent of her claims.[4] But the government still remained in the hands of the great Dorian landowners, who, when freed from the dominion of Corinth, became sovereigns at home; and they appear not to have administered it mildly or wisely. For they were not only deprived of their power by an insurrection of the commonalty, as at Corinth and Sicyon, but were evidently the objects of a bitter enmity, which cannot have been wholly unprovoked. Theagenes, a bold and ambitious man, who put himself at the head of the popular cause, is said to

subject to Corinth.

Theagenes tyrant of Megara.

[1] Or *æsymni*, Paus. i. 43. 3.

[2] Schol. Pind. n. vii. 155.

[3] Paus. vi. 19. 14.

[4] See the inscription (1050) in Boeckh, *Corpus Inscr.* Gr., which Boeckh supposes to have been written by Simonides.

have won the confidence of the people by an attack on the property of the wealthy citizens, whose cattle he destroyed in their pastures.[1] The animosity provoked by such an outrage, which was probably not a solitary one, rendered it necessary to invest the demagogue with supreme authority. Theagenes, who assumed the tyranny about 620 B. C., followed the example of the other usurpers of his time. He adorned his city with splendid and useful buildings[2], and no doubt in other ways cherished industry and the arts, while he made them contribute to the lustre of his reign. He allied himself, as we shall see, to one of the most eminent families of Athens, and aided his son-in-law [illegible], in his enterprise, which, if it had succeeded, [illegible] ave lent increased stability to his own power. [illegible] victories which deprived the Athenians of Salamis, and made them at last despair of recovering it, were probably gained by Theagenes. Yet he was at length expelled from Megara; whether through the discontent of the commonalty, or by the efforts of the aristocratical party, which may have been encouraged by the failure of Cylon's plot, we are not distinctly informed. Only it is said that, after his overthrow, a more moderate and peaceful spirit prevailed for a short time, until some turbulent leaders, who apparently wished to tread in his steps, but wanted his ability or his fortune, instigated the populace to new outrages against the wealthy, who were forced to throw open their houses, and to set luxurious entertainments before the rabble, or were exposed to personal insult and violence.[3] But a much harder blow was aimed at their property by a measure called the *palintocia* — which carried the principles of Solon's *seisachtheia* to an iniquitous excess — by which cre-

Violence of civil discord at Megara.

[1] Aristot. Pol. v. 5. Mr. Malden (*Hist. of Rome*, p. 153.) supposes that these pastures were public lands, and that this appears from Aristotle. It may have been the case; but we cannot find any hint to that effect in Aristotle.

[2] Paus. i. 40. 1.; and 41. 2.

[3] Plut. Qu. Gr. 18.

CHAP. X.

ditors were required to refund the interest which they had received from their debtors. This transaction at the same time discloses one, at least, of the causes which had exasperated the commonalty against the nobles, who probably had exacted their debts no less harshly than the Athenian Eupatrids. But, in this period of anarchy, neither justice nor religion was held sacred: even temples were plundered; and a company of pilgrims, passing through the territory of Megara, on their way to Delphi, was grossly insulted; many lives even were lost, and the Amphictyonic council was compelled to interpose, to procure the punishment of the ringleaders.[1] It is unquestionably of this period that Aristotle speaks, when he says that the Megarian demagogues procured the banishment of many of the *notable* citizens[2] for the sake of confiscating their estates; and he adds, that these outrages and disorders ruined the democracy, for the exiles became so strong a body, that they were able to reinstate themselves by force, and to establish a very narrow oligarchy, including those only who had taken an active part in the revolution. Unfortunately we have no means of ascertaining the dates of these events, though the last-mentioned re-action cannot have taken place very long after 600 B. C.[3] During the following century, our information on the state of Megara is chiefly collected from the writings of the Megarian poet, Theognis, which however are interesting not so much for the historical facts contained in them, as for the light they throw on the character and feelings of the parties which divided his native city and so many others. Theognis appears to have been born about Ol. 55, not long before the death of Solon; and to have lived down to the beginning of

Theognis the aristocratical poet.

[1] Plut. Qu. Gr. 59.

[2] Pol. v. 5. *τῶν γνωρίμων.*

[3] Welcker (*Theognis*, p. xiii.) thinks that Theagenes may have continued to rule down to ol. 50., or even later: but it must be remembered that Cylon, his son-in-law, gained his victory at Olympia in ol. 35. (B. C. 640.)

CHAP. X.

the Persian wars.[1] He left some poems, of which considerable fragments remain, filled with moral and political maxims and reflections. We gather from them, that the oligarchy, which followed the period of anarchy, had been unable to keep its ground; and that a new revolution had taken place, by which the poet, with others of the aristocratical party, had been stript of his fortune and driven into exile. He appears to have been a man of rank; and speaks of the warm reception he had met with at Sparta, and in other foreign lands into which he had wandered, which however could not soothe his impatient longing to return to his country, and be revenged [illegible] political adversaries, whose *blood he wishes* [illegible]*k*.[2] Yet his keen sense of his personal suffering [illegible] most absorbed in the vehement grief and indignation with which he contemplates the state of Megara — the triumph of the *bad* (his usual term for the commonalty), and the degradation of the *good* (the members of the old aristocracy). Sometimes he speaks as one divided between the hope and the fear, that some new tyrant may make himself master of the city; and then, as if such an usurper had already appeared, charges him *to trample on the senseless people, to strike it with the sharp goad, and to plant the hard yoke on its neck*.[3] But his complaints betray a fact which throws some doubt on the purity of his patriotism, and abates our sympathy for his misfortunes. It is not merely the licence and insolence of the bad that provoke his invectives, but the growing corruption and degeneracy of the good; many of whom, it appears, had so far relaxed the rigour of their aristocratical principles as to mingle their blood with that of wealthy upstarts. Hence, he complains, such confusion had arisen that it was difficult to distinguish the good from the bad:

[1] Welcker, p. xvi. [2] τῶν εἴη μέλαν αἷμα πιεῖν· (v. 785. Welck.) [3] v. 717.

CHAP. X.

the people in Megara was no longer the same; for the class which in the good old times *had worn the goatskin as the badge of its condition, and had kept aloof from the city, as a stag from the haunts of men, was now admitted into assemblies and courts*, to take a part in the business of making and administering the laws.[1] Hence it would seem, that the party to which the poet belonged did not comprehend all, nor perhaps even the greater part, of those who by birth and station had the same title to political privileges with himself; and that, while he insisted on maintaining the ancient barrier of law or custom, which separated the families of the noble caste from those of the lower order, there were others who had sacrificed their prejudices on this head, not, it may be, to any sordid motives, but to their conviction that, without this concession, there could be no prospect of union or peace. If his exile was caused or prolonged by his resistance to such salutary innovations, however we may respect his firmness, we cannot think highly of his wisdom.

Bœotia.

The peculiar circumstances under which Bœotia was conquered, by a people who had quitted their native land to avoid slavery or subjection, would be sufficient to account for the fact that royalty was very early abolished there. It may indeed be doubted whether the chief named Xanthus, who is called king, sometimes of the Bœotians, sometimes of the Thebans, and who was slain by the Attic king Melanthus, was any thing more than a temporary leader. The most sacred functions of the Theban kings seem to have been transferred to a magistrate, who bore the title of Archon, and, like the Archon-king at Athens, was invested rather with a priestly than a civil character. From the death of Xanthus, down to about 500 B.C., the constitution of Thebes continued rigidly aristocratical, having probably been guarded from innova-

[1] v. 19.

tion as well by the inland position of the city as by the jealousy of the rulers; and the first change, of which we have any account, was one which threw the government into still fewer hands. But, about the thirteenth olympiad, it seems as if discontent had arisen, among the members of the ruling caste itself, from the inequality in the division of property, which had perhaps been increased by lapse of time, until some of them were reduced to indigence. Not long after that olympiad, Philolaus, one of the Corinthian Bacchiads, having been led by a private occurrence to take up his residence at Thebes, was invited to frame a new code of laws; and one of the objects of his institutions was to prevent the alienation of estates, and to fix for ever the number of lots into which the Theban territory, or at least the part of it occupied by the nobles, was divided. This object was intimately connected with another, which is not indeed distinctly described, but seems to be indicated by the peculiar title of his laws.[1] It may be collected that he aimed, on the one hand, at preserving the number of families, by some provision for the adoption of children; and, on the other, at limiting the number of individuals in each family, by establishing a legal mode of relieving indigent parents from the support of their offspring.[2] He too was perhaps the author of the law which excluded every Theban from public offices who had exercised any trade within the space of ten years.[3] It is probable enough that his code also embraced regulations for the education of the higher class of citizens; and it may have been he who, with the view, as Plutarch supposes, of softening the harshness of the Bœotian character, or to counterbalance an excessive fondness for gymnastic exercises,

Legislation of Philolaus at Thebes.

[1] Νόμοι θετικοί. Aristot. Pol. ii. 12.

[2] Ælian, ii. 7. The subject of this law, which is probably not accurately described by Ælian, seems to afford sufficient ground for ascribing it to Philolaus.

[3] Aristot. Pol. iii. 5.

CHAP. X.

to which the Thebans were prone, made music an essential part of the instruction of youth.[1] We hear of another Theban law, which imposed certain restrictions on painters and sculptors in the design or execution of their works[2]; but, if this was in any way connected with the legislation of Philolaus, its real meaning appears to be lost.[3]

Our information on the other Bœotian towns is still scantier as to their internal condition; but we may safely presume that it did not differ very widely from that of Thebes, especially as we happen to know that at Thespiæ every kind of industrious occupation was deemed degrading to a freeman[4]: an indication of an aristocratical rigour which undoubtedly belongs to this period, and may be taken as a sample of the spirit prevailing in Bœotia. The Bœotian states were united in a confederacy which was represented by a congress of deputies, who met at the festival of the *Pambœotia*, in the temple of the Itonian Athenè, near Coronea, more perhaps for religious than for political purposes. There were also other national councils, which deliberated on peace and war, and were perhaps of nearly equal antiquity, though they were first mentioned at a later period, when there were four of them.[5] It does not appear how they were constituted, or whether with reference to as many divisions of the country, of which we have no other trace. The chief magistrates of the league, called *Bœotarchs*, presided in these councils, and commanded the national forces. They were, in later times at least, elected annually, and rigidly restricted to their term of office. The ancient festival of the

Bœotian confederacy.

[1] Plut. Pelop. 19.

[2] Ælian, iv. 4.

[3] Mueller, who (*Orchom.* p. 408.) refers it to Philolaus, seems to have been too much swayed by a saying of Alcidamas, quoted by Aristotle (*Rhet.* ii. 23.), that Thebes flourished when philosophers were its leading men (*προστάται*). But it is much more probable that this was an allusion to Epaminondas than to Philolaus. If the law was meant to interdict caricatures, such as Bupalus made of Hipponax, the age of Philolaus seems too early for it.

[4] Heracl. Pont. 42.

[5] Thuc. v. 38.

Dædala, in which, at the end of a cycle of sixty years, fourteen wooden images were carried up to the top of Cithæron, at the expense of the Bœotian cities [1], seems to indicate that this was the original number of the confederate states, and that of the Bœotarchs was perhaps once the same. It was afterwards reduced, and underwent many variations. Thebes appears early to have had the privilege of appointing two, one of whom was superior in authority to the rest, and probably acted as president of the board.[2]

Locrian tribes.

As to the institutions of the Locrian tribes in Greece, very little is known, and they never took a prominent part in Greek history. Down to a late period the use of slaves was almost wholly unknown among them, as well as among the Phocians; this fact, which indicates a people of simple habits, strangers to luxury and commerce, and attached to ancient usages, may lead us to the further conclusion that their institutions were mostly aristocratical; and this conclusion is confirmed by all that we hear of them. Opus is celebrated, in the fifth century B. C., as a seat of law and order by Pindar[3]; from whom we also learn that, among its noble families, of which a hundred seem to have been distinguished from the rest, perhaps by political privileges[4], there

[1] Paus. ix. 3.

[2] Thuc. ii. 2.; iv. 91.; and Dr. Arnold's note. Hence in Pollux, i. 128., the Theban Bœotarch is compared with the Thessalian *Tagus*.

[3] Ol. ix.

[4] Thuc. i. 108. καὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀπουντίων ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ὁμήρους τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους ἔλαβον· on which Boeckh, *ad Pindar*, t. iii. p. 188., observes: *Haud dubie ex illis centum optimatium familiis, ex singulis singulos.* And this is indeed highly probable; but Boeckh had just before remarked: *Apud omnes Locros optimates civitatem regebant, quorum sub imperio Græcæ respublicæ tranquilliores fuerunt quam populo dominante; præerant enim Locris nobiles ex centum familiis quorum nobilitas ex majoribus muliebribus deducebatur. Vide Polyb.* xii. 5., *et Heyn. Opus. Acad.* t. ii. p. 53. *sq.* This statement is quoted with apparent approbation by Poppo on Thucyd. l. c., and is adopted by Mueller (*Hist. of Greek Literature*, ix. § 4.), as the foundation of a theory about the origin of the Hesiodean Ἠοῖαι. Yet it seems very questionable: for Polybius, in the passage referred to, is speaking only of the Epizephyrian Locrians, whose aristocracy derived its origin from maidens belonging to the Hundred Houses of the parent state, who accompanied the colonists. But neither he nor Heyne state that the Greek Locrians *founded their title to nobility* (as Mueller asserts) *upon their descent from heroines:* nor of course is this proved by

CHAP. X.

were some which boasted of their descent from its ancient kings.

Phocis.

Equally scanty is our information as to the general condition of the Phocians. Their land, though neither extensive nor fertile, was divided among between twenty and thirty little commonwealths, which were united like the Achæans and the Bœotians, and sent deputies at stated times to a congress which was held in a large building, called the Phocicum, on the road between Daulis and Delphi.[1] But Delphi, though lying in Phocis, disclaimed all connection with the rest of the nation.[2] Its government, as was to be expected under its peculiar circumstances, was strictly aristocratical, and was in the hands of the same families which had the management of the temple, on which the prosperity of the city and the subsistence of a great part of the inhabitants depended. In early times the chief magistrate bore the title of king, afterwards that of prytanis. But a council of five, who were dignified with a title marking their sanctity[3], and were chosen from families which traced their origin — possibly through Dorus — to Deucalion, and held their offices for life, conducted the affairs of the oracle.

Delphi.

Eubœa.

In Eubœa an aristocracy or oligarchy of wealthy landowners, who, from the cavalry which they maintained, were called *Hippobotæ*[4], long prevaile in the two principal cities, Chalcis and Eretria. The great number of colonies which Chalcis sent out, and which attests its early importance, was probably the result of an oligarchical policy. Its constitution appears to

the legend about Protogeneia in Pindar, Ol. ix. Whether the limitation of the number of the noble families to a hundred was common to all the Locrians of the mother country (as Boeckh and Mueller affirm), or was peculiar to those of Opus, is also a point on which clearer evidence is required than they have produced.

[1] The building seen by Pausanias (x. 5. 1.) may have stood on an ancient site.

[2] Paus. iv. 34. 11.

[3] Ὅσιοι (Sacrosancti), Plut. Qu. Gr. 9.

[4] This title was probably common to both cities, though at Eretria the same class is called ἱππεῖς.

have been, in proper terms, a timocracy: a certain amount of property was requisite for a share in the government.[1] Eretria, once similarly governed, seems not to have been at all inferior in strength. She was mistress of several islands, among the rest of Andros, Tenos, and Ceos; and, in the days of her prosperity, could exhibit 600 horsemen, 3000 heavy-armed infantry, and 60 chariots, in a sacred procession.[2] Chalcis and Eretria were long rivals, and a tract called the Lelantian plain, which contained valuable copper mines, afforded constant occasion for hostilities. These hostilities were distinguished from the ordinary wars between neighbouring cities by tw[illegible]liar features, — the singular mode in which [illegible] were conducted, and the general interest which [illegible]cited throughout Greece. They were regulated, at least in early times, by a compact between the belligerents, which was recorded by a monument in a temple, to abstain from the use of missile weapons. But, while this agreement suggests the idea of a feud like those which we have seen carried on, in an equally mild spirit, between the Megarian townships, we learn with surprise from Thucydides that the war between Eretria and Chalcis divided the whole nation, and that all the Greek states took part with one or the other of the rivals.[3] It has been suspected that the cause which drew this universal attention to an object apparently of very slight moment was, that the quarrel turned upon political principles; that the oligarchy at Eretria had very early given way to democracy, while that of Chalcis, threatened by this new danger, engaged many states to espouse its cause.[4] We are informed indeed that the Eretrian oligarchy was over-

Ancient war between Chalcis and Eretria.

[1] The Hippobotæ are described by Strabo, x. p. 447. as ἀπὸ τιμημάτων ἀριστοκρατικῶς ἄρχοντες.

[2] Strab. x. p. 448.

[3] i. 15.

[4] This hypothesis is very ably maintained by C. F. Hermann in the *Rh. Mus.* 1832.

CHAP. X.

thrown by a person named Diagoras, of whom we also hear that he died at Corinth while on his way to Sparta, and that he was honoured with a statue by his countrymen.[1] It is also certain that the oligarchy at Chalcis, though more than once interrupted by a tyranny, was standing till within a few years of the Persian wars. But we do not know when Diagoras lived, and, without stronger evidence, it is difficult to believe that the revolution which he effected took place before the fall of the Athenian aristocracy, an epoch which appears to be too late for the war mentioned by Thucydides.

Political division of Thessaly.

Thessaly seems, for some time after the conquest, to hav been governed by kings of the race of Hercules, who however may have been only chiefs invested with a permanent military command, which ceased when it was no longer required by the state of the country. Under one of these princes, named Aleuas, it was divided into the four districts, Thessaliotis, Pelasgiotis, Phthiotis, and Hestiæotis. And as this division was retained to the latest period of its political existence, we may conclude that it was not a merely nominal one, but that each district was united in itself, as well as distinct from the rest. As the four Bœotian councils seem to imply that a like division existed in Bœotia, so we may reasonably conjecture that each of the Thessalian districts regulated its internal affairs by some kind of provincial council. But all that we know with certainty is, that the principal cities exercised a dominion over several smaller towns, and that they were themselves the seat of noble families, sprung from the line of the ancient kings, which were generally able to draw the government of the whole nation into their hands. Thus Larissa was subject to the great house of the Aleuadæ, who were considered as descendants of the ancient Aleuas; Crannon and Pharsalus to the Scopadæ and the Cre-

[1] Heracl. P. xii.

ondæ, who were branches of the same stock.[1] The vast estates of these nobles were cultivated, and their countless flocks and herds fed, by their serfs, the Penests, who at their call were ready to follow them into the field on foot or on horseback.[2] They maintained a princely state, drew poets and artists to their courts, and shone in the public games of Greece by their wealth and liberality. We are not informed whether there were any institutions which provided for the union of the four districts, and afforded regular opportunities for consultation on their common interests. But, as often as an occasion appeared to require it, the great families were able to b · out the election of a chief magistrate, always · rse taken from their own body, whose proper · as that of *tagus*, but who is sometimes called a king. We know little of the nature of his authority, except that it was probably rather military than civil; nor of its constitutional extent, which perhaps was never precisely ascertained, and depended on the personal character and the circumstances of the individual.

Office of Tagus.

The population of Thessaly, beside the Penests, whose condition was nearly that of the Laconian helots, included a large class of free subjects, in the districts not immediately occupied by the Thessalian invaders, who paid a certain tribute for their lands, but, though not admitted to the rights of citizens, preserved their personal liberty unmolested. But above this class stood a third, of the common Thessalians, who, though they could not boast, like the Aleuadæ and the Scopadæ, of a heroic descent, and had therefore received a much smaller portion of the conquered land, still, as the partners of their conquest, might think themselves entitled to some share in the administration of public affairs. Contests seem early

Distinction of classes among the Thessalians.

Factions of Larissa.

[1] Theocr. xvi. 34. f. Buttman on the Aleuadæ *Mythol.* II. xxii.

[2] Dem. De Contr. p. 173.

CHAP. to have arisen between this commonalty and the ruling families, and at Larissa the aristocracy of the Aleuadæ was tempered by some institutions of a popular tendency. We do not know indeed to what period Aristotle refers, when he speaks of certain magistrates at Larissa who bore the title of *guardians of the freemen*[1], and exercised a superintendence over the admission of citizens, but were themselves elected by the whole body of the people, out of the privileged order, and hence were led to pay their court to the multitude in a manner which proved dangerous to the interests of the oligarchy. It seems not improbable that the election of a tagus, like that of a dictator at Rome, was sometimes used as an expedient for keeping the commonalty under. But the power of the oligarchs was also shaken by intestine feuds; and, under the government of the Aleuads, such was the state of parties at Larissa, that, by common agreement, the city was committed to the care of an officer, who was chosen, perhaps from the commonalty, to mediate between the opposite factions; but, being entrusted with a body of troops, made himself master of both.[2] This event took place two generations before the Persian war[3]; but the usurpation appears to have been transitory, and not to have left any durable traces, while the factions of Larissa continue to appear from time to time throughout the whole course of Grecian history.

We must here conclude this survey; for the western states of Greece are, during this period, shrouded in so complete obscurity, that we cannot pretend to

[1] πολιτοφύλακες, Pol. v. 6. It is not clear whether their office differed from that of the δημιουργοί, mentioned Pol. iii. 1.

[2] Ar. Pol. v. 6. The context seems to require this interpretation, since the distrust of the oligarchs toward one another is here manifestly contrasted with their distrust of the commonalty just before mentioned. Yet Kortuem (*Hellenische Staatsverfassungen*, p. 79.) supposes that Aristotle is speaking of a struggle between the oligarchical and democratical parties.

[3] Buttm. p. 252. 279.

give any account of their condition. With respect to the Ætolians indeed it is uncertain how far they are entitled to the name of Greeks. The Acarnanians, as soon as they begin to take a part in the affairs of Greece, distinguish themselves as a finer and more civilised people; and it is probable that the Corinthian colonies on the Ambracian gulf may have exerted a beneficial influence on their social progress.

APPENDIX I.

ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE HOMERIC POEMS.

APPENDIX

THE slight sketch of this subject given in the text seemed, beyond most parts of the volume, to stand in need of some enlargement and ustration; but it appeared advisable to let it remain unaltered, and to subjoin the following observations as an appendix.

It may be convenient to begin with an extract from a little work of Professor Ritschl, of Bonn (*Die Alexandrinischen Bibliotheken unter d. ersten Ptolemäern und die Sammlung der Homerischen Gedichte durch Pisistratus nach Anleitung eines Plautinischen Scholions*), which will show what view was taken by a distinguished scholar, in the year 1838, of the progress which the controversy had then made. He observes (p. 68.), that the footing on which the Homeric questions then stood, rendered it necessary to abstain from all assumptions contradicting either the belief that the Iliad and the Odyssey were originally committed to writing, or the unity of design in the original composition of each poem. But at the same time he avows his own conviction, that the evidence which had been adduced to prove the early use of writing among the Greeks, did not bear upon the history of the Homeric poems; while, on the other hand, the arguments for their oral transmission, grounded on the language, were so strong, as to exclude all reasonable doubt: but that the supposition of their original poetical unity, could only be admitted in a general sense, as possible under certain limitations, but not as a fundamental principle which could be applied to the decision of other points in the controversy. Still he is anxious to guard himself against the suspicion that he means to return to the hypothesis of the poems having been first committed to writing in the time of Pisistratus; or that he adopts the notion of a primitive Iliad and Odyssey, of minute dimensions, or the theory that either poem was composed of parts originally independent of each other, and finally cemented together after a period of insulated existence. The method by which he thinks the conflicting theories of other authors may be best reconciled, it will be most convenient to reserve for another place.

From this statement the reader may gather that one of Wolf's main propositions — that of the oral transmission of the poems, —

though strenuously assailed, has still kept its ground; but that among those who now hold it, there are several who reject both the premisses on which it was founded by Wolf, and the most important conclusion he deduced from it, that which relates to the composition of the poems. It will be the object of the following remarks to enter into some details on each of these heads, which will also bring down the history of the controversy to the present day.

Homer's silence as to the art of writing, the deficiency of characters and materials for writing in his age, the tradition preserved by Strabo as to the laws of Zaleucus, and the testimony of Josephus to the oral transmission of the Homeric poems, are the points on which Wolf laid the main stress for the establishment of his hypothesis. Later investigations, particularly those of Kreuser, (*Vorfragen ueber Homeros*, 1828), and Nitzsch (*De Historiâ Homeri*, of which the *Fasciculus Posterior* appeared in 1837), have shown that no reliance can safely be placed on any of these, and that if nothing else stood in the way, we might well return to the opinion which generally prevailed on the subject, before it was shaken by Wood and Wolf.

The supposition of Homer's silence as to the art of writing depends on the interpretation of Il. vi. 166, foll. Grotefend (in the article *Homeros* in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædia, p. 230.) considers the whole episode (119—236.) as an interpolation, but as proving that even the rhapsodist who inserted it knew of none but a sort of Runic character, and consequently that the poet himself was entirely a stranger to the art of writing. As to the contents of Bellerophon's tablet, Wolf himself does not profess to have formed any distinct notion. Only he thinks that part of the description in which it is said that it was to be *shown* to the king of Lycia, clearly inconsistent with the character of an ordinary letter. He seems most inclined to look upon it as a token inscribed with marks which, according to a previous concert between Prœtus and his Lycian ally, signified that the bearer was to be put to death. This however is evidently an arbitrary assumption; for if it be said that the Lycian king, at the end of the nine days, asked to see what his guest had brought from Prœtus, it may be fairly answered, that Bellerophon had probably on his arrival disclosed the general nature of his commission, but, according to the laws of the ancient hospitality, was not permitted immediately to execute it by the delivery or production of the letter. (The explanation proposed by Ulrici, *Geschichte der Hellenischen Dichtkunst*, i. p. 226., is not quite satisfactory or intelligible. He considers the tablet as one of those presents, with which persons connected together by ties of hospitality used to seal their mutual relation. It was in reference, he

APPENDIX I.

thinks, to this usage that Iobates asked to see a σῆμα. And the plural σήματα signified the same thing, only perhaps so as to designate the *two-fold* tablet, together with its contents. But a tablet would have been a strange present, and there is nothing to suggest the idea that it was intended as one by Prœtus.) Why the poet, if he meant to speak of a letter, should not have used the term δεῖξαι — *show, exhibit*, or *produce* — is by no means clear: but whatever force there may be in the argument derived from that expression, is certainly more than counterbalanced by the effect of the epithets πολλά and πτυκτῷ, (v. 169.), the former plainly implying that the contents of the tablet were to explain themselves: the latter — as is justly observed by Kreuser, p. 202. — that they were meant to be concealed from the eye of Bellerophon. If however the signs of the tablet (σήματα) are to be considered as hieroglyphic[s] hich seems to have occurred to some of the ancients, other di[ffi]culties present themselves. For however nearly certain it may be t[hat] was the origin of the Phœnician alphabet, nothing can be le[ss] obable, or more at variance with all tradition, than that this was the stage at which the art of writing was introduced by the Phœnicians into Greece: and it would be a still wilder conjecture to attribute the introduction of the art to any other people.

Wood indeed (*Essay on the original Genius of Homer*) seems to have thought that these hieroglyphics might have been of native Greek invention. He observes, (p. 153.): *As to symbolical hieroglyphical or picture description, something of that kind was no doubt known to Homer, of which the letter (as it is called) which Bellerophon carried to the king of Lycia is a proof. The Mexicans, though a civilised people, had no alphabet; and the account which they sent to Montezuma of the landing of the Spaniards was in this picture-writing.* But it is extremely doubtful whether such pictures, even with the help of all the explanation that the Mexican artists were able to add to them, would have enabled Prœtus to convey his wishes. Humboldt (*Atlas Pittoresque*, p. 64.) observes: *Le style de ses peintures hieroglyphiques ne lui auroient pas fourni de moyen pour exprimer en général le sentiment de haine et de vengeance. . . . Les recueils que nous appelons assez improprement des manuscrits Mexicains, renferment un grand nombre de peintures qui peuvent être interpretées ou expliquées comme les reliefs de la colonne Trajane, mais on n'y voit qu'un très petit nombre de caractères susceptibles d'être lus.* In another point of view the comparison between the Greeks and the Mexicans may not be uninstructive. Humboldt observes (*Atlas*, p. 66.), *Les manuscrits Mexicains (codices Mexicani) qui ont été conservés sont peints les uns sur des peaux de cerfs, les autres sur des toiles de coton, ou sur du papier de maguey. Il est très probable que*

parmi les Americains, comme chez les Grecs et chez d'autres peuples de l'ancien continent, l'usage des peaux tannées et preparées a precédé celui du papier. So that if the Greeks of the Homeric age were only on a level with the Mexicans in their command of visible signs of their ideas, still they might have been amply furnished with materials, and instruments for the exhibition of them. If, as is most probable, they had advanced much farther, there could be still less room for doubt on this head. The Greeks — as is well observed by Nitzsch, *De Hist. Hom.* i. p. 72. — were not left to the resources of their own ingenuity, so as to proceed by slow steps from the use of the less commodious materials, stone, or metal, or wood, to others better suited to the purpose. The Phœnicians, no doubt, along with their characters, communicated their own methods of writing. And Wolf's surmise (*Prolegg.* p. lxii.), that the use of the διφθέραι was only introduced among the Ionians about the beginning of the Olympiads, appears to be merely arbitrary.

Let us remark, before we go farther, that he has not even disdained to borrow an argument from Rousseau, who fancied that the Odyssey would become a tissue of absurdities, if it were supposed that the heroes were able to write: forgetting, it would seem, as well as Wolf, that the bearer of a letter might also convey a message or bring news; so that the poet would need just as much excuse on the one supposition as on the other.

Wolf thought that his opinion as to the slow progress of the art of writing was signally confirmed by Strabo's statement, that the Epizephyrian Locrians were the first Greek people that received a code of written laws. Yet their lawgiver Zaleucus flourished so late as Ol. xxix. B. C. 664. To get rid of this argument, Kreuser (p. 195.) endeavours to show, that Strabo himself placed little reliance on the tradition he reports, and that the story contradicts itself, since the laws of Zaleucus are said to have been compiled from those of Creta, Sparta, and Athens, which implies that these had been written before them. Nitzsch (p. 63.) gives a different and more probable explanation of Strabo's meaning, grounded on a comparison of the passage with one in the next page (260. A.), from which he infers that the point in which the novelty consisted was, not that the laws were reduced to writing, but that the discretion of the Locrian magistrates was limited by a penal code: an important epoch, not in the history of the art of writing, or in Greek literature, but in that of the Locrian constitution.

As to the testimony of Josephus, Kreuser (p. 208.) and Nitzsch (p. 25.) are agreed that Wolf has enormously magnified its weight by his arbitrary interpretation of the historian's expression φασί, which, as Nitzsch observes, intimates rather than excludes the pre-

APPENDIX I.

sence of a doubt in the writer's mind. So that Josephus can only be considered as reporting an opinion, which so well suited his immediate purpose in his controversy with Apion, that he would probably have brought it forward, however slight even in his own judgment had been the authority of the books in which he found it.

In his preface to the second volume of his commentary on the Odyssey (*Erklärende Anmerkungen zu Homer's Odyssee*, p. xi.), Nitzsch considers the statement of Josephus, that Homer himself did not leave his poetry in writing, ἀλλὰ διαμνημονευομένην ἐκ τῶν ᾀσμάτων ὕστερον συντεθῆναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰς ἐν αὐτῇ σχεῖν τὰς διαφωνίας, as nothing more than a misunderstanding of a remark which he had seen in the works of some of the grammarians, who attributed the various readings in Homer to the rhapsodists, and conjectures that the obscure expression ἐν τῶν ᾀσμάτων συντεθῆναι describes the compilation of complete copies, whereas the rhapsodists often recit[illegible] only portions of the poems, and did not possess manuscri[illegible] whole.

T[illegible]al gain which has accrued from the whole of this discu[illegible]on seems to be, that it has produced a general conviction, that no decisive or very important result is to be expected from farther inquiries into this part of the subject. It has however served to narrow the difference between the contending parties. Wolf himself (*Prol.* p. lxx.) admitted that the art of writing was used for literary purposes, more particularly in Ionia and Magna Græcia, in the eighth and seventh centuries B. C.: that it was certainly employed by Archilochus, Aleman, Pisander, Arion, and their contemporaries, and perhaps also by Asius, Eumelus, Arctinus, and other epic poets, who flourished about the beginning of the Olympiads. On the other hand Nitzsch (p. x.), while he thinks it most probable that Homer lived not much before the date assigned by Thucydides to Lycurgus, so that the Iliad and the Odyssey would be anterior by only about half a century to the works of Arctinus and the Cypria, acknowledges that, if a higher antiquity is ascribed to Homer, it would be a hopeless attempt to maintain that his poems were originally written. What Bode (*Geschichte der Hell. Dichtkunst*, i. p. 348.) and Bernhardy (*Grundriss der Griech. Literatur*, i. p. 187.) represent as the result of Nitzsch's investigations, is no more, but rather a little less, than what Wolf had admitted.

But a closer examination of the poems themselves, with a view to their peculiarities of language and metre, has impressed many of the most eminent German critics with a persuasion, which seems to be still gaining ground, that the period in which they were first committed to writing must have been separated by several generations from that in which they were first sung. This opinion rests chiefly on the indications they present, that the digamma was pro-

nounced by the poet, coupled with the absence of all record or trace that the character ever appeared in any of the manuscripts. Porson long ago directed attention to this point. In his review of P. Knight's *Essay on the Greek Alphabet* (*Tracts*, p. 117.), having observed, "*Bentley would restore the figure of the Æolic digamma in the Iliad and Odyssey. Dawes thinks that a sign of the same nature ought to be inserted for the instruction of modern readers: but he apprehends that in Homer's time and country, though the power of the digamma existed, the use of the character was unknown:*" he adds, "Now, if Homer *wrote* his own poems, this question would certainly furnish ample matter for speculation. It will not be amiss to show how fifty or sixty thousand digammas should desert all at once, and escape detection for so long a time." The fullest details on this question will perhaps be found in a valuable though unfinished posthumous work of Giese (*Ueber den Æolischen Dialekt*, i. c. 5.) Among the learned men who maintain the same position, may be cited K. O. Mueller (in the *Gœttinq. G. A.*, Feb. 1831, and *Hist. of Gr. Lit.*, ch. 4.); Bode, (*Gesch. d. H. D.*, i. p. 350.); Bernhardy, (*Grundriss*, i. p. 187.); Ritschl (u. s.); and G. Hermann, (*Opusc.* vi. p. 75.). Grotefend, however, in his article *Homeros* in the Halle Encyclopædia (p. 252.), contends that the power of the digamma was already lost in the time of Homer, though known to the author of a piece which he considers as the germ of the Iliad, and as contained, with some slight alterations, in the first book. It can hardly therefore be said that the opinion of the other critics is established beyond all reasonable doubt.

Wolf conceived that there was an intimate connection between his view of the progress of the art of writing among the Greeks, and his hypothesis as to the original form of the Homeric poems. Works of such bulk as our Iliad and Odyssey could not, he argued, have been composed without the aid of writing. Poems designed for recitation must have been much shorter. In his own words (Prolegg. § xxvi.): *Videtur sequi necessario tam magnorum et perpetua serie deductorum operum formam a nullo poeta nec designari animo nec elaborari potuisse sine artificioso adminiculo memoriæ. . . . Si Homero lectores deerant, plane non assequor, quid tandem eum impellere potuisset in consilium et cogitationem tam longorum et continuo partium nexu consertorum carminum.* This is a conclusion drawn in part from the nature of the case, but which appeared to Wolf to be strongly confirmed by the indications which he found in the poems themselves of the stage which epic poetry had previously reached. *Si priora ἔπη omnia breviora fuerunt, eorumque vulgandorum etiam ipsius ætate et diu postea, unicus modus fuit publica recitatio; . . . si porro minimé credibile est et nulla auctoritate nixum, plures cantores per aliquot dies sive*

APPENDIX I.

hebdomades dierum coactos unquam esse ad tanta carmina auditoribus ingerenda ; quæ una ratio fuisset ut magnitudo et summa eorum non dicam comprehenderetur, sed ad extremum audiretur, cogitur et efficitur necessario, illi universi operis descriptioni, rei per se forsan non nimis arduæ, arduam maxime et plane ineluctabilem vim naturæ obstitisse. And this reasoning seems to be remarkably illustrated and confirmed by facts since made known, and belonging to the history of a different literature. It may be interesting and instructive to compare the following remarks of Fauriel, in his Introduction to the old Provençal poem, *Histoire de la Croisade contre les Albigeois,* in the *Collection des Documens Inédits sur l'Histoire de France.* He observes, p. xxx. : — *Les romans désignés collectivement par le titre de Carlovingiens sont, selon toute apparence, les plus anciens de tous dans la littérature provençale. Ils ne furent, dans l'origine, que des poëmes très-courts [illegible] plan très-simple, que des chants populaires essentiellem[illegible] tinés à être récités avec une cantilène plus ou moins musica[illegible] susceptibles, à raison de leur peu d'étendue, de se conserver [illegible] le secours de l'écriture, et par la simple tradition orale entre les jongleurs qui faisaient profession de les chanter.*

Peu à peu ces chants s'étaient développés et compliqués : ils étaient devenus des poëmes d'une certaine étendue, dont la composition avait exigé plus d'invention et plus d'art. D'un autre côté, ils s'étaient accrus en nombre à mesure qu'ils étaient devenus plus complexes et plus longs ; et la chose dut naturellement en venir au point où il est difficile de concevoir que ces romans fussent chantés de mémoire d'un bout à l'autre, et pussent se conserver sans le secours de l'écriture. On pouvait les chanter encore par fragments détachés ; mais il n'y a guère de doute, qu'ils n'eussent commencé dès lors à être lus, et qu'il ne fallût les lire pour en saisir et en apprécier l'ensemble.

Here are the outlines of a history very similar to that which Wolf imagined for the Greek epic poetry, with the difference, that the art of writing was unquestionably known, though for a time not used by the Provençal bards. If it had been unknown to them, it would seem that their epic poetry could never have advanced beyond the form of the ballad: and by analogy, if Homer is supposed to represent a period antecedent to the knowledge or the use of writing, it would follow that he could not have been the author of our Iliad or Odyssey.

Still this conclusion is rejected by other critics, — as by K. O. Mueller, *Hist. of Gr. Lit.,* c. 4. — who treat the difficulty arising from the want of writing as of little moment. And indeed it is not clear why it should have appeared so grave to Wolf himself, since but a little before (p. ci.) he had been magnifying the

strength of memory which he attributes to the Greeks in the period when it was not weakened by reliance on artificial aids, and had represented it as no great matter to have all Homer by heart. (*Stupes fortasse ad tantam capacitatem memoriæ quæ totum Homerum complecti potuerit? Mihi vero id etiam parum videtur, multoque plura nonnunquam bonos rhapsodos tenuisse suspicor.*) And reference is often made to a Calmuck epic, of most colossal dimensions — three hundred and sixty cantos, as long on an average as those of the Iliad — of which it is said the Tartar troubadours will repeat a score. The fact is not so accessible to investigation, but, if admitted as sufficiently attested, may be thought to counterbalance the force of Fauriel's remarks. (See Heeren, *Ideen*, iii. 1. p. 141.; W. Mueller, *Homerische Vorschule*, p. 49.; Ulrici, i. p. 223.) And if there should appear to be a peculiar difficulty in the oral transmission of such bulky works, it may be observed, that there is no need to suppose that the whole was produced at once. The composition of the Iliad might have occupied a period of many years, during which the parts, of moderate length, may have been successively committed to memory: a supposition perfectly consistent with that of an original unity of plan.

Thus Wolf's conclusion as to the original form of the poems seems to be severed from the premisses with which he had himself connected it — his view of the history of the Greek alphabet — and is left to depend on other grounds, which occupied but a subordinate place in his argument: on the indications to be found in the poems themselves, or elsewhere, of the previous condition of Greek epic poetry. If however his assumptions on this subject were well founded; if Homer had no examples before him of poems exceeding a few hundred lines in length (*si priora ἔπη omnia breviora fuerunt*); if he had no opportunities for the recitation of such works as our Iliad and Odyssey, so as to enable his hearers to comprehend their poetical unity (*ut magnitudo et summa eorum non dicam comprehenderetur, sed ad extremum audiretur*), then it might seem difficult to say how the thought of such a work could have suggested itself to his mind, (*quid tandem eum impellere potuisset in consilium et cogitationem tam longorum et continuo partium nexu consertorum carminum*).

On the other hand it may be observed, that the poet's own genius might be a sufficient impulse, the satisfaction of his own mind an adequate motive, without any ulterior object, any calculation of the means he possessed of communicating his ideas in their full extent. (So Ulrici, i. p. 220.: *The bard's interest in his subject, his poetical instinct, gave birth to his works in the first instance, without any farther aim or purpose.*) And certainly it would be rash to deny this possibility, even if no method could

APPENDIX I.

be pointed out by which the poet might hope to make his great conceptions known, within, at least, such a circle as would have satisfied Milton's ambition. But it is by no means clear that the ordinary opportunities of public recitation in the Homeric age were not sufficient to answer this purpose. It would be nothing incredible in itself, or inconsistent with all that we know as to the state of society in the Ionian cities, that hearers should have resorted, day after day, to the same public place, to listen to the sequel of an interesting story. (Such is the picture of Ionian life drawn by Ulrici, i. p. 221.) Whether there were other extraordinary occasions, as religious festivals, better adapted to this end, and the contest of Thamyris with the Muses may be considered as an allusion to an ancient custom of enlivening such solemnities by poetical competition, and thus affording opportunity for a long series of recitations — as Welcker suggests, *Ep. Cycl.*, p. 341., must remain doubtful; but it rests with those who adopt Wolf's view on this point to show, not only that there is no evidence in fact, but that there is something absurd and inconceivable in the notion of it.

Again, it has been too hastily assumed by Wolf and others, that the transition from the earlier epic poetry to our Iliad or Odyssey, if they have been preserved in anything like the original form and volume, would be violently abrupt. This must of course depend on the character of that early poetry: and there is reason to believe that Wolf had formed a very inadequate and erroneous estimate of it. Later inquiries have rendered it highly probable, that its productions were not so short and simple as he represented them to himself. A considerable portion of Welcker's work on the Epic Cyclus is devoted to the illustration and establishment of this opinion; and it would be doing injury to his argument, if any attempt were here made to convey an idea of the learning and ingenuity with which it is maintained. The reader who feels an interest in the Homeric poems can hardly be directed to a work which will so richly repay his study. Welcker discovers in the Odyssey abundant intimations that epic poetry had long before advanced beyond that primitive stage in which it was confined to short independent lays or ballads, such as Achilles may be imagined to have sung to his lyre. It had already become usual to collect and combine the matter of these lays (the κλέα ἀνδρῶν) in an ὁίμη — a *course* or *range* of song, embracing a variety of subjects, — in other words, a regular epic poem of considerable length, with beginning, middle, and end. A poet who so worked up these poetical elements, or fitted them together into a whole, was a ὅμηρος (ὁμοῦ, ἄρω), and so, before the author of the Iliad or Odyssey, there were many HOMERS: that is, *Arrangers, Composers, Compilers.* Such were Phemius and Demodocus. The poem with

which Demodocus entertained the court of Alcinous appears to have comprised all the outlines of an Ἰλίου Πέρσις, such as was afterwards composed by Arctinus and Lesches, and affords a specimen of the manner in which a work too long for a single recitation might be exhibited at intervals, by the same bard to the same audience. Welcker believes Demodocus to have been a real poet, though under a fictitious name, and no other than the blind bard of Chios. In like manner he discerns traces of an ancient Νόστοι (a poem on the adventures of the heroes on their return from Troy), and an Orestea. But for our present purpose it is enough simply to state the general aim and tendency of his argument. If his conclusions are valid, there was no sudden transition from the primitive form of Greek epic poetry to that which it assumes in our Iliad and Odyssey, but on the contrary ample preparation, and a continuous, easy, and natural developement. It must however be evident at the first glance, that no higher value than that of a probable conjecture can ever be imparted by any degree of learning and ingenuity, to reasoning which rests upon such premisses, and which relates to so early a period in the history of Greek literature.

On the other hand, it seems to be almost universally admitted, that the fragments and accounts which have been preserved of the poems which composed the Epic Cycle, afford most satisfactory proof, that before the appearance of the earliest of those poems, the Iliad and Odyssey, even if they did not exist precisely in their present form, had at least already reached their present compass, and were regarded each as a complete, well-defined whole, not as a fluctuating aggregate of fugitive pieces. They are recognised and presupposed by the epics of the Cycle, which are all either introductory or supplemental to them,—serving as a comment or a continuation; and this with a remarkable acknowledgment of their superior authority: so that the subjects of the Homeric poems were treated by the authors of the Cycle as sacred ground, on which they never ventured to encroach, however closely they might border on it. So the *Cypria* of Stasinus embraced the causes and the earlier events of the Trojan War. The *Aethiopis* of Arctinus took up the theme immediately at the close of the Iliad, and the same poet carried it on in another work to the fall of Troy. So the Νόστοι of Hagias, and the *Telegonia* of Eugamon, were complements of the Odyssey. And the abstinence of the Cyclic poets, when they approached the domain of their great predecessor, was the more significant, because they did not observe it with regard to one another. Lesches, in his *Lesser Iliad*, treated the same subject which Arctinus had before occupied in his *Destruction of Troy* (*Ilii Persis*). (See K. O. Mueller, *Hist. of Gr.*

APPENDIX I.

Lit. c. 6.; Ulrici, i. p. 236.; Nitzsch, *De Hist. Hom.* ii. p. 24.; Bode, i. p. 364, foll.; Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* p. 329, foll.)

While some of the chief supports of Wolf's hypothesis were withdrawn from it by the result of these investigations, another eminent critic, G. Hermann, though agreeing in the main with Wolf's views, considered them as liable to objections of a different kind, which however he held to be equally applicable to those of Wolf's opponents, so as to render it necessary to take a middle course, and to devise a new explanation of the phenomena, which, as having something in common with the opinions of both parties, might adjust their differences. To Wolf the name of Homer represented a school of poets, who for many generations were exercising their powers on some portions of the subjects which fill our Iliad and Odyssey, and whose originally independent productions were at length combined so as to assume an appearance of poet[illegible]. Hermann, while he maintains that this supposition is a [illegible] required to account for the character which the ext[illegible] poems present to a critical inspection, regards it nevertheless as defective, inasmuch as it neither assigns any motive which should have induced these poets to confine themselves so long within this range of subjects, nor — if they should be imagined to have celebrated any other events of the Trojan story — attempts to explain the utter loss and total disappearance of their other works. On the other hand, the hypothesis of an original unity of design in each of the present poems, while it escapes from this difficulty, is involved in another. The name of Homer denotes the earliest period of Greek heroic song, — one which must have been separated by a wide interval from that of the Cyclic poets: for in their age the paramount authority of Homer was already universally recognised, and yet appears to have been grounded, not on his superiority in poetical excellence, but on his high antiquity. Yet if, notwithstanding the high degree of poetical refinement which they display, the Homeric poems should be referred to a very remote epoch, neither Wolf's hypothesis nor any other affords a solution of the difficulty, that their appearance would seem to have been followed by a long interval of silence and barrenness, which did not produce a single work or name that found its way to posterity. Homer, whether an individual or a school, would have left no imitators or successors behind him. The stream of epic poetry, so broad and full and rapid near its source, would have been suddenly lost under ground, only to break forth again in the scantier and less sparkling vein of the later Cycle. The hypothesis which to Hermann appeared the only one capable of satisfying all conditions, and meeting all objections, is that stated in the text (p. 279.) of two short poems, the germs of our Iliad and

Odyssey, which were variously expanded by the labours of subsequent generations.

This hypothesis was not altogether new. In substance it did not differ much from that which Wolf himself had thrown out in the Preface to his edition of the Iliad, p. xxviii. (*Quoniam certum est, tam in Iliade quam in Odyssea orsam telam et deducta aliquatenus fila esse a vate qui princeps ad canendum accesserat .... forsitan ne probabiliter quidem demonstrari poterit, a quibus locis potissimum nova subtemina et limbi procedant: at id tamen, ni fallor, poterit effici, ut liquido appareat Homero* NIHIL PRÆTER MAJOREM PARTEM CARMINUM *tribuendum esse, reliqua Homeridis, præscripta lineamenta persequentibus.*) If there is any difference between this and Hermann's supposition, it seems to consist merely in the dimensions ascribed to the original poems. The general idea that the Iliad and Odyssey grew out of comparatively small beginnings, has been adopted by several other writers. (See especially the ingenious developement of this theory in Gruppe' *Ariadne*, p. 645.) Hermann himself observes (*Op.* vi. 86.) that Nitzsch's view of their composition, as stated in his *Hist. Hom.* i. p. 112., is not unlike his own, though there Nitzsch only supposes that Homer profited largely by various smaller works of more ancient poets relating to the Trojan war. (*Homerum interpretor eum qui ex variis antiquiorum carminibus quæ de rebus Trojanis fuerint minora, multum profecerit, et qui Iliadem quæ antea de sola Jovis βουλῇ fuisset conformaverit in hanc quam legimus de ira Achillis primum Græcis gravi deinde in ipsum vertente: donec Priami maxime admonitione in temperantiam humanæque sortis conscientiam vocatur. In hoc carmine plurima ex antiquioribus retenta suspicor, Odysseam vero ab eodem fortasse poeta, simili quidem antiquiorum usu, sed tamen ita compositam, ut non solum hanc operis descriptionem primus invenerit, sed etiam singula ipse exornaverit pleraque omnia.*) According to Hermann's view, Homer is the author of the earliest sketches of the Iliad and Odyssey: as with Wolf, *vates qui primus ad canendum accesserat.* But Wolf, as he did not perceive the difficulty by which Hermann found himself driven to this hypothesis, seems to have regarded it as an immaterial variation of that which he had proposed in his *Prolegomena.* And what belongs properly to Hermann, is the peculiar form by which he adapts it to the purpose for which it was contrived. Unluckily however the details which constitute this peculiarity in its form, are just the points which seem to be open to the gravest objections.

Hermann has to explain how it happened that his Homer acquired such an ascendancy over the succeeding races of poets, that they were induced to confine themselves within the range of subjects prescribed or indicated by his works. For this purpose

APPENDIX Hermann seems at first (p. 87.) to think it sufficient to attribute this result to the superiority of the author's genius. *He was a bard — living in a time nearer to the events of the Trojan War than that which Herodotus assigns to Homer — who celebrated the Anger of Achilles and the Return of Ulysses in two poems of no great compass, but with more spirit, vigour, and art, than other bards of his age.* This is no doubt a very moderate and reasonable supposition: and nothing can be more natural than that — as Hermann proceeds to assume — two such works should for some time have engrossed public attention, and even, long after the impression of novelty had been worn away, should have attracted other poets to the same theme. But when we are further invited to believe, that down to the age of the Cyclic epics no poet had a chance of gaining an audience who ventured to step out of the circle of the Homeric arguments, so as to forfeit all pretensions to the name and authority of Homer, and that thus all the poetical genius of Greece [illegible] ing several centuries, entirely devoted to the task of en[illegible] emodelling, polishing, and perfecting these two produ[illegible] *quod ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi.* Hermann himself seems to have felt that there was some disproportion between the cause and the effect supposed, and in a subsequent page (89.) he gives a new form to his hypothesis, better calculated to account for Homer's transcendent authority and abiding influence. He supposes that the poet was not merely pre-eminent in genius and art above his contemporaries, who likewise sang the War of Troy, but that he was the founder of an entirely new school, the author who produced the very first example of heroic song, whereas the earlier poetry had been wholly didactic. This supposition may indeed render it a little less incredible that his works should for a long time have maintained exclusive possession of the public mind, but can hardly reconcile us to all the consequences which Hermann deduces from it, and even if it did so, this advantage would be counterbalanced by its intrinsic improbability. It seems quite incredible that the heroic poetry should only have begun after the close of the heroic age. Hermann quotes Horace's *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona Multi, sed omnes illacrymabiles Urgentur, ignotique longa Nocte, carent quia vate sacro:* as if it would not have been equally true, though a vast mass of earlier epic lays had been lost, or as if it would be difficult to account for such a loss. As little can any thing be inferred as to this point from the passage of Aristophanes, *Ran.* 1032., to which Hermann refers, *Opusc.* v. p. 72. If however we set aside this supposition, and the equally arbitrary one, that the later poets were debarred by the prevailing predilection for Homer from the choice of any subjects but those which he had treated, then the hypothesis of an original smaller Iliad and Odyssey has no advantage in this respect

over Nitzsch's; and among the objections raised by Hermann, the only one to which the latter hypothesis seems fairly liable, is, that it hardly assigns a sufficiently high antiquity to Homer. It can scarcely be denied that it is more consistent with analogy, as well as capable of a more distinct conception, than the other.

Nitzsch's hypothesis seems to differ very slightly, if at all, from that which Ritschl proposes in the above-mentioned essay, p. 70., and which he regards as one of the points which may now be considered as sufficiently established. According to his view, Homer selected his materials out of a great mass of traditional epic lays, and combined them, artfully blended with the produce of his own genius, so as to fill the outline of the genuine Iliad and Odyssey: an explanation of their origin, which — as Ritschl remarks — excludes the supposition of an internal harmony extending to minute details. The two works thus composed, and transmitted by oral tradition, more particularly through the Homerids of Chios, easily and naturally resolved themselves into their original elements. In process of time however, these detached pieces were committed to writing, but were finally re-connected, and as far as practicable restored to their primitive connection, when a complete manuscript was for the first time formed by the direction of Pisistratus.

Here the reader will perceive another point in which the state of the argument has undergone a remarkable alteration since the time of Wolf. The traditions relating to the new form which the Homeric poems assumed in the age and through the influence of Pisistratus, had appeared to Wolf one of the main props of his hypothesis. These traditions have been recently confirmed by the discovery of a Scholion on Plautus, — a translation it seems from the Greek of Tzetzes (*ex Cæcio in commento comœdiarum Aristophanis poetæ in Plauto*), which contains the following passage: — *Ceterum Pisistratus sparsum prius Homeri poesim ante Ptolemæum Philadelphum annis ducentis, et eo etiam amplius, sollerti cura in ea quæ nunc extant redegit volumina, usus ad hoc opus divinum industria quattuor celeberrimorum et eruditissimorum hominum, videlicet Concyli* (on this reading see Duentzer, *Homer und der epische Kyklos*, p. 23.), *Onomacriti Atheniensis, Zopyri Heracleotæ, et Orphei Crotoniatæ. Nam carptim prius Homerus et non nisi difficillime legebatur.* The undertaking of Pisistratus has been variously interpreted: sometimes as merely a new edition of the Iliad and Odyssey, executed by means of a collation of manuscripts, which exhibited great variations, though each contained an entire work: at other times as a collection of the various epics which composed the Cycle, most of which were by some traditions attributed to Homer. But it seems hardly possible to reconcile either of these opinions with the language of the Scholion, which

APPENDIX I.

Wolf would probably have welcomed as decisive evidence in support of his view. Yet we see that by Ritschl and others it is regarded in a totally different light, as perfectly consistent both with the high antiquity of the poems, and with an original unity of design in each of them.

To any one who considers the variety of opinions which has been noticed in this slight sketch, and the obscurity of the period to which they relate, it must be evident that little reliance can be placed on any conclusions grounded on facts extraneous to the poems themselves; and it will excite no surprise, that the ablest writers who have applied their attention to the question, still look upon a closer examination of the poems as the only sure method of arriving at a satisfactory result. It must however be observed, that some of these critics have paid more attention to the general outline of the composition, while others have entered farther into the details of the execution. And it seems to have happened, — as might perhaps have been anticipated, — that those who have adopted the former of these methods have more frequently been led to maintain the original unity of design, while those who have instituted a minuter analysis have commonly discovered what has appeared to them conclusive indications of a divided authorship. Some, among whom may be named Nitzsch, Welcker, K. O. Mueller, Bode, Dissen, and Schneidewin (Rhein. Mus. f. Phil. v. 3.), contend not only that the original plan of the Iliad might, with more or less frequent interpolations, have comprised its present extent, but that it could not, consistently with the laws of poetical continuity, have stopt short at any antecedent point: and they are disposed to consider the interruptions and delays by which the main action is retarded, as calculated to heighten the interest, and therefore as the strongest proofs of the poet's consummate mastery of his art. Others conceive that nothing more can have belonged to the original plan than is announced in the opening lines, which contain no intimation that would not be fully satisfied by that part of the narrative which describes the reverses and distress of the Greeks: and consequently, that the scenes which follow, — including the death of Patroclus and its consequences, — can neither be explained nor vindicated as coming from the same hand: but, however excellent in themselves, can only be regarded as a sequel drawn out to an arbitrary length, without any principle of poetical composition to determine its limits. It is evident that these are questions not to be decided by reasoning upon universally admitted premisses, but depending in a great degree on the measure and quality of the inquirer's individual feeling and judgment.

A nearer approach to a decisive conclusion has been confidently expected from a more minute investigation of details. In his

Essay *De Interpolationibus Homeri* (*Opusc.* tom. v.) Hermann expressed his belief (p. 68.) that if any one were to go through the whole of the Iliad with the requisite diligence and circumspection, applied to the minutest circumstances, there was reason to hope that most of its component parts might be discovered with a sufficient degree of probability, and restored almost exactly to their original form. But the samples which he gave in that essay of the process which he recommended have not produced the same impression on all other critics. (See Schneidewin in the Rhein. Mus. v. p. 105.) An analysis of the whole Iliad, as searching as Hermann himself could well desire, has lately been instituted by Lachmann, a critic who had previously applied a very diligent study to the German epic poetry of the middle ages, in two papers published among the Transactions of the Berlin Academy (*Ueber die ersten zehn Bucecher der Ilias*, 1837, and *Fernere Betrachtungen ueber die Ilias*, 1841). By these researches Lachmann appears to believe that he has re-established Wolf's hypothesis on an immovable basis, and has resolved the Iliad into some eighteen pieces, possibly of as many authors, but at any rate distinct and independent poems. He points out specimens of an incoherency which appears to him utterly irreconcilable with the supposition, that the lays to which he has endeavoured to assign their proper limits could have been originally designed as parts of one work. Many of these lays he considers as much finer than the whole in which they have actually been made to coalesce: a judgment which brings us back to that field of inquiry, in which, as has just been observed, there is no room for any reasoning that can command universal assent. Perhaps also he trenches a little on the right of free discussion, when he remarks (§ xxiii.) with regard to the diversity which he has pointed out in the case of four of these lays, that it may serve as a test of his reader's capacity: inasmuch as any one who thinks it immaterial, or who fails to recognise it at the first suggestion, thereby betrays his incompetence to form a judgment on such questions, or on epic poetry in general.

The sagacity and industry with which Lachmann has conducted this investigation are indeed unquestionable. It appears already to have exercised considerable influence on public opinion in Germany, as may be collected from the manner in which it is noticed by F. Ritter, the reviewer of Mueller's History of Greek Literature in the *Wiener Jahrbuecher*, vol. cvii. p. 129.: and no one can deny that the facts on which his conclusions are founded deserve serious attention. It will however remain to be considered, how far the probability of those conclusions is affected by a comparison with the different combinations into which the facts have been brought by other writers, who, like Grotefend in the above cited article of the Halle Encyclopædia, have subjected the Iliad to a

APPENDIX similar analysis. It will also be useful to recollect Wolf's ingenuous admission in the Preface to his Homer, p. xxii., (*Nunc quoque usu evenit mihi nonnunquam, quod non dubito eventurum item multis, esse ut quoties abducto ab historicis argumentis animo redeo ad continentem Homeri lectionem et interpretationem, mihique impero illarum omnium rationum oblivisci, quantum potest, et cum veteribus Grammaticis nonnullas ῥήσεις postremarum rhapsodiarum ut interpolatas legere, et alia pro non dubiis sumere plura quæ nos ad pristinam legendi consuetudinem reducant, atque ita penitus immergor in illum veluti prono et liquido alveo decurrentem tenorem actionum et narrationum: quoties animadverto ac reputo mecum, quam in universum æstimanti unus his carminibus insit color, aut certe quam egregie carmini utrique suus color constet, quam apta ubique tempora rebus, res temporibus, aliquot loci adeo sibi alludentes congruant et constent, quæ* [illegible] *que æquabiliter in primariis personis eadem lineamen* [illegible] *entur et ingeniorum et animorum: vix mihi quisquam irasc* [illegible] *censere gravius poterit, quam ipse facio mihi, simulque* [illegible] *illis, qui tot non temere jactis indiciis destruunt vulgarem fidem et suam; solcoque interdum castigare sedulitatem et audaciam meam, quæ timido alioquin et antiqua libenter retinenti, nec sine religione monumenta vetusta tractanti, hanc extorquet voluptatem, ut pro Homereis habeam omnia, atque Homeri unius artem admirer in his quæ apud eum hodie legimus*), and to consider, whether discrepancies which the critic could so easily bring himself to forget or overlook, might not as easily have escaped the poet's attention. And finally, it will be necessary to inquire, how far the incongruities pointed out by Lachmann may be explained by Ritzschl's hypothesis, that the author of the Iliad was largely indebted to the works of earlier poets.

It has been no part of the object of this appendix to give a complete survey of the voluminous literature to which the controversy has given birth. The most copious references will perhaps be found in the notes to Bode's *Geschichte der Hellenischen Dichtkunst*, vol. i., which probably include almost every work of any importance which had then appeared on the subject.

APPENDIX II.

ON THE NUMBER OF THE SPARTAN TRIBES.

THAT before the conquest of Peloponnesus, the Dorians were divided into three tribes which were supposed to have derived their names from Hyllus, the son of Hercules, and from Dymas and Pamphylus, sons of the Dorian king, Ægimius, seems sufficiently certain (Steph. Byz. Δυμᾶν). This, of itself, without any direct testimony, raises a presumption that the same division prevailed in all the Dorian states, where the contrary cannot be distinctly proved. Beside this, there appears to be scarcely any valid ground for assigning the same number to the Spartan tribes. Pindar's allusion to the forefathers of the Dorian race (Pyth. 1. 61.), seems not to deserve the stress which is laid upon it by Mueller (*Dor.* iii. 5. 1.), whose argument does not need it. It gains little from the remark of the scholiast, who introduces Dorus among the sons of Ægimius. The main question is, whether there is any reason for preferring a different number for the Spartan tribes. Several authors, overlooking the Dorian tribes altogether, have confined their attention to passages in which the local divisions of Sparta, or its immediate neighbourhood, are described as tribes, and especially to a passage of Pausanias, where he speaks of the inhabitants of these four divisions as if they comprehended the whole body of the Spartans (iii. 16. 9. Οἱ Λιμνᾶται Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ Κυνοσουρεῖς καὶ ἐκ Μεσόας τε καὶ Πιτάνης). To these four some add a fifth, the Ægeids, on the authority of Herodotus (iv. 149.) Αἰγεῖδαι φυλὴ μεγάλη ἐν Σπάρτῃ). And Barthelemy (*Anacharsis*, note to c. 41.), acutely perceiving the necessity for a local division corresponding to this fifth tribe, places the chapel, or, as he calls it, the tomb of Ægeus, mentioned by Paus. iii. 15. 8., in an imaginary *hameau des Egides*. Schoemann (*Antiq. J. P. G.* 115.) considers Δύμα as the fifth tribe, but conceives that this local division was substituted for that of the ancient tribes by Cleomenes III. Other authors, without making any such supposition, add the Heracleids as a sixth tribe. So Cragius *De Rep. Lac.* 1. 6., who is followed by Manso (*Sparta* 1. Beylage 8.). But as Barthelemy urges the number of the Ephors in confirmation of his hypothesis, so Manso insists on the ancient division of Sparta into six regions,

APPENDIX II.

as an argument for the six tribes; but does not point out any connexion between these two divisions. He seems to have found no difficulty in associating two purely genealogical tribes, such as the Ægeids and the Heracleids, if they were tribes at all, must have been, with others, attached to certain localities. So Meursius (*Misc. Lac.* 1. 7.) enriches the same list with the tribes Δυμανὶς and Παμφυλίς, without troubling himself about the quarter which they inhabited. On much slighter grounds Goettling (*Excursus* I. ad Aristot. Polit.), who strangely misconceives the force of Mueller's arguments, contends for ten tribes. He does not pretend to assign their names; but he thinks that this number is proved by that of the Cretan Cosmi, which he supposes to have been likewise that of the Spartan Ephors, before the reign of Theopompus. This supposition he grounds on a passage in the Lexicon of Timæus, which speaks of the Ephors — five superior, and five inferior (Ἔφοροι. πέ· καὶ πέντε ἐλάττους). It is clear however that this pas ever may be its authority, will admit of a very differe planation, and can only prove that there were two sets of officers, differing in dignity, both bearing the title of Ephors. Nothing can be more arbitrary than to suppose that the number of the Ephors was reduced from ten to five by Theopompus. It would be a much more probable conjecture, that the number was increased in his time from five to ten, as might have happened, if the original functions of the Ephors, or a part of them, were then transferred to other magistrates called by the same name. But a statement so insulated as this of Timæus affords no foundation for any hypothesis. Still less can Aristotle's remark, that the Spartans were said to have amounted at one time (ποτε, which Goettling translates *ab initio*) to ten thousand, warrant any inference as to the original number of the tribes. On the whole, as there is no difficulty in supposing that both the Heracleids and the Ægeids were included in the three tribes, and as this number is perfectly consistent with a different one for the local division of the capital, it seems preferable to every other that has been proposed.

All the information which the ancients have left us, exclusive of scattered facts and allusions, on the Spartan institutions, lies within a very narrow compass. A few chapters of Herodotus (l. 65. vi. 51—60.), the little treatise ascribed to Xenophon *De Republica Lacedæmoniorum*, the ninth and tenth chapters of the second book of Aristotle's Politics, a few remarks in the sixth book of Polybius (c. 8.), Plutarch's Lives of Lycurgus, Lysander, Agesilaus, Agis, and Cleomenes, and his *Apophthegmata Laconica*, contain the bulk of it.

The modern literature on the subject is the more copious on this account, because its object has been to supply, as far as

possible, the numberless blanks which the ancients have left. In our own literature two or three valuable contributions have been made to the study of this obscure and interesting branch of Greek antiquity within the last few years. Essay ii. in Dr. Arnold's Appendix to Thucydides, vol. i., Mr. Lewis's remarks on it in the Philological Museum, No. iv., and the section on Laconia of the chapter on the Population of ancient Greece in the second volume of Mr. Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, will introduce the reader to some of the most difficult questions connected with the subject.

Of the foreign authors who have treated it we do not pretend to give a list: the most valuable may be presumed to be known to most readers who take an interest in these researches: but as those who are most familiar with them will be least inclined to despise even the smallest additional help, we will take this opportunity of mentioning a few works, which have not acquired so much celebrity. The old compilations of Cragius and Meursius are perhaps chiefly interesting, as they show the immense progress which philology has since made, and the same remark may apply, though not with equal force, to the works of Barthelemy (*Anacharsis*, c. 41—51.), and Pastoret (*Histoire de la Legislation*, vol. v.), who is less critical as well as less amusing than Barthelemy, though certainly much more instructive than Pauw (*Recherches sur les Grecs*), and free from his ridiculous presumption. In v. Limburg Brouwer's work (*Histoire de la Civilisation morale et religieuse des Grecs depuis le Retour des Heraclides*, tom. i. c. 3.) there is less to be found on this subject than the title might seem to promise. Mueller's great work (*History of the Dorians*) will long be the best book on the subject. But Manso's *Sparta* may still be read with profit, though his prolixity and frequent want of critical tact present a contrast to Mueller's condensed exuberance and never-failing, though not altogether infallible, sagacity. Schlosser (*Universal-Historische Uebersicht*, vol. i.) is on this, as on all subjects, instructive: but has perhaps been a little biassed on some points by his prejudice against Mueller. Next to Mueller, the works of Wachsmuth (*Hellenische Alterthumskunde*), and C. F. Hermann (*Lehrbuch der Griechischen Staatsalterthuemer*, and the very interesting and instructive dissertations collected under the title of *Antiquitates Laconicæ*) are the most important. Schoemann's *Antiquitates Juris Publici Græcorum* will be found on this, as on the other subjects which it embraces, a most useful manual. Those of Tittmann (*Darstellung der Griechischen Staatsverfassungen*), Heeren (*Ideen*), and Plass (*Geschichte Griechenlands*, vol. ii.), may be consulted with more or less advantage. And on account of the intimate connection between the Cretan and Spartan institutions, Hoeck's elaborate work on Crete (*Kreta*) deserves particular notice here.

APPENDIX II.

A third class might be formed, of works and essays which require to be used with great caution, as they frequently combine very ingenious and original views with extremely rash and ill-founded conjectures and assertions. Among the authors of this class we feel obliged to number Huellman, though many of his writings (particularly his *Anfänge der Griechischen Geschichte*, and *Staatsrecht des Alterthums*) contain a great store of interesting combinations, and all may be recommended as likely to prove more or less instructive to readers who have already gained some familiarity with the subject. Lachmann's work, *Die Spartanische Staatsverfassung*, has been very severely censured on this ground by C. F. Hermann in the *Berlin Jahrbücher*, 1837, where many examples are certainly produced of feeble argument and hasty conjecture. We have had occasion more than once to refer to Goettling's *Excursus* on the Politics. Some of the [illegible] which he has committed there are corrected in the Addi[illegible]uller's *Prolegomena*. His views on the Spartan const[illegible]y be found more fully unfolded in an article in the *Hermes*, vol. xxv., which affords a fair specimen of his critical merits and failings. We might perhaps not have placed Kortuem in this list, if we had only formed a judgment of him from his work, *Zur Geschichte Hellenischer Staatsverfassungen*. But an essay entitled, *Wesen und Schicksal der Dorisch-Lakonischen Ackergesetzgebung* in Schlosser's *Archiv.* amply deserves mention here, though less for its ingenuity than for its astonishing temerity. Finally, a remarkable example of extensive learning devoted to the service of a political fanaticism, which can only be explained from the temper of the period in which the work appeared, may be found in Stuhr's *Untergang der Naturstaaten* which he published in 1812, under the assumed name of Feodor Eggo. (The part relating to Sparta will be found in p. 103—138.)

APPENDIX III.

ON THE ORGANISATION OF THE SPARTAN ARMY.

XENOPHON (*De Rep. Lac.* c. xi.) has given a general scheme of a Spartan army, and Thucydides (v. 68.) has described how one was constituted in a particular case. There seems to be no reason for suspecting the integrity of the text in either passage, but there is some difficulty in reconciling them. According to Xenophon, Lycurgus instituted six main divisions of the Spartan military force, both

for the cavalry and the infantry, which were called *morœ* (*μόραι* or *μοῖραι*.) As to the cavalry, it seems uncertain, whether these are the squadrons (*οὐλαμοί*) of fifty, mentioned by Plutarch, Lyc. 23. The *mora* of infantry was subdivided into four *lochi*, the *lochus* into two *pentecostyes*, and *the pentecostys* into two *enomotiæ*; the *mora* was commanded by a *polemarch: lochagus, pentecoster*, and *enomotarch*, were the titles of the inferior officers. The name *pentecostys* (a fifty), seems to prove, that 25, 50, 100, 400, were the original normal numbers of the several divisions, perhaps in an ordinary levy. For the strength of a Spartan army varied according to the ages from which it was drawn, as whether from the men below thirty-five or forty, (*οἱ πεντεκαίδεκα, εἴκοσι, ἀφ' ἥβης*) &c. down to the age of sixty. This was determined by a proclamation issued before each expedition, and in the field the several ages were so distinguished, that the men of one period could be instantly detached from the rest. Xenophon speaks only of Spartans, as appears from the epithet *πολιτικῶν*.

Thucydides, describing a battle fought in the fourteenth year of the Peloponnesian war, mentions the enomotia, the pentecostys, and the lochus, as divisions of a Spartan army, but not the mora. He however mentions not only the titles enomotarch, pentecoster, and lochagus, but that of polemarch, and thus shows that a division superior to the lochus then existed in the Spartan army. Yet, on this occasion, he says, that after a sixth of the Spartan force (the men at the two extremes of the military age) had been sent home for the protection of Laconia, there remained seven lochi, and that in each lochus there were *four* pentecostyes; in each pentecostys, *four* enomotiæ. He also mentions, that in this battle the strength of the enomotia was 32; so that each lochus was 512 strong. Hence we see that the division which he here calls a lochus, was the same as Xenophon's mora, containing, like that, 16 enomotiæ, or four times the common lochus; and accordingly, he gives the title of polemarch to the commanders of two such divisions. But as on this occasion the pentecostys contained four instead of two enomotiæ, and as four pentecostyes were thrown together into one division, he may have been led to call this division a lochus, as being next above the pentecostys, though it was, in fact, a mora, commanded by a polemarch; and it would seem to be of the polemarchs that he is speaking, when he says that each lochagus had the power of varying the depth of his division at his pleasure. For this can scarcely have been left to the discretion of any inferior officer. The reader should however compare Dr. Arnold's view of this question in his note on Thucydides, v. 68., where it seems to be through an oversight that the learned editor says, that at Mantinea *the strength of the lochus was doubled*, (it was quad-

APPENDIX III.

rupled), *by being made to consist of four pentecostyes and eight enomotiæ* (it contained sixteen enomotiæ). On another point, the difference between Thucydides and Xenophon is perhaps only apparent. Thucydides, as Dr. Arnold conjectures, reckons one lochus among the seven, which was composed of the Brasidean soldiers, and the *neodamodes*, or enfranchised helots, a force which Xenophon of course does not take into the account, any more than the Scirites — inhabitants of the district on the confines of Arcadia (see Dr. Arnold's Note on Thuc. v. 67.) — who always occupied the extreme left of the line of battle, and were employed by the Spartans in the most dangerous kind of service (*Xen. Cyrop.* iv. 2. 1.), from which passage it has been sometimes hastily inferred that they were a body of cavalry.

Meursius long ago contended (*Lect. Att.* i. 16.), that *lochus* and *mora* were only different names for the same thing: and this opinion [illegible] revived by Dr. Arnold, who however has placed it in a ne[illegible] tainly a much more probable light. He thinks that *loch*[illegible] proper and original name of the division, which, after the Peloponnesian war, was called *mora*. But it seems difficult to reconcile this conjecture with the language of Thucydides, unless it be supposed that the name *lochus* was given at the same time to two entirely different divisions of the same army, to that commanded by the polemarch, as well as to that commanded by the lochagus. On the other hand, Dr. Arnold's opinion may seem to be confirmed by the Scholiasts on Aristophanes, Lys. 453. Both Scholiasts agree that the words, *γνώσεσθ' ἄρα Ὅτι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσὶ τέτταρες λόχοι Μαχίμων γυναικῶν ἔνδον ἐξωπλισμένων*, refer to a Spartan institution. But the one merely observes, that among the Lacedæmonians there were four lochi, which the king employed, — apparently the remark of a person who knew nothing about the matter but what he collected from the poet himself, — while the other censures his author for carelessness, since, he says, there are not four, but six, lochi at Lacedæmon: and he gives the names of five, among which, according to a probable conjecture of Mueller's, one is Μεσοάτης. All the rest are so completely disfigured, as to be utterly unintelligible without the aid of better manuscripts.

This name reminds us of the λόχος Πιτανάτης or Πιτανατῶν, on which the authority of Thucydides is opposed to that of Herodotus; and it is possible that Πιτανάτης was the sixth name, which has dropped out of the Scholiast's list. If it was certain that Aristophanes had Sparta in view, he would seem to have alluded to the four lochi, which, according to Xenophon, composed the mora, while the second Scholiast must have been thinking of Xenophon's six moræ. But it would remain doubtful whether the names

which he mentioned belonged to the greater or the smaller division. In a subject so obscure, we may be permitted to hazard a conjecture, which the words of the scholiast have suggested to us. It is clear, that the number six cannot have been arbitrarily chosen for the greater division, though its origin is not ascertained. It coincides with that of the districts into which Laconia is said to have been divided immediately after the conquest (described by Mueller, *Dor.* i. 5. 13.). Those authors who hold that there were six Spartan tribes, find in it a confirmation of their opinion. But we conceive that this opinion is not necessary to account for the number. It may have been grounded on the fiction, that one mora was assigned for the protection of each district. If so, and if each was composed of four lochi, the four which belonged to the district of Sparta itself, may, on the same principle, have been distributed among the four quarters, or boroughs (κῶμαι), of Limnæ, Cynosura, Mesoa, and Pitana, and have taken their names from them. Herodotus, as Schweighæuser observes, may have been more correctly informed about the Λόχος Πιτανάτης than Thucydides, in whose time the name may have been no longer in use. It would not be improbable that the commanders of these four lochi were distinguished above all the rest, though nominally of the same rank, and that they were usually entrusted with a greater force in the field, whence perhaps the importance of Amompharetus. (Herod. ix. 53.)

Aristotle seems to have followed Thucydides, both as to the number and the name of the greater divisions, for which he used the terms lochus and mora, as it appears, indiscriminately. Compare fragments v. and vi. of his Λακώνων πολίτεια, in Neumann, p. 130., with Photius (Λόχοι), where the number five must refer to the Ἀργείων πέντε λόχοις ὠνομασμένοις of Thuc. v. 72.

But Herodotus (i. 65.) observes that Lycurgus settled the military institutions of Sparta, the enomotiæ, triacades, and syssitia τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας, καὶ τριηκάδας, καὶ συσσίτια). Mueller (iii. 5. 6.) compares the Spartan with the Athenian *triacas*, and conjectures that it was equivalent to a γένος and contained thirty families. The syssitia he conceives to be not the single banqueting companies, but the larger divisions of which Plutarch speaks (Agis 8.), when he says that the 4500 Spartans were distributed into fifteen φειδίτια. Hence he concludes (iii. 12. 4.), that this is another name for *oba*; and that the army was arranged according to tribes, phratries, and houses (*Geschlechtern*, γένη). The use of the word *families* in the English translation here and at p. 84. vol. ii. entirely destroys the sense, since, according to Mueller (iii. 5. 6.), the *Geschlecht* contained thirty families. But ingenious as this explanation is, it is much to be wished that the

APPENDIX III.

author had been more explicit in stating his views of the supposed arrangement. As it is, there are several points left in great obscurity. It does not appear in what relation the triacades, according to Mueller's view of them, stand to the enomotiæ. The triacas, containing thirty families, would be represented in the army by thirty men: and this is very nearly the number of an enomotia, which varies, as we have seen, between twenty-five and thirty-two. Again it does not appear what military division is represented by the greater syssition, which, according to Mueller, would consist of 300. Now this indeed is the number of knights who formed the king's guard (of whom perhaps 100 attended him, according to Herod. vi. 56., on ordinary occasions). But we do not hear of any other military body of the same number, which would be equal to three ordinary lochi. Still more difficult is it to conceive what division of a Spartan army mentioned by any of the ancients corresponded to a tribe, which, in the time of Agis, would amount to 1500, and when the population was largest, 3000, men in the field. We are unable to solve these difficulties; but the passage of Herodotus deserves more attention than it has as yet met with, and Mueller's explanation may be a prelude to some happier attempt at reconciling it with the statements of Thucydides and Xenophon.

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CLASSIFIED INDEX.

AGRICULTURE AND RURAL AFFAIRS. Pages

Bayldon On valuing Rents, &c. - 3
Crocker's Land-Surveying - - 7
Davy's Agricultural Chemistry - 7
Greenwood's (Col.) Tree Lifter - 10
" " - - - 17
" (Mrs.) Lady's Country Companion - - 17
Low's Elements of Agriculture - 18
" Breeds of the Domesticated Animals of Great Britain - 18
" On Landed Property - - 18
Whitley's Agricultural Geology - 32

ARTS, MANUFACTURES, AND ARCHITECTURE.

Brande's Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art - - - 5
Budge's Miner's Guide - - - 5
Gwilt's Encyclopædia of Architecture - - - - - 10
Haydon's Lectures on Painting and Design - - - - - 11
Loudon's Encyclopædia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture - - - - 17
Porter's Manufacture of Silk - - 23
" " Porcelain & Glass 23
Reid (Dr.) On Warming and Ventilating - - - - - 24
Savage's Dictionary of Printing - 26
Steam Engine (The), by the Artisan Club - - - - - 28
Ure's Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines - - 31
" On Recent Improvements in Arts, &c. - - - - 31
Wathen's Egypt. Arts & Antiquities 31

BIOGRAPHY.

Aikin's Life of Addison - - - 3
Bell's Lives of the most eminent British Poets - - - 4
Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge - - - - 4
Dover's Life of the King of Prussia 8
Dunham's Lives of the Early Writers of Great Britain - 8
" Lives of the British Dramatists - - 8
Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth of England - - 9
Gleig's Lives of the most Eminent British Military Commanders - 9
Grant's (Mrs.) Memoir and Correspondence - - - - 9
Hunter's Life of Oliver Heywood - 14
James's Life of the Black Prince - 14
" Lives of the most Eminent Foreign Statesmen - - 14
Mackintosh's Life of Sir Thomas More - - - - - 18
Maunder's Biographical Treasury - 21
Roberts's Duke of Monmouth - 25
Roscoe's Lives of British Lawyers 25
Russell's Correspondence of the Fourth Duke of Bedford - - 4
Shelley's Lives of the most eminent Literary Men of Italy, Spain, and Portugal - 26
" Lives of the most eminent French Writers - - - 27
Smith's Memoirs of the Marquis De Pombal - - - - - 27
Southey's Lives of the Admirals - 27
Tate's Horatius Restitutus - - 29

BOOKS OF GENERAL UTILITY.

Acton's Cookery - - - - 3
Black's Treatise on Brewing - - 4
Collegian's Guide (The) - - - 6
Donovan's Domestic Economy - 8
Hints on Etiquette - - - - 11
" Life - - - - - 11
Hudson's Parent's Hand-book - 13
" Executor's Guide - - 13
" on Making Wills - - 13
Lorimer's Letters to a Young Master Mariner - - - - 17
Loudon's Self Instruction - - 17
Maunder's Treasury of Knowledge 20
Maunder's Scientific and Literary Treasury - - - 21
" of the Sick Room - 30
" Interest Tables - - 30
Tomlins's Law Dictionary - - 30
Webster's Encyclopædia of Domestic Economy - - - 32

BOTANY AND GARDENING IN GENERAL.

Calleott's Scripture Herbal - - 6
Conversations on Botany - - 7
Drummond's First Steps to Botany 8
Glendinning On the Culture of the Pine Apple - - - 9
Greenwood's (Col.) Tree Lifter - 10
Henslow's Botany - - - - 11
Hoare On Cultivation of the Grape Vine on Open Walls - - 11
" On the Management of the Roots of Vines - - - 11
Hooker's British Flora - - - 12
" Icones Plantarum - - 12
" and Taylor's Muscologia Britannica - - - 12
Jackson's Pictorial Flora - - 14
Knapp's Gramina Britannica - 15
Lindley's Theory of Horticulture - 16
" Outline of the First Principles of Horticulture - 16
" Guide to the Orchard and Kitchen Garden - - 16
" Introduction to Botany - 16
" Flora Medica - - - 16
" Synopsis of British Flora 16
Loudon's Hortus Britannicus - 17
" " Lignosis Londinensis 18
" Self-Instruction for Gardeners, &c. - - - 17
" Encyclopædia of Trees and Shrubs - - 17
" " Gardening - 17
" " Plants - 17
" Suburban Garden and Villa Companion - 18
" Cemeteries and Churchyards - - - - - 18
Repton's Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture - - 24
Rivers's Rose Amateur's Guide - 24
Roberts On the Vine - - - 24
Rogers's Vegetable Cultivator - 25
Smith's Introduction to Botany - 27
" English Flora - - - 27
" Compendium of English Flora - - - - 27
" Ditto in Latin - - - 26

CHRONOLOGY.

Blair's Chronological Tables - - 4
Calendar (Illuminated) and Diary for 1845 - - - - - 11
Nicolas's Chronology of History - 22
Riddle's Ecclesiastical Chronology 24
Tate's Horatius Restitutus - - 29
Wathen's Chronology of Anc. Egypt 31

COMMERCE AND MERCANTILE AFFAIRS.

Kane's (Dr.) Industrial Resources of Ireland - - - - 14
Loudon's Letters to a Young Master Mariner - - - - 17
M'Culloch's Dictionary of Commerce and Commer. Navigation - 19
Spackman's Statistical Tables - 27
Steel's Shipmaster's Assistant - 28

GEOGRAPHY & ATLASES.

Butler's Sketch of Ancient and Modern Geography - - 6
" Atlas of Modern Geography 6
" " Ancient do. - - 6
De Strzelecki's New South Wales - 8
Finch's Nat. Boundaries of Empires 9
Hall's New General Atlas - - 10
M'Culloch's Geographical Dictionary 18
Malte Brun's Geography - - 19
Murray's Encyclop. of Geography - 22

HISTORY & CRITICISM.

Adair's (Sir R.) Memoir of his Mission to Vienna - - - - 3
Addison's History of the Knights Templars - - - - 3
Bell's History of Russia - - - 4
Blair's Chron. and Histor. Tables - 4
Bloomfield's Edition of Thucydides 4
" " - - - - 4
Dunham's History of Spain and Portugal - - - 8
" History of Europe during the Middle Ages - - 8
" Hist. of the German Emp. 8
" History of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway - 8
" History of Poland - - 8
Dunlop's History of Fiction - - 8
Fergus's History of United States 9
Grant's (Mrs.) Memoir and Correspondence - - - - 9
Grattan's History of Netherlands - 9
Halsted's Life of Richard III. - 10
Horsley's (Bp.) Biblical Criticism - 12
Jeffrey's (Francis) Contributions to The Edinburgh Review - 14
Keightley's Outlines of History - 15
Laing's Tours of Norway - - 15
Macaulay's Essays contributed to The Edinburgh Review - - 18
Mackintosh's Miscellaneous Works 18
M'Culloch's Dictionary, Historical, Geographical, and Statistical - 18
Mackintosh's History of England - 18
Maunder's Treasury of History - 20
Moore's History of Ireland - - 21
Muller's Mythology - - - - 22
Nicolas's Chronology of History - 22
Ranke's History of the Reformation 24
Roberts's Duke of Monmouth - 25
Rome, History of - - - - 25
Russell's Correspondence of the Fourth Duke of Bedford - - 4
Scott's History of Scotland - - 26
Sismondi's History of the Fall of Roman Empire - - - 27
" Italian Republics - 27
Stebbing's History of the Church - 28
" History of Reformation 28
Switzerland, History of - - - 29
Sydney Smith's Works - - - 27
Thirlwall's History of Greece - - 30
Tooke's History of Prices - - 30
Turner's History of England - - 31
Wright's Hist. of Society in England 32

JUVENILE BOOKS,

INCLUDING MRS. MARCET'S WORKS.

Boy's own Book (The) - - - - 5
Hawes's Tales of the North American Indians - - - - 11
Howitt's (Wm.) Jack of the Mill - 13
" " Boy's Country Book 13
Howitt's (Mary) Child's Picture and Verse Book - - 12
Ladies' of the Young Book - - 32
Marcet's Conversations - - - - -
On the History of England - 20
On Chemistry - - - 19
On Natural Philosophy - - 19
On Political Economy - - 19
On Vegetable Physiology - 19
On Land and Water - - 20
" The Game of Grammar - 20
" Mary's Grammar - - 20
" Lessons on Animals, &c. - 20
" Conversations on Language 20
Murray's Masterpiece Ready - - 20
" Settlers in Canada - 20
Maunder's Universal Class-Book - 21
Pycroft's (Rev. J.) English Reading 23
Summerly's (Mrs. Felix) Mother's Primer - - - - 28
Uncle Peter's Fairy Tales - - 31

MEDICINE.

Bull's Hints to Mothers - - - 5
" Management of Children - 5
Copland's Dictionary of Medicine - 7
Elliotson's Human Physiology - 8
Holland's Medical Notes - - 11
Lefevre's (Sir George) Apology for the Nerves - - - - 16
Macleod On Rheumatism - - 18
Marx and Willis (Drs.) on Disease 20
Pereira On Food and Diet - - 24
Reece's Medical Guide - - - 24
Sandby On Mesmerism - - - 25
Wigan (Dr.) On the Duality of the Mind - - - - - 32

MISCELLANEOUS.

Pages

Beale's (Miss) Vale of the Towey - 4
Black's Treatise on Brewing - - 4
Bray's Philosophy of Necessity - 5
Clavers's Forest Life - - - 6
Collegian's Guide (The) - - 6
Colton's Lacon - - - 6
De Morgan On Probabilities - - 8
De Strzelecki's New South Wales - 8
Finch's Natural Boundaries of Empires - - - - 9
Good's Book of Nature - - - 9
Graham's English - - - 9
Guest's Mabinogion - - - 10
Hand book of Taste - - - 11
Hobbes (Thos.), English Works of 12
Horace, by Tate - - - 29
Holland's Progressive Education - 11
Howitt's Rural Life of England - 12
" Visits to Remarkable Places 13
" Student-Life of Germany - 13
" Rural and Domestic Life of Germany - - - 13
" Colonisation and Christianity - - - 13
" German Experiences - 12
Humphreys' Illuminated Books - 14
Illuminated Calendar - - - 14
Jeffrey's (Francis) Contributions to The Edinburgh Review - - 14
Laing's (S., jun.) on National Distress (Prize Essay) - - 15
Ledyard's (Sir George) Apology for the Service - - - - 16
Letters on American Debts - - 27
Life of a Travelling Physician - 16
Loudon's (Mrs.) Lady's Country Companion - - - - 17
Macaulay's Critical and Historical Essays - - - - 18
Mackintosh's Mi 18
Maxwell and Willis of Disease - 20
Müller's Mythol 32
Peter Plymley's 27
Sandby On Mesmerism - - - 25
Sandford's Church, School, and Parish - - - - 25
Seaward's Narrative of Shipwreck - 26
Smith's (Rev. Sydney) Works - 27
Summerly's (Mrs. Felix) Mother's Primer - - - - 28
Taylor's Statesman - - - 29
Walker's Chess Studies - - - 31
Wigan (Dr.) On the Duality of the Mind - - - - - 32
Willoughby's (Lady) Diary - - 33
Wright's History of Society in Eng. 32

NATURAL HISTORY.

Catlow's Popular Conchology - 6
Gray's Figures of Molluscous Animals 9
" and Mitchell's Ornithology - 10
Kirby and Spence's Entomology - 15
Lee's Taxidermy - - - - 16
" Elements of Natural History 16
Proceedings of Zoological Society - 23
Stephens's British Coleoptera - - 28
Swainson On Study of Natural Hist. 29
" Animals - - - - 29
Taxidermy - - - - - 29
" Quadrupeds - - - 29
" Birds - - - - 29
" Animals in Menageries - 29
" Fish, Amphibians, and Reptiles - - - 29
" Insects - - - - 29
" Malacology - - - 29
" Habits and Instincts of Animals - - - 29
Transactions of Zoological Society 30
Turton's Shells of the British Islands 31
Waterton's Essays on Natural Hist. 32
Westwood's Classification of Insects 31

NOVELS AND WORKS OF FICTION.

Carlén's Rose of Tistelön - - 6
Doctor (the) - - - - 8
Dunlop's History of Fiction - - 8
Howitt's (Anna Mary) Betrothed Lovers - - - - - 12
" (Mary) Neighbours - - 12
" Home - - - - - 12
" President's Daughters - 12
" Diary, &c. - - - 12
" The H — — Family, &c. 12
Marryat's Masterman Ready - - 20
" Settlers in Canada - 20
Opie's (Mrs.) Novels - - - 22
Rambles of the Emperor Ching Tih 6
Trollope's (Mrs.) The Laurringtons 30

ONE-VOL. CYCLOPÆDIAS AND DICTIONARIES.

Blaine's Encyclopædia of Rural Sports - - - - - - 4
Brande's Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art - - - 5
Copland's Dictionary of Medicine - 7
Gwilt's Encyclop. of Architecture - 10
Johnson's Farmer's Encyclopædia - 14
Loudon's Encyclopædias— Pages
Trees and Shrubs - - - 17
Gardening - - - - 17
Agriculture - - - - 17
Plants - - - - - 17
M'Culloch's Geographical Dictionary 19
" Dictionary of Commerce 19
Murray's Encyclop. of Geography - 22
Savage's Dictionary of Printing - 26
Ure's Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines - - - - 31
Webster and Parkes's Domestic Economy - - - - - 32

POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

Aikin's (Dr.) British Poets - - 26
Baillie's New Dramas - - - 3
" Plays of the Passions - 3
Bowdler's Family Shakespeare - 26
Chalenor's Walter Gray - - 6
" Poetical Remains - 6
Goldsmith's Poems - - - 9
Horace, by Tate - - - - 29
L. E. L.'s Poetical Works - - 16
Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome 18
Montgomery's Poetical Works - 21
Moore's Poetical Works - - 21
" Lalla Rookh, medium 8vo. 21
" " fcp. 8vo. 21
" Irish Melodies - - - 21
" Do. illustrated by Maclise 21
Moral of Flowers - - - - 21
Nesbet's Poems - - - - 22
Southey's Poetical Works - - 27
" British Poets - - 26
Spirit of the Woods - - - 28
Thomson's Seasons - - - 30

POLITICAL ECONOMY AND STATISTICS.

M'Culloch's Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Dictionary - 19
" Dictionary of Commerce - - - - - 19
" Literature of Political Economy - - - 19
" On Funding and Taxation - - - - 18
Kane's (Dr.) Industrial Resources of Ireland - - - - 14
Spackman's Statistical Tables - 27
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