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PALLAS ATHENA

A SMALLER
HISTORY OF GREECĒ

*FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE
ROMAN CONQUEST*

BY
WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D.

REVISED, ENLARGED, AND IN PART REWRITTEN

BY
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ILLUSTRATED



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PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION

THE investigations of modern scholars in the departments of Greek history, literature, and antiquities have done much to correct erroneous beliefs, to widen the realm of positive knowledge in these subjects, and to mark more precisely the limits of that positive knowledge. In preparing a new edition of Dr. Smith's *Smaller History of Greece* the reviser has endeavored to be guided by the important results of these investigations. He has sought especially to correct the inaccuracies of the old edition and to supply noteworthy omissions. No attempt has been made to change the plan of the original work, and it is hoped that the characteristic features which have made Dr. Smith's History popular are preserved in the revised edition.

A few chapters have been largely rewritten, notably the fifth, tenth, nineteenth, and twenty-second; on the other hand, in many portions of the narrative few important additions or changes have been found necessary. The reviser has depended largely upon the recent histories of Busolt and Holm, but has aimed to verify all direct statements by reference to the original Greek sources. In dealing with the constitutional history of various Greek states and with the history of Greek literature he has constantly consulted

Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians*, Busolt's *Staatsaltertümer*, and Christ's *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*.

An entirely new series of maps and plans has been engraved for the present edition. Many of these are based upon maps in Kiepert's *Atlas Antiquus*, others upon originals in Baumeister's *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, the *Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts zu Athen*, Bursian's *Geographie von Griechenland*, and other standard authorities. Most of the illustrations which appeared in the old edition have been discarded as unprofitable or antiquated. Their place has been supplied by a somewhat smaller number of new illustrations. An especial and, it is hoped, valuable feature of the revised edition is the Pronouncing Vocabulary which has been incorporated with the Index, the latter having been very greatly increased in volume.

The reviser gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Professor Perrin, who has read the proof-sheets and has offered many helpful suggestions.

NEW HAVEN, *November*, 1896.

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MAP OF GREECE.	<i>Preceding page 1</i>





A SMALLER HISTORY OF GREECE

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHY OF GREECE

Situation and Extent of the Country.—Greece is the southern portion of a great peninsula of Europe, washed on three sides by the Mediterranean Sea. It is bounded on the north by Macedonia and Illyria, being separated from them for the most part by mountain ranges. It extends from the 40th degree of latitude to the 36th, its greatest length being not more than 250 English miles, and its greatest breadth only 180. Its surface is considerably less than that of Portugal. This small area was divided among a number of independent states, many of them containing a territory of only a few square miles, and none of them larger than an English county. But the heroism and genius of the Greeks have given an interest to the insignificant spot of earth bearing their name which the vastest empires have never gained.

Hellas and the Hellenes.—The name of Greece was not used by the inhabitants of the country. They called their land *Hellas*, and themselves *Hellenes*.

At first the word *Hellas* signified only a small district in Thessaly, from which the Hellenes gradually spread over the whole country. The names of *Greece* and *Greeks* come to us from the Romans, who gave the name of *Græcia* to the country and of *Græci* to the inhabitants.

Northern Greece.—The two northerly provinces of Greece are *Thessaly* and *Epirus*, separated from each other by Mount Pindus. Thessaly is a fertile plain enclosed by lofty mountains, and drained by the river Peneus, which finds its way into the sea through the celebrated Vale of Tempe. Epirus is covered by rugged ranges of mountains running from north to south, through which the Achelous, the largest river of Greece, flows towards the Corinthian Gulf.

Central Greece.—In entering central Greece from Thessaly the road runs along the coast through the narrow pass of Thermopylæ, between the sea and a lofty range of mountains. The district along the coast was inhabited by the *eastern Locrians*, while to the west and south were *Doris* and *Phocis*, the greater part of the latter being occupied by Mount Parnassus, upon the slopes of which lay the town of Delphi, with its celebrated oracle of Apollo. South-east of Phocis is *Bœotia*, which is a large hollow basin, enclosed on every side by mountains, which prevent the waters from flowing into the sea. Hence the atmosphere was damp and thick, to which circumstance the witty Athenians attributed the dullness of the inhabitants. Thebes was the chief city of Bœotia. South of Bœotia lies *Attica*, which is in the form of a triangle, having two of its sides washed by the sea, and its base united to the land. Its soil is light and dry, and is better adapted for

the growth of fruit than of grain. It was particularly celebrated for its olives, which were regarded as the gift of Athena, and were always under the care of that goddess. Athens was on the western coast, between four and five miles from its port, Piræus. West of Attica, towards the isthmus of Corinth, is the small district of *Megaris*.

The western half of central Greece consists of *western Locris*, *Ætolia*, and *Acarmania*. These districts were less civilized than the other countries of Greece, and were the haunts of rude robber tribes even as late as the Peloponnesian war.

Peloponnesus.—Central Greece is connected with the southern peninsula by a narrow isthmus, near which stood the city of Corinth. So narrow is this isthmus that the ancients regarded the peninsula as an island, and gave to it the name of *Peloponnesus*, or the island of Pelops, from the mythical hero of this name. Its modern name, the *Morea*, was bestowed upon it from its resemblance to the leaf of the mulberry.

The mountains of Peloponnesus have their roots in the centre of the country, from which they branch out towards the sea. This central region, called *Arcadia*, is the Switzerland of the peninsula. It is surrounded by a ring of mountains, forming a kind of natural wall, which separates it from the remaining Peloponnesian states. The other chief divisions of Peloponnesus were Achaia, Argolis, Laconia, Messenia, and Elis: *Achaia* is a narrow strip of country lying between the northern barrier of Arcadia and the Corinthian Gulf. *Argolis*, on the east, contained several independent states, of which the most important was Argos. *Laconia* and *Messenia* occupied the

whole of the south of the peninsula from sea to sea; these two countries were separated by the lofty range of Taygetus, running from north to south, and terminating in the promontory of Tænarum (now Cape Matapan), the southernmost point of Greece. Sparta, the chief town of Laconia, stood in the valley of the Eurotas, which opens out into a plain of considerable extent towards the Laconian Gulf. Messenia, in like manner, was drained by the Pamisus, whose plain is still more extensive and fertile than that of the Eurotas. *Elis*, on the west of Arcadia, contains the memorable plain on the banks of the Alpheus where the Olympic games were celebrated.

The Adjacent Islands.—Of the numerous islands which line the Grecian shores, the most important was *Eubœa*, stretching along the coasts of Locris, Bœotia, and Attica. South of Eubœa was the group of islands called the *Cyclades*, lying around Delos as a centre; and east of these were the *Sporades*, near the Asiatic coast. South of these groups are the large islands of *Crete* and *Rhodes*. *Lemnos*, *Imbros*, *Samothrace*, and *Thasos* lie farther north in the Thracian Sea, while to the west of Greece are *Zacynthos*, *Cephalenia*, *Ithaca*, *Leucas*, and *Corcyra*.

Influence of the Country upon the People.—The physical features of the country exercised a most important influence upon the political destinies of the people. Greece is one of the most mountainous countries of Europe. Its surface is occupied by a number of small plains, either entirely surrounded by limestone mountains or open only to the sea. Each of the principal Grecian cities was founded in one of these small plains; and, as the mountains which separated it from its neighbors were lofty and

rugged, each city grew up in solitary independence. But at the same time it had ready and easy access to the sea, and Arcadia was almost the only political division that did not possess some territory upon the coast. Thus shut out from their neighbors by mountains, the Greeks were naturally attracted to the sea, and became a maritime people. Hence they possessed the love of freedom and the spirit of adventure which have always characterized, more or less, the inhabitants of maritime districts.



APOLLO

Coin of Rhodes

CHAPTER II

ORIGIN OF THE GREEKS AND THE HEROIC AGE

Early Legends.—No nation possesses a history till events are recorded in written documents; and, so far as we know, it was not till the 8th century B. C. that the Greeks began to employ writing as a means for perpetuating the memory of any historical facts. Before that period everything is vague and uncertain; and the exploits of the heroes related by the poets must not be regarded as historical facts. On the other hand, really authentic history does not begin till long after that period; for in the earliest written records legend is still interwoven with fact.

Origin of the Greeks.—The *Pelasgians* are universally represented as the most ancient inhabitants of Greece. The Hellenes were a tribe of invaders who originally dwelt in the south of Thessaly, and gradually spread over the rest of Greece. The Pelasgians disappeared before them, or were incorporated with them, and their dialect became the language of Greece. The Hellenes considered themselves the descendants of one common ancestor, Hellen, the son of Deucalion and Pyrrha. To Hellen were ascribed three sons, Dorus, Xuthus, and Æolus. Of these Dorus and Æolus gave their names to the *Dorians* and *Æolians*; and Xuthus, through his two sons, Ion and Achæus, became the forefather of the

Ionians and *Achæans*. Thus the Greeks accounted for the origin of the four great divisions of their race. The descent of the Hellenes from a common ancestor, Hellen, was a fundamental article in the popular faith. It was a general practice in antiquity to invent fictitious persons for the purpose of explaining names of which the origin was buried in obscurity. It was in this way that Hellen and his sons came into being ; but though they never had any real existence, the tales about them may be regarded as the traditional history of the races to whom they gave their names.

Oriental Influence.— The civilization of the Greeks and the development of their language bear all the marks of home growth, and probably were not greatly affected by foreign influence. The traditions, however, of the Greeks would point to a contrary conclusion. It was a general belief among them that the Pelasgians were reclaimed from barbarism by Oriental strangers, who settled in the country and introduced among the rude inhabitants the first elements of civilization. Attica is said to have been indebted for the arts of civilized life to Cecrops, who, according to late tradition, was a native of Sais in Egypt. To him is ascribed the foundation of the city of Athens, the institution of marriage, and the introduction of religious rites and ceremonies. Argos, in like manner, has its foreign hero in the Egyptian Danaüs, who fled to Greece with his fifty daughters, to escape from the persecution of their suitors, the fifty sons of his brother Ægyptus. The Egyptian stranger was elected king by the natives, and from him the tribe of the Danaï derived their name, which Homer frequently uses as a general appellation for the Greeks. Another colony was the one led from

Asia by Pelops, from whom the southern peninsula of Greece derived its name of Peloponnesus. Pelops is represented as a Phrygian, and the son of the wealthy king Tantalus. He became the founder of a powerful dynasty, one of the most renowned in the Heroic age of Greece. From him was descended Agamemnon, who led the Grecian host against Troy.

The tale of the Phœnician colony, conducted by Cadmus, which founded Thebes in Bœotia, rests upon a different basis. Whether there was such a person as the Phœnician Cadmus, and whether he built the town called Cadmea, which afterwards became the citadel of Thebes, as the ancient legends relate, cannot be determined; but it is certain that the Greeks were indebted to the Phœnicians for the art of writing; for both the names and the forms of the letters in the Greek alphabet are evidently derived from the Phœnician. With this exception the Oriental strangers left no important traces of their settlements in Greece; and the population of the country continued to be essentially Grecian, uncontaminated by any foreign element.

The Heroes: Heracles, Theseus, and Minos.—The period which preceded the dawn of history in Greece is called the age of heroes. These heroes were believed to be a noble race of beings, possessing a superhuman though not a divine nature, and superior to ordinary men in strength of body and greatness of soul.

Among the heroes three stand conspicuously forth: Heracles, the national hero of Greece; Theseus, the hero of Attica; and Minos, king of Crete, the principal founder of Grecian law and civilization.

Heracles was the son of Zeus and Alcmena; but

the jealous anger of Hera raised up against him an opponent and a master in the person of Eurystheus, at whose bidding the greatest of all heroes was to achieve those wonderful labors which filled the whole world with his fame. In these are realized, on a magnificent scale, the two great objects of ancient heroism, the destruction of physical and moral evil, and the acquisition of wealth and power. Such, for instance, are the labors in which he destroys the terrible Nemean lion and Lernean hydra, carries off the girdle of Ares from Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons, and seizes the golden apples of the Hesperides, guarded by a hundred-headed dragon.

Theseus was a son of Ægeus, king of Athens, and of Æthra, daughter of Pittheus, king of Trœzen. Among his many memorable achievements the most famous was his deliverance of Athens from the frightful tribute imposed upon it by Minos for the murder of his son. This consisted of seven youths and seven maidens, whom the Athenians were compelled to send every nine years to Crete, there to be devoured by the Minotaur, a monster with a human body and a bull's head, which Minos kept concealed in an inextricable labyrinth. The third ship was already on the point of sailing with its cargo of innocent victims, when Theseus offered to go with them, hoping to put an end forever to the horrible tribute. Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, became enamoured of the hero, and being supplied by her with a clew to trace the windings of the labyrinth, Theseus succeeded in killing the monster, and in tracking his way out of the mazy lair. Theseus, on his return, became king of Attica, and proceeded to lay the foundation of the future greatness of the country. He united into one political

body the twelve independent states into which Cecrops had divided Attica, and made Athens the capital of the new kingdom. He then divided the citizens into three classes—namely, *Eupatridæ*, or nobles; *Geomori*, or husbandmen; and *Demiurgi*, or artisans.

Minos, king of Crete, whose history is connected with that of Theseus, appears, like him, the representative of an historical and civil state of life. Minos is said to have received the laws of Crete immediately from Zeus; and traditions uniformly represent him as king of the sea. Possessing a numerous fleet, he reduced the surrounding islands, especially the Cyclades, under his dominion, and cleared the sea of pirates.

The Argonautic Expedition and the Trojan War.—The voyage of the Argonauts and the Trojan war were the most memorable enterprises undertaken by collective bodies of heroes.

The Argonauts derived their name from the *Argo*, a ship built for the adventurers by Jason, under the superintendence of Athena. They embarked at the harbor of Iolcus in Thessaly for the purpose of obtaining the golden fleece which was preserved in *Æea* in Colchis, on the eastern shores of the Black Sea, under the guardianship of a sleepless dragon. The most renowned heroes of the age took part in the expedition. Among them were Heracles and Theseus; but Jason is the central figure and the real hero of the enterprise. Upon their arrival at *Æea*, after many adventures, King *Æetes* promised to deliver to Jason the golden fleece, provided he yoked two fire-breathing brazen-footed oxen, and performed other wonderful deeds. Here, also, as in the legend of Theseus, love played a prominent part. *Medea*, the daughter of *Æetes*, who was skilled in magic and supernatural

arts, furnished Jason with the means of accomplishing the labors imposed upon him; and as her father still delayed to surrender the fleece, she cast the dragon asleep during the night, seized the fleece, and sailed away in the Argo with her beloved Jason.

The Trojan war was the greatest of all the heroic undertakings. It formed the subject of numerous epic poems, and has been immortalized by the genius of Homer. Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy, abused the hospitality of Menelaüs, king of Sparta, by carrying off his wife Helen, the most beautiful woman of the age. All the Grecian princes looked upon the outrage as one committed against themselves. Responding to the call of Menelaüs, they assembled in arms, elected his brother Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, leader of the expedition, and sailed across the Ægean in nearly twelve hundred ships to recover the faithless fair one. Several of the confederate heroes excelled Agamemnon in fame. Among them Achilles, chief of the Thessalian Myrmidons, stood pre-eminent in strength, beauty, and valor; while Odysseus, king of Ithaca, surpassed all the rest in the mental qualities of counsel and eloquence. Among the Trojans, Hector, one of the sons of Priam, was most distinguished for heroic qualities, and formed a striking contrast to his handsome but effeminate brother Paris. Next to Hector in valor stood Æneas, son of Anchises and Aphrodite. Even the gods took part in the contest, encouraging their favorite heroes, and sometimes fighting by their side or in their stead.

It was not till the tenth year of the war that Troy yielded to the inevitable decree of fate; and it is the events of a part of this year which form the subject of the Iliad. Achilles, offended by Agamemnon, ab-

stains from the war; and in his absence the Greeks are no match for Hector. The Trojans drive them back into their camp, and are already setting fire to their ships, when Achilles gives his armor to his friend Patroclus, and allows him to charge at the head of the Myrmidons. Patroclus repulses the Trojans from the ships, but the god Apollo is against him, and he falls under the spear of Hector. Desire to avenge the death of his friend proves more powerful in the breast of Achilles than anger against Agamemnon. He appears again in the field in new and gorgeous armor, forged for him by the god Hephæstus at the prayer of Thetis. The Trojans fly before him, and, although Achilles is aware that his own death must speedily follow that of the Trojan hero, he slays Hector in single combat.

The Iliad closes with the burial of Hector. The death of Achilles and the capture of Troy were related in later poems. The hero of so many achievements perishes by an arrow shot by the unwarlike Paris, but directed by the hand of Apollo. The noblest combatants had now fallen on either side, and force of arms had proved unable to accomplish what stratagem at length effects. It is Odysseus who now steps into the foreground and becomes the real conqueror of Troy. By his advice a wooden horse is built, within which he and other heroes conceal themselves. The infatuated Trojans are treacherously persuaded to admit the horse within their walls. In the dead of night the Greeks rush out and open the gates to their comrades. Troy is delivered over to the sword, and its glory sinks in ashes. The fall of Troy is conjecturally placed in the year 1184 B.C.

The return of the Grecian leaders from Troy forms

another series of poetical legends. Several meet with tragical ends. Agamemnon is murdered, on his arrival at Mycenæ, by his wife Clytæmestra and her paramour Ægisthus. But of these wanderings the most celebrated and interesting are those of Odysseus, which form the subject of the *Odyssey*. After twenty years' absence he arrives at length in Ithaca, where he slays the numerous suitors who devoured his substance and contended for the hand of his wife Penelope.

The Homeric poems must not be regarded as a record of historical persons and events, but, at the same time, they present a valuable picture of the institutions and manners of the earliest known state of Grecian society.

Society and Civilization in the Heroic Age.—In the Homeric age Greece was already divided into a number of independent states, each governed by its own king. The authority of the king rested upon hereditary and divine right. He was leader in war, supreme judge, and chief priest. His power was limited, however, in three ways. First, he was bound to follow immemorial usage, the unwritten law of the land. Secondly, he must consult an advisory council (*Boule*) of nobles and elders. Thirdly, his measures must be approved by the general assembly of freemen (*Agora*). These two bodies became in the Republican age the sole depositories of political power.

The Greeks in the Heroic age were divided into the three classes of nobles, common freemen, and slaves. The nobles were raised far above the rest of the community in honor, power, and wealth. They were distinguished by their warlike prowess, their large estates, and their numerous slaves. The condition of

the general mass of freemen is rarely mentioned. They possessed portions of land as their own property, which they cultivated themselves; but there was another class of poor freemen, called Thetes, who had no land of their own, and who worked for hire on the estates of others. Slavery was not so prevalent in the Heroic age as at a later time, and appears in a less odious aspect. The nobles alone possessed slaves, and they treated them with a degree of kindness which frequently secured for the master their affectionate attachment.

Society was marked by simplicity of manners. The kings and nobles did not consider it derogatory to their dignity to acquire skill in the manual arts. Odysseus is represented as building his own bedchamber and constructing his own raft, and he boasts of being an excellent mower and ploughman. Like Esau, who made savory meat for his father Isaac, the Heroic chiefs prepared their own meals and prided themselves on their skill in cookery. Kings and private persons partook of the same food, which was of the simplest kind. Beef, mutton, and goat's flesh were the ordinary meats, and cheese, flour, and sometimes fruits also formed part of the banquet; wine was drunk diluted with water, and the entertainments were never disgraced by intemperance, like those of our northern ancestors. The enjoyment of the banquet was heightened by the song and the dance, and the chiefs took more delight in the lays of the minstrel than in the exciting influence of the wine.

The wives and daughters of the chiefs, in like manner, did not deem it beneath them to discharge various duties which were afterwards regarded as menial. Not only do we find them constantly employed in

weaving, spinning, and embroidery, but like the daughters of the patriarchs they fetch water from the well and assist their slaves in washing garments.

Even at this early age the Greeks had made considerable advances in civilization. They were collected in fortified towns, which were surrounded by walls and adorned with palaces and temples. The massive ruins of Mycenæ and the sculptured lions on the gate of this city belong to the Heroic age, and still excite the wonder of the beholder. Commerce, however, was little cultivated, and was not much esteemed. It was deemed more honorable for a man to enrich himself by robbery and piracy than by the arts of peace. Coined money is not mentioned in the poems of Homer. Whether the Greeks were acquainted at this early period with the art of writing is a question which has given rise to much dispute, and must remain undetermined; but poetry was cultivated with success, though yet confined to epic strains, or the narration of the exploits and adventures of the Heroic chiefs. The bard sang his own song, and was always received with welcome and honor in the palaces of the nobles.

In the battles, as depicted by Homer, the chiefs are the only important combatants, while the people are an almost useless mass, frequently put to rout by the prowess of a single hero. The chief is often mounted in a war chariot, and stands by the side of his charioteer, who is frequently a friend. There is no cavalry.

CHAPTER III

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE GREEK PEOPLE—NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Bonds of Union between the Greek States.—The Greeks, as we have already seen, were divided into many independent communities, but several causes bound them together as one people. Of these the most important were community of blood and language—community of religious rites and festivals—and community of manners and character.

Community of Blood and Language.—All the Greeks were descended from the same ancestors and spoke the same language. They all described men and cities which were not Grecian by the term *barbarian*. This word has passed into our own language, but with a very different idea; for the Greeks applied it indiscriminately to every foreigner, to the civilized inhabitants of Egypt and Persia as well as to the rude tribes of Scythia and Gaul.

Community of Religious Rites and Festivals: The Amphictyonic Council.—The second bond of union was a community of religious rites and festivals. From the earliest times the Greeks appear to have worshipped the same gods; but originally there were no religious meetings common to the whole nation. Such meetings were of gradual growth, being formed by a number of neighboring towns, which entered into an

association for the periodical celebration of certain religious rites at some common shrine. Of these the most celebrated was the *Amphictyonic Council*. It acquired its superiority over other similar associations by the wealth and grandeur of the Delphian temple, of which it was the appointed guardian. The temple of Demeter at Thermopylæ was also under its protection. It held its meetings twice a year, in the spring and in the autumn; and each time there seem to have been two sessions, one at Thermopylæ and the other at Delphi. Its members, who were called the Amphictyons, consisted of sacred deputies sent from twelve tribes, many of which had several independent cities or states. But the Council was never considered as a national congress, whose duty it was to protect and defend the common interests of Greece; and it was only when the rights of the Delphian god had been violated that it invoked the aid of the various states of the league. The Council also sought to foster peace, or at least fair methods of warfare, among its own members. The ancient Amphictyonic oath bound the associated tribes not to cut off running water from any city belonging to the league, nor to destroy any city utterly.

The Olympic Games.—The Olympic games were of greater efficacy than the Amphictyonic Council in promoting a spirit of union among the various branches of the Greek race, and in keeping alive a feeling of their common origin. They were open to all freemen who could prove their Hellenic blood, and were frequented by spectators from all parts of the Grecian world. They were celebrated at Olympia, on the banks of the Alpheus, in the territory

of Elis. The origin of the festival was lost in obscurity; but it was said to have been revived by Iphitus, king of Elis, and Lycurgus, the Spartan legislator, in the year 776 B.C.; and accordingly, when the Greeks at a later time began to use the Olympic contest as a chronological era, this year was regarded as the first Olympiad. It was celebrated at the end of every four years, and the interval which elapsed between each celebration was called an Olympiad. The whole festival was under the management of the Eleans, who appointed some of their own number to preside as judges, under the name of the Hellenodicæ. During the month in which it was celebrated all hostilities were suspended throughout Greece. At first the festival was confined to a single day, and consisted of nothing more than a match of runners in the stadium; but in course of time so many other contests were introduced that the games occupied five days. They comprised various trials of strength and skill, such as wrestling, boxing, the Pancratium (boxing and wrestling combined), and the complicated Pentathlon (including jumping, running, the quoit, the javelin, and wrestling), but no combats with any kind of weapons. One day was set apart for contests of boys. There were also horse-races and chariot-races; and the chariot-race, with four full-grown horses, became one of the most popular and celebrated of all the matches.

The only prize given to the conqueror was a garland of olive; but this was valued as one of the dearest distinctions in life. To have his name proclaimed as victor before assembled Hellas was an object of ambition with the noblest and the wealthiest of the Greeks. Such a person was considered to have con-

ferred everlasting glory upon his family and his country, and was rewarded by his fellow-citizens with distinguished honors.

The Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian Games.—During the 6th century before the Christian era three other national festivals—the Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games—which were at first only local, became open to the whole nation. The Pythian games were celebrated in every third Olympic year, on the Cirrhæan plain near Delphi, under the superintendence of the Amphictyons. The games consisted not only of matches in gymnastics and of horse and chariot races, but also of contests in music and poetry. They soon acquired celebrity, and became second only to the great Olympic festival. The Nemean and Isthmian games occurred more frequently than the Olympic and Pythian. They were celebrated once in two years—the Nemean in the valley of Nemea between Phlius and Cleonæ, and the Isthmian by the Corinthians, on their isthmus, in honor of Poseidon. As in the Pythian festival, contests in music and in poetry, as well as gymnastics and chariot-races, formed part of these games. Although the four great festivals of which we have been speaking had no influence in promoting the political union of Greece, they nevertheless were of great importance in making the various sections of the race feel that they were all members of one family, and in cementing them together by common sympathies and the enjoyment of common pleasures. The frequent occurrence of these festivals, for some one of them was celebrated every year, tended to the same result.

The Greeks were thus annually reminded of their

common origin, and of the great distinction which existed between them and barbarians. Nor must we forget the incidental advantages which attended them. The concourse of so large a number of persons from every part of the Grecian world afforded to the merchant opportunities for traffic, and to the artist and the literary man the best means of making their work known. During the time of the games a busy commerce was carried on; and the poets, philosophers, and historians found audiences to whom they were glad to read their most recent works.

The Oracle of Apollo at Delphi.—The habit of consulting the same oracles in order to ascertain the will of the gods was another bond of union. It was the universal practice of the Greeks to undertake no matter of importance without first asking the advice of the gods; and there were many sacred spots in which the gods were always ready to give an answer to pious worshippers. The oracle of Apollo at Delphi surpassed all the rest in importance, and was regarded with veneration in every part of the Grecian world. In the centre of the temple of Delphi there was a small opening in the ground from which it was said that a certain gas or vapor ascended. Whenever the oracle was to be consulted, a virgin priestess called the *Pythia* took her seat upon a tripod which was placed over the chasm. The ascending vapor affected her brain, and the words which she uttered in this excited condition were believed to be the answer of Apollo to his worshippers. They were reverently taken down and moulded into hexameter verses by the attendant priests. Many of the answers were equivocal or obscure; but the credit of

the oracle continued unimpaired long after the downfall of Grecian independence.

Community of Manners and Character.—A further element of union among the Greeks was the similarity of manners and character. It is true the difference in this respect between the polished inhabitants of Athens and the rude mountaineers of Acarnania was marked and striking, but if we compare the two with foreign contemporaries, the contrast between them and the latter is still more striking. Absolute despotism, human sacrifices, polygamy, deliberate mutilation of the person as a punishment, and selling of children into slavery, existed in some part or other of the barbarian world, but are not found in any city of Greece in historical times.

The City - State.—The elements of union of which we have been speaking only bound the Greeks together in common feelings and sentiments: they never produced any political union. The independent sovereignty of each city was a fundamental notion in the Greek mind. This strongly rooted feeling deserves particular notice. Careless readers of history are tempted to suppose that the territory of Greece was divided among a comparatively small number of independent states, such as Attica, Arcadia, Bœotia, Phocis, Locris, and the like; but this is a most serious mistake, and leads to a total misapprehension of Greek history. Every separate city was usually an independent state, and consequently each of the territories described under the general names of Arcadia, Bœotia, Phocis, and Locris, contained numerous political communities originally independent of one another. Attica, it is true,

formed a single state, and its different towns recognized Athens as their capital and the source of supreme power; but this is an exception to the general rule. Thebes was ever vainly seeking a similar supremacy in Bœotia.



NYMPH OLYMPIA



EAGLE IN WREATH

Coin of Elis

CHAPTER IV

EARLY HISTORY OF PELOPONNESUS AND SPARTA

The Legend of the Dorian Invasion.—The history of Peloponnesus begins with the invasion by the Dorians. These people had no share in the glories of the Heroic age; their name does not occur in the *Iliad*, and they are only once mentioned in the *Odyssey*; but they were destined to form in historical times one of the most important elements of the Greek nation. Issuing from their mountain district between Thessaly, Locris, and Phocis, they overran the greater part of Peloponnesus, destroyed the ancient Achæan monarchies, and expelled or reduced to subjection the original inhabitants of the land, of which they became the undisputed masters. This brief statement contains all that we know for certain respecting this celebrated event, which the ancient writers placed eighty years after the Trojan war (1104 B.C.). The legendary account of the conquest of Peloponnesus ran as follows: The Dorians were led by the Heraclidæ, or descendants of the mighty hero Heracles. Hence this migration is called the Return of the Heraclidæ. The children of Heracles had long been fugitives upon the face of the earth. They had made more than one attempt to regain possession of the dominions in Peloponnesus, which rightfully belonged to their great sire,

but hitherto without success. In their last attempt Hyllus, the son of Heracles, had perished in single combat with Echemus of Tegea; and the Heraclidæ had become bound by a solemn compact to renounce their enterprize for a hundred years. This period had now expired; and the great-grandsons of Hyllus—Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus—resolved to make a fresh attempt to recover their birthright. They were assisted in the enterprize by the Dorians. This people espoused their cause in consequence of the aid which Heracles himself had rendered to the Dorian king Ægimius, when the latter was hard pressed in a contest with the Lapithæ. The invaders were warned by an oracle not to enter Peloponnesus by the Isthmus of Corinth, but across the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf. The inhabitants of the northern coast of the gulf were favorable to their enterprize. Oxylus, king of the Ætolians, became their guide; and from Naupactus they crossed over to Peloponnesus. A single battle decided the contest. Tisamenus, the son of Orestes and grandson of Agamemnon, was defeated, and retired with a portion of his Achæan subjects to the northern coast of Peloponnesus, then occupied by the Ionians. He expelled the Ionians, and took possession of the country, which continued henceforth to be inhabited by the Achæans, and to be called after them. The Ionians withdrew to Attica, and a great part of them afterwards emigrated to Asia Minor.

The Heraclidæ and the Dorians now divided between them the dominions of Tisamenus and of the other Achæan princes. The kingdom of Elis was given to Oxylus as a recompense for his services as their guide; and it was agreed that Temenus, Cres-

phontes, and Eurysthenes and Procles, the infant sons of Aristodemus (who had died at Naupactus), should draw lots for Argos, Sparta, and Messenia. Argos fell to Temenus, Sparta to Eurysthenes and Procles, and Messenia to Cresphontes.

Such are the main features of the legend of the Return of the Heraclidæ. Of course it cannot be regarded as furnishing a complete and trustworthy account of the Dorian conquest. Some Dorians may really have crossed to Peloponnesus from Naupactus; that way of approach was a natural and easy one. But there is reason to believe that Argos and Corinth were subdued by invaders who came by sea. At all events, it is probable that the subjugation of Peloponnesus was accomplished not by one united expedition, but by several separate bodies of warriors.

The Rise of Sparta: Lycurgus, the Lawgiver.—Argos was originally the chief Dorian state in Peloponnesus, but its claim to that distinction was early challenged by Sparta. The struggle between these two states was long continued and attended with varying fortune; but in the end Sparta won the supremacy, which she afterwards maintained so successfully. The progress of Sparta from the second to the first place among the states in the peninsula was mainly owing to the military discipline and rigorous training of its citizens. The singular constitution of Sparta was unanimously ascribed by the ancients to the legislator Lycurgus, but there were different stories respecting his date, birth, travels, legislation, and death. According to one tradition he must have lived in the 8th century B.C.; for in 776 B.C. he is said to have assisted Iphitus in restoring the Olympic games. Other authorities, however, place him in the 9th cen-

ture B.C., or even earlier. All accounts agree in describing Lycurgus as uncle, and guardian during his minority, of one of the two Spartan kings. At this time, as Herodotus, the Greek historian, says, Sparta was almost the worst governed of all the Greek states, and probably Lycurgus's task was made easier by the discontent of the people with the existing order of things. He perhaps began his work as a lawgiver while acting as his nephew's guardian; or, according to other stories, it was after his return from a voluntary exile, and when the young king had already come to manhood. It may or may not be true that, as the latter story has it, Lycurgus left Sparta in order to avoid certain slanderous accusations which were brought against him; at any rate, it seems probable that he had travelled widely and studied the constitutions of other states before introducing his reforms in Sparta. Crete is mentioned as the state whose laws he copied most closely; another tradition is that he received his constitution directly from the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. It is reasonable to suppose that his reforms were not carried into effect without some opposition; and, in fact, various stories are told which would confirm this supposition. But he finally triumphed over all obstacles, and succeeded in obtaining the submission of all classes in the community to his new constitution. His last act, according to tradition, was to sacrifice himself for the welfare of his country. Having obtained from the people a solemn oath to make no alterations in his laws before his return, he quitted Sparta forever. He set out on a journey to Delphi, where he obtained an oracle from the god, approving of all he had done, and promising prosperity to the Spartans so long as

they preserved his laws. Whither he went afterwards, and how and where he died, nobody could tell. He vanished from earth like a god, leaving no traces behind him but his spirit; and his grateful countrymen honored him with a temple, and worshipped him with annual sacrifices down to the latest times.

Classes in the Spartan State.—The population of Laconia was divided into the three classes of Spartans, Periœci, and Helots.

I. The *Spartans* were the descendants of the Dorian conquerors. They formed the sovereign power of the state, and they alone were eligible to honors and public offices. They lived in Sparta itself, and were all subject to the discipline of Lycurgus. They were divided into three tribes—the *Hylleis*, the *Pamphyli*, and the *Dymanes*—which were not, however, peculiar to Sparta, but existed in all the Dorian states.

II. The *Periœci** were personally free, but politically subject to the Spartans. They possessed no share in the government, and were bound to obey the commands of the Spartan magistrates. They were the descendants of the old Achæan population of the country, and were distributed into townships, which were spread through the whole of Laconia.

III. The *Helots* were serfs bound to the soil, which they tilled for the benefit of the Spartan proprietors. Their condition was very different from that of the ordinary slaves in antiquity, and more similar to the

* This word signifies literally *Dwellers around the city*, and was generally used to indicate the inhabitants in the country districts, who possessed inferior political privileges to the citizens who lived in the city.

villanage of the Middle Ages. They dwelt upon the lands of the Spartan citizens, cultivating the soil and making over a fixed amount of its products to their masters, while the remainder they kept for themselves. They were thus able to acquire property, and they enjoyed their homes, wives, and families apart from their master's personal superintendence. They could not be sold, and they accompanied the Spartans to the field as light-armed troops, sometimes as hoplites. But while their condition was in these respects superior to that of the ordinary slaves in other parts of Greece, it was embittered by the fact that they were not strangers like the latter, but were of the same nationality and spoke the same language as their masters, being, like the Pericæci, the descendants of the old inhabitants. As they were much more numerous than the Spartans, and always ready for an uprising at any favorable opportunity, they were a source of perpetual danger to the state. On this account they had to be held in subjection by fear, and were often treated with the harshest cruelty.

The Spartan Constitution: the Kings, the Senate, the Popular Assembly, and the Ephors.—The functions of the Spartan government were distributed among two Kings, a Senate of thirty members, a Popular Assembly, and an executive directory of five men called Ephors.

At the head of the state were the two hereditary Kings. The existence of a pair of kings was peculiar to Sparta, and is said to have arisen from the accidental circumstance that Aristodemus left twin sons, Eurysthenes and Procles. This division of the royal power naturally tended to weaken its influence and to produce jealousies and dissensions between the

two kings. Originally the kings were irresponsible commanders-in-chief in war and high-priests of the state, besides exercising certain other administrative and judicial functions. The royal power was on the decline, however, during the whole historical period, and the authority of the kings was gradually usurped by the ephors, who at length obtained the entire control of the government, and reduced the kings to a state of humiliation and dependence.

The Senate, called *Gerusia*, or the *Council of Elders*, consisted of thirty members, among whom the two kings were included. They were obliged to be upwards of sixty years of age, and they held their office for life. Their power was originally considerable, but, like that of the kings, was gradually limited by the ephors. They acted as an advisory council to the kings, discussed and prepared all measures which were to be brought before the popular assembly, and had some share in the general administration of the state. Their judicial functions also were important. They were judges in all criminal cases, especially such as involved political offences; even the kings might be brought to trial before them.

The Popular Assembly, which met once a month, elected both senators and ephors, and settled all cases of disputed succession to the kingship. It did not initiate legislation, but decided questions, especially those relating to war, peace, and alliances, which were brought before it by the kings and the senate, or, in later times, by the ephors. Open discussion was not allowed in the assembly.

The Ephors were probably of late origin, and did not exist in the original constitution of Lycurgus. They may be regarded as the representatives of the

popular assembly. They were elected annually from the general body of Spartan citizens, and seem to have been originally appointed to protect the interests and liberties of the people against the encroachments of the kings and the senate. They correspond in many respects to the tribunes of the people at Rome. Their functions were at first limited and of small importance ; but in the end the whole political power became centred in their hands.

The Spartan government was in reality a close oligarchy, in which the kings and the senate, as well as the people, were alike subject to the irresponsible authority of the five ephors.

Education and Training of the Spartans.—The most important part of the legislation of Lycurgus did not relate to the political constitution of Sparta, but to the discipline and education of the citizens. It was these which gave Sparta her peculiar character, and distinguished her in so striking a manner from all the other states of Greece. The position of the Spartans, surrounded by numerous enemies, whom they held in subjection by the sword alone, compelled them to be a nation of soldiers. Lycurgus determined that they should be nothing else ; and the great object of his whole system was to cultivate a martial spirit, and to give them a training which would make them invincible in battle. To accomplish this, the education of a Spartan was placed under the control of the state from his earliest boyhood. Every child after birth was exhibited to public view, and if deemed deformed and weakly was exposed to perish on Mount Taygetus. At the age of seven he was taken from his mother's care, and handed over to the public classes. He was not only taught gymnastic

games and military exercises, but he was also subjected to severe bodily discipline, and was compelled to submit to hardships and suffering without repining or complaint. One of the tests to which he was subjected was a cruel scourging at the altar of Artemis. It was inflicted publicly before the eyes of his parents and in the presence of the whole city; and many Spartan youths were known to have died under the lash without uttering a complaining murmur. No means were neglected to prepare them for the hardships and stratagems of war. They were obliged to wear the same garment winter and summer, and to endure hunger and thirst, heat and cold. They were purposely allowed an insufficient quantity of food, but were permitted to make up the deficiency by hunting in the woods and mountains of Laconia. They were even encouraged to steal whatever they could; but if they were caught in the act they were severely punished for their want of dexterity. Plutarch tells us of a boy who, having stolen a fox and hidden it under his garment, chose rather to let it tear out his very bowels than be detected in the theft.

The literary education of a Spartan youth was of a most restricted kind. He was taught to despise literature as unworthy of a warrior, while the study of eloquence and philosophy, which were cultivated at Athens with such extraordinary success, was regarded at Sparta with contempt. Long speeches were a Spartan's abhorrence, and he was trained to express himself with sententious brevity.

A Spartan was not considered to have reached the full age of manhood till he had completed his thirtieth year. He was then allowed to marry and to take part in the public assembly, and he was then

eligible to the offices of the state. But he still continued under the public discipline, and was not permitted even to take his meals with his wife. It was not till he had reached his sixtieth year that he was released from the public discipline and from military service.

The public mess—called *Syssitia*—is said to have been instituted by Lycurgus to prevent all indulgence of the appetite, and to prepare the citizens in times of peace for the life of the camp. Public tables were provided, at which every male citizen was obliged to take his meals. Each table accommodated about fifteen persons, who formed a separate mess, into which no new member was admitted except by the unanimous consent of the whole company. Each sent monthly to the common stock a specified quantity of barley-meal, wine, cheese, and figs, and a small sum of money. No distinction of any kind was allowed at these frugal meals. Meat was only eaten occasionally; and one of the principal dishes was black broth. Of what it consisted we do not know. The tyrant Dionysius found it very unpalatable; but, as the cook told him, the broth was nothing without the seasoning of fatigue and hunger.

Discipline and Position of Women.—The Spartan women in their earlier years were subjected to a course of training almost as rigorous as that of the men, and contended with one another in running, wrestling, and other athletic exercises. At the age of twenty a Spartan woman usually married, and she was no longer subjected to the public discipline. Although she enjoyed little of her husband's society, she was treated by him with deep respect, and was allowed a greater degree of liberty than was tol-

erated in other Grecian states. Hence she took a lively interest in the welfare and glory of her native land, and was animated by an earnest and lofty spirit of patriotism. The Spartan mother had reason to be proud of herself and of her children. When a woman of another country said to Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas, "The Spartan women alone rule the men," she replied, "The Spartan women alone bring forth men." Their husbands and their sons were fired by their sympathy to deeds of heroism. "Return either with your shield or upon it," was the exhortation of one mother to her son when going to battle.

Allotment of Lands: Money and Commerce.—Lycurgus is said to have divided the land belonging to the Spartans into six thousand equal lots, one of which was assigned to each Spartan citizen. These lands, however, were still looked upon as the common property of the state, which the holder could not sell nor even bequeath to whom he chose. In case he died leaving no heirs, his share reverted to the state.

Neither gold nor silver money was allowed in Sparta, and nothing but bars of iron passed in exchange for every commodity. As the Spartans were not permitted to engage in commerce, and all luxury and display in dress, furniture, and food were forbidden, they had very little occasion for a circulating medium, and iron money was found sufficient for their few wants. But this prohibition of the precious metals only made the Spartans more anxious to obtain them; and even in the times of their greatest glory the Spartans were the most venal of the Greeks, and could rarely resist the temptation of a bribe.

Results of the Legislation of Lycurgus.—The legislation of Lycurgus was followed by important results. It

made the Spartans a body of professional soldiers, well trained and well disciplined, at a time when military training and discipline were little known, and almost unpractised in the other states of Greece. The consequence was the rapid growth of the political power of Sparta, and the subjugation of the neighboring states. At the time of Lycurgus the Spartans held only a small portion of Laconia; they were merely a garrison in the heart of an enemy's country, and it was only after a severe struggle that they succeeded in making themselves masters of Laconia. In the long series of wars which they afterwards waged with the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives, they were often beaten, but finally triumphed. We have no complete or trustworthy information with regard to the details or even the dates of these various struggles. The main facts are reasonably certain, but so vast a mass of tradition is interwoven with the extant accounts, especially of the Messenian wars, and the versions given by different authorities are so conflicting, that the truth is often obscured or perverted.

The Supremacy of Argos: Phidon.—In the first half of the 8th century B.C., Argos, under its mighty ruler Phidon, was still the first state in Peloponnesus. Phidon's realm included not only all Argolis, together with the northeastern coast of what was afterwards Laconia, but also the important states of Corinth, Sicyon, and Ægina. He has also the credit of having introduced a system of weights and measures into Peloponnesus, and is said to have been the first Greek ruler to coin money. In the year 748 B.C., according to tradition, he marched into Elis, and took to himself the management of the Olympic

games, which had been in charge of the Eleans, the descendants of the Ætoliæ who guided the Heraclidæ on their return to Peloponnesus. Thereupon it is said that the Spartans made common cause with the Eleans, and drove back the Argives. Shortly after this Phidon met his death at Corinth, and Sparta, freed from her most dangerous enemy, turned her arms against the Messenians, her neighbors to the west. The murder of a Spartan king by the Messenians was said to have been the immediate occasion of the war. Doubtless the real reason was simply a desire on the part of the Spartans to acquire new territory. The final subjugation of Messenia was only accomplished after two long and obstinately contested wars.

The First Messenian War.—The First Messenian War is generally supposed to have lasted from 743 to 724 B.C. During the first four years the Lacedæmonians made little progress; but in the fifth and sixth two pitched battles were fought, and, although the result of each was indecisive, the Messenians did not venture to risk another engagement, and retired to the strongly fortified mountain of Ithome. In their distress they sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, and received the appalling answer that the salvation of Messenia required the sacrifice of a virgin of the royal house to the gods of the lower world. Aristodemus, who is the Messenian hero of the first war, slew his own daughter, which so disheartened the Spartans that they abstained from attacking the Messenians for some years. In the thirteenth year of the war the Spartan king marched against Ithome, and a third great battle was fought, but the result was again indecisive. The Messenian king fell in the action; and

Aristodemus, who was chosen king in his place, prosecuted the war with vigor. In the fifth year of his reign another great battle was fought. This time the Messenians gained a decisive victory, and the Lacedæmonians were driven back into their own territory. They now sent to ask advice of the Delphian oracle, and were promised success upon using stratagem. They therefore had recourse to fraud; and at the same time various prodigies dismayed the bold spirit of Aristodemus. His daughter, too, appeared to him in a dream, showed him her wounds, and predicted his approaching death. Seeing that his country was doomed to destruction, Aristodemus slew himself on his daughter's tomb. Shortly afterwards, in the twentieth year of the war, the Messenians abandoned Ithome, and the whole country became subject to Sparta. Many of the inhabitants fled into other countries; but those who remained were reduced to the condition of Helots, and were compelled to pay to their masters half of the produce of their lands.

Sparta at War with the Argives and Arcadians.—Soon after the close of this first Messenian war, the Spartans again turned their attention to Argos. In the year 718 B.C. they won a decisive victory at Thyrea, and expelled the Argives from Laconia. Fifty years later, however, the tables were turned. The Spartans had marched through Arcadia and into the territory of the Argives, but met a crushing defeat at their hands at Hysiaë (668 B.C.). This disaster naturally gave fresh courage to Sparta's enemies throughout Peloponnesus. In 660 B.C. the Pisatæ, the original inhabitants of western Peloponnesus who had been dispossessed by the Eleans, rose against their masters and succeeded in recovering Olympia

and the superintendence of the games. The Eleans were allies of Sparta, but she was unable now to render them any assistance. A Spartan force did, in the next year, penetrate into Arcadia and capture Phigalia, but only to be driven back again. A few years thereafter we find the Argives, Arcadians, and Pisatæ assisting the Messenians in a revolt against Spartan rule. Sparta, aided only by the Corinthians, was thus confronted with a formidable alliance.

The Second Messenian War.—So began the Second Messenian War, which is supposed to have lasted for seventeen years. Its hero is Aristomenes, whose wonderful exploits form the great subject of this war. The first battle was fought before the arrival of the allies on either side, and, though it was indecisive, the valor of Aristomenes struck fear into the hearts of the Spartans. To frighten the enemy still more, the hero crossed the frontier, entered Sparta by night, and affixed a shield to the temple of Athena with the inscription, "Dedicated by Aristomenes to the goddess from the Spartan spoils." The Spartans, in alarm, are said to have sent to Delphi for advice. The god bade them apply to Athens for a leader. Fearing to disobey the oracle, but with the view of rendering no real assistance, the Athenians sent Tyrtæus, a lame man and a school-master. The Spartans received their new leader with honor; and he was not long in justifying the credit of the oracle. His martial songs roused their fainting courage; and so efficacious were his poems that to them is mainly ascribed the final success of the Spartan arms.

Encouraged by the strains of Tyrtæus, the Spartans again marched against the Messenians. But they were not at first successful. A great battle was

fought at the Boar's Grave in the plain of Stenyclerus, in which they were defeated with great loss. In the third year of the war another great battle was fought, in which the Messenians suffered a signal defeat. So great was their loss that Aristomenes no longer ventured to meet the Spartans in the open field. Following the example of the Messenian leaders in the former war, he retired to the mountain fortress of Ira. The Spartans encamped at the foot of the mountain; but Aristomenes frequently sallied from the fortress, and ravaged the lands of Laconia with fire and sword. It is unnecessary to relate all the wonderful exploits of this hero in his various incursions. Thrice was he taken prisoner; on two occasions he burst his bonds, but on the third he was carried to Sparta, and thrown with his fifty companions into a deep pit, called Ceadas. His comrades were all killed by the fall, but Aristomenes reached the bottom unhurt. He saw, however, no means of escape, and had resigned himself to death; but on the third day, perceiving a fox creeping among the bodies, he grasped its tail, and, following the animal as it struggled to escape, discovered an opening in the rock, and on the next day was at Ira, to the surprise alike of friends and foes. But his single prowess was not sufficient to avert the ruin of his country. One night the Spartans surprised Ira while Aristomenes was disabled by a wound; but he collected the bravest of his followers, and forced his way through the enemy. Many of the Messenians went to Rhegium, in Italy, under the sons of Aristomenes, but the hero himself finished his days in Rhodes.

The second Messenian war was terminated by the complete subjugation of the Messenians, who again be-

came the serfs of their conquerors. In this condition they remained till the restoration of their independence by Epaminondas, in the year 370 B.C. During the whole of the intervening period the Messenians disappear from history. The country called Messenia on the map became a portion of Laconia, which thus extended across the south of Peloponnesus from the eastern to the western sea.

The Establishment of Spartan Supremacy.—During the next century after the Messenian wars, the Spartans succeeded in establishing their supremacy over the greater part of Peloponnesus. Not long after 600 B.C. the Eleans, their allies, won back Olympia from the Pisatæ; and when, about 570 B.C., the latter revolted, the Spartans assisted the Eleans in reducing them to subjection. It is not improbable that at this time Elis recognized the supremacy of Sparta. About twenty years later the Spartans finally completed the conquest of Tegea. This was the most important city of Arcadia, and had held its own against Sparta in a number of contests. The downfall of Tegea was no doubt followed by the gradual submission of the rest of Arcadia. Only Argos still held out against the increasing power of her southern neighbor; but her power was no longer what it had been in the days of Phidon. In the year 546 B.C. the Spartans inflicted a crushing defeat upon their rivals, from the effects of which Argos did not recover for a generation.

Other Peloponnesian States: Achaia, Corinth, and Sicyon.—The early history of three other states of Peloponnesus—Achaia, Corinth, and Sicyon—may be summed up in a few words. For many centuries Achaia played only an unimportant part in the affairs of

Greece. Originally, according to tradition, it was ruled by kings; later each town had its own independent government. On the whole, the country was best known for the colonies which it sent out to southern Italy.

Corinth, on the other hand, was from an early period one of the most flourishing cities in Greece. By virtue of its position on the isthmus it became a most important commercial centre, and it was famed also for its manufactures. About the middle of the 7th century B.C. the ruling oligarchy was overthrown by the tyrant Cypselus, who still further extended the power and influence of his city. His son Periander, who succeeded him in 625 B.C., won even greater renown, as a statesman and as a patron of art and literature. He was numbered, together with the Athenian, Solon, among the "seven wise men" of Greece. Shortly after the death of Periander an oligarchy was re-established in Corinth; but the city never afterwards occupied as prominent a position in Greece as during his reign.

In the same way the small city of Sicyon, to the west of Corinth, won a distinction during the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. which it was afterwards unable to maintain. Here, as at Corinth, the oligarchy had given place to a rule by tyrants. The most famous and probably the last of these was Clisthenes (596–565 B.C.). He is said to have been the first to win the four-horse chariot race at the Pythian games; later he was equally successful at Olympia. He also took a prominent part in the *First Sacred War*, which was waged about 590 B.C. against the inhabitants of Crisa, a town close by Delphi. The Crisæans had been in the habit of levying tribute upon the pilgrims

to Delphi who passed through their territory. The Delphians complained to the Amphictyonic Council, which resolved, upon the motion of Solon, to punish the evil-doers. The Amphictyonic army was led by Eurylochus, a Thessalian; Athens and Sicyon sent contingents. The war ended with the destruction of Crisa. The Crisæan plain was laid waste and consecrated to Apollo, a curse being laid upon him who should till it.

During his entire life Clisthenes was a bitter enemy of the Dorian element in his city, the descendants of the old Dorian conquerors. He seems, indeed, to have deprived them in part of their civic rights. After his death the Dorians recovered the position and dignity which they had formerly enjoyed. Ultimately Sicyon became a dependency of Sparta.



ATHENA



PEGASUS

Coin of Corinth

CHAPTER V

EARLY HISTORY OF ATHENS, DOWN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRACY BY CLISTHENES, 508 B.C.

Changes of Government in Greece: Oligarchy, Democracy, and the Tyrants.—Sparta was the only state in Greece which continued to retain the kingly form of government during the brilliant period of Grecian history. In all other parts of Greece royalty had been abolished at an early age, and various forms of republican government established in its stead. The abolition of royalty was first followed by an Oligarchy, or the government of the Few. Democracy, or the government of the Many, was of later growth. It was not from the people that the oligarchies received their first and greatest blow. They were generally overthrown by the usurpers, to whom the Greeks gave the name of *Tyrants*.*

The rise of the Tyrants seems to have taken place at about the same time in a large number of the Greek cities. In most cases they belonged to the nobles, and they generally became masters of the state by espousing the cause of the commonalty, and using the

* The Greek word Tyrant does not correspond in meaning to the same word in the English language. It signifies simply an irresponsible ruler, and may, therefore, be more correctly rendered by the term Despot.

strength of the people to put down the oligarchy by force. At first they were popular with the general body of the citizens, who were glad to see the humiliation of their former masters. But discontent soon began to arise; the tyrant had recourse to violence to quell disaffection; and the government often became in reality a tyranny in the modern sense of the word.

Many of the tyrants in Greece were put down by the Lacedæmonians. The Spartan government was essentially an oligarchy, and the Spartans were always ready to lend their powerful aid in favor of the government of the Few. Hence they took an active part in the overthrow of the despots, with the intention of establishing the ancient oligarchy in their place. But this rarely happened; and they found it impossible in most cases to reinstate the former body of nobles in their ancient privileges. The latter, it is true, attempted to regain them, and were supported in their attempts by Sparta. Hence arose a new struggle. The first contest after the abolition of royalty was between oligarchy and the despot, the next was between oligarchy and democracy.

The history of Athens affords the most striking illustration of the different revolutions of which we have been speaking.

Early History of Athens.—Little is known of Athens before the age of Solon. Its legendary tales are few, its historical facts still fewer. Cecrops, the first king of Attica, is said to have divided the country into twelve districts, which are represented as independent communities, each having its own magistrates. They were afterwards united into a single state, having Athens as its capital and the seat of government. At what time this important union was effected cannot

be determined ; but it is ascribed to Theseus, as the national hero of the Athenian people.

The Rise of an Oligarchy at Athens.—The change of government at Athens from royalty to an oligarchy seems to have taken place peaceably and gradually. The nobility sought to diminish the power of the king by creating from time to time new offices, to which some of the functions which had before belonged to the king were transferred. Thus the king was originally leader of his people in time of war ; the nobles deprived him of this position and chose one of their own number, with the title of *Polemarch*, or Commander-in-chief, to perform its duties. Later, the office of *Archon*, or Ruler, was established, and to him the king was compelled to yield some further part of his authority. The functions of government, therefore, were now divided between king, polemarch, and archon, all three of them holding office for life. Perhaps at this time the kingship had ceased to be an hereditary dignity ; it certainly had become elective when, in 752 B.C., the tenure of office of king, polemarch, and archon was reduced to ten years. Seventy years later (682 B.C.) the term became one year instead of ten. It was probably not long after this last change that a new board of magistrates was created. They were six in number, were elected annually, and bore the name of *Thesmothetæ*, or Legislators. It was their duty to record and preserve judicial decisions. They came to be closely associated with the three more important officials who had before directed the affairs of the state, and the whole body of nine received the general name of Archons. It is probable that the king retained for a time his ancient pre-eminence, and acted as president

of the newly constituted board of nine ; but later he yielded this dignity to *The Archon*—that is, the official who had originally been third in rank, following the king and polemarch.

The Athenian Constitution before Draco.—Such was the composition and ranking of the board of nine archons as it existed at the beginning of the classical period. The first archon was still called *The Archon*, or the *Archon Eponymus* because the year was distinguished by his name. The *Archon Basileus*, or *King Archon*, was second in order, and retained the priestly functions which had belonged to the king. Next was the *Archon Polemarchus*, who continued to be commander-in-chief of the army. The remaining six still bore only the common title of *Thesmothetæ*. As a court the nine archons judged both civil and criminal cases.

The archons, however, were only nominally at the head of the state. The chief power belonged to the Senate of the *Areopagus*,* a body of nobles who held office for life. This Senate may be regarded as the representative of the Council of Chiefs in the Heroic age. It possessed the most numerous and important administrative functions, watched over the observance and maintenance of the laws, and had full power to punish misconduct on the part of the citizens. The Senate also selected the archons, and all archons at the expiration of their year of office became members of the Senate.

The government of Athens was therefore a close

* It received its name from its place of meeting, which was a rocky eminence opposite the Acropolis, called the Hill of Ares (Mars' Hill).

oligarchy. The Senate, through its right to choose archons who eventually became senators, was a self-perpetuating body. Being made up from the nobility, it would naturally choose none but nobles for the position of archon. On the other hand, the archons, elected as they were by the Senate and destined to become members of that council, would act in accordance with its wishes. The people or general body of freemen had no share in the government.

Classes and Tribes in the Athenian State.—The Athenian nobles were called *Eupatridæ*, the two other classes in the state being the *Geomori* or husbandmen, and *Demiurgi* or artisans. This arrangement is ascribed to Theseus; but there was another division of the people of still greater antiquity. As the Dorians were divided into three tribes, so the Ionians were usually distributed into four tribes. The latter division also existed among the Athenians, who were Ionians, and it continued in full vigor down to the great revolution of Clisthenes (508 B.C.). These tribes were distinguished by the names of *Geleontes*, *Argadeis*, *Ægicoreis*, and *Hopletes*. Each tribe contained three Phratriæ, each Phratria thirty Gentes, and each Gens thirty heads of families.

The Conspiracy of Cylon.—The noble families of Athens, possessing the whole power in the state at a time when its material prosperity was beginning, became wealthy, and prominent throughout Greece. Several of them were connected by marriage with the tyrants of other states. Perhaps it was an acquaintance with these tyrants and a desire for the irresponsible power which they possessed that led Cylon, one of the *Eupatridæ*, to attempt to make himself master of Athens. His father-in-law, Theagenes, tyrant of Megara, sent

him some assistance, and having collected a considerable force he seized the Acropolis (about 630 B.C.). He did not, however, meet with support from the great mass of the people, and soon found himself closely blockaded by the forces of the Eupatridæ. Cylon and his brother made their escape, but the remainder of his associates, hard pressed by hunger, abandoned the defence of the walls, and took refuge at the altar of Athena. They were induced by the archon Megacles, one of the illustrious family of the Alcæonidæ, to quit the altar on the promise that their lives should be spared; but directly they had left the temple they were put to death, and some of them were murdered even at the altar of the Eumenides or Furies.

The conspiracy thus failed; but its suppression was attended with a long train of melancholy consequences. The whole family of the Alcæonidæ was believed to have become tainted by the daring act of sacrilege committed by Megacles; and the friends and partisans of the murdered conspirators were not slow in demanding vengeance upon the accursed race. Finally the Alcæonidæ were adjudged guilty of sacrilege by a court of three hundred Eupatridæ, and were expelled from Attica. The banishment of the guilty race did not, however, relieve the Athenians from their religious fears. A pestilential disease with which they were said to have been visited shortly afterwards was regarded as an unerring sign of the divine wrath. Upon the advice of the Delphic oracle they invited the celebrated Cretan prophet and sage, Epimenides, to visit Athens and purify their city from pollution and sacrilege. By performing certain sacrifices and expiatory acts Epimenides succeeded in staying the plague.

The Constitution and Laws of Draco.—The revolt of Cylon and the banishment of the Alcæonidæ had shaken the power of the nobility; and the commons took advantage of the opportunity to press their claim to the rights of citizenship and a share in the government of the state. Hitherto, as we have seen, they had enjoyed neither the one nor the other. Moreover, they had no doubt placed the nobles under obligations to them for assistance rendered in putting down the revolt of Cylon. Under these circumstances the nobles deemed it expedient to make concessions, and accordingly appointed Draco to draw up a new constitution * and a code of laws (621 B.C.).

The most important change introduced by Draco was to make citizenship and the right to hold office dependent upon wealth instead of birth. He conferred the franchise upon all those who served as heavy-armed soldiers in time of war—that is, who were able to furnish their own military equipment. The archonship was open only to those who possessed unencumbered property worth at least ten *minæ*.† For the office of *Strategus*, or General, a property qualification of 100 *minæ* was requisite. The powers of the archons appear to have remained the same as before; on the other hand, the *strategi* are mentioned now for the first time. They were the actual leaders of the army, while the Polemarch probably still held

* This “Draconian Constitution” is known to us only from a recently discovered work of Aristotle, and scholars have doubted the existence of such a constitution as he describes before the time of Solon. It has been thought best, however, to indicate its leading features as outlined by Aristotle.

† About \$260. The mina was worth considerably more than in later times.

his original position as commander-in-chief. Both archons and generals were no doubt elected by the Senate of the Areopagus. Minor officials were chosen by lot from among the whole body of citizens over thirty years of age.

The Senate of the Areopagus still continued to exist, but was deprived of many of the powers which it had formerly exercised. It was still charged with the maintenance of the laws, and it exercised a general supervision over the various magistrates to insure the proper performance of their duties. As a court, it was given jurisdiction over all cases of intentional manslaughter. Its administrative functions, however, were transferred to a second Senate,* which was now established. This new Senate consisted of 401 members, who, like the minor officials, were chosen by lot from among the whole body of citizens over thirty years of age. It was virtually the ruling power in the state.

Draco's legislation limited in many ways the power of the nobility. No doubt the archons and generals were still nobles, since they were elected by the Senate of the Areopagus. But the wealthier of the common people now enjoyed the right of citizenship, they were eligible to membership in the new Senate, and they might hold minor offices. At best, however, the rule of the nobles was only exchanged for that of the rich; the masses were no better off than before. The constitution of Draco merely changed the Athenian form of government, without touching or solving the important social and economical ques-

* For the sake of distinguishing the two bodies the old Senate came to be called simply "The Areopagus."

tions which confronted the state. It was not long before the discontent of the people was found to be increasing instead of diminishing, and bitter civil dissensions prevailed.

Factional Strife in Attica.—The population of Attica was now divided into three hostile factions, consisting of the *Pedieis*, or wealthy Eupatrid inhabitants of the plains; of the *Diacrii*, or poor inhabitants of the hilly districts in the north and east of Attica; and of the *Parali*, or mercantile inhabitants of the coasts, who held an intermediate position between the other two. Their disputes were aggravated by the miserable condition of the poorer population. The latter were in a state of abject poverty. They had borrowed money from the wealthy at exorbitant rates of interest upon the security of their property and their persons. If the principal and interest of the debt were not paid, the creditor had the power of seizing the person as well as the land of his debtor, and of using him as a slave. Many had thus been torn from their homes and sold to alien masters, while others were cultivating as slaves the lands of their wealthy creditors in Attica. Matters had at length reached a crisis; the existing laws could no longer be enforced; and the poor were ready to rise in open insurrection against the rich.

Solon.—In the midst of these dissensions there was one man who enjoyed a distinguished reputation at Athens, and whom his fellow-citizens regarded as the only person in the state who could deliver them from their political and social dissensions, and secure them from such misfortunes for the future. This man was Solon, the son of Execestides, and a descendant of Codrus. He had travelled through many parts of

Greece and Asia, and had formed acquaintance with many of the most eminent men of his time. On his return to his native country he distinguished himself by recovering the island of Salamis, which had fallen into the hands of the Megarians (600 B.C.). He was now (594 B.C.) chosen archon, and invested with unlimited powers to effect any change he might consider beneficial to the state. His appointment was hailed with satisfaction by the poor, and all parties were willing to accept his mediation and reforms.

The Constitution and Laws of Solon.—Solon commenced his undertaking by relieving the poorer class of debtors from their existing distress. He cancelled all contracts by which the land or person of a debtor had been given as security; and he forbade for the future all loans in which the person of the debtor was pledged. He also provided that no one should possess more than a certain fixed amount of land, thus limiting the acquisitions of the wealthy landed proprietors, and encouraging the small owners. He next proceeded to draw up a new constitution and a new code of laws. As a preliminary step, he repealed all the laws of Draco except those relating to homicide. He then made a new classification of the citizens, or, more probably, adapted to his purposes a classification that already existed. Every citizen was assigned, according to the amount of his income, to one of four classes. The first class, called *Pentacosimedimni*,* consisted of those who derived from their own lands a yearly return of at least 500

* The medimnus was about a bushel and a half. The term is loosely used to include the corresponding unit of liquid measure, the *metretes* (8½ gallons).

measures, whether of grain, oil, wine, or all together. The second class consisted of those who derived in the same way a yearly return of from 300 to 500 measures; they were called *Hippeis* or Knights, from their being able to furnish a war-horse. The third class consisted of those who harvested from 200 to 300 measures; they were called *Zeugitæ*, from their being able to keep a yoke of oxen for the plough. The fourth class, called *Thetes*, included those who harvested less than 200 measures, as well as all who possessed no real estate. The privileges and, on the other hand, the duties of citizens, depended upon their rank as thus determined. The first three classes were liable to military duty as heavy-armed soldiers; the fourth served only as light-armed troops or as oarsmen in the fleet. The first class alone were eligible to the archonship and the higher offices of the state; the second and third classes filled inferior posts; the fourth class were excluded from all public offices.

Solon also instituted a new method of choosing archons and other magistrates. The four tribes chose each a certain number of candidates for the given office; they must, of course, belong to the class or classes eligible to that office. The final selection was then by lot from among these candidates. The nine archons, for example, were chosen by lot from a list of forty candidates, each of the four tribes selecting ten. The powers and duties of the various officials seem to have remained the same as before.

The Areopagus was thus deprived of one of its functions, that of electing archons and generals. In other respects its powers were not materially changed. The Senate of 401 which Draco had established became

now a body of 400, 100 from each tribe. Its members were probably chosen by lot in the same way as the archons. It is not known whether its functions differed in any way from those of Draco's Senate.

Finally are to be mentioned the *Ecclesia*, or assembly of the people, and the *Dicasteries*, or popular courts. The *Ecclesia* was probably not a creation of Solon, but it was his legislation which first gave it prominence and importance. All citizens, even those of the fourth class, now became members of this body. Its powers, indeed, seem to have been rather limited. It probably had the right to decide on questions of war or peace, and on amendments or additions to the law of the land. Thus the poorest citizen had now some share in the government of the state. The creation of the dicasteries still further increased the power of the masses. It is not known by what process the members of these courts were chosen; but certainly every citizen was at least eligible to membership, and the courts were very large ones. Originally they had jurisdiction only in cases of appeal from a decision of the archons; the natural result of this was that the judicial power of the archons soon passed almost entirely into the hands of the dicasteries.

By the establishment of the dicasteries, and by giving the poorer classes a vote in the popular assembly, Solon laid the foundation of the Athenian democracy; but he left the government almost exclusively in the hands of the wealthy. For many years after his time the government continued to be an oligarchy, but was exercised with more moderation and justice than formerly.

Solon enacted numerous laws, containing regulations on almost all subjects connected with the pub-

lic and private life of the citizens. He encouraged trade and manufactures, and invited foreigners to settle in Athens by the promise of protection and by valuable privileges. To discourage idleness, a son was not obliged to support his father in old age, if the latter had neglected to teach him some trade or occupation.

Solon punished theft by compelling the guilty party to restore double the value of the property stolen. He forbade speaking evil either of the dead or of the living.

Pisistratus becomes Tyrant of Athens.—Solon is said to have been aware that he had left many imperfections in his laws. He described them not as the best laws which he could devise, but as the best which the Athenians could receive. Having bound the government and people of Athens by a solemn oath to observe his institutions for at least ten years, he left Athens and travelled in foreign lands. During his absence the old dissensions between the Plain, the Shore, and the Mountain broke out afresh with more violence than ever. The first was headed by Lycurgus, the second by Megacles, an Alcmaeonid, and the third by Pisistratus, a kinsman of Solon. Of these leaders, Pisistratus was the ablest and the most dangerous. He had espoused the cause of the poorest of the three classes, in order to gain popularity, and to make himself master of Athens. Solon, on his return to Athens, detected the ambitious designs of his kinsman, and attempted to dissuade him from them. Finding his remonstrances fruitless, he next denounced his projects in verses addressed to the people. Few, however, gave any heed to the warnings; and Pisistratus, at length finding his

schemes ripe for action, had recourse to a memorable stratagem to secure his object. One day he appeared in the market-place in a chariot, his mules and his own person bleeding with wounds inflicted with his own hands. These he exhibited to the people, telling them that he had been nearly murdered in consequence of defending their rights. The popular indignation was excited; and a guard of fifty men was granted him for his future security. He gradually increased the number of his guard, and soon found himself strong enough to throw off the mask and seize the Acropolis (560 B.C.). Many of the nobility left the city. Solon alone had the courage to oppose the usurpation, and upbraided the people with their cowardice and their treachery. "You might," said he, "with ease have crushed the tyrant in the bud; but nothing now remains but to pluck him up by the roots." But no one responded to his appeal. He refused to fly; and when his friends asked him on what he relied for protection, "On my old age," was his reply. It is creditable to Pisistratus that he left his aged relative unmolested, and even asked his advice in the administration of the government. Solon did not long survive the overthrow of the constitution. He died a year or two afterwards, at the advanced age of eighty. His ashes are said to have been scattered by his own direction upon the island of Salamis, which he had won for the Athenian people.

The Administration of Pisistratus.—Pisistratus, however, did not retain his power long. The leaders of the factions of the Shore and the Plain combined, and drove the usurper into exile. But the Shore and the Plain having quarrelled, Pisistratus was recalled and again became master of Athens. Another revo-

lution shortly afterwards drove him into exile a second time, and he remained abroad ten years. At length, with the assistance of mercenaries from other Grecian states and with the aid of his partisans in Athens, he became master of Athens for the third time, and henceforth continued in possession of the supreme power till the day of his death. As soon as he was firmly established in the government his administration was marked by mildness and equity. He maintained the institutions of Solon, taking care, however, that the highest offices should always be held by some members of his own family. He not only enforced strict obedience to the laws, but himself set the example of submitting to them. Being accused of murder, he disdained to take advantage of his authority, and went in person to plead his cause before the Areopagus, where his accuser did not venture to appear. He courted popularity by largesses to the citizens and by throwing open his gardens to the poor. He adorned Athens with many public buildings. He commenced on a stupendous scale a temple to the Olympian Zeus, which remained unfinished for centuries, and was at length completed by the Emperor Hadrian. He was a patron of literature as well as of the arts. He is said to have been the first person in Greece who collected a library, which he threw open to the public; and to him, according to tradition, posterity is indebted for the collection of the Homeric poems. On the whole, it cannot be denied that he made a wise and noble use of his power.

The Succession of Hippias and Hipparchus: Assassination of Hipparchus.—Pisistratus died at an advanced age in 527 B.C., thirty-three years after his first usurpation.

He transmitted the sovereign power to his sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, who conducted the government on the same principles as their father. Hipparchus inherited his father's literary tastes. He invited several distinguished poets, such as Anacreon and Simonides, to his court. The people appear to have been contented with their rule; and it was only an accidental circumstance which led to their overthrow and to a change in the government.

Their fall was occasioned by the conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who were attached to each other by a most intimate friendship. Harmodius having given offence to Hipparchus, the despot revenged himself by putting a public affront upon his sister. This indignity excited the resentment of the two friends, and they now resolved to slay the despots at the festival of the Great Panathenæa, when all the citizens were required to attend in arms. Having communicated their design to a few associates, the conspirators appeared armed at the appointed time like the rest of the citizens, but carrying concealed daggers besides. Harmodius and Aristogiton had planned to kill Hippias first as he was arranging the order of the procession outside the city, but, upon approaching the spot where he was standing, they were thunderstruck at beholding one of the conspirators in close conversation with the despot. Believing that they were betrayed, they rushed back into the city with their daggers hid in the myrtle boughs which they were to have carried in the procession, and killed Hipparchus. Harmodius was immediately cut down by the guards. Aristogiton died under the tortures to which he was subjected in order to compel him to disclose his accomplices.

Hipparchus was assassinated in 514 B.C., the fourteenth year after the death of Pisistratus. From this time the character of the government became entirely changed. His brother's murder converted Hippias into a cruel and suspicious tyrant. He put to death numbers of the citizens, and raised large sums of money by extraordinary taxes.

Expulsion of Hippias from Athens.—The Alcæonidæ, who had lived in exile ever since the third and final restoration of Pisistratus to Athens, now began to form schemes to expel the tyrant. Clisthenes and Hippocrates, the sons of Megacles, who were now at the head of the family, secured the Delphian oracle by rebuilding at their own expense the temple of Apollo at Delphi, which had been destroyed by fire in the year 548 B.C. Henceforth, whenever the Spartans came to consult the oracle, the answer of the priestess was always the same, "Athens must be liberated." This order was so often repeated that the Spartans at last resolved to obey. Cleomenes, king of Sparta, defeated the Thessalian allies of Hippias; and the tyrant, unable to meet his enemies in the field, took refuge in the Acropolis. Here he might have maintained himself in safety had not his children been made prisoners as they were being secretly carried out of the country. To procure their restoration he consented to quit Attica in the space of five days. He sailed to Asia, and took up his residence at Sigeum in the Troad, which his father had wrested from the Mytilenæans in war.

Hippias was expelled in 510 B.C., four years after the assassination of Hipparchus. These four years had been a time of suffering and oppression for the Athenians, and had effaced from their minds all recol-

lection of the former mild rule of Pisistratus and his sons. Hence the expulsion of the family was hailed with delight. The memory of Harmodius and Aristogiton was cherished with the fondest reverence; and the Athenians of a later age, overlooking the four years which had elapsed from their death to the overthrow of the despotism, represented them as the liberators of their country and the first martyrs for its liberty. Their statues were erected in the market-place soon after the expulsion of Hippias; their descendants enjoyed distinguished privileges in the state; and their deed of vengeance formed a favorite subject for song.

The Reforms of Clisthenes.—The Lacedæmonians quitted Athens soon after Hippias had sailed away, leaving the Athenians to settle their own affairs. Clisthenes, to whom Athens was mainly indebted for its liberation from the despotism, aspired to be the political leader of the state; in 508 B.C., however, his rival Isagoras was chosen first archon. Despairing of being able to gain his ends under the existing constitution, Clisthenes resolved to put himself at the head of the democratic party, and to secure for the people an equal share in the government. The support of the masses enabled him to put down all opposition, and to carry out his projected reforms.

The reforms of Clisthenes gave birth to the Athenian democracy, which can hardly be said to have existed before this time. His first measure was a redistribution of the whole population of Attica into a hundred cantons, called *demi*. Every Athenian citizen was obliged to be enrolled in a demus, each of which, like a parish in England, administered its own affairs. It had its public meetings, it levied taxes,

and was under the superintendence of an officer called the *Demarchus*.

Next he abolished the four ancient Ionic tribes and established ten new tribes, each composed of ten demi. But in order to guard against local dissensions, the demi of which each tribe was made up were not adjacent, but scattered throughout Attica. Each tribe held its own meetings and elected its own officials (*Epimeletæ*). There was no longer any distinction, either in tribe or demus, between the nobles and the commons; all were alike citizens. Many resident aliens and emancipated slaves were also enrolled as citizens.

The establishment of the ten new tribes led to a change in the number of the Senate. It had previously consisted of 400 members, but it was now enlarged to 500, fifty being selected from each of the ten new tribes. The representatives of each tribe held the presidency of the Senate for one-tenth of the year. In this capacity they were called *Prytanes*, and presided over the meetings of the Ecclesia or popular assembly, as well as those of the Senate. Thus there was an organic connection between the two bodies, the Prytanes presenting to the Ecclesia measures proposed and formulated by the Senate. The Ecclesia was now summoned at certain fixed periods; and the government of the state was placed in the hands of the Senate and the Ecclesia.

The archons were still nominally the highest officers of the state. They were now (until 487 B.C.) elected instead of being chosen by lot. The strategi or generals, who are not mentioned in Solon's constitution, now appear again. Clisthenes made them ten in number, one being chosen by each tribe. The whole

military system, in fact, was made to depend upon the tribal division, each tribe furnishing one regiment of heavy-armed foot-soldiers and a squadron of cavalry. The Polemarch was still commander-in-chief of the army, though later he became merely an honorary member of the board of strategi. The latter in course of time took to themselves most of the administrative functions formerly possessed by the archons.

Clisthenes also introduced the *Ostracism*, by which an Athenian citizen might be banished without special accusation, trial, or defence for ten years, which term was subsequently reduced to five. It must be recollected that the force which a Greek government had at its disposal was very small; and that it was comparatively easy for an ambitious citizen, supported by a numerous body of partisans, to overthrow the constitution and make himself despot. The Ostracism was the means devised by Clisthenes for removing quietly from the state a powerful party-leader before he could carry into execution any violent schemes for the subversion of the government. Every precaution was taken to guard this institution from abuse. Each year the Ecclesia was asked to decide, by a special vote, whether the safety of the state required such a step to be taken. If they decided in the affirmative, a day was fixed for the voting, and each citizen wrote upon a tile or oyster-shell* the name of the person whom he wished to banish. The votes were then collected, and if the whole number amounted to 6000, the man who received the majority of them was obliged to withdraw from the city within

* *Ostrakon*, whence the name *Ostracism*.

ten days; if less than 6000 votes were cast, nothing was done.

Sparta seeks to overthrow the Athenian Democracy.—The aristocratical party, enraged at these reforms, called in the assistance of Cleomenes, king of the Lacedæmonians. Athens was menaced by foreign enemies and distracted by party struggles. Clisthenes was at first compelled to retire from Athens; but the people rose in arms against Cleomenes, expelled the Lacedæmonians, who had taken possession of the city, and recalled Clisthenes. Thereupon Cleomenes collected a Peloponnesian army in order to revenge himself upon the Athenians and to establish Isagoras as a tyrant over the city; at the same time he concerted measures with the Thebans and the Chalcidians of Eubœa for a simultaneous attack upon Attica. The Peloponnesian army, commanded by the two kings, Cleomenes and Demaratus, entered Attica, and advanced as far as Eleusis; but when the allies became aware of the object for which they had been summoned, they refused to march farther, and strongly protested against the attempt to establish a tyranny at Athens. Their remonstrances being seconded by Demaratus, Cleomenes found it necessary to abandon the expedition and return home. At a later period (491 B.C.) Cleomenes took revenge upon Demaratus by persuading the Spartans to depose him upon the ground of illegitimacy. The exiled king took refuge at the Persian court.

The unexpected retreat of the Peloponnesian army delivered the Athenians from their most formidable enemy, and they lost no time in turning their arms against their other foes. Marching into Bœotia, they defeated the Thebans, and then crossed over into

Eubœa, where they gained a decisive victory over the Chalcidians. In order to secure their dominion in Eubœa, and at the same time to provide for their poorer citizens, the Athenians distributed the estates of the wealthy Chalcidian land-owners among 4000 of their citizens, who settled in the country under the name of *Cleruchi*.

The successes of Athens excited the jealousy of the Spartans, and they now resolved to make a third attempt to overthrow the Athenian democracy. They had meantime discovered the deception which had been practised upon them by the Delphic oracle; and they invited Hippias to come from Sigeum to Sparta, in order to restore him to Athens. The experience of the last campaign had taught them that they could not calculate upon the co-operation of their allies without first obtaining their approval of the project; and they therefore summoned deputies from all their allies to meet at Sparta, in order to determine respecting the restoration of Hippias. But the proposal was received with universal repugnance; and the Spartans found it necessary to abandon their project. Hippias returned to Sigeum, and afterwards proceeded to the court of Darius.

Athens had now entered upon her glorious career. The institutions of Clisthenes had given her citizens a personal interest in the welfare and the grandeur of their country. A spirit of the warmest patriotism rapidly sprang up among them; and the history of the Persian wars, which followed almost immediately, exhibits a striking proof of the heroic sacrifices which they were prepared to make for the liberty and independence of their state.

CHAPTER VI

THE GREEK COLONIES

Origin and Distribution of the Greek Colonies.—The vast number of the Greek colonies, their wide diffusion over all parts of the Mediterranean, which thus became a kind of Grecian lake, and their rapid growth in wealth, power, and intelligence, afford the most striking proofs of the greatness of this wonderful people. Civil dissensions, a redundant population, and the desire to establish new commercial stations were the chief causes of the origin of most of the Greek colonies. They were usually undertaken with the approbation of the cities from which they issued, and under the management of a leader or leaders appointed by them. But a Greek colony was always considered politically independent of the mother-city and emancipated from its control. The only connection between them was one of filial affection and of common religious ties. Almost every colonial Greek city was built upon the sea-coast, and the site usually selected contained a hill sufficiently lofty to form an acropolis.

The Grecian colonies may be arranged in four groups: 1. Those founded in Asia Minor and the adjoining islands; 2. Those in the western parts of the Mediterranean, in Italy, Sicily, Gaul, and Spain; 3. Those in Africa; 4. Those in Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace.

Colonies in Asia Minor and the Adjacent Islands.—The earliest Greek colonies were those founded on the western shores of Asia Minor. They were divided into three great masses, each bearing the name of that

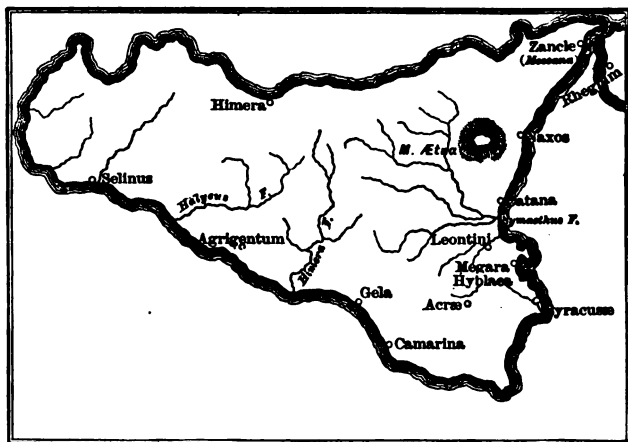


MAP OF THE CHIEF GREEK COLONIES IN ASIA MINOR

section of the Greek race with which they claimed affinity. The Æolic cities covered the northern part of the coast, together with the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos; the Ionians occupied the centre, with the islands of Chios and Samos; and the Dorians the southern portion, with the islands of Rhodes and Cos. Most of these colonies were founded in consequence of the changes in the population of Greece which attended the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorians. The Ionic cities were early distinguished by a spirit of commercial enterprise, and soon rose superior in wealth and in power to their Æolian and Dorian neighbors. Among the Ionic cities themselves Miletus and Ephesus were the most flourishing. Grecian literature took its rise in the Æolic and Ionic cities of Asia Minor. Ionia was the fountain-head of epic poetry. Lyric poetry flourished in the island of Lesbos, where Sappho and Alcæus were born. The Ionic cities were also the seats of the earliest schools of Grecian philosophy. Thales, who founded the Ionic school of philosophy, was a native of Miletus. Halicarnassus was one of the most important of the Doric cities, of which Herodotus was a native, though he wrote in the Ionic dialect.

Colonies in the Western Mediterranean.—The earliest Grecian settlement in Italy was Cumæ in Campania, situated near Cape Misenum, on the Tyrrhenian Sea. It is said to have been a joint colony from the Æolic Cyme in Asia and from Chalcis in Eubœa, and to have been founded in the 11th century B.C. Cumæ was for a long time the most flourishing city in Campania; and it was not till its decline in the 5th century before the Christian era that Capua rose into importance.

The earliest Grecian settlement in Sicily was founded in 735 B.C. The extraordinary fertility of the land soon attracted numerous colonists from various parts of Greece, and there arose on the coasts a succession of flourishing cities. Of these, Syracuse and Agrigentum, both Dorian colonies, became the most

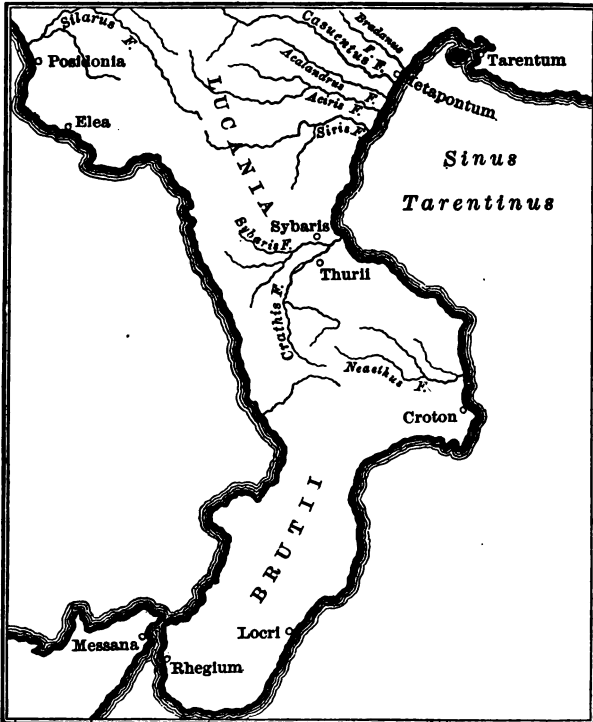


MAP OF THE CHIEF GREEK COLONIES IN SICILY

powerful. The former was founded by the Corinthians in 734 B.C., and at the time of its greatest prosperity contained a population of 500,000, and was surrounded by walls more than twenty miles in circuit.

The Grecian colonies in southern Italy began to be planted at nearly the same time as in Sicily. They eventually lined the southern coast, as far as Cumæ on the one sea and Tarentum on the other; and became so numerous and flourishing, that the south of Italy was called *Magna Græcia*. Of these, two of the

earliest and most prosperous were Sybaris and Croton, both of Achæan origin and situated upon the Gulf of Tarentum. Sybaris was planted in 720 B.C., and Croton in 710 B.C. For two centuries they seem to have lived in harmony, and we know little of their history till their fatal contest in 510 B.C., which ended in the ruin of Sybaris. During the whole of this



MAP OF THE CHIEF GREEK COLONIES IN SOUTHERN ITALY

period they were two of the most flourishing cities in the Greek world. Sybaris in particular attained to an extraordinary degree of wealth, and its inhabitants were so notorious for their luxury, effeminacy, and debauchery, that their name has become proverbial for voluptuaries in ancient and modern times. Croton was the chief seat of the Pythagorean philosophy. Pythagoras was a native of Samos, but emigrated to Croton, where he met with the most wonderful success in the propagation of his views. He established a kind of religious brotherhood, closely united by a sacred vow. They believed in the transmigration of souls, and their whole training was designed to make them temperate and self-denying. The doctrines of Pythagoras spread through many of the other cities of *Magna Græcia*.

Of the numerous other Greek settlements in the south of Italy those of Locri, Rhegium, Tarentum, and Metapontum are the most important. Locri was founded by the Locrians from the mother-country in 683 B.C. The laws of this city were drawn up by one of its citizens, named Zaleucus, who, in order to guard against any change in them, provided that whoever proposed a new law must appear in the public assembly with a rope round his neck, which was immediately tightened if he failed to convince his fellow-citizens of the necessity of the alteration. Rhegium, situated on the Strait of Messina, opposite Sicily, was colonized by the Chalcidians, but received a large body of Messenians, who settled here at the close of the Messenian war. Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium about 500 B.C., was of Messenian descent. He seized the Sicilian Zancle, on the opposite coast, and changed its name into Messana. Tarentum was a colony from

Sparta, and was founded shortly before 700 B.C. After the destruction of Sybaris it was the most powerful and flourishing city in Magna Græcia, and continued to enjoy great prosperity till its subjugation by the Romans. Although of Spartan origin, it did not maintain Spartan habits, and its citizens were noted at a later time for their love of luxury and pleasure. Metapontum was colonized from Achaia at the instance of the Sybarites, who feared that their rival, Tarentum, might gain possession of the fertile lands lying along the coast between the two cities. Its agricultural interests gave to the new colony a considerable degree of prosperity and prominence.

The Grecian settlements in the distant countries of Gaul and Spain were not numerous. The most celebrated was Massalia, the modern Marseilles, founded by the Ionic Phocæans in 600 B.C.

Colonies in Africa.—The northern coast of Africa, between the territories of Carthage and Egypt, was also occupied by Greek colonists. The important city of Cyrene was founded about 630 B.C. It was a colony from the island of Thera, in the Ægean, which was itself a colony from Sparta. The situation of Cyrene was well chosen. It stood on the edge of a range of hills, at the distance of ten miles from the Mediterranean, of which it commanded a fine view. These hills descended by a succession of terraces to the port of the town, called Apollonia. The climate was most salubrious, and the soil was distinguished by extraordinary fertility. With these advantages Cyrene rapidly grew in wealth and power; and its greatness is attested by the immense remains which still mark its desolate site. Cyrene

planted several colonies in the adjoining district, of which Barca, founded about 560 B.C., was the most important.

Colonies in Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace.—There were several Grecian colonies situated on the eastern side of the Ionian Sea, in Epirus and its immediate neighborhood. Of these the island of Corcyra, now called Corfu, was the most wealthy and powerful. It was first settled by Eretrians, who were, however, driven out by colonists sent from Corinth about 700 B.C. In consequence of its commercial activity it soon became a formidable rival to the mother-city. Hence a war broke out between these two states at an early period, and the most ancient naval battle on record was the one fought between their fleets in 664 B.C. The dissensions between the mother-city and her colony are frequently mentioned in Grecian history, and were one of the immediate causes of the Peloponnesian war. Notwithstanding their quarrels, they joined in planting three Grecian colonies upon the same line of coast—Anactorium, Apollonia, and Epidamnus.

The colonies in Macedonia and Thrace were very numerous, and extended all along the coast of the *Ægean*, of the Hellespont, of the Propontis, and of the Euxine, from the borders of Thessaly to the mouth of the Danube. Of these we can only glance at the most important. The colonies on the coast of Macedonia were chiefly founded by Chalcis and Eretria in Eubœa; and the peninsula of Chalcidice, with its three projecting headlands, was covered with their settlements, and derived its name from the former city. The Corinthians also visited this coast, and founded the important city of Potidæa, on the narrow isthmus of Pallene.

Of the colonies in Thrace the most flourishing were Perinthus, a Samian settlement, and Selymbria and Byzantium, both founded by the Megarians, who appear as an enterprising maritime people at an early period.



EAGLES AND HARE
Coin of Agrigentum

CHAPTER VII

THE PERSIAN WARS.—FROM THE IONIAN REVOLT TO THE BATTLE OF MARATHON, 499—490 B.C.

Crœsus subdues the Greek Cities of Asia Minor.—The Grecian cities on the coast of Asia Minor were the neighbors of an Asiatic power which finally reduced them to subjection. This was the kingdom of Lydia, of which Sardis was the capital. Crœsus, the last and most powerful of the Lydian kings, who ascended the throne 560 B.C., conquered in succession all the Grecian cities on the coast. His rule, however, was not oppressive, and he permitted the cities to regulate their own affairs. He spoke the Greek language, welcomed Greek guests, and revered the Greek oracles, which he enriched with the most munificent offerings. He extended his dominions in Asia Minor as far as the River Halys, and was in close alliance with Astyages, king of the Medes, who were then the ruling race in Asia. Everything seemed to betoken uninterrupted prosperity, when a people hitherto almost unknown suddenly became masters of the whole of western Asia.

The Lydian Monarchy overthrown by Cyrus (546 B.C.).—The Persians were of the same race as the Medes, and spoke a dialect of the same language. They inhabited the mountainous region south of Media, which slopes gradually down to the coast of the Persian Gulf.

While the Medes became enervated by the corrupting influences to which they were exposed, the Persians preserved in their native mountains their simple and warlike habits. They were a brave and hardy nation, clothed in skins, and ignorant of the commonest luxuries of life. Cyrus led these fierce warriors from their mountain fastnesses, defeated the Medes in battle, took Astyages prisoner, and deprived him of his throne. The other nations included in the Median empire submitted to the conqueror, and the sovereignty of Upper Asia thus passed from the Medes to the Persians. The accession of Cyrus to the empire is placed in 559 B.C. A few years afterwards Cyrus turned his arms against the Lydians, took Sardis, and deprived Cræsus of his throne (546 B.C.). The fall of Cræsus was followed by the subjection of the Greek cities in Asia to the Persian yoke. They offerēd a brave but ineffectual resistance, and were taken one after the other by Harpagus, the Persian general. Even the islands of Lesbos and Chios sent in their submission to Harpagus, although the Persians then possessed no fleet to force them to obedience. Samos, on the other hand, maintained its independence, and appears soon afterwards as one of the most powerful of the Grecian states.

The Reign of Cambyses (529–522 B.C.): Polycrates of Samos.—During the reign of Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus, the Greek cities of Asia remained obedient to their Persian governors. It was during this reign that Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, became the master of the Grecian seas. The ambition and good-fortune of this enterprising tyrant were alike remarkable. He possessed a hundred ships of war, with which he conquered several of the islands ;

and he aspired to nothing less than the dominion of Ionia, as well as of the islands in the Ægean. The Lacedæmonians, who had invaded the island at the invitation of the Samian exiles, for the purpose of overthrowing his government, were obliged to retire, after besieging his city in vain for forty days. Everything which he undertook seemed to prosper; but his uninterrupted good-fortune at length excited the alarm of his ally Amasis, the king of Egypt. According to the tale related by Herodotus, the Egyptian king, convinced that such amazing good-fortune would sooner or later incur the envy of the gods, wrote to Polycrates, advising him to throw away one of his most valuable possessions, and thus inflict some injury upon himself. Thinking the advice to be good, Polycrates threw into the sea a favorite ring of matchless price and beauty; but, unfortunately, it was found a few days afterwards in the belly of a fine fish which a fisherman had sent him as a present. Amasis now foresaw that the ruin of Polycrates was inevitable, and sent a herald to Samos to renounce his alliance. The gloomy anticipations of the Egyptian monarch proved well founded. In the midst of all his prosperity Polycrates fell in a most ignominious manner. Orætes, the satrap of Sardis, prompted either by ambition or by personal enmity, allured him to the mainland, where he was immediately arrested and hanged upon a cross (522 B.C.).

The Reign of Darius: Invasion of Scythia (513 B.C.).—The reign of Darius, the third king of Persia (521–486 B.C.), is memorable in Grecian history. In his invasion of Scythia (513 B.C.) his fleet, which was furnished by the Asiatic Greeks, was ordered to sail up the Danube and throw a bridge of boats across the river.

The king himself, with his land-forces, marched through Thrace; and, crossing the bridge, placed it under the care of the Greeks, telling them that, if he did not return within sixty days, they might break it down and sail home. He then left them, and penetrated into the Scythian territory. The sixty days had already passed away when the Greeks were astonished by the appearance, not of the Persian army, but of a body of Scythians, who informed them that Darius was in full retreat, pursued by the whole Scythian nation, and that his only hope of safety depended upon that bridge. They urged the Greeks to seize this opportunity of destroying the Persian army, and of recovering their own liberty, by breaking down the bridge. Their exhortations were warmly seconded by the Athenian Miltiades, the tyrant of the Thracian Chersonesus, and the future conqueror of Marathon. The other rulers of the Ionian cities were at first disposed to follow his suggestion; but as soon as Histiaëus of Miletus reminded them that their sovereignty depended upon the support of the Persian king, and that his ruin would involve their own, they changed their minds and resolved to await the Persians. Darius and his army at length reached the Danube and crossed the bridge in safety. Thus the selfishness of these Grecian despots threw away the most favorable opportunity that ever presented itself of delivering their native cities from the Persian yoke. To reward the services of Histiaëus, Darius gave him the territory of Myrcinus, near the river Strymon. Darius, on his return to Asia, left Megabazus in Europe with an army of 80,000 men to complete the subjugation of Thrace and of the Greek cities upon the Hellespont. Megabazus not only subdued the Thracians, but pene-

trated into Pæonia as far as the Strymon, and reduced many tribes of the Pæonians to submission. He then sent heralds into Macedonia to demand earth and water, the customary symbols of submission. King Amyntas was ready to accede to the demand; but the insolence of the Persian messengers so angered Alexander, the monarch's son, that, enlisting the aid of a few friends, he entrapped and killed them. So this mission resulted unsuccessfully. Megabazus, on his return to Sardis, where Darius awaited him, informed the Persian monarch that Histæus might become a source of trouble to him, since Myrcinus was a region rich in ship-timber and silver-mines. Darius, perceiving that the apprehensions of his general were not without foundation, summoned Histæus to his presence, and, under the pretext that he could not bear to be deprived of the company of his friend, carried him with the rest of the court to Susa. This apparently trivial circumstance was attended with important consequences to the Persian empire and to the whole Grecian race. Megabazus was succeeded by Otanes, who reduced a few Greek cities in the neighborhood of the Hellespont, and the islands of Lemnos and Imbros.

The Ionian Revolt (499 B.C.).—For the next few years everything remained quiet in the Greek cities of Asia; but in 500 B.C. a revolution in Naxos, one of the islands in the Ægean Sea, first disturbed the general repose, and occasioned the war between Greece and Asia. The aristocratical exiles, who had been driven out of Naxos by a rising of the people, applied for aid to Aristagoras, the tyrant of Miletus and the son-in-law of Histæus. Aristagoras readily promised them his assistance, knowing that, if they were

restored by his means, he would become master of the island. He obtained the co-operation of Artaphernes, the satrap of western Asia, by holding out to him the prospect of annexing not only Naxos, but all the islands of the Ægean Sea, to the Persian empire. He offered at the same time to defray the expenses of the armament. Artaphernes placed at his disposal a fleet of 200 ships, under the command of Megabates, a Persian of high rank ; but Aristagoras having affronted the Persian admiral, the latter revenged himself by privately informing the Naxians of the object of the expedition, which had hitherto been kept a secret. When the Persian fleet reached Naxos they experienced a vigorous resistance ; and at the end of four months they were compelled to abandon the enterprise and return to Miletus. Aristagoras was now threatened with utter ruin. Having deceived Artaphernes, and incurred the enmity of Megabates, he could expect no favor from the Persian government, and might be called upon at any moment to defray the expenses of the armament. In these difficulties he began to think of exciting a revolt of his countrymen ; and while revolving the project he received a message from his father-in-law, Histiaeus, urging him to this very step. Afraid of trusting any one with so dangerous a message, Histiaeus had shaved the head of a trusty slave, branded upon it the necessary words, and as soon as the hair had grown again sent him off to Miletus. His only motive for urging the Ionians to revolt was the desire of escaping from captivity at Susa ; for he thought that Darius would set him at liberty in order to put down an insurrection of his countrymen. The message from Histiaeus fixed the wavering resolution of Aristagoras. He forth-

with called together his partisans in Miletus, laid before them the project of revolt, and asked them for advice. They all approved of the scheme with the exception of Hecatæus, one of the earliest Greek historians. Aristagoras laid down the supreme power in Miletus, and nominally resigned to the people the management of their own affairs. A democratical form of government was established in the other Greek cities of Asia, which thereupon openly revolted from Persia (499 B.C.).

The Athenians and Eretrians assist the Ionians: Burning of Sardis (498 B.C.).—Aristagoras now resolved to cross over to Greece, in order to solicit assistance. The Spartans, to whom he first applied, refused to take any part in the war; but at Athens he met with a very different reception. The Athenians sympathized with the Ionians as their kinsmen and colonists, and were incensed against the satrap Artaphernes, who had recently commanded them to recall Hippias. Accordingly, they voted to send a squadron of twenty ships to the assistance of the Ionians; and in the following year (498 B.C.) this fleet, accompanied by five ships from Eretria in Eubœa, crossed the Ægean. The troops landed at Ephesus, and, being reinforced by a strong body of Ionians, marched upon Sardis. Artaphernes was taken unprepared; and not having sufficient troops to man the walls, he retired into the citadel, leaving the town a prey to the invaders. Accordingly, they entered it unopposed; and while engaged in pillage one of the soldiers set fire to a house. As most of the houses were built of wicker-work and thatched with straw, the flames rapidly spread, and in a short time the whole city was in flames. The Greeks, on their return to the coast, were overtaken

by a large Persian force and defeated with great slaughter. The Athenians hastened on board their ships and sailed home.

Progress of the Ionian Revolt.—When Darius heard of the burning of Sardis he burst into a paroxysm of rage. It was against the obscure strangers who had dared to burn one of his capitals that his wrath was chiefly directed. “The Athenians!” he exclaimed, “who are *they*?” Upon being informed he took his bow and shot an arrow high into the air, saying, “Grant me, O Zeus, to take vengeance upon the Athenians!” And he charged one of his attendants to remind him thrice every day at dinner, “Sire, remember the Athenians.” Meantime the insurrection spread to the Greek cities in Caria and Cyprus, as well as to those on the Hellespont and the Propontis, and seemed to promise permanent independence to the Asiatic Greeks; but they were no match for the whole power of the Persian empire, which was soon brought against them. Cyprus was subdued, and siege laid to the cities upon the coast of Asia. Aristagoras now began to despair, and basely deserted his countrymen, whom he had led into peril. Collecting a large body of Milesians, he set sail for the Thracian coast, where he was slain under the walls of a town to which he had laid siege. Soon after his departure his father-in-law, Histiaëus, came down to the coast. The artful Greek not only succeeded in removing the suspicions which Darius first entertained respecting him, but he persuaded the king to send him into Ionia, in order to assist the Persian generals in suppressing the rebellion. Artaphernes, however, was not so easily deceived as his master, and plainly accused Histiaëus of

treachery when the latter arrived at Sardis. "I will tell you how the facts stand," said Artaphernes to Histiaeus; "it was you who made the shoe, and Aristagoras put it on." Finding himself unsafe at Sardis, Histiaeus escaped to the island of Chios; but he was regarded with suspicion by all parties. At length he obtained eight galleys from Lesbos, with which he sailed to Byzantium, and carried on piracies as well against the Grecian as the barbarian vessels. This unprincipled adventurer met with a traitor's death. Having landed on the coast of Mysia, he was surprised by a Persian force and made prisoner. Being carried to Sardis, Artaphernes at once caused him to be crucified, and sent his head to Darius, who ordered it to be honorably buried, condemning the ignominious execution of the man who had once saved the life of the Great King.

The Capture of Miletus (494 B.C.) and Subjugation of Ionia.

—In the third year of the revolt (497 B.C.), when several Grecian cities had already been taken, the Persian generals united their separate commands for an attack upon Miletus. Representatives from all the Ionian cities met in council and decided not to oppose the Persians by land, but to gather as large a fleet as possible. Even on the water, however, they were outnumbered, and a naval engagement which took place at Lade, a small island off Miletus, decided the fate of the war. The Samians deserted at the commencement of the battle, and the Ionian fleet was completely defeated. Miletus was taken after a siege of three years (494 B.C.), and was treated with signal severity. Most of the males were slain, and the few who escaped the sword, together with the women and children, were settled as unwilling colonists in the

valley of the Tigris. The other Greek cities in Asia and the neighboring islands were treated with the same cruelty. The islands of Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos were swept of their inhabitants, and the Persian fleet sailed up to the Hellespont and Propontis, carrying fire and sword. The Athenian Miltiades only escaped falling into the power of the Persians by flight to Athens.

The subjugation of Ionia was now complete. This was the third time that the Asiatic Greeks had been conquered by a foreign power: first by the Lydian Cræsus; secondly by the generals of Cyrus; and lastly by those of Darius. It was from the last that they suffered most, and they never fully recovered their former prosperity.

War between Sparta and Argos: its Results.—While the Milesians were defending their city against the Persians, Sparta and Argos were again at war with each other. The Spartans under Cleomenes, Athens' ancient enemy, took the offensive. Landing on the coast of Argos they surprised the Argive army, and won a decisive victory. The survivors on the defeated side fled for refuge to a sacred grove, which was thereupon surrounded by the Spartans. The grove was then set on fire at Cleomenes' orders, and the Argives either perished in the flames or were cut down as they tried to escape. One result of this barbarous act of Cleomenes was to be felt in the time of the Persian invasion of Greece; for the Argives, out of hatred and fear of the Spartans, refused to join the alliance of the other Greek states.

The Expedition of Mardonius (492 B.C.).—Having reduced the Ionian insurrection, Darius was at liberty to take vengeance upon the Athenians. He selected Mar-

donius, his son-in-law, as general, and placed under his command a large armament, with injunctions to bring to Susa those Athenians and Eretrians who had insulted the authority of the Great King. Mardonius, after crossing the Hellespont, commenced his march through Thrace and Macedonia, subduing, as he went along, the tribes which had not yet submitted to the Persian power. He ordered the fleet to double the promontory of Mount Athos, and join the land-forces at the head of the Gulf of Therma; but one of the hurricanes which frequently blow off this dangerous coast overtook the Persian fleet, destroyed 300 vessels, and drowned or dashed upon the rocks 20,000 men. Meantime the land-forces of Mardonius had suffered so much from an attack made upon them by a Thracian tribe that he could not proceed farther. He led his army back across the Hellespont, and returned to the Persian court covered with shame and grief (492 B.C.).

The Expedition of Datis and Artaphernes: Fall of Eretria (490 B.C.).—The failure of this expedition did not shake the resolution of Darius. He began to make preparations for another attempt on a still larger scale, and meantime sent heralds to most of the Grecian states to demand from each earth and water as the symbols of submission. Such terror had the Persians inspired by their recent conquest of Ionia that a large number of the Grecian cities at once complied with the demand.

In the spring of 490 B.C. a large army and fleet were assembled in Cilicia, and the command was given to Datis, a Median, and Artaphernes, son of the satrap of Sardis of that name. Warned by the recent disaster of Mardonius in doubling the promon-

tory of Mount Athos, they resolved to sail straight across the Ægean to Eubœa, subduing on their way the Cyclades. These islands yielded a ready submission, and it was not till Datis and Artaphernes reached Eubœa that they encountered any resistance. Eretria defended itself gallantly for six days, and repulsed the Persians with loss; but on the seventh the gates were opened to the besiegers by the treachery of two of its leading citizens. The city was burned, and the inhabitants were put in chains. From Eretria the Persians crossed over to Attica, and landed on the ever-memorable plain of Marathon, a spot which had been pointed out to them by the despot Hippias, who accompanied the army.

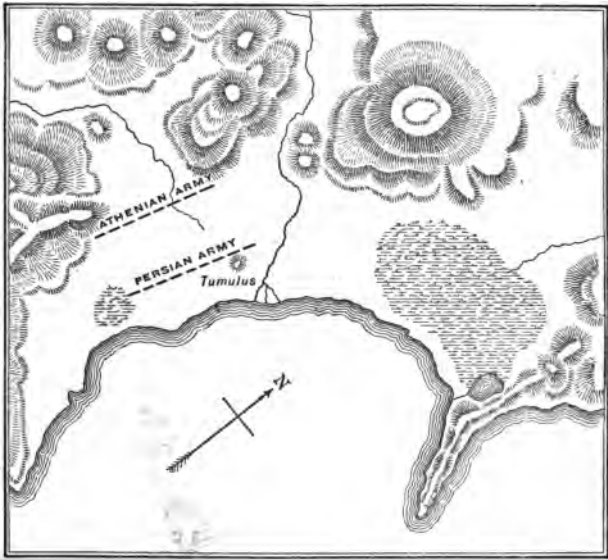
The Battle of Marathon.—As soon as the news of the fall of Eretria reached Athens, a courier had been sent to Sparta to solicit assistance. This was promised; but the superstition of the Spartans prevented them from setting out immediately, since it wanted a few days to the full moon, and it was contrary to their religious customs to commence a march during this interval. Meantime the Athenians had marched to Marathon, and were encamped on a hill overlooking the plain and commanding both the usual routes which led from Marathon to Athens. Here they were joined by unexpected reinforcements from the little town of Plataea, in Bœotia. Grateful to the Athenians for the aid which they had rendered them against the Thebans, the whole force of Plataea, amounting to 1000 heavy-armed men, marched to the assistance of their allies and joined them at Marathon. The Athenian army is said to have numbered only 9000 or 10,000 hoplites, or heavy-armed soldiers; there were no archers or cavalry,

and only some slaves as light-armed attendants. In the absence of trustworthy information from ancient sources, the number of the Persian army has been variously estimated at from 60,000 to 100,000 men. The Athenians were commanded, according to the regular custom, by ten generals, one for each tribe, and by the Polemarch, or third archon, who down to this time continued to be a colleague of the generals. Among these the most distinguished was Miltiades, who, though but lately a tyrant in the Chersonesus, had shown such energy and ability that the Athenians had elected him one of their generals upon the approach of the Persian fleet.

While the army lay encamped at Marathon a council of war was held, and the ten generals were found to be divided in opinion. Five of them were opposed to an engagement, urging that they were hopelessly outnumbered by the Persians. Miltiades and the remaining four contended that not a moment should be lost in fighting the Persians, not only in order to avail themselves of the present enthusiasm of the people, but still more to prevent treachery from spreading among their ranks. Callimachus, the Polemarch, yielded to the arguments of Miltiades, and gave his vote for the battle. The ten generals commanded the army in rotation, each for one day; but those who had supported Miltiades now agreed to surrender to him their days of command. He is said, however, to have waited until his own appointed day came around before making the attack.

The plain of Marathon lies on the eastern coast of Attica, at a distance of about twenty-two miles from Athens. It is in the form of a crescent, the horns of which consist of two promontories running into the

sea, and forming a semicircular bay. This plain is about six miles in length, and in its widest or central part about two in breadth. At either end close to the shore are marshes of considerable extent, the larger one almost shutting in the plain from the



PLAN OF THE BATTLE-FIELD OF MARATHON

northeast. The shortest road to Athens leaves the plain at its southwestern corner, ascending a gorge between rugged mountains. On the day of the battle the Athenians were drawn up on the rising ground adjacent to the mouth of this gorge, which must of course be guarded. Their line probably

faced about east, the wings resting upon the hills on either side. The opposing line of the Persians extended diagonally across the plain, its rear towards the shore and the great marsh. It was a part of Miltiades' plan to make his front equal in length to that of the Persians, in order to avoid being out-flanked. But with so small a body of men this object could not be accomplished without weakening some portion of the line. He therefore drew up the troops in the centre in shallow files, and resolved to rely for success upon the stronger and deeper masses of his wings. The right wing, which was the post of honor in a Grecian army, was commanded by the Polemarch Callimachus; the hoplites were arranged in the order of their tribes, so that the members of the same tribe fought by one another's side, and at the extreme left stood the Platæans.

Miltiades, anxious to come to close quarters as speedily as possible, ordered his soldiers to advance at a running step upon the foe. Both the Athenian wings were successful, and drove the enemy before them towards the shore and the marshes. But the Athenian centre was broken by the Persians, and compelled to take to flight. Miltiades thereupon recalled his wings from pursuit, and charged the Persian centre. The latter could not withstand this combined attack. The rout now became general along the whole Persian line, and they fled to their ships, pursued by the Athenians. The Persians lost 6400 men in this memorable engagement; of the Athenians only 192 fell, but included in this small number was the brave Polemarch Callimachus.

The Athenians were not yet free from apprehension. The Persian army had been defeated but not de-

stroyed. It was still vastly stronger in numbers than any force which they could gather. Moreover, Hip-pias had many partisans in Athens who were ready to welcome him and the Persians. In fact, some of them are said to have raised a shield upon the summit of Mount Pentelicus after the battle as a signal to the Persians that a favorable opportunity had come for attacking the city. Accordingly, Datis and Artaphernes directed the course of the fleet towards Athens. But the Athenians under Miltiades by a forced march reached the city before them. The Persians lay for a while at anchor off Phalerum, and then sailed away to Asia. Their departure was hailed at Athens with heartfelt joy. Marathon became a magic word at Athens. The Athenian people in succeeding ages always looked back upon this day as the most glorious in their annals, and never tired of hearing its praises sounded by their orators and poets. And they had reason to be proud of it. It was the first time that the Greeks had ever defeated the Persians in the field. It was the exploit of the Athenians alone. It had saved not only Athens, but all Greece. If the Persians had conquered at Marathon, Greece must, in all likelihood, have become a Persian province, the destinies of the world would have been changed, and Oriental despotism might still have brooded over the fairest countries of Europe.

The 192 Athenians who had perished in the battle were buried on the field, and over their remains a tumulus or mound was erected, which may still be seen about half a mile from the sea.

Miltiades' Expedition against Paros.—Shortly after the battle Miltiades requested of the Athenians a fleet of seventy ships, without telling them the object

of his expedition, but only promising to enrich the state. Such unbounded confidence did the Athenians repose in the hero of Marathon that they at once complied with his demand. Miltiades sailed with his fleet to Paros and laid siege to the chief city of that island. Herodotus states that he undertook this expedition merely to gratify a private animosity against one of the leading citizens of Paros; it may be, however, that his motive was a patriotic rather than a selfish one. The Parians repelled all his attacks, and having received a dangerous injury on his thigh he was compelled to raise the siege and return to Athens. Loud was the indignation against Miltiades on his return. He was accused by Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, of having deceived the people, and was brought to trial. His wound had already begun to show symptoms of gangrene. He was carried into court on a couch, and there lay before the assembled judges, while his friends pleaded on his behalf. They offered no excuse for his recent conduct, but they reminded the Athenians of the services he had rendered, and begged them to spare the victor of Marathon. The judges were not insensible to this appeal; and instead of condemning him to death, as the accuser had demanded, they commuted the penalty to a fine of fifty talents. Miltiades was unable immediately to raise this sum, and died soon afterwards of his wound. The fine was subsequently paid by his son Cimon.

War between Athens and Aegina: Themistocles.—It was probably soon after the battle of Marathon that war broke out between Athens and Ægina. This war is of great importance in Grecian history, since to it the

Athenians were indebted for their navy, which enabled them to save Greece at Salamis as they had already done at Marathon. Ægina was one of the chief maritime powers in Greece; and accordingly Themistocles urged the Athenians to build and equip a large and powerful fleet, without which it was impossible for them to humble their rival. There was at this time a large surplus in the public treasury, arising from the produce of the silver-mines at Laurium. It had been recently proposed to distribute this surplus among the Athenian citizens; but Themistocles persuaded them to sacrifice their private advantage to the public good, and to appropriate this money to building a fleet of ships.

Ostracism of Aristides (483 B.C.).—The two leading citizens of Athens at this period were Themistocles and Aristides. These two eminent men formed a striking contrast to each other. Themistocles possessed abilities of the most extraordinary kind, but he has been generally regarded as wanting in honesty. Aristides was inferior to Themistocles in ability, but was superior to him in honesty and integrity. His uprightness and justice were so universally acknowledged that he received the surname of the "Just." Themistocles was the leader of the democratical and Aristides of the conservative party at Athens. After several years of bitter rivalry the two chiefs appealed to the ostracism, and Aristides was banished (483 B.C.). We are told that an unlettered countryman gave his vote against Aristides at the ostracism because he was tired of hearing him always called the Just.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PERSIAN WARS.—THE BATTLES OF THERMOPYLÆ,
SALAMIS, AND PLATÆA, 480—479 B.C.

The Death of Darius (486 B.C.): Xerxes, his Successor, prepares to subdue Greece. — The defeat of the Persians at Marathon served only to increase the resentment of Darius. He now resolved to collect the whole forces of his empire, and to lead them against Athens. For three years busy preparations were made throughout his vast dominions. In the fourth year his attention was distracted by a revolt of the Egyptians; and before he could reduce them to subjection he was surprised by death, after a reign of 36 years (486 B.C.): Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius, had received the education of an Eastern despot, and been surrounded with slaves from his cradle. In person he was one of the tallest and handsomest men amidst the vast hosts which he led against Greece; but there was nothing in his mind to correspond to this fair exterior. His character was marked by faint-hearted timidity and childish vanity. Xerxes had not inherited his father's animosity against Greece; but he at length resolved to continue the enterprise, being influenced largely by the arguments of Mardonius, who was eager to retrieve his reputation, and to obtain the conquered country as a satrapy for himself. After subduing Egypt (485 B.C.), Xerxes began to

make preparations for the invasion of Greece. For four years the din of preparation sounded throughout Asia. Troops were collected from every quarter of the Persian empire, and were ordered to assemble in Cappadocia. As many as forty-six different nations of various complexions, languages, dresses, and arms composed the land force. Meantime Xerxes ordered a bridge to be thrown across the Hellespont, that his army might march from Asia into Europe; and he likewise gave directions that a canal should be cut through the isthmus of Mount Athos, in order to avoid the necessity of doubling this dangerous promontory, where the fleet of Mardonius had suffered shipwreck. The making of this canal, which was about a mile and a half long, employed a large number of men for three years.

The March of Xerxes.—It was in the autumn of 481 B.C. that the Persian forces gathered in Cappadocia. Hence they marched to Sardis, where the winter of 481–480 B.C. was spent. From Sardis Xerxes sent heralds to the various states of Greece to demand earth and water. Sparta and Athens were excepted, because the king neither expected nor desired their peaceful submission. Upon them summary punishment was to be inflicted.

In the spring of 480 B.C. Xerxes set out from Sardis with his vast host. Upon reaching Abydus, on the Hellespont, the army crossed over to Europe by the bridge of boats. Xerxes surveyed the scene from a marble throne. His heart swelled within him at the sight of such a vast assemblage of human beings; but his feelings of pride and pleasure soon gave way to sadness, and he burst into tears at the reflection that in a hundred years not one of them would be

alive. Xerxes continued his march through Europe along the coast of Thrace. Upon arriving at the spacious plain of Doriscus, which is traversed by the river Hebrus, he resolved to number his forces. He found, according to Herodotus, that the whole armament, both military and naval, consisted of 2,317,610 men. In his march from Doriscus to Thermopylæ he received a still further accession of strength; and accordingly, when he reached Thermopylæ the land and sea forces amounted to 2,641,610 fighting men. The attendants are said to have been more in number than the fighting men; but if they were only equal, the number of persons who accompanied Xerxes to Thermopylæ reaches the astounding figure of 5,283,220! This number, which rests upon the authority of Herodotus alone, is quite incredible; but though the exact size of the invading army cannot be determined, we may safely conclude, from all the circumstances of the case, that it was one of the largest ever assembled at any period of history.

From Doriscus Xerxes continued his march along the coast through Thrace and Macedonia. The cities through which he passed had to furnish a day's meal for the immense host, and for this purpose had made preparations many months beforehand. The cost of feeding such a multitude brought many cities to the brink of ruin. At Acanthus his fleet sailed through the isthmus of Athos, and, after doubling the promontories of Sithonia and Pallene, joined him at the city of Therma, better known by its later name of Thessalonica. Thence he continued his march through Macedonia and Thessaly, meeting with no opposition till he reached the celebrated pass of Thermopylæ.

Preparations of the Greeks.—The mighty preparations of Xerxes had been no secret in Greece; and during the preceding autumn a congress of the Grecian states had been summoned by the Spartans and Athenians to meet at the isthmus of Corinth. But so great was the terror inspired by the countless hosts of Xerxes that many of the Grecian states at once tendered their submission to him, and others refused to take any part in the congress. The only people of northern Greece who remained faithful to the cause of liberty were the Athenians and Phocians, and the inhabitants of the small Bœotian towns of Plataea and Thespiæ. The other people in northern Greece were either partisans of the Persians, like the Thebans, or were unwilling to make any great sacrifices for the preservation of their independence. In Peloponnesus, the powerful city of Argos and the Achæans stood aloof. From the more distant members of the Hellenic race no assistance was obtained. Gelon, the ruler of Syracuse, offered to send a powerful armament, provided the command of the allied forces was intrusted to him; but the envoys did not venture to accept a proposal which would have placed both Sparta and Athens under the control of a Sicilian tyrant.

The desertion of the cause of Grecian independence by so many of the Greeks did not shake the resolution of Sparta and of Athens. The Athenians, especially, set a noble example of an enlarged patriotism. They became reconciled to the Æginetans, and thus gained for the common cause the powerful navy of their rival. They granted to the Spartans the supreme command of the forces by sea as well as by land, although they furnished more than half of the vessels of the entire fleet. Their illustrious citi-

zen Themistocles was the soul of the congress. He sought to enkindle in the other Greeks some portion of the ardor and energy which he had succeeded in breathing into the Athenians.

The Greeks at Tempe and at Thermopylæ.—The Greeks determined to make a stand at the pass of Tempe, in northeastern Thessaly. The usual route from Macedonia to Thessaly lay through this pass, and the Greeks hoped by defending it to check the advance



PLAN OF THERMOPYLÆ

of the Persians. Accordingly a force of 10,000 hoplites under the Spartan polemarch Euaenetus and the Athenian Themistocles was sent to Thessaly. The Greeks discovered, however, upon reaching Tempe, that there were two other roads leading from Macedonia to Thessaly which the Persians might take. They could therefore attack the small Greek force both from front and rear and overwhelm it. On learning this the Greeks retreated southward, re-

joined the fleet, which had been left lying at anchor in the Pagasæan Gulf, and sailed back to the isthmus of Corinth. Here a council of war was held, and it was resolved to defend the pass of Thermopylæ, which formed the entrance from Thessaly into southern Greece. This pass lay between Mount Callidromus and the sea. It was about two miles in length. At each of its extremities the mountains approached so near the sea as to leave barely room for the passage of a single carriage. The northern, or, to speak more properly, the western, entrance was close to the town of Anthela, where the Amphictyonic Council held its meetings; while the southern, or the eastern, entrance was near the Locrian town of Alpeni. These narrow entrances were called Pylæ, or the Gates. The space between the gates was wider and more open, and was distinguished by its hot springs, from which the pass derived the name of Thermopylæ, or the "Hot Gates." The island of Eubœa is here separated from the mainland by a narrow strait, which in one part is only two miles and a half in breadth; and accordingly it was easy, by defending this part of the sea with a fleet, to prevent an enemy from landing troops at the southern end of the pass.

The Grecian fleet, under the command of the Spartan Eurybiades, took up its station off that portion of the northern coast of Eubœa which faces Magnesia and the entrance to the Pagasæan Gulf, and which was called Artemisium, from a neighboring temple of Artemis. It was, however, only a small land force that was sent to the defence of Thermopylæ. When the arrival of Xerxes in Pieria became known, the Greeks were upon the point of celebrating the Olympic games, and the festival of the Carnean Apollo,

which was observed with great solemnity at Sparta and in other Doric states. The Peloponnesians therefore sent forward only 300 Spartans and 2800 hoplites from other Peloponnesian states, under the command of the Spartan king Leonidas, a force which they thought would be sufficient to maintain the pass till the festivals were over. Such, at least, is the explanation given by Herodotus of the small size of the army which met the Persians at Thermopylæ; there can be no doubt, however, that the Spartans were not so much influenced by religious scruples as by a selfish feeling that their best policy was to leave northern Greece to its fate and devote their energies to the defence of Peloponnesus. In his march northwards Leonidas received additions from the Thespians, Phocians, and Locrians, so that he had under his command at Thermopylæ about 6000 men. This number does not include the Spartan helots (or perhaps Periœci) who accompanied their masters, nor a force of 400 Thebans whom Leonidas compelled to join his army, but who deserted to the Persians before the battle was over. The Athenians sent no troops to Thermopylæ, because, in obedience to the advice of Themistocles, they had employed their whole available force to man the large fleet which they had equipped. They were therefore represented at Artemisium by 200 triremes, while all the other contingents together numbered only 133 ships.

The Persians reach Thermopylæ.—Meanwhile Xerxes had arrived within sight of Thermopylæ. He had heard that a handful of desperate men, commanded by a Spartan, had determined to dispute his passage, but he refused to believe the news. He was still more astonished when a horseman, whom he had sent

to reconnoitre, brought back word that he had seen several Spartans outside the wall in front of the pass, some amusing themselves with gymnastic exercises, and others combing their long hair. In great perplexity, he sent for the exiled Spartan king Demaratus, who had accompanied him from Persia, and asked him the meaning of such madness. Demaratus replied that the Spartans would defend the pass to the death, and that it was their practice to dress their heads with peculiar care when they were going to battle. Late writers relate that Xerxes sent to them to deliver up their arms. Leonidas desired him to "come and take them." One of the Spartans being told that the Persian host was so prodigious that their arrows concealed the sun, is said to have replied, "So much the better ; we shall then fight in the shade."

The Battle of Thermopylæ (August, 480 B.C.).—At length, upon the fifth day, Xerxes ordered a chosen body of Medes and Cissians to seize the presumptuous foes and bring them into his presence. But their superior numbers were of no avail in such a narrow space, and they were kept at bay by the long spears and steady ranks of the Greeks. After the combat had lasted a long time with heavy loss to the Medes, Xerxes ordered his ten thousand "Immortals," the flower of the Persian army, to advance. But they were as unsuccessful as the Medes. Xerxes beheld the repulse of his troops from a lofty throne which had been provided for him, and was seen to leap thrice from his seat in an agony of fear or rage.

On the following day the attack was renewed, but with no better success ; and Xerxes was beginning to despair of forcing his way through the pass, when a Malian, of the name of Epialtes, betrayed to the Per-

sian king that there was an unfrequented path across Mount Callidromus, ascending on the western side of the mountain, and descending on the eastern side near the termination of the pass. Overjoyed at this discovery, Xerxes ordered a strong detachment of Persians to follow the traitor. The ascent was begun in the early evening, and at daybreak the summit of the mountain had been reached. Here the Phocians were keeping guard, but they fled at sight of the enemy, thinking that the whole army of Xerxes was upon them. The Persians did not pursue them, but descended the other side of the mountain at full speed. Meantime Leonidas and his troops had received ample notice of the impending danger. During the night deserters from the enemy had brought him the news; and their intelligence was confirmed by his own scouts on the hills. His resolution was at once taken. As a Spartan he was bound to conquer or to die in the post assigned to him; and he was the more ready to sacrifice his life, since an oracle had declared that either Sparta itself or a Spartan king must perish by the Persian arms. His three hundred comrades were fully



GREEK SOLDIER

equal to the heroism which actuated their king; and the seven hundred Thespians resolved to share the fate of this gallant band. He allowed the rest of the allies to retire, with the exception of the four hundred Thebans whom he retained as hostages. Xerxes delayed his attack till about the middle of the day, when it was expected that the detachment sent across the mountain would arrive at the rear of the pass. But Leonidas and his comrades, only anxious to sell their lives as dearly as possible, did not wait to receive the attack of the Persians, but advanced into the open space in front of the pass, and charged the enemy with desperate valor. Numbers of the Persians were slain; many were driven into the neighboring sea; and others again were trampled to death by the vast hosts behind them. As long as the Greeks could maintain their ranks they repelled every attack; but when their spears were broken, and they had only their swords left, the enemy began to press in between them. Leonidas was one of the first that fell, and around his body the battle raged fiercer than ever. The Persians made the greatest efforts to obtain possession of it; but four times they were driven back by the Greeks with great slaughter. At length, thinned in numbers, and exhausted by fatigue and wounds, this noble band retired within the pass, and stationed themselves on a hillock. Meanwhile the Persian detachment, which had been sent across the mountains, reached the scene of the action. The Spartan and Thespian heroes were now surrounded on every side, overwhelmed with a shower of missiles, and killed to a man.

On the hillock, where the Greeks made their last stand, a stone lion was set up in honor of Leonidas.

Another monument, erected near the spot, contained the memorable inscription :

“Go tell the Spartans, thou that passest by,
That here obedient to their laws we lie.”

Naval Battles at Artemisium.—While Leonidas had been fighting at Thermopylæ, the Greek fleet had also been engaged with the Persians at Artemisium. The Persian fleet set sail from the Gulf of Therma, and arrived in a day at almost the southern corner of Magnesia. In this position they were overtaken by a sudden hurricane, which blew upon the shore with irresistible fury. For three days and three nights the tempest raged without intermission ; and when calm at length returned, the shore was seen strewn for many miles with wrecks and corpses. At least four hundred ships of war were destroyed, together with a countless number of transports, stores, and treasures. The Greek fleet had been seized with terror at the approach of the Persians, and retreated to Chalcis, in the narrowest part of the Eubœan Straits ; but upon hearing of the disaster of the Persian fleet, they took courage and sailed back with the utmost speed to their former station at Artemisium. Being now encouraged to attack the enemy, they gained some success. On the following night another terrific storm burst upon the Persians. All night long it blew upon the Thessalian coast at Aphetæ, where the Persian ships were stationed, thus causing little inconvenience to the Greeks on the opposite shore. This storm saved the Greek fleet from imminent peril. A few days before it is said that 200 Persian ships had been detailed to coast down the eastern side of Eubœa, round the southern point, and then sail up the strait between

the island and the mainland so as to attack the Greeks at Artemisium from the rear. This detachment was overtaken by the storm off the southwestern coast of Eubœa and utterly destroyed. Next day the Greeks were reinforced by the arrival of more than fifty Athenian triremes and again took the offensive, attacking and destroying some Cilician ships. Notwithstanding these losses, the Persian fleet still had a vast superiority of numbers, and on the following day determined to offer battle to the Greeks. Quitting the Thessalian coast, they sailed towards Artemisium in the form of a crescent. In the conflict which ensued both sides fought with great valor and both suffered severely. The Persians, indeed, lost a greater number of ships and men, yet so many of the Greek vessels were disabled that they found it would be impossible to renew the combat. Under these circumstances, the Greek commanders saw that it would be necessary to retreat; and their determination was hastened by the news which they now received, that Leonidas and his companions had fallen, and that Xerxes was master of the pass of Thermopylæ. Having sailed through the Eubœan Strait, the fleet doubled the promontory of Sunium, and did not stop till it reached the island of Salamis.

The Occupation of Athens by the Persians.—Meanwhile the Peloponnesians had abandoned Attica and the adjoining states to their fate, whilst they strained every nerve to secure themselves by fortifying the isthmus of Corinth. The Athenians, relying upon the proposed march of the Peloponnesian army into Bœotia, had taken no measures for the security of their families and property, and beheld with terror and dismay the barbarian host in full march towards their city.

Accordingly when the fleet reached Salamis a proclamation was published, directing the Athenians to provide as they best could for the safety of their children and families. Within a few days Athens was deserted by much the greater part of its inhabitants, some going to the island of Salamis, some to Ægina, and others to Træzen in Argolis. It was necessary for



PARNASSUS

Themistocles to use all his art and all his eloquence on this occasion. The oracle at Delphi had told the Athenians that “the divine Salamis will make women childless”—yet “when all is lost, a wooden wall shall still shelter the Athenians.” Themistocles told his countrymen that these words clearly indicated a fleet and a naval victory as the only means of safety. Some, however, gave to the words

another meaning ; and a few, especially among the poor, resolved to shut themselves up in the Acropolis, and to fortify its accessible or western front with barricades of timber.

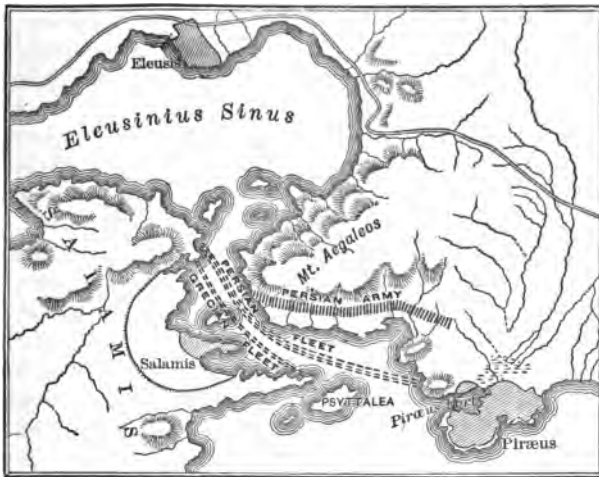
On his march towards Athens, Xerxes sent a detachment of his army to take and plunder Delphi. But this attempt proved unsuccessful. The god of the most renowned oracle of the Grecian world is said to have vindicated at once the majesty of his sanctuary and the truth of his predictions. It is related that as the Persians climbed the rugged path at the foot of Mount Parnassus, leading up to the shrine, thunder was heard to roll, and two crags, suddenly detaching themselves from the mountain, rolled down upon the Persians and spread dismay and destruction in their ranks. Seized with a sudden panic, they turned and fled, pursued, as they said, by two warriors of superhuman size and prowess, who had assisted the Delphians in defending their temple.

On arriving before Athens Xerxes found the Acropolis occupied by a handful of desperate citizens, who made a brave resistance ; but they were overpowered and put to the sword. The temples on the Acropolis were pillaged and burned ; and Xerxes thus became undisputed master of Athens.

About the same time the Persian fleet arrived in the Bay of Phalerum. Its strength is not accurately known, but it may be reckoned at from 600 to 700 vessels. The combined Grecian fleet at Salamis consisted of 380 triremes, of which 200 were Athenian.

The Greek Commanders in Council at Salamis. — When the news of the capture of the Acropolis reached the Greeks at Salamis, it was at once decided that the

fleet should be removed to the isthmus of Corinth, and thus be put into communication with the land forces. Themistocles, however, prevailed upon Eurybiades, the Spartan admiral, to convene another assembly of the commanders. When the council met, Themistocles did not wait for the presiding officer, Eurybiades, to propose the subject for discussion, but began to urge the Peloponnesian com-



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS

manders to remain at Salamis, and give battle to the Persians in the narrow strait, where the superior numbers of the Persians would be of less consequence. Adimantus, the Corinthian commander, tried to interrupt him. "Themistocles," he exclaimed, "those who rise at the public games before the signal

are whipped." "True," replied Themistocles; "but they who lag behind it never win a crown." Another incident in this discussion has been immortalized by Plutarch. Eurybiades, incensed by the language of Themistocles, lifted up his stick to strike him, whereupon the Athenian exclaimed, "Strike, but hear me!" At last, when it seemed likely that the council would not be influenced by his arguments and entreaties, Themistocles threatened that he and the Athenians would sail away to Italy and settle there if the Peloponnesians still determined to retreat. Eurybiades now gave way, and issued orders for the fleet to remain and fight at Salamis; but the Peloponnesians obeyed the order with reluctance. A third council was summoned; and Themistocles, perceiving that the decision of the assembly would be against him, determined to effect his object by stratagem. He secretly despatched a trusty slave with a message to Xerxes, representing the dissensions which prevailed in the Grecian fleet, and how easy a matter it would be to surround and vanquish an armament both small and disunited. Xerxes readily adopted the suggestion, and ordered his captains to close up the straits of Salamis at both ends during the night. On the council assembling before daybreak, Aristides arrived with the news that the Grecian fleet was completely surrounded by that of the Persians, and that retreat was no longer possible. As the veil of night rolled gradually away, the Persian fleet was discovered stretching as far as the eye could reach along the coast of Attica. The Grecian fleet, being concentrated in the harbor of Salamis, was thus surrounded by the Persians. Xerxes had caused a lofty throne to be erected upon one of

the projecting declivities of Mount *Ægaleos*, opposite the harbor of *Salamis*, whence he could survey the combat, and stimulate by his presence the courage of his men.

The Battle of Salamis (September, 480 B.C.).—As a battle was now inevitable, the Grecian commanders lost no time in making preparations for the encounter. The Greek seamen embarked with alacrity, encouraging one another to deliver their country, their wives and children, and the temples of their gods from the grasp of the barbarians. History has preserved to us but few details of the engagement. The Persian fleet, with the exception of some of the Ionic contingents, fought with courage. But the very numbers on which they so confidently relied proved one of the chief causes of their defeat. Too crowded either to advance or to retreat, their oars broken or impeded by collision with one another, their fleet lay like an inert, lifeless mass upon the water, and fell an easy prey to the Greeks. A single incident will illustrate the terror and confusion which reigned among the Persians. *Artemisia*, a Carian queen, who commanded a small contingent of *Xerxes*' fleet, found herself pursued by an Athenian galley. Full in her course lay the vessel of a Carian prince. Instead of avoiding, she struck and sunk it, sending her countryman and all his crew to the bottom. The captain of the Athenian galley, believing from this act that she was either a Greek or a deserter from the Persian cause, suffered her to escape. *Xerxes*, who from his lofty throne beheld the feat of *Artemisia*, but imagined that the sunken ship belonged to the Greeks, was filled with admiration at her courage, and ex-

claimed, "My men are become women, my women men!"

The Retreat of Xerxes.—At least two hundred of the Persian ships were destroyed or sunk, when night put an end to the engagement. But, notwithstanding this loss, the fleet was still formidable by its numbers. The Greeks themselves did not regard the victory as decisive, and prepared to renew the combat. But the faint-heartedness of Xerxes relieved them from all further anxiety. He became alarmed for his own personal safety, and his whole care was now centred on securing his retreat by land. Preparations were accordingly made for the march to Asia, and the fleet was ordered to the Hellespont to secure the bridge. These dispositions of Xerxes were prompted by Mardonius. He represented to his master that the defeat, after all, was but slight; that it was only his allies, not the Persians, who had proved themselves cowards; and that if the king wished now to return to Asia, he (Mardonius) would undertake to complete the conquest of Greece with 300,000 men. Shortly after the Persian fleet had sailed towards Asia, Xerxes set out on his homeward march. In Thessaly Mardonius selected the 300,000 men with whom he proposed to conclude the war; but as winter was now approaching, he resolved to postpone all further operations till the spring.

After forty-five days' march from Attica, Xerxes again reached the shores of the Hellespont, with a force greatly diminished by famine and pestilence. On the Hellespont he found his fleet, but the bridge had been washed away by storms. Landed on the shores of Asia, the Persian army at length obtained abundance of provisions, and contracted new maladies

by the sudden change from privation to excess. Thus terminated this mighty but unsuccessful expedition.

Themistocles the Hero of Salamis.—Greece owed its salvation to one man—Themistocles. This was virtually admitted by the leaders of the other Grecian states when they assembled to assign the prizes of wisdom and conduct. Upon the altar of Poseidon, at the isthmus of Corinth, each chief deposited a tablet inscribed with two names, of those whom he considered entitled to the first and second prizes. But in this adjudication vanity and self-love defeated their own objects. Each commander had put down his own name for the first prize; for the second, a great majority voted in favor of Themistocles. From the Spartans, also, Themistocles received the honors due to his merit, the highest honors ever awarded by that people to an Athenian. When he visited the city a crown of olive was conferred upon him, together with the most splendid chariot which Sparta could produce.

The Carthaginians in Sicily.—At about the same time as the battle of Salamis—indeed, on the very same day according to some ancient authorities—the Sicilian Greeks also obtained a victory over the Carthaginians. There is no doubt that the invasion of Sicily by the Carthaginians was concerted with Xerxes, and that the simultaneous attack on two distinct Grecian peoples, by two immense armaments, was not merely the result of chance. Gelon, the powerful ruler of Syracuse, defeated Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general, with the loss, it is said, of 150,000 men.

The Campaign of 479 B.C.: the Athenians Reject the Overtures of Mardonius.—In the spring of 479 B.C. Mardonius prepared to open the campaign. He was not without hopes of inducing the Athenians to join the Persian

alliance, and he despatched Alexander, king of Macedonia, to conciliate the Athenians, now partially re-established in their dilapidated city. His offers on the part of the Persians were of the most seductive kind; but the Athenians dismissed him with a positive refusal, whilst to the Lacedæmonians they protested that no temptations, however great, should ever induce them to desert the common cause of Greece and freedom. In return for this disinterested conduct, all they asked was that a Peloponnesian army should be sent into Bœotia for the defence of the Attic frontier: a request which the Spartan envoys promised to fulfil. No sooner, however, had they returned to their own country than this promise was completely ignored.

When Mardonius was informed that the Athenians had rejected his proposal, he immediately marched against Athens, accompanied by all his Grecian allies; and in June, 479 B.C., nine months after the capture of the city by Xerxes, the Persians again occupied Athens. With feelings of bitter indignation against their faithless allies, the Athenians saw themselves once more compelled to remove to Salamis. Mardonius took advantage of his situation to endeavor once more to win them to his alliance. Through a Hellespontine Greek, the same favorable conditions were again offered to them, but were again refused. One voice alone, that of the senator Lycidas, broke the unanimity of the council. But his opposition cost him his life. He and his family were stoned to death by the excited populace. In this desperate condition, the Athenians sent ambassadors to the Spartans to remonstrate against their breach of faith, and to intimate that necessity might

at length compel them to listen to the proposals of the enemy. For ten days the Spartans delayed giving a decisive answer. On the eleventh the Athenian envoys went before the ephors and declared their intention of returning home and making what terms they could with the Persians. But Sparta had already acted. On the night before, as the envoys learned, 5000 citizens, each attended by seven Helots, had been despatched to the frontiers; and these were shortly followed by 5000 Lacedæmonian Pericæci. Never before had the Spartans sent so large a force into the field. Their example was followed by other Peloponnesian cities; and the Athenian envoys returned to Salamis with the joyful news that a large army was preparing to march against the enemy under the command of Pausanias, who acted as regent for the infant son of Leonidas.

The Battle of Platæa (July or August, 479 B.C.).—Mardonius, on learning the approach of the Lacedæmonians, abandoned Attica and crossed into Bœotia. He finally took up a position on the right bank of the Asopus, not far from the town of Platæa. Here he caused a camp to be constructed of ten furlongs square, fortified with palisades and towers. Meanwhile the Grecian army continued to receive reinforcements from the different states, and by the time it reached Bœotia it formed a grand total of about 110,000 men. After several days' manœuvring a general battle took place near Platæa. The light-armed, undisciplined Persians, whose bodies were unprotected by armor, maintained a very unequal combat against the serried ranks, the long spears, and the mailed bodies of the Spartan phalanx. Mardonius, at the head of his body-guard of 1000 picked

men, and conspicuous on his white charger, was among the foremost in the fight till struck down by the hand of a Spartan. The fall of their general was the signal for flight to the Persians, already wearied and disheartened by the fruitless contest; nor did they once stop till they had reached their fortified camp. The glory of having defeated the Persians at Platæa rests with the Lacedæmonians, since the Athenians were engaged in another part of the field with the Greek allies of Mardonius. After repulsing them, the Athenians joined the Lacedæmonians, who had pursued the Persians as far as their fortified camp. Upon the arrival of the Athenians the barricades were stormed and carried, after a gallant resistance on the part of the Persians. The camp became a scene of the most horrible carnage. The Persian loss was immense, while that of the Greeks seems not to have exceeded 1300 or 1400 men.

It remained to bury the dead and divide the booty; and so great was the task that ten days were consumed in it. The booty was ample and magnificent. Gold and silver coined, as well as in plate and trinkets, rich apparel, ornamented arms, horses, camels—in a word, all the magnificence of Eastern luxury.

The Battle of Mycale.—The failure of the Persian expedition was completed by the destruction of their naval armament. Leotychides, the Spartan admiral, having sailed across the Ægean, found the Persian fleet at Mycale, a promontory of Asia Minor near Miletus. Their former reverses seem completely to have discouraged the Persians from hazarding another naval engagement. The ships were hauled ashore and surrounded with a rampart, whilst an army

of 60,000 Persians lined the coast for their defence. The Greeks are said to have landed on the very day on which the battle of Platæa was fought. A supernatural presentiment of that decisive victory, conveyed by a herald's staff, which floated over the Ægean from the shores of Greece, is said to have pervaded the Grecian ranks at Mycale as they marched to the attack. The Persians did not long resist: they turned their backs and fled to their fortifications, pursued by the Greeks, who entered them almost simultaneously. A large number of the Persians perished; and the victory was rendered still more decisive by the burning of the fleet.

The Capture of Sestus (478 B.C.).—The Grecian fleet now sailed to the Hellespont with the view of destroying the bridge; but, finding that it no longer existed, Leotychides departed homewards with the Peloponnesian vessels. Xanthippus, however, the Athenian commander, seized the opportunity to recover from the Persians the Thracian Chersonese, which had long been an Athenian possession; and proceeded to blockade Sestus, the key of the strait. This city surrendered in the spring of 478 B.C., after a protracted siege, whereupon the Athenians returned home, carrying with them the cables of the bridge across the Hellespont to be preserved as trophies.

CHAPTER IX

FROM THE END OF THE PERSIAN WARS TO THE BEGINNING OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, 479-431 B.C.

The Athenians Rebuild Their City : the Wall of Themistocles.
—The Athenians, on their return to Attica, after the defeat of the Persians, found their city ruined and their country desolate. They began to rebuild their city on a larger scale than before, and to fortify it with a wall. Those allies to whom the increasing maritime power of Athens was an object of suspicion, and especially the Æginetans, to whom it was more particularly formidable, beheld her rising fortifications with dismay. They endeavored to inspire the Lacedæmonians with their fears, and urged them to arrest the work. But, though Sparta shared the jealousy of the allies, she could not, with any decency, interfere by force to prevent a friendly city from exercising a right inherent in all independent states. She assumed, therefore, the hypocritical garb of an adviser and counsellor. Concealing her jealousy under the pretence of zeal for the common interests of Greece, she represented to the Athenians that, in the event of another Persian invasion, fortified towns would serve the enemy for camps and strongholds, as Thebes had done in the last war; and proposed that

the Athenians should not only desist from completing their own fortifications, but help to demolish those which already existed in other towns outside Peloponnesus.

The object of the proposal was too transparent to deceive so acute a statesman as Themistocles. Athens was not yet, however, in a condition to incur the danger of openly rejecting it; and he therefore advised the Athenians to dismiss the Spartan envoys with the assurance that they would send ambassadors to Sparta to discuss the matter. He then caused himself to be appointed one of these ambassadors; and setting off straightway for Sparta, directed his colleagues to linger behind as long as possible. At Sparta, the absence of his colleagues, at which he affected to be surprised, afforded him an excuse for not demanding an audience of the ephors. During the interval thus gained, the whole population of Athens, of both sexes and every age, worked at the walls, which, when the other ambassadors at length arrived at Sparta, had attained a height sufficient to afford a tolerable defence. Meanwhile the suspicions of the Spartans had been more than once aroused by messages from the Æginetans and others respecting the progress of the walls. Themistocles, however, urged the Spartans not to be deceived by these reports, but to send messengers of their own to Athens in order to learn the true state of affairs, at the same time instructing the Athenians to detain them as hostages for the safety of himself and colleagues. When there was no longer any motive for concealment, Themistocles openly avowed the progress of the works, and his intention of securing the independence of Athens, and enabling her to act for herself.

The walls being now too far advanced to be easily taken, the Spartans found themselves compelled to acquiesce, and the works were completed without further hinderance.

Having thus secured the city from all danger of an immediate attack, Themistocles pursued his favorite project of rendering Athens the greatest maritime and commercial power of Greece. He persuaded his countrymen to complete the fortifications of the harbor town, Piræus, distant four or five miles from Athens. This work had been begun at Themistocles' suggestion before the invasion of Xerxes. It was now finished, and the Piræus surrounded with a wall of much greater height and thickness than that of Athens itself. Meanwhile an event occurred which secured more firmly than ever the maritime supremacy of Athens, by transferring to her the command of the allied fleet.

The Treason of Pausanias.—In the year after the battle of Platæa a fleet had been fitted out and placed under the command of the Spartan regent, Pausanias, in order to carry on the war against the Persians. Aristides and Cimon, the son of Miltiades, were at the head of the Athenian contingent, which was the largest in the fleet. After conquering the greater part of Cyprus, this armament sailed up the Bosphorus and laid siege to Byzantium, which was garrisoned by a large Persian force. The town was compelled to surrender; but it was during this expedition that the conduct of the Spartan commander struck a fatal blow at the interests of his country.

The renown which Pausanias had acquired at Platæa had filled him with pride and ambition. After the capture of Byzantium he despatched a letter to

Xerxes, offering to marry the king's daughter, and to bring Sparta and the rest of Greece under his dominion. Xerxes was highly delighted with this letter, and sent a reply in which he urged Pausanias to pursue his project night and day, and promised to supply him with all the money and troops that might be needful for its execution. But the childish vanity of Pausanias betrayed his plot before it was ripe for execution. Elated by the confidence of Xerxes, he acted as if he had already married the Great King's daughter. He assumed the Persian dress; he made a progress through Thrace, attended by Persian and Egyptian guards, and copied in the luxury of his table the example of his adopted country. Above all, he offended the allies by his haughty reserve and imperiousness. His designs were now too manifest to escape attention. His proceedings reached the ears of the Spartans, who sent out Dorcis to supersede him. Disgusted by the insolence of Pausanias, the Ionians and Æolians serving in the combined Grecian fleet addressed themselves to the Athenian generals, whose manners formed a striking contrast to those of the Spartan leader, and begged them to assume the command. This request was made precisely at the time when Pausanias was recalled; and accordingly when Dorcis arrived he found the Athenians in command of the combined fleet (476 B.C.).

The Formation of the Confederacy of Delos (476 B.C.).— This event was not a mere empty question about a point of honor. It was a real revolution, terminated by a solemn league, of which Athens was to be the head. Aristides took the lead in the matter, for which his proverbial justice and probity eminently qualified him. The league obtained the name of "the

Confederacy of Delos," from its being arranged that deputies of the allies belonging to it should meet periodically for deliberation in the temple of Apollo in that island. Each state was independent, and had an equal vote with every other in directing the affairs of the league. Each was assessed by the Athenians in a certain contribution, either of money or ships. The assessment was intrusted to Aristides, whose impartiality was universally applauded. Of the details, however, we only know that certain officers called Hellenotamiæ were appointed by the Athenians to receive the contributions, and that Delos was the treasury. The object of the league was to prosecute the war against Persia, and to set free those Greeks who were still under Persian domination.

Such was the origin of the Confederacy of Delos. Upon its formation the command of the combined fleet was given to Cimon, the son of Miltiades.

The Fate of Pausanias (468 B.C.).—Pausanias, on his return to Sparta, seems to have been acquitted of any serious charges; but he continued his correspondence with Persia, and an accident at length afforded convincing proofs of his guilt. A favorite slave, to whom he had intrusted a letter to the Persian satrap at Dascylium, observed with dismay that none of the messengers employed in this service had ever returned. Moved by these fears, he broke the seal and read the letter, and finding his suspicions of the fate that awaited him confirmed, he carried the document to the ephors. But in ancient states the testimony of a slave was always regarded with suspicion. The ephors refused to believe the evidence offered to them unless confirmed by their own ears. For this purpose they directed him to plant himself as a suppliant in a sacred

grove near Cape Tænarum, in a hut in which several of their body might conceal themselves. Pausanias, as they had expected, anxious at the step taken by his slave, hastened to the spot to question him about it. The conversation which ensued, and which was overheard by the ephors, rendered the guilt of Pausanias no longer doubtful. They now determined to arrest him on his return to Sparta. They met him in the street near the temple of Athena Chalciæus (of the Brazen House), when Pausanias, either alarmed by his guilty conscience, or put on his guard by a secret signal from one of the ephors, turned and fled to the temple, where he took refuge in a small chamber belonging to the building. From this sanctuary it was unlawful to drag him; but the ephors caused the doors to be built up and the roof to be removed. It is even said that his own mother placed the first stone at the doors. When at the point of death from starvation, he was carried from the sanctuary before he polluted it with his corpse. Such was the end of the victor of Platæa (468 B.C.). After his death the Spartans alleged that proofs were discovered among his papers that Themistocles was implicated in his guilt. But, in order to follow the fortunes of the Athenian statesman, it is necessary to take a glance at the internal history of Athens.

Party Struggles in Athens: the Ostracism of Themistocles (471 B.C.).—The formation of the Confederacy of Delos had brought great credit and renown to Aristides and Cimon. The hegemony of Athens was established, and new states were continually being added to the league of which she was the head. Under these circumstances, Themistocles was losing his pre-eminence, and his influence was gradually decreasing.

Moreover, Aristides and Cimon were stoutly supported by the powerful aristocratic families of Athens. The Philaidæ and the Alcæonidæ had been from the earliest times the two leading houses. In former generations they had been engaged in almost continuous strife with one another. Now, however, they were united. For Aristides, though not himself an Alcæonid, had always been most intimately connected with that family; and Cimon, whose advancement Aristides had favored and assisted, was one of the Philaidæ. Aristides and Cimon stood together, therefore, as the representatives of the aristocratic party at Athens. Against them Themistocles could not command a sufficiently strong following. It would appear that he tried to win popularity and increase his power in the state by various reforms of a democratic tendency, but that in these endeavors he was thwarted by his opponents. Further, the Spartans hated Themistocles for having baffled their attempt to prevent the fortification of Athens, and consequently used against him the influence which they still possessed in Athenian political circles. No doubt, also, the conqueror of Salamis had become unpopular through too often reminding the Athenians of his services to the country. In view of all these facts, it is not surprising that when ostracism was resorted to, in 471 B.C., Themistocles was the one who was banished.

Themistocles Flees to Asia: His Death.—He retired to Argos, where he was residing when the Spartans called upon the Athenians to prosecute their great statesman on the ground of treasonable correspondence with Persia. Accordingly, joint envoys were sent from Athens and Sparta to arrest him (468 B.C.).

Themistocles, however, avoided the impending danger by flying from Argos to Corcyra. Meanwhile the Athenians condemned him to death in his absence on the ground of treason, and decreed the confiscation of his property. Themistocles found the Corcyræans unwilling to brave the enmity of Athens and Sparta by sheltering him; he was accordingly set ashore on the opposite coast of Epirus; and, being still pursued, he was forced to seek refuge at the court of Admetus, king of the Molossians, though the latter was his personal enemy. Fortunately, Admetus happened to be away from home. The forlorn condition of Themistocles excited the compassion of the wife of the Molossian king, who placed her child in his arms, and bade him seat himself on the hearth as a suppliant. As soon as the king arrived, Themistocles explained his peril, and adjured him by the sacred laws of hospitality not to take vengeance upon a fallen foe. Admetus accepted his appeal, and raised him from the hearth; he refused to deliver him up to his pursuers, and at last only dismissed him on his own expressed desire to proceed to Persia. After many perils, Themistocles succeeded in reaching in safety the coast of Asia. After a time he proceeded to Susa and presented himself before Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, who was now upon the throne of Persia. The king, after listening to his plea, granted him the royal favor and protection. In a year's time, Themistocles, having acquired a sufficient knowledge of the Persian language to be able to converse in it, entertained Artaxerxes with magnificent schemes for the subjugation of Greece. Artaxerxes loaded him with honors, gave him the revenues of three cities for his support, and appointed Magnesia, a town

not far from the Ionian coast, as his place of residence. After living there some time he was carried off by disease, without having realized, or apparently attempted, any of those plans with which he had dazzled the Persian monarch. An untrustworthy tradition ascribes his death to poison, which he is said to have taken of his own accord, from a consciousness of his inability to perform his promises. He probably died about 458 B.C. The question whether Themistocles was guilty or innocent of the charge brought against him has been much discussed. Most ancient authorities seem to have regarded him as a traitor ; in recent times the opposite view has found strong support. It seems on the whole to be neither proved nor probable that he was guilty of treason.

The Death of Aristides.—Aristides died a few years after the banishment of Themistocles. The common accounts of his poverty are probably exaggerated, and seem to have been founded on the circumstances of a public funeral, and of handsome donations made to his three children by the state. But, whatever his property may have been, it is at least certain that he did not acquire or increase it by unlawful means; and not even calumny has ventured to assail his well-earned title of *the Just*.

Reforms in the Athenian Constitution.—Some reforms which seem to have been effected during the period between the beginning of the Persian wars and the death of Aristides may be mentioned here. The ill-advised provision of the old constitution which gave equal authority to each of the ten generals, evidently became a source of trouble to the Athenians. In her dealings with the allies, and in military expeditions, the state needed to be represented by one commander

with full power. Accordingly one of the ten generals was often made general-in-chief by vote of the people and his associates subordinated to him. Or again the Ecclesia chose some one of the ten to be the leader of a special expedition. The Polemarch meanwhile had ceased to have any part whatever in military operations. In 487 B.C. the state reverted to the Solonian method of choosing archons—that is, by lot from a selected number of candidates. Some time later the archonship was thrown open to citizens belonging to Solon's second class, the Knights.

Growth of the Delian Confederacy.—On the death of Aristides, Cimon became the undisputed leader of the conservative party at Athens. Cimon was generous, affable, magnificent; and, notwithstanding his political views, of exceedingly popular manners. He had inherited the military genius of his father, and was undoubtedly the greatest commander of his time. He employed the vast wealth acquired in his expeditions in adorning Athens and gratifying his fellow-citizens. It has been already mentioned that he became commander of the allied fleet upon the formation of the Confederacy of Delos. His first exploit was the capture of Eion on the Strymon (476 B.C.). This success was followed by the conquest of almost all the towns on the coast of Thrace, from Macedonia to the Hellespont. Byzantium and Sestus fell in 470 B.C. Two years later the island of Scyros was reduced to subjection. Shortly afterwards we find the first symptoms of discontent among the members of the Confederacy of Delos. Naxos, one of the confederate islands, and the largest of the Cyclades, revolted in 467 B.C., probably from a feeling of the growing oppressiveness of the Athenian headship.

It was immediately invested by the confederate fleet, reduced, and made tributary to Athens. This was another step towards dominion gained by the Athenians, whose pretensions were assisted by the imprudence of the allies. Many of the states belonging to the confederacy, wearied with perpetual hostilities, commuted for a money payment the ships which they were bound to supply; and thus, by depriving themselves of a navy, lost the only means by which they could assert their independence.

The Battle of the Eurymedon (467 B.C.).—The same year was marked by important operations against the Persians. Cimon, at the head of more than 200 triremes, proceeded to the coast of Asia Minor. The coast cities of Caria and Lycia were freed from the Persian yoke and became members of the Delian confederacy. Meanwhile the Persians had assembled a large fleet and army at the mouth of the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia. After speedily defeating the fleet, Cimon landed his men and marched against the Persian army, which was drawn up on the shore to protect the fleet. The land force fought with bravery, but was at length put to the rout.

The Revolt of Thasos and the Third Messenian War.—The island of Thasos was the next member of the confederacy against which the Athenians directed their arms. After a siege of two years that island surrendered, when its fortifications were razed, and it was condemned to pay tribute (464 B.C.).

The expedition to Thasos was attended with a circumstance which first gives token of the coming hostilities between Sparta and Athens. Sparta had been kept busy for ten years after the battle of Plataea in re-establishing her supremacy in Peloponnesus,

which had been threatened by a formidable coalition of the Argives and Arcadians. Now her hands were free and she was anxious to put a check on the growing power of Athens. When, accordingly, the Thasians, at an early period of the blockade of their island, secretly applied to the Lacedæmonians to make a diversion in their favor by invading Attica, the Lacedæmonians, though still ostensibly friendly to Athens, were base enough to comply with this request. Their treachery, however, was prevented by a terrible calamity which befel themselves. In the year 465 B.C. their capital was visited by an earthquake, which laid it in ruins and killed a great number of the citizens. But this was only part of the calamity. The earthquake was immediately followed by a revolt of the Helots, who were always ready to take advantage of the weakness of their tyrants. Moreover, there is no doubt that Pausanias a few years before had aroused a spirit of discontent among the Helots, promising them freedom and citizenship in return for their assistance in carrying out his traitorous schemes. Being now joined by the Messenians, the Helots fortified themselves in Mount Ithome, in Messenia. Hence this revolt is sometimes called the *Third Messenian War*. After vain attempts to dislodge them from this position, the Lacedæmonians found themselves obliged to call in the assistance of their allies, and, among the rest, of the Athenians. It was with great difficulty that Cimon persuaded the Athenians to comply with this request; but he was at length despatched to Laconia with a force of 4000 hoplites. The aid of the Athenians had been requested by the Lacedæmonians on account of their acknowledged superiority in the art of attacking fortified places. As, however, Cimon

did not succeed in dislodging the Helots from Ithome, the Lacedæmonians, probably from a consciousness of their own treachery in the affair of Thasos, suspected that the Athenians were playing them false, and abruptly dismissed them, saying that they had no longer any occasion for their services.

The Triumph of the Democratical Party: Overthrow of the Areopagus (463 B.C.).—This rude dismissal gave great offence at Athens, and annihilated for a time the political influence of Cimon. The democratical party had from the first opposed the expedition; and it afforded them a great triumph to be able to point to Cimon returning not only unsuccessful, but insulted. Moreover, Cimon had been so continually absent from Athens during the last fifteen years that the aristocratic party, left without its leader, had been steadily losing ground. Ephialtes, who was now at the head of the opposition, was a statesman of the most radical tendencies, but, like Aristides, of incorruptible integrity. He sought nothing less than the overthrow of the Areopagus, always the bulwark of the aristocratic party. The Areopagus had won the favor of the people at the time of Xerxes' invasion by a general distribution of public funds to assist the Athenians in their hasty removal from the city. Since then it had been virtually the ruling power in the state. Ephialtes now succeeded, with the support of the people, in depriving it of its chief functions, which he transferred to the Senate, the Ecclesia, and the Dicasteries. The Areopagus was left with little more than its ancient jurisdiction in cases of manslaughter. All this seems to have been accomplished at the time when Cimon was absent in Messenia (463 B.C.). He returned to find his party shattered and

his own power at an end. In the following year (462 B.C.) he was condemned by ostracism to a ten years' banishment.

Pericles Succeeds Ephialtes.—Not long after the overthrow of the Areopagus, Ephialtes was assassinated. He was succeeded as leader of the popular party by Pericles, who probably came into power shortly before the banishment of Cimon. A sort of hereditary feud existed between Pericles and Cimon; for it was Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, who had impeached Miltiades, the father of Cimon. The character of Pericles was almost the reverse of Cimon's. Although the leader of the popular party, his manners were reserved. He appeared but little in society, and only in public upon great occasions. His mind had received the highest polish which that period was capable of giving. He was a friend and companion of the eminent philosophers Anaxagoras and Zeno. To oratory in particular he had devoted much attention, as an indispensable instrument for swaying the public assemblies of Athens.

Constitutional Reforms of Pericles.—Pericles carried still further the democratic reforms begun by Ephialtes. He was the author of a law by which the Dicasts or members of the popular courts received payment for their services. Since the time of Solon, their creator, these courts had gained great power and importance and the number of the Dicasts had been increased to 6000. From this body ten separate courts or Discasteries of 500 each were constituted. Vacancies which might occur on account of sickness or death were filled by drawing upon the remaining 1000. The Dicasts were chosen by lot from the whole number of citizens who presented themselves

as candidates. Upon the overthrow of the Areopagus these courts had assumed many of its functions, and by providing that jurors should be paid from the state treasury Pericles made it possible for all citizens, even the poorest, to serve in that capacity. He also secured the passage of a law making citizens of Solon's third class, the Zeugitae, eligible to the archonship (457 B.C.).

The Extension of Athenian Influence: the Battle of Tanagra (458 B.C.).—While these changes were taking place in the internal administration of the state, Athens was widening and strengthening her empire abroad. Pericles had succeeded to the political principles of Themistocles, and his aim was to render Athens the leading power of Greece. The Confederacy of Delos had already secured her maritime ascendancy; Pericles directed his policy to the extension of her influence in continental Greece. She formed an alliance with the Thessalians, Argos, and Megara. The possession of Megara was of great importance, as it enabled the Athenians to arrest the progress of an invading army from Peloponnesus. The Æginetans, so long the maritime rivals of Athens, were defeated in an important naval battle and their city besieged. The Corinthians who invaded Megaris to make a diversion in favor of the Æginetans were defeated with great loss and driven back. The so-called Long Walls were begun, connecting Athens with its two ports, Piræus and Phalerum. All this activity on the part of the Athenians could not fail to rouse the Spartans. They soon found a pretext for sending an army into northern Greece. The Phocians had made war upon the Dorians and captured one of their towns. The Spartans claimed Doris as their mother-country,

and as soon as the news of the Phocian invasion reached them they despatched an army of 12,000 men to its assistance. Since the Athenians held the isthmus, the Spartan army was compelled to cross the Corinthian Gulf in order to reach Phocis. The Phocians were unable to offer any effective resistance, and the object of the Spartan expedition was soon accomplished. The army thereupon marched into Bœotia, where it was learned that the Athenians had sent a fleet to the Corinthian Gulf, evidently intending to attack the Spartans if they should attempt to return by the way they had come. Under these circumstances the Spartan commander, Nicomedes, decided to remain for a while in Bœotia. Here he did good service to Sparta by forcing the Bœotian towns into a league of which Thebes was made the head. Thus a powerful state was created which could be relied upon to keep close watch on Athens. Meanwhile the nearness of the Peloponnesian army had excited uneasiness among the Athenians. They finally sent out the strongest force they could muster, supported by troops from Argos and the other allied states, to attempt to drive the Spartans from Bœotia. A great battle was fought at Tanagra (458 B.C.) in which the Spartans were victorious, though both sides suffered severely. The victors marched back to Peloponnesus unopposed by way of the isthmus.

Further Athenian Conquests and Campaigns.—Within two months after the battle of Tanagra the Athenians were back again in Bœotia. A decisive victory at Cœnophyta reduced all the Bœotian towns except Thebes to subjection. As a further result of the victory the Phocians enrolled themselves as allies of the Athenians, and the Opuntian Locrians surren-

dered a hundred of their richest citizens as hostages. From the Gulf of Corinth to the Straits of Thermopylæ Athenian influence was now predominant. The activity of the Athenians did not end here. In 457 B.C. the Æginetans capitulated, and their island became tributary to Athens. In the following year an Athenian expedition sailed round Peloponnesus, burned the Spartan dock-yards at Gytheum, and fought a successful battle with the Sicyonians. In 454 and 453 B.C. expeditions were undertaken against Thessaly, Sicyon, and Acarnania, but without decisive results. During these events the Athenians had continued to prosecute the war against Persia. In the year 459 B.C. they sent a powerful fleet to Egypt to assist Inarus, who had revolted against Persia; but this expedition proved a complete failure, for at the end of six years the revolt was put down by the Persians, and the Athenian fleet destroyed (453 B.C.). At a later period (449 B.C.), Cimon, who had been recalled from exile, sailed to Cyprus with a fleet of 200 ships. He undertook the siege of Citium in that island, but died during the progress of it, either from disease or from the effects of a wound. The Athenians returned home, though not until they had won an important victory over the fleet and army of the enemy. Shortly afterwards a pacification was concluded with Persia, which is sometimes, but erroneously, called "the peace of Cimon." It is stated that by this compact the Persian monarch agreed not to tax or molest the Greek colonies on the coast of Asia Minor, nor to send any vessels of war westward of Phaselis in Lycia, or the Cyanean rocks at the junction of the Euxine with the Thracian Bosphorus; the Athenians on their side undertaking to leave the

Persians in undisputed possession of Cyprus and Egypt. During the progress of these events, the states which formed the Confederacy of Delos, with the exception of Chios, Lesbos, and Samos, had gradually become, instead of the active allies of Athens, her disarmed and passive tributaries. Even the custody of the fund had been transferred from Delos to Athens. The purpose for which the confederacy had been originally organized disappeared with the Persian peace; yet what may now be called Imperial Athens continued, for her own ends, to exercise her prerogatives as head of the league. Her alliances, as we have seen, had likewise been extended in continental Greece, where they embraced Megara, Bœotia, Phocis, Locris, together with Trœzen and Achaia in Peloponnesus. Such was the position of Athens in the period of her greatest power and prosperity. The catastrophe in Egypt, however, was the beginning of a series of reverses. From this time her empire began to decline; while Sparta, and other watchful and jealous enemies, stood ever ready to strike a blow.

Athenian Reverses: the Thirty Years' Truce (445 B.C.).— In 446 B.C. a revolution in Bœotia deprived Athens of her ascendancy in that country. With an overweening contempt of their enemies, a small band of 1000 Athenian hoplites, chiefly composed of youthful volunteers belonging to the best Athenian families, together with a few auxiliaries, marched under the command of Tolmides to put down the revolt. The enterprise proved disastrous in the extreme. Tolmides was defeated and slain near Coronea; a large number of the hoplites also fell in the engagement, whilst a still larger number were taken prisoners. This last circumstance proved fatal to the interests of Athens in Bœotia. In order to

recover these prisoners she agreed to evacuate Bœotia, and to permit the re-establishment of the aristocracies which she had formerly overthrown. But the Athenian reverses did not end here. The expulsion of the partisans of Athens from the government of Phocis and Locris, and the revolt of Eubœa and Megara, were announced in quick succession. The youthful Pleistoanax, king of Sparta, actually penetrated, with an army of Lacedæmonians and Peloponnesian allies, as far as the neighborhood of Eleusis; and the capital itself, it is said, was saved only by Pericles having bribed the Spartan monarch. Pericles reconquered Eubœa; but this was the only possession which the Athenians succeeded in recovering. Their empire on land had vanished more speedily than it had been acquired; and they were therefore induced to conclude, at the beginning of 445 B.C., a THIRTY YEARS' TRUCE with Sparta and her allies, by which they consented to abandon all the acquisitions which they had made in Peloponnesus, and to leave Megara to be included among the Peloponnesian allies of Sparta.

Athenian Art and Literature in the Age of Pericles.—From the Thirty Years' Truce to the commencement of the Peloponnesian war few political events of any importance occurred. During these fourteen years (445–431 B.C.) Pericles continued to enjoy the sole direction of affairs. His views were of the most lofty kind. Athens was to become the capital of Greece and the centre of art and refinement. In her external appearance the city was to be rendered worthy of the high position to which she aspired by the beauty and splendor of her public buildings, by her works of art in sculpture, architecture, and painting, and by the pomp and magnificence of her relig-

ious festivals. All these objects Athens was enabled to attain in an incredibly short space of time, through the genius and energy of her citizens and the vast resources at her command. No state has ever exhibited so much intellectual activity and so great a progress in art as was displayed by Athens in the period which elapsed between the Thirty Years' Truce and the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. She was the seat and centre of Grecian literature. The three great tragic poets of Greece were natives of Attica. Æschylus, the earliest of the three, had recently died in Sicily; but Sophocles was now at the full height of his reputation, and Euripides was rapidly rising into notice. Aristophanes, the greatest of the comic poets, was born in Athens, and exhibited plays soon after the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. Herodotus, the Father of History, though a native of Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, resided some time at Athens, and accompanied a colony which the Athenians sent to Thurii in Italy. Thucydides, the greatest of Greek historians, was an Athenian, and was a young man at this period.

Pericles' Colonial Policy.—Colonization, for which the genius and inclination of the Athenians had always been suited, was another method adopted by Pericles for extending the influence and empire of Athens. The settlements made under his auspices were of two kinds, *Cleruchies* and regular colonies. The former mode was exclusively Athenian. It consisted in the allotment of land in conquered or subject countries to certain bodies of Athenians, who continued to retain all their original rights of citizenship. This circumstance, as well as the convenience of entering upon land already in a state of cul-

tivation, instead of having to reclaim it from the rude condition of nature, seems to have rendered such a mode of settlement much preferred by the Athenians. The earliest instance which we find of it is in the year 506 B.C., when four thousand Athenians entered upon the domains of the Chalcidian knights. But it was under Pericles that this system was most extensively adopted. During his administration 1000 Athenian citizens were settled in the Thracian Chersonese, 500 in Naxos, and 250 in Andros. The islands of Lemnos and Imbros, as well as a large tract in Eubœa, were also occupied by Athenian proprietors.

The most important colonies settled by Pericles were those of Thurii and Amphipolis. The former was founded in 445 B.C. near the site of the ancient city Sybaris, which was destroyed by the Crotoniates in 510 B.C. Since that time the exiled Sybarites had been subject to almost continuous persecution by their ancient enemies. They now became united in the new city with the Athenian colonists sent out by Pericles. The colony of Amphipolis was founded in 437 B.C. under the conduct of Hagnon, and long remained one of the most valuable of the Athenian possessions.

Attacks upon Pericles.—But Pericles, notwithstanding his influence and power, had still many bitter and active enemies, who assailed him through his private connections, and even endeavored to wound his honor by a charge of peculation. Pericles, after divorcing a wife with whom he had lived unhappily, took his mistress Aspasia to his house, and dwelt with her till his death on terms of the greatest affection. She was distinguished not only for her beauty, but also

for her learning and accomplishments. Her intimacy with Anaxagoras, the celebrated Ionic philosopher, was made a handle for wounding Pericles in his tenderest relations. Anaxagoras was indicted for impiety. It is not certain whether his case was brought to trial or not; at any rate, he escaped with his life, no doubt through the assistance of Pericles. At the same time or shortly afterwards a similar charge was brought against Aspasia. Pericles himself pleaded her cause. As an intimate friend of Anaxagoras, he was himself indirectly implicated in the indictment; but he felt no concern except for his beloved Aspasia, and on this occasion the cold and somewhat haughty statesman, whom the most violent storms of the assembly could not deprive of his self-possession, was for once seen to weep. His appeal to the jury was successful. At



THE VARYAKEION STATUETTE: A
COPY OF THE ATHENA OF PHIDIAS

about the same time an indictment was preferred against his friend, the great sculptor Phidias, for the embezzlement of gold intended to adorn the celebrated statue of Athena; and, according to some, Pericles himself was included in the charge of peculation. Whether Pericles was ever actually tried on this accusation is uncertain; but, at all events, if he was, there can be no doubt that he was honorably acquitted. The gold employed in the statue had been fixed in such a manner that it could be detached and weighed, and Phidias challenged his accusers to the proof. But he was now further charged with having introduced portraits both of himself and Pericles in the sculptures which adorned the shield of the statue of Athena. It is said that he died in prison before the day of trial.

Discontent in the Confederacy of Delos: the Revolt of Samos (440 B.C.).—The Athenian empire, since the conclusion of the Thirty Years' Truce, had again become exclusively maritime. Yet even among the subjects and allies united with Athens by the Confederacy of Delos, her sway was borne with growing discontent. One of the chief causes of this dissatisfaction was the amount of the tribute exacted by the Athenians, as well as their manner of employing the proceeds. This tribute had originally been levied for the purpose of carrying on the war with Persia. That war was now at an end, and yet the assessment imposed upon the various allied states seems to have been nearly, if not quite, as large as before. Only a part of the vast revenue which thus accrued to Athens was employed in protecting the allies; the rest was either spent in adorning the city with magnificent buildings and works of art, or

hoarded in the treasury. Another grievance was the transference to Athens of all important criminal suits, the allies being deprived of the power to punish an offender with death, banishment, or disfranchisement.

In 440 B.C. war broke out between Samos and Miletus, both members of the Delian confederacy. The Samians refused to refer the dispute to the offered mediation of Athens, and a fleet under the command of Pericles himself was sent against the island. He defeated the Samian fleet in successive engagements, and forced the city to capitulate. The Samians were compelled to raze their fortifications, to surrender their fleet, to give hostages for their future conduct, and to pay the expenses of the war.

The Quarrel between Corinth and Corcyra. — The triumphs and the power of Athens were regarded with fear and jealousy by her rivals; and the quarrel between Corinth and Corcyra lighted the spark which was to produce the conflagration. On the coast of Illyria the Corcyræans had founded the city of Epidamnus. Corcyra (now Corfu) was itself a colony of Corinth; and though long at enmity with its mother-country, was forced, according to the time-hallowed custom of the Greeks in such matters, to select the founder of Epidamnus from the Corinthians. Accordingly, Corinth became the mother-city of Epidamnus as well as of Corcyra. At the time of which we speak, the Epidamnians, being hard pressed by the Illyrians, led by some oligarchical exiles of their own city, applied to Corcyra for assistance, which the Corcyræans refused. The Epidamnians then sought help from the Corinthians, who undertook to assist them. The Corcyræans, highly resenting this interference, attacked

the Corinthian fleet off Cape Actium, and gained a signal victory (434 B.C.).

The Athenians Conclude a Defensive Alliance with Corcyra (432 B.C.).—Deeply humbled by this defeat, the Corinthians spent the two following years in active preparations for retrieving it. The Corcyræans, who had not enrolled themselves either in the Lacedæmonian or Athenian alliance, and therefore stood alone, were greatly alarmed at these preparations. They now resolved to remedy this deficiency; and, as Corinth belonged to the Lacedæmonian alliance, the Corcyræans had no option, and were obliged to apply to Athens. After long debate the Athenian assembly decided to comply with their request; but, in order to avoid an open infringement of the Thirty Years' Truce, it was resolved to conclude only a defensive alliance with Corcyra—that is, to defend the Corcyræans in case their territories were actually invaded by the Corinthians, but beyond that not to lend them any active assistance. A small Athenian squadron of only ten triremes was despatched to the assistance of the Corcyræans. Soon after their arrival a battle ensued off the coast of Epirus, between the Corinthian and Corcyræan fleets. After a hard-fought engagement, victory finally declared in favor of the Corinthians. The Athenians now abandoned their neutrality, and did all in their power to save the flying Corcyræans from their pursuers. This action took place in the morning; and the Corinthians prepared to renew the attack in the afternoon, when they saw in the distance twenty Athenian vessels, which they believed to be the advance guard of a still larger fleet. They accordingly sailed away to the coast of Epirus; but, finding that the

Athenians did not mean to undertake offensive operations against them, they departed homewards with their whole fleet. These events took place in the early part of the year 432 B.C.

The Revolt of Potidæa (July, 432 B.C.).—The Corinthians were extremely incensed at the conduct of Athens, and it is not surprising that they should have watched for an opportunity to revenge themselves. On the other hand, the Athenians, fully aware of the enmity they had aroused, sought to anticipate and thwart any attempt at retaliation which the Corinthians might make. The natural and almost immediate consequence of this state of feeling was a second collision between the two cities, this time upon the Thracian coast. Among the Athenian dependencies in that quarter was Potidæa, a town situated on the peninsula of Chalcidice. Potidæa was a colony of Corinth, and, even after it passed under Athenian control, maintained a close connection with the mother-city, from which it received certain annual magistrates. The Athenians now feared that Corinth might take advantage of this connection and of its influence in Potidæa to cause the revolt of that city. They accordingly ordered the Potidæans to dismiss the Corinthian magistrates and to tear down their sea-walls. The Potidæans might have obeyed this command had they not been supported and urged to open resistance, not only by the Corinthians, but by Perdiccas, king of Macedonia. This monarch had grievances of his own against the Athenians, whom he was consequently endeavoring to injure by inciting their tributary cities in Chalcidice to revolt. His designs did not escape the attention of the Athenians, and a fleet of thirty triremes was despatched from

Piræus to the Macedonian coast. Before it arrived, however, Potidæa and many other Chalcidian cities had openly raised the standard of revolt. The Athenians at once sent out a second expedition to reduce their rebellious dependencies to subjection.

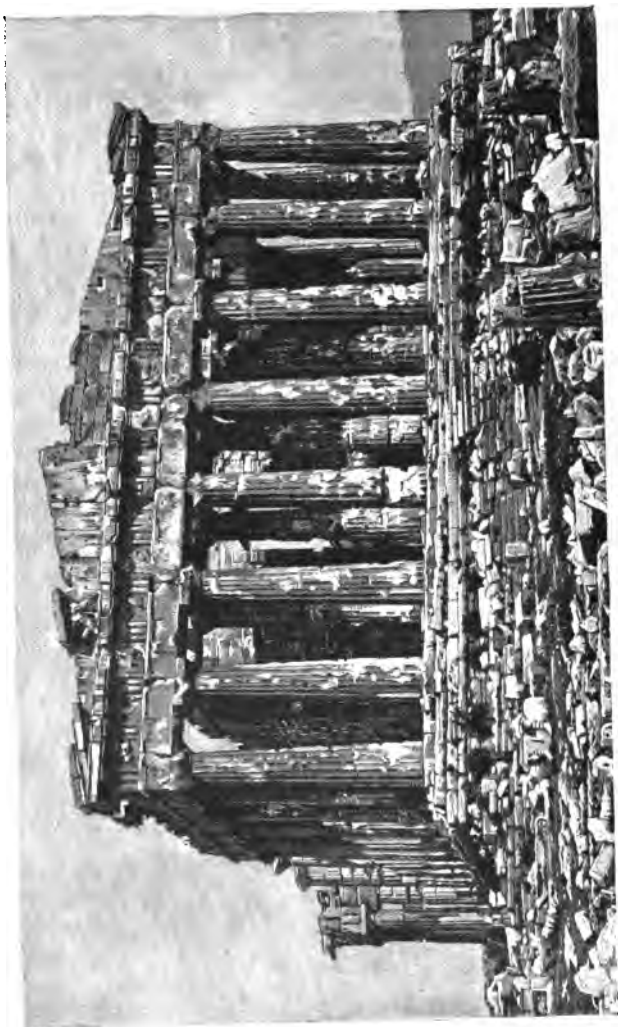
The Potidæans received no very zealous support from Perdiccas; the Corinthians, however, sent a force of 1600 hoplites and 400 light-armed troops to their assistance. The Athenians soon appeared before Potidæa, and a battle took place in which, for a second time, Corinthians and Athenians were pitted against one another. The Corinthians were defeated and shut up within the walls of Potidæa, which was thereupon besieged by the Athenians.

The Peloponnesian Congress resolves upon War (November, 432 B.C.).—The Corinthians were now convinced of their inability to cope with the power of Athens. They resolved to seek the aid of Sparta, and accordingly sent an embassy thither to present their complaints against the Athenians. At the same time they urged the other members of the Lacedæmonian alliance to follow their example. The ambassadors of the various states were granted an audience at Sparta before the popular assembly. The Corinthians naturally took the most prominent part in the debate that followed; but other members of the confederacy had also heavy grievances to allege against Athens. Foremost among these were the Megarians, who complained that their commerce had been ruined by a recent decree of the Athenians which excluded them from every port within the Athenian jurisdiction. The Æginetans urged that they had been unjustly deprived of their independence. It was generally felt that the time had now arrived for checking

the power of Athens. Influenced by these feelings, the Lacedæmonians decided upon war; and a congress which was now called, made up of representatives from all the states of the Peloponnesian confederacy, passed a resolution to the same effect. This important resolution was adopted towards the close of 432 B.C. Before any actual declaration of war, hostilities were begun in the spring of 431 B.C. by a treacherous attack of the Thebans upon Platæa. Though Bœotians by descent, the Platæans did not belong to the Bœotian league, but had long been in close alliance with the Athenians. Hence they were regarded with hatred and jealousy by the Thebans, whose sentiments were also shared by a small oligarchical faction in Platæa itself. The Platæan oligarchs secretly admitted a body of 300 Thebans into the town at night; but the attempt proved a failure; the citizens flew to arms; and in the morning all the Thebans were either slain or taken prisoners.



COIN OF ATHENS

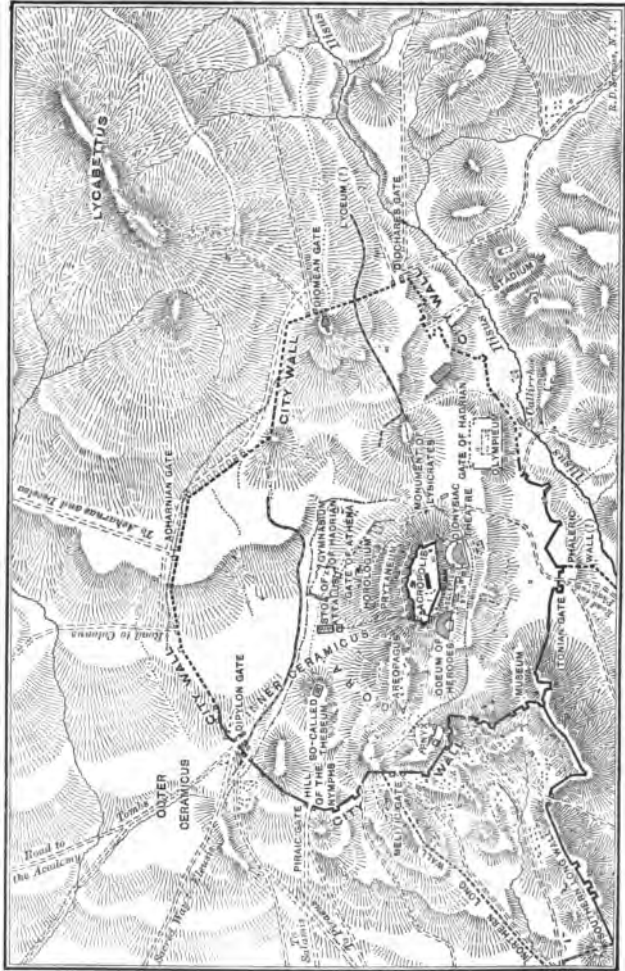


THE PARTHENON IN 1892

CHAPTER X

THE CITY OF ATHENS

The Situation and Topography of Athens.—At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war Athens was at the height of its glory under the brilliant administration of Pericles. We may therefore pause here to take a brief survey of the city and of its most important buildings. Athens is situated about three miles from the sea-coast, in the central plain of Attica. In this plain rise several eminences. Of these the most prominent is a low, isolated mountain, with a conical summit, now called the hill of St. George, and which bore in ancient times the name of *Lycabettus*. This mountain, which was not included within the ancient walls, lies to the northeast of Athens, and forms the most striking feature in the environs of the city. Southwest of Lycabettus there are five hills of moderate height, all of which formed part of the city. Of these the nearest to Lycabettus, and at the distance of a mile from the latter, was the *Acropolis*, or citadel of Athens, a craggy rock rising abruptly about 200 feet, with a flat summit about 1000 feet long from east to west by 400 feet broad from north to south. Immediately west of the Acropolis is a second lower hill of irregular form, the *Areopagus*. To the southwest of the Areopagus there rises a third hill, the *Pnyx*, on which the assemblies of the



PLAN OF ATHENS

citizens were held. Northwest of the latter is the so-called *Hill of the Nymphs*. Finally the fifth hill, known as the *Museum*, lies southeast of the Pnyx and directly south of the Areopagus. The Museum is considerably higher than all the others except the Acropolis, which rises about fifteen feet above it. On the eastern and western sides of the city there run two small streams, called respectively the Ilisus and Cephisus. The former skirted the ancient wall of the city on its southeastern side, but its bed is now dry during almost the entire year. The Cephisus, on the other hand, is a never-failing stream, watering the fertile plain through which it flows. Southwest of the city was seen the Saronic Gulf, with the harbors of Athens.

Athens before the Persian Wars.—Athens is said to have derived its name from the prominence given to the worship of Athena by its king Erechtheus. The inhabitants were previously called Cranai and Cecropidæ, from Cecrops, who, according to tradition, was the original founder of the city. This at first occupied only the hill or rock which afterwards became the *Acropolis*; but gradually the buildings began to spread over the ground at the southern foot of this hill. It was not till the time of Pisistratus and his sons (560–510 B.C.) that the city began to assume any degree of splendor. Pisistratus began the construction of a great temple of Olympian Zeus on a low plateau to the southeast of the Acropolis. The work was interrupted, however, and the structure remained unfinished until the time of the Roman emperor Hadrian. Fifteen Corinthian columns still remain to mark the site of this temple, one of the largest and most magnificent ever constructed in Greece. Pisis-



THE OLYMPIEUM AND THE ACROPOLIS

tratus also rebuilt and enlarged the ancient temple of Athena upon the Acropolis.

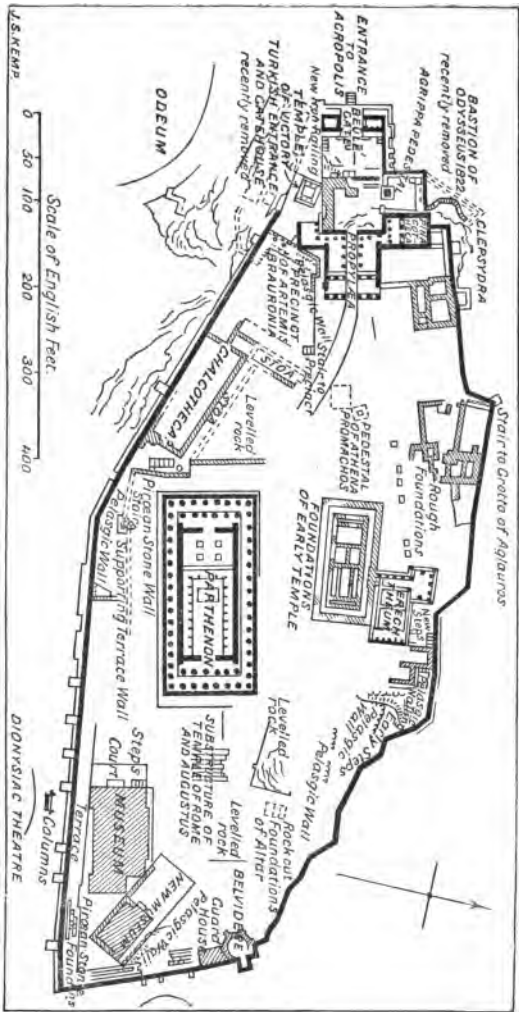
The City and its Ports: the Long Walls.—Xerxes reduced the ancient city almost to a heap of ashes. After the departure of the Persians, its reconstruction on a much larger scale was commenced under the superintendence of Themistocles, whose first care was to provide for its safety by the erection of walls. The Acropolis now formed the centre of the city, round which the new walls described an irregular circle about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circumference. The space thus inclosed formed the *Asty*, or city, properly so called. But the views of Themistocles were not confined to the mere defence of Athens: he contemplated making her a great naval power, and for this purpose adequate docks and arsenals were required. Previously the Athenians had used as their only harbor the open bay of *Phalerum*, where the sea-shore is nearest to Athens. But Themistocles transferred the naval station of the Athenians to the peninsula of Piræus, which is distant about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Athens, and contains three natural harbors—a large one on the western side, called simply *Piræus*, or *The Great Harbor*, and two smaller ones on the eastern side, called respectively *Zea* and *Munichia*, the latter being nearer to the city. It was not till about 460 B.C. that the walls were begun which connected Athens with her ports. These were at first the outer or northern Long Wall, which ran from Athens to Piræus, and the Phaleric Wall, connecting the city with Phalerum. Both were finished within a very short period. It was soon found, however, that the space thus inclosed was too vast to be easily defended; and as the port of Phalerum was less protected than

Piræus, and soon ceased to be used by the Athenian ships of war, its wall was abandoned and probably allowed to fall into decay. Its place was supplied by another Long Wall, which was built parallel to the first at a distance of only about 600 feet, thus rendering both capable of being defended by the same body of men.

It will be seen from the preceding description that Athens, in its larger acceptation, and including its port, consisted of two cities, the Asty and Piræus, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ and 7 miles respectively in circumference, and joined together by a broad street between four and five miles long.

The Age of Pericles.—Such was the outward and material form of that city which during the period between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars reached the highest pitch of military, artistic, and literary glory. The latter portion of this period, or that comprised under the ascendancy of Pericles, exhibits Athenian art in its highest state of perfection, and is therefore by way of excellence commonly designated as the age of Pericles. The great sculptor of this period—perhaps the greatest the world has ever seen—was Phidias, to whom Pericles intrusted the superintendence of all the works executed during his administration.

But little now remains in Athens of architectural or artistic value that can be ascribed to the period before Pericles. It is known that Cimon did much to adorn and beautify the city. He began the construction of a great temple of Athena upon the Acropolis, but the work was left unfinished. It was reserved for Pericles to make the Acropolis the chief centre of the architectural splendor of Athens;

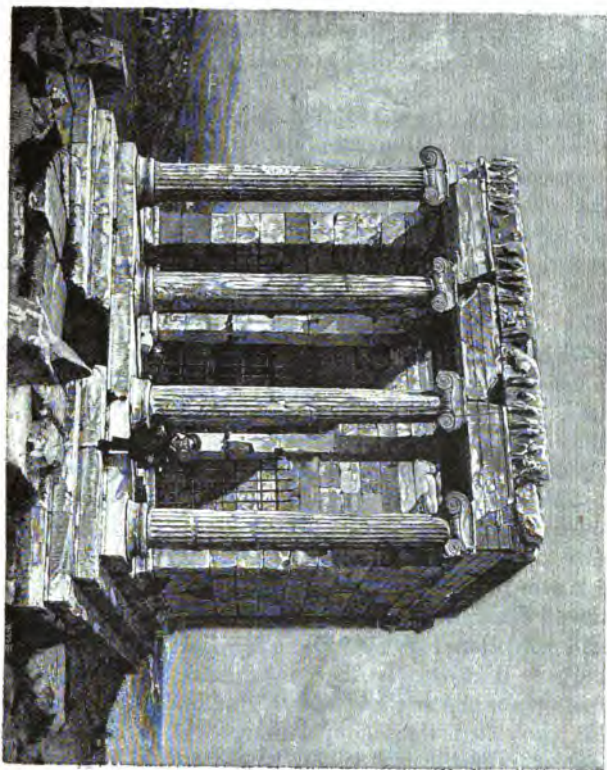


Scale of English Feet.
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PLAN OF THE ACROPOLIS

for it was during the period of his supremacy and under his direction that it was crowned with the magnificent structures which have made it famous throughout the ages.

The Acropolis of Athens: the Propylæa.—Originally the Acropolis had been the site of the king's palace; but after the Persian wars it ceased to be inhabited, and was appropriated entirely to the worship of Athena and other guardian deities of the city. It was covered with the shrines of gods and heroes; and thus its platform presented not only a sanctuary but a museum containing the finest productions of the architect, the sculptor, and the painter. The only approach to it was from the western side. Here a steep winding way led up to the Propylæa, the grand entrance to the Acropolis, and itself one of the masterpieces of Athenian art. It was constructed by the architect Mnesicles during the last years before the Peloponnesian war (437–432 B.C.). It is entirely of Pentelic marble, and covers nearly the whole of the western end of the Acropolis, having a breadth of 154 feet. It comprises a central structure and two small wings, one to the north, the other to the south. The central portion consists of two porticos, the one facing westward towards the Pnyx and that part of the city which lies between the two hills, the other eastward towards the interior of the Acropolis. These porticos are separated from each other by a massive wall running north and south, and pierced by five doors which form the actual entrance to the Acropolis. The front line of each portico is marked by a row of Doric columns, six in number, while on either side the broad avenue which leads through the central door are three Ionic columns. The juxtaposition of the



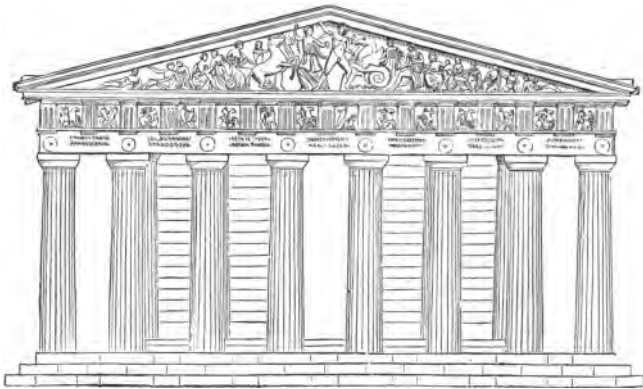
TEMPLE OF ATHENA NIKE

two orders of architecture is noteworthy and extremely effective. The northern wing is in the form of a Doric temple and bears the name *Pinacotheca* from the fact that its walls were adorned with paintings. The southern wing was evidently planned to correspond to the northern, but was not completed in its projected form.

The Temple of Athena Nike.—The temple of Athena Nike (Athena, the goddess of victory) stands upon a projecting bastion just west of the southern wing of the Propylæa. It is, therefore, outside the entrance to the Acropolis proper. It is one of the smallest of Greek temples, measuring only 27 feet in length by 18 feet in breadth, and is of the Ionic order. The temple is generally thought to have been erected shortly after the completion of the Propylæa.

The Parthenon.—On passing through the Propylæa all the glories of the Acropolis became visible. The chief building was the Parthenon, the most perfect production of Grecian architecture. This was the temple of Athena Polias, dedicated to Athena as patron goddess of the city, just as the small temple outside the Propylæa was dedicated to Athena as the goddess of victory. The Parthenon was built under the administration of Pericles by the architect Ictinus, and was completed in 435 B.C. It stands upon the highest part of the Acropolis, near its centre, and rests upon the foundation which Cimon prepared for his projected temple of Athena. It is entirely of Pentelic marble, and its architecture, which is of the Doric order, is of the purest kind. It measures 228 feet in length by 101 feet in breadth, and faces to the east, as did all Greek temples with very few exceptions. The inner temple, which is surrounded by a peristyle,

is divided into four parts, two interior chambers and two entrance halls or porticos, one at either end. The statue of the goddess stood in the eastern chamber, which is much the larger of the two, and was called Hecatompedos because it was exactly 100 feet in length. The western chamber was used as a treasure-house. To this chamber belonged properly the name Parthenon (chamber of the Virgin Goddess), but later this term came to be applied to the whole temple. The ceiling of both these chambers was supported by rows of columns. The whole building was adorned with the most exquisite sculptures, executed



THE PARTHENON RESTORED

by Phidias and his assistants. These consisted of : 1. The sculptures in the tympana of the pediments (*i.e.*, the inner portion of the triangular gable ends of the roof), each of which was filled with colossal figures. The group in the eastern or principal front

represented the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus, and that in the western the contest between Athena and Poseidon for the land of Attica. 2. The metopes between the triglyphs in the frieze of the entablature (*i.e.*, the upper of the two portions into which the space between the columns and the roof

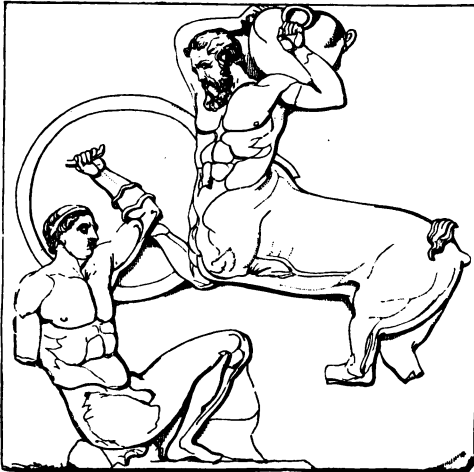


DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE (?)

From the Eastern Pediment of the Parthenon

is divided) were filled with sculptures in high relief, representing a variety of subjects. Each tablet was about 4 feet 5 inches in height by 4 feet 2 inches in breadth. Most of those on the south side related to the battle of the Lapithæ with the Centaurs. One

of the metopes is figured below. 3. The frieze which ran along outside the wall of the cella, and within the external columns which surround the building, at the same height and parallel with the metopes, was sculptured with a representation of the Panathenaic procession in very low relief. This frieze was 3 feet 4 inches in height, and 523 feet in length. A small



A METOPE FROM THE PARTHENON

portion of it is figured on the following page. A large number of the slabs of the frieze, together with sixteen metopes from the south side, and many of the statues of the pediments, were brought to England by Lord Elgin, of whom they were purchased by the nation and deposited in the British Museum.

But the chief wonder of the Parthenon was the



FRAGMENT FROM THE PARTHENON FRIEZE

colossal statue of the Virgin Goddess, executed by Phidias himself, which stood in the eastern or principal chamber of the cella. It was of the sort called *chryselephantine*, in which ivory was substituted for marble in those parts which were uncovered, while the place of the real drapery was supplied with robes and other ornaments of solid gold. Its height, including the base, was nearly forty feet. It represented the goddess standing, clothed with a tunic reaching to the ankles, her left hand resting upon a shield at her side, while in the right she bore an image of Nike.

The Athena Promachus.—The Acropolis was adorned with another colossal figure of Athena, in bronze, also ascribed to Phidias. It stood in the open air, nearly opposite the Propylæa, and was one of the first objects seen after passing through the gates of the latter. So great was the size of this statue that the point of Athena's spear and the crest of her helmet were visible far down the Saronic gulf

to ships approaching Athens. It was called the "Athena Promachus," because it represented the goddess armed and prepared to resist any attack upon her people.

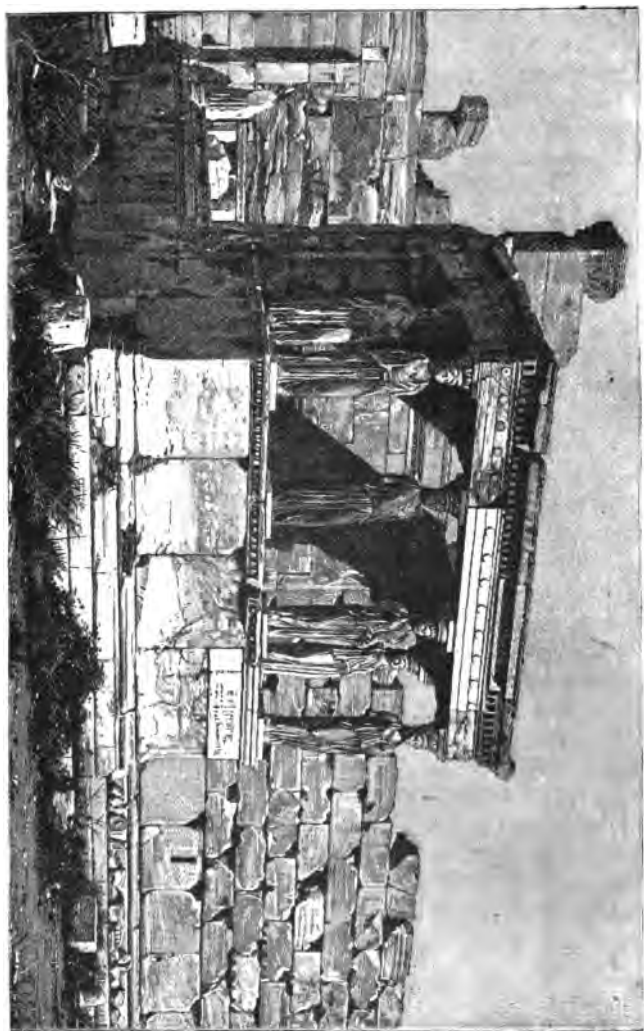
The Erechtheum.—North of the Parthenon and close to the northern wall of the Acropolis stands the Erechtheum, a common sanctuary of Erechtheus, Athena, and Poseidon. It was Poseidon who had



THE ERECHTHEUM RESTORED

striven with Athena for the possession of Attica; and Erechtheus, the legendary king of Attica, was the especial favorite of that goddess. Consequently

these three are continually associated in Athenian mythology. The construction of the Erechtheum was begun after the Parthenon was finished, and the work was still in progress in the year 408 B.C. ; the date of its completion is uncertain. It seems to have occupied the site of an old shrine destroyed by the Persians in 480 B.C. The Erechtheum is the finest example of the Ionic order of architecture, as the Parthenon is of the Doric. Its form differs from that of every known Greek temple. Usually a Greek temple was an oblong figure with a portico at each extremity. The Erechtheum, on the contrary, though oblong in shape, and having a portico at the eastern front, had none at its western end, where, however, a porch projected north and south from either side. This irregularity seems to have been chiefly owing to the necessity of preserving the different sanctuaries and religious objects belonging to the ancient shrine. The interior of the temple was divided into an eastern, a middle, and a western chamber. The first of these was designed to receive the ancient wooden statue of Athena. The other chambers contained an altar of Poseidon, on which sacrifices were also offered to Erechtheus ; the spring of salt water which Poseidon produced as a token of his power at the time of his contest with Athena ; and the imprint upon the rock of the trident which caused the spring to flow. The north porch of the temple, which is covered by a roof resting upon six Ionic columns, is noted for the richness and elegance of its architectural decoration. In the smaller south porch six figures of maidens, called Caryatides, are employed instead of columns to support the weight of the superstructure. Scanty



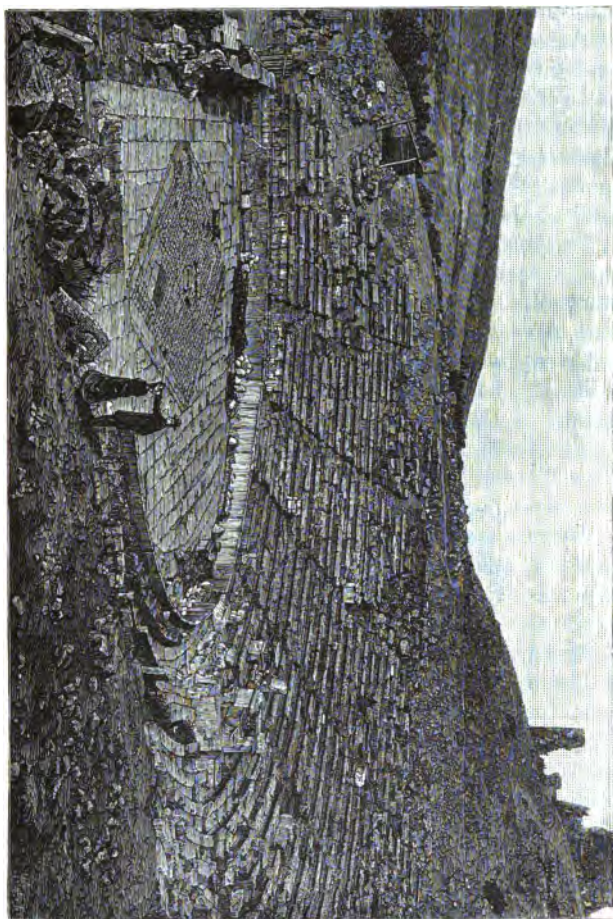
THE KERKOUTRIUM FROM THE SOUTH

fragments are still preserved of the frieze of the temple.

The old Temple of Athena.—The foundations of a very ancient temple of Athena have been recently discovered between the Parthenon and the Erechtheum. The date of its construction is uncertain. It was surely rebuilt by Pisistratus, as has already been noted, and was the chief temple of Athena down to the time when the Parthenon was built.

The "Theseum."—Some other objects of interest in the city, below the Acropolis, must be briefly described. First, the so-called "Theseum," or temple of Theseus, which stands on a low hill to the north of the Areopagus, and is the best-preserved Greek temple in existence. According to tradition a temple of Theseus was built at Athens at the time when the bones of the hero were brought back from Scyros by Cimon (468 B.C.). It is practically certain, however, that the structure which now bears the name "Theseum" is really a temple of Hephæstus or Heracles, and was built considerably later than the real Theseum, of which no traces have been discovered. The so-called "Theseum" is of the Doric order; it is 104 feet in length by 45 feet in breadth, and surrounded by columns. The sculptures of the metopes represent the exploits of Heracles and Theseus; on the frieze of the cella scenes of battle are portrayed.

The Dionysiac Theatre.—The Dionysiac theatre occupied the slope at the southeastern extremity of the Acropolis. The stone seats were firmly fixed upon the hill-side in circular rows, which rose one above another, the diameter increasing with the height. It has been calculated that the theatre seated 27,500 persons. It was sufficiently large, therefore, to ac-



THE DIONYSIAC THEATRE

commodate almost the entire body of Athenian citizens and metics, as well as the strangers who flocked to Athens during the Dionysiac festival. It was not roofed, and the spectators from their elevated seats had a distinct view of the sea and of the peaked hills of Salamis on the horizon. Above them rose the Parthenon and the other buildings of the Acropolis, so that they sat under the shadow of the ancestral gods of the country.

The Areopagus.—The Areopagus, or Hill of Ares, was a rocky height opposite the western end of the Acropolis. It derived its name from the tradition that Ares was here brought to trial before the assembled gods by Poseidon for murdering Halirrhothius, the son of the latter. It was here that the Senate of the Areopagus met, frequently called the Upper Senate, to distinguish it from the Senate of Five Hundred, which assembled in the valley below. The Areopagites sat as judges in the open air, and two white stones before them were occupied respectively by the accuser and the accused. The Areopagus was the spot where the Apostle Paul preached to the men of Athens.

The Pnyx.—The Pnyx, or place for holding the public assemblies of the Athenians, is probably to be located on the slope of a low rocky hill, a short distance southwest of the Areopagus. Projecting from the hill, and hewn out of it, is a broad stone platform, reached by steps on three sides. To the rear of the platform is a rough, cubical block of stone, which probably served as an altar. The platform itself was the so-called Bema, from which the orators addressed the multitude before them. The position of the Bema commanded a view of the Propylæa and

the other magnificent edifices of the Acropolis, while beneath it was the city itself, studded with monuments of Athenian glory. The Athenian orators frequently roused the national feelings of their audiences by pointing to the Propylæa and to the other splendid buildings before them.

The Agora and the Ceramicus.—The Areopagus seems to have been surrounded on three sides, north, west, and south, by the Agora (or market-place). The Agora was included within the deme Ceramicus; hence the term Ceramicus was often used as an equivalent for Agora. As a deme, or quarter of the city, the Ceramicus was divided by the city wall into two parts, the Inner and the Outer Ceramicus. The Inner Ceramicus extended from the western end of the Acropolis to the principal gate of the city, the Dipylon. The Outer Ceramicus, which formed a handsome suburb on the northwest of the city, was the burial-place of all persons honored with a public funeral. Through it ran the road to the gymnasium and gardens of the Academy, which were situated a little less than a mile from the walls. The Academy was the place where Plato and his disciples taught. On each side of this road were monuments to illustrious Athenians, especially those who had fallen in battle.

The Lyceum.—East of the city, and outside the walls, was the Lyceum, a gymnasium dedicated to Apollo Lyceus, and celebrated as the place in which Aristotle taught.

CHAPTER XI

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.—FIRST PERIOD, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR TO THE PEACE OF NICIAS, 431—421 B.C.

Significance of the Contest: the Allies on either side.—War was now fairly kindled. All Greece looked on in suspense as its two leading cities were about to engage in a strife of which no man could foresee the end; but the youth, with which both Athens and Peloponnesus then abounded, having had no experience of the bitter calamities of war, rushed into it with ardor. It was a war of principles and races. Athens was a champion of democracy, Sparta of aristocracy; Athens represented the Ionic tribes, Sparta the Dorian; the former were fond of novelty, the latter were conservative and stationary; Athens had the command of the sea, Sparta was stronger upon land. On the side of Sparta was ranged the whole of Peloponnesus except Argos and Achaia, together with the Megarians, Bœotians, Phocians, Opuntian Locrians, Ambraciots, Leucadians, and Anactorians. The allies of Athens, with the exception of the Thesalians, Acarnanians, Messenians at Naupactus, and Plataeans, were all insular, and consisted of the Chians, Lesbians, Corcyraeans, and Zacynthians, and shortly afterwards of the Cephallenians. To these must be added her tributary towns on the coasts of

Thrace and Asia Minor, together with all the islands north of Crete, except Melos and Thera.

The First Campaign: Invasion of Attica (481 B.C.).—The Peloponnesians commenced the war by invading Attica with a large army, under the command of the Spartan king Archidamus. Pericles had instructed the inhabitants of Attica to secure themselves and their property within the walls of Athens. They obeyed his injunctions with reluctance, for the Attic population had from the earliest times been strongly attached to a rural life. But the circumstances admitted of no alternative. Archidamus advanced as far as Acharnæ, a flourishing Attic deme situated only about seven miles from Athens. Here he encamped on a rising ground within sight of the metropolis, and began to lay waste the country around, expecting probably by that means to provoke the Athenians to battle. But in this he was disappointed. Notwithstanding the murmurs and clamors of the citizens, Pericles remained firm, and steadily refused to venture an engagement in the open field. The Peloponnesians retired from Attica after still further ravaging the country; and the Athenians retaliated by making descents upon various parts of the coasts of Peloponnesus, and ravaging the territory of Megara.

Such were the results of the first campaign. From the method in which the war was conducted it had become pretty evident that it would prove of long duration; and the Athenians now proceeded to provide for this contingency. It was agreed that a reserve fund of 1000 talents should be set apart, which was not to be touched except in case of an attack upon Athens by sea. Any citizen who proposed to

make a different use of the fund incurred thereby the punishment of death. With the same view it was resolved to reserve 100 of their best triremes, fully manned and equipped.

Towards the winter Pericles delivered, from a lofty platform erected in the Outer Ceramicus, the funeral oration of those who had fallen in the war. This speech, or at all events the substance of it, has been preserved by Thucydides, who may possibly have heard it pronounced. It is a valuable monument of eloquence and patriotism, and particularly interesting for the sketch which it contains of Athenian manners, as well as of the Athenian constitution.

The Plague at Athens (430 B.C.).—In the following year the Peloponnesians, under Archidamus, renewed their invasion of Attica. At the same time the Athenians were attacked by a more insidious and a more formidable enemy. The plague broke out in the crowded city. This terrible disorder, which was supposed to have originated in Æthiopia, had already desolated Asia and many of the countries around the Mediterranean. A great proportion of those who were seized perished in from seven to nine days. It frequently attacked the mental faculties, and left even those who recovered from it so entirely deprived of memory that they could recognize neither themselves nor others. The disorder being new, the physicians could find no remedy in the resources of their art. Despair now began to take possession of the Athenians. Some suspected that the Peloponnesians had poisoned the wells; others attributed the pestilence to the anger of Apollo. A dreadful state of moral dissolution followed. The sick were seized with unconquerable despondency;

while a great part of the population who had hitherto escaped the disorder, expecting soon to be attacked in turn, abandoned themselves to all manner of excess, debauchery, and crime. The numbers carried off by the pestilence can hardly be estimated at less than a fourth of the whole population.

Attacks upon Pericles. — Oppressed at once by war and pestilence, their lands desolated, their homes filled with mourning, it is not surprising that the Athenians were seized with rage and despair, or that they vented their anger on Pericles, whom they deemed the author of their misfortunes. But that statesman still adhered to his plans with unshak- en firmness. Though the Lacedæmonians were in Attica, though the plague had already seized on Athens, he was vigorously pushing his scheme of offensive operations. A foreign expedition might not only divert the popular mind, but would prove beneficial by relieving the crowded city of part of its population; and accordingly a fleet was fitted out, of which Pericles himself took the command, which committed devastations upon various parts of the Peloponnesian coast. But, upon returning from this expedition, Pericles found the public feeling more exasperated than before. Envoys had even been despatched to Sparta to sue for peace; but they were dismissed without a hearing, a disappointment which rendered the populace still



PERICLES

more furious. Pericles now found it necessary to call a public assembly in order to vindicate his conduct, and to encourage the desponding citizens to persevere. But, though he succeeded in persuading them to prosecute the war, they still continued to nourish their feelings of hatred against the great statesman. His political enemies, of whom Cleon was the chief, took advantage of this state of the public mind to bring against him a charge of speculation. He was brought to trial on this charge, and sentenced to pay a considerable fine. He was also deprived of the office of Strategus or general, which he had held continuously for fifteen years. Eventually, however, a strong reaction occurred in his favor. He was re-elected general, and apparently regained all the influence he had ever possessed.

The Death of Pericles (429 B.C.): his Character.—But he was not destined long to enjoy this return of popularity. His life was now closing in, and its end was clouded by a long train of domestic misfortunes. The epidemic deprived him not only of many personal and political friends, but also of several near relatives, among whom were his sister and his two legitimate sons, Xanthippus and Paralus. The death of the latter was a severe blow to him. During the funeral ceremonies, as he placed a garland on the body of his favorite son, he was completely overpowered by his feelings, and wept aloud. His ancient house was now left without an heir. By Aspasia, however, he had an illegitimate son bearing his own name, whom the Athenians now legitimized, and thus alleviated, as far as lay in their power, the misfortunes of their great leader.

After this period it was with difficulty that Pericles

was persuaded by his friends to take any active part in public affairs; nor did he survive more than a year. An attack of the prevailing epidemic was succeeded by a low and lingering fever, from which he had not the strength to rally. As Pericles lay apparently unconscious on his death-bed, the friends who stood around it were engaged in recalling his exploits. The dying man interrupted them by remarking, "What you praise in me is partly the result of good fortune, and, at all events, common to me with many other commanders. What I chiefly pride myself upon you have not noticed—no Athenian ever wore mourning through me."

The enormous influence which Pericles exercised for so long a period over an ingenious but fickle people like the Athenians is an unquestionable proof of his intellectual superiority. This hold on the public affection is to be attributed to a great extent to his extraordinary eloquence. Cicero regards him as the first example of an almost perfect orator, at once delighting the Athenians with his copiousness and grace, and overawing them by the force and cogency of his diction and arguments. He seems, indeed, to have singularly combined the power of persuasion with that more rapid and abrupt style of oratory which takes an audience by storm and defies all resistance. As the accomplished man of genius and the liberal



ASPASIA

patron of literature and art, Pericles is worthy of the highest admiration. By these qualities he has justly given his name to the most brilliant intellectual epoch that the world has ever seen. But on this point we have already touched, and we shall have occasion to refer to it hereafter in the sketch of Greek literature.

The Siege of Plataea (429-427 B.C.).—In the third year of the war (429 B.C.) Archidamus directed his whole force against the ill-fated town of Plataea. The siege that ensued is one of the most memorable in the annals of Grecian warfare. Plataea was but a small city, and its garrison consisted of only 400 citizens and 80 Athenians, together with 110 women to bake bread for them. Yet this small force set at defiance the whole army of the Peloponnesians. The latter, being repulsed in all their attempts to take the place by storm, resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, and reduce the city by famine. The Plataeans endured a blockade of two years, during which the Athenians attempted nothing for their relief. In the second year, however, about half the garrison effected their escape; but the rest were obliged to surrender shortly afterwards (427 B.C.). The whole garrison, consisting of 200 Plataeans and 25 Athenians, were now arraigned before five judges sent from Sparta. Their indictment was framed in a way which precluded the possibility of escape. They were simply asked "Whether, during the present war, they had rendered any assistance to the Lacedaemonians and their allies?" Each man was called up separately before the judgment-seat, and the same question having been put to him, and, of course, answered in the negative, he was immediately led away to exe-

cution. The town of Plataea was transferred to the Thebans, who, about a year afterwards, razed it to the ground. Thus was Plataea blotted out from the map of Greece. In recording its fall we have anticipated the order of chronology.

The year 429 B.C., which witnessed the beginning of the siege of Plataea, was also marked by several other events of importance. In the early part of the year Potidaea surrendered to the Athenians, after a siege of about thirty months. The Athenians determined to follow up this advantage by attempting further conquests in the Chalcidian peninsula; but an expedition which was sent out for this purpose proved unsuccessful. This reverse was more than counterbalanced by a brilliant naval victory won by the Athenian admiral Phormio, off Patræ in Achaia. With only 20 ships he attacked a fleet of 47 ships, manned by the Corinthians and other Peloponnesian allies, destroyed 12 of them, and put the rest to flight. Shortly afterwards the Peloponnesian fleet was strengthened by reinforcements, and again offered battle, only to be once more defeated through the skilful generalship of Phormio.

The Revolt of Mytilene (428 B.C.): its Capitulation.— In the fourth year of the war Mytilene, the capital of Lesbos, and the greater part of that island revolted from Athens. The Athenians sent out a fleet which blockaded Mytilene both by sea and land. The Peloponnesians promised their assistance; but, from various causes, their fleet failed to reach the place. Meanwhile the provisions of the town were exhausted, and it was therefore resolved, as a last desperate expedient, to make a sally, and endeavor to raise the blockade. With this view, even the

men of the lower classes were armed with the full armor of the hoplites. But this step produced a very different result from what had been expected or intended. The great mass of the Mytileneans regarded their own oligarchical government with suspicion, and now threatened that, unless their demands were complied with, they would surrender the city to the Athenians. In this desperate emergency the Mytilenean government perceived that their only chance of safety lay in anticipating the people in this step. They accordingly opened negotiations with Paches, the Athenian commander, and a capitulation was agreed upon by which the city was to be surrendered, and the fate of its inhabitants to be decided by the Athenian Assembly.

Debate at Athens over the Disposal of the Prisoners.—

At Athens the disposal of the prisoners caused great debate. It was on this occasion that the leather-seller Cleon first comes prominently forward in Athenian affairs. If we may trust the picture drawn by the comic poet Aristophanes, Cleon was a perfect model of a low-born demagogue; a noisy brawler, insolent in his gestures, corrupt and venal in his principles. Much allowance must no doubt be made for comic license and exaggeration in this portrait, but even a caricature must have some grounds of truth for its basis. It was this man who took the lead in the debate respecting the disposal of the Mytileneans, and made the savage and horrible proposal to put to death the *whole* male population of Mytilene of military age, and to sell the women and children into slavery. This motion he succeeded in carrying, and a trireme was immediately despatched to Mytilene, conveying orders to Paches to carry the bloody decree into ex-

ecution. This barbarous decree made no discrimination between the innocent and the guilty ; and on the morrow so general a feeling prevailed of the horrible injustice that had been committed, that the magistrates acceded to the prayer of the Mytilenean envoys and called a fresh assembly. Notwithstanding the violent opposition of Cleon, the majority of the assembly reversed their former decree, and resolved that the Mytileneans already in custody should be put upon their trial, but that the remainder of the population should be spared. A second trireme was immediately despatched to Mytilene, with orders to Paches to arrest the execution. The utmost diligence was needful. The former trireme had a start of twenty-four hours, and nothing but exertions almost superhuman would enable the second to reach Mytilene early enough to avert the tragical catastrophe. The oarsmen were allowed by turns only short intervals of rest, and took their food, consisting of barley-meal kneaded with wine and oil, as they sat at the oar. Happily the weather proved favorable ; and the crew, who had been promised large rewards in case they arrived in time, exerted themselves to deliver the reprieve, while the crew of the preceding vessel had conveyed the order for execution with slowness and reluctance. Yet even so the countermand came only just in time. The mandate was already in the hands of Paches, who was taking measures for its execution. The fortifications of Mytilene were razed, and her fleet delivered up to the Athenians (427 B.C.).

Civil War in Corcyra (427 B.C.).—The fate of the Platæans and the Mytilenean episode afford fearful illustrations of the manners of the age ; but these horrors

soon found a parallel in Corcyra. A fearful struggle took place in this island between the aristocratical and democratical parties. The people at length obtained the mastery, and the vengeance which they took on their opponents was fearful. The most sacred sanctuaries afforded no protection; the nearest ties of blood and kindred were sacrificed to civil hatred. Fathers slew their own sons. These scenes of horror lasted for seven days, during which death in every conceivable form was busily at work.

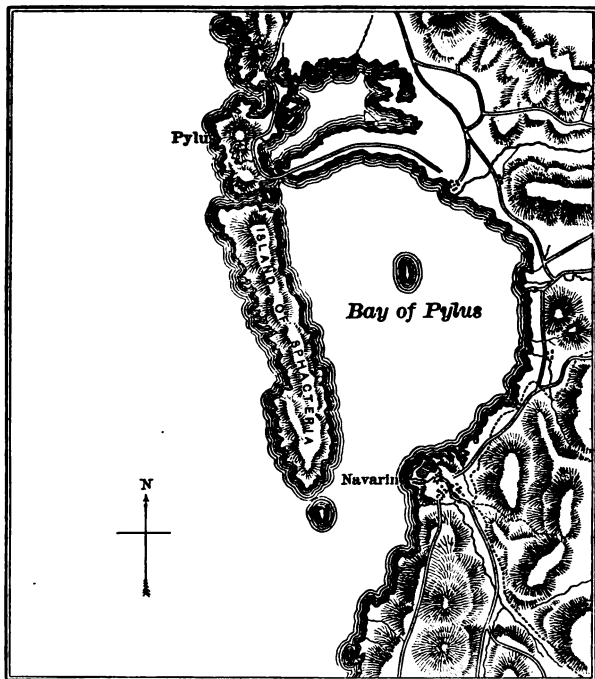
Athens Revisited by the Plague: Events of the Year 426 B.C.—During the winter of 427–426 B.C. Athens was again visited by the plague. It had never, indeed, entirely left the city, but since the first two years (430 and 429 B.C.), during which it had raged without intermission, the Athenians had enjoyed a degree of relief. The year 426 B.C. was comparatively uneventful. The Peloponnesians advanced as far as the Isthmus, intending to invade Attica, as they had done every year since the war broke out. But the prevalence of earthquakes drove them back again. The most noteworthy operations of the year took place in western Greece, where the Athenian general, Demosthenes, with the assistance of the Acarnanians, defeated an allied force of Spartans, Mantineans, and Ambraciots.

The Seizure of Pylus by the Athenians (425 B.C.).—The seventh year of the war was marked by an important event. An Athenian fleet was detained by bad weather at Pylus in Messenia, on the modern Bay of Navarino. Demosthenes, who was on board the fleet, thought it an eligible spot on which to establish a garrison, since it was a strong position, from which they might annoy the Lacedæmonians

and excite revolt among the Messenians. As the bad weather continued for some time, the soldiers on board amused themselves, under the directions of Demosthenes, in constructing a sort of rude fortification. The nature of the ground was favorable for the work, and in six days a wall was thrown up sufficient for purposes of defence. Demosthenes undertook to garrison the place ; and five ships and a few hoplites were left behind with him.

This insult to the Lacedæmonian territory caused great alarm and indignation at Sparta. The Peloponnesian fleet was ordered to Pylus ; and the Lacedæmonian commander, on arriving with the fleet, immediately occupied the small, uninhabited, and densely wooded island of Sphacteria, which, with the exception of two narrow channels on the north and south, blocked up the entrance to the bay. Between the island and the mainland was a spacious basin, in which the fleet took up its station. The Lacedæmonians lost no time in attacking the fortress ; but, notwithstanding their repeated attempts, they were unable to effect a landing.

Naval Battle in the Bay of Pylus : the Blockade of Sphacteria.—While they were preparing for another assault, they were surprised by the appearance of the Athenian fleet. They had strangely neglected to secure the entrances into the bay ; and, when the Athenian ships came sailing through both the undefended channels, many of the Spartan triremes were still moored, and part of their crews ashore. In the battle which ensued the Athenians won an easy victory. Five Peloponnesian ships were captured ; the rest were saved by being dragged ashore, where they were protected by the Lacedæmonian army.



MAP OF THE BAY OF PYLUS

The Athenians, thus masters of the sea, were enabled to blockade the island of Sphacteria, in which the flower of the Lacedæmonian army was shut up, many of them native Spartans of the highest families. In so grave an emergency messengers were sent to Sparta for advice. The Ephors themselves immediately repaired to the spot; and so desponding was their view of the matter that they saw no issue from

it but a peace. They therefore proposed and obtained an armistice for the purpose of opening negotiations at Athens. But the Athenians, at the instigation of Cleon, insisted upon the most extravagant demands, and hostilities were accordingly resumed. They were not, however, attended with any decisive result. The blockade of Sphacteria began to grow tedious and harassing. The force upon it continually received supplies of provisions either from swimmers, who towed skins filled with linseed and poppy-seed mixed with honey, or from Helots, who, induced by the promise of freedom, eluded the blockading squadron, and landed cargoes on the back of the island. The summer, moreover, was fast wearing away, and the storms of winter might probably necessitate the raising of the blockade altogether. Under these circumstances, Demosthenes began to contemplate a descent upon the island; with which view he called upon the neighboring allies for reinforcements.

Cleon is sent to Pylus.—Meanwhile word had been brought to Athens that the blockade was not being successfully maintained and that the final escape of the Spartans was probable. These tidings were very distasteful to the Athenians, who had looked upon Sphacteria as their certain prey. They began to regret having let slip the favorable opportunity for making a peace, and to vent their displeasure upon Cleon, the director of their conduct on that occasion. But Cleon put on a face of brass. He abused the Strategist. His political opponent, Nicias, was then one of those officers, a man of quiet disposition and moderate abilities, but thoroughly honest and incorruptible. It was plain to every one in the assembly that Cleon referred to him when he exclaimed, "It

would be easy enough to take the island if our generals were *men*. If *I* were general, I would do it at once." This burst of the tanner made the assembly laugh. He was saluted with cries of "Why don't you go, then?" and Nicias, thinking probably to catch his opponent in his own trap, seconded the voice of the assembly by offering to place at his disposal whatever force he might deem necessary for the enterprise. Cleon at first endeavored to avoid the dangerous honor thus thrust upon him. But the more he drew back the louder were the assembly in calling upon him to accept the office; and as Nicias seriously repeated his proposition, he adopted with a good grace what there was no longer any possibility of evading, and asserted that he would take Sphacteria within twenty days, and either kill all the Lacedæmonians upon it, or bring them prisoners to Athens.

The Spartans are made Prisoners: Importance of the Event.—Never did general set out upon an enterprise under circumstances more singular; but what was still more extraordinary, fortune enabled him to make his promise good. In fact, as we have seen, Demosthenes had already resolved on attacking the island; and when Cleon arrived at Pylus he found everything prepared for the assault. Accident favored the enterprise. A fire kindled by some Athenian sailors, who had landed for the purpose of cooking their dinner, caught and destroyed the woods with which the island was overgrown, and thus deprived the Lacedæmonians of one of their principal defences. Nevertheless, such was the awe inspired by the reputation of the Spartan arms that Demosthenes considered it necessary to land all the troops

at his command, although the Lacedæmonian force consisted of only about 420 men. But this small force for a long while kept their assailants at bay; till some Messenians, stealing round by the sea-shore, over crags and cliffs, which the Lacedæmonians had deemed impracticable, suddenly appeared on the high ground which overhung their rear. They now began to give way, and would soon have been all slain; but Cleon and Demosthenes, being anxious to carry them prisoners to Athens, sent a herald to summon them to surrender. The latter, in token of compliance, dropped their shields and waved their hands above their heads. They requested, however, permission to communicate with their countrymen on the mainland, who, after two or three communications, sent them a final message—"to take counsel for themselves, but to do nothing disgraceful." The survivors then surrendered. They were 292 in number, 120 of them being native Spartans belonging to the first families. By this surrender the prestige of the Spartan arms was in a great degree destroyed. The Spartans were not, indeed, deemed invincible; but their previous feats, especially at Thermopylæ, had inspired the notion that they would rather die than yield—an opinion which could now no longer be entertained.

Cleon had thus performed his promise. On the day after the victory he and Demosthenes started with the prisoners for Athens, where they arrived within twenty days from the time of Cleon's departure. Altogether, the affair was the most favorable for the Athenians that had occurred during the war. The prisoners would serve not only for a guarantee against future invasions, which might be averted

by threatening to put them to death, but also as a means for extorting advantageous conditions whenever a peace should be concluded. Nay, the victory itself was of considerable importance, since it enabled the Athenians to place Pylus in a better posture of defence, and, by garrisoning it with Messenians from Naupactus, to create a stronghold whence Laconia might be overrun and ravaged at pleasure. The Lacedæmonians themselves were so sensible of these things that they sent repeated messages to Athens to propose a peace, which the Athenians altogether disregarded.

The other events of this year (425 B.C.) were unimportant. The Athenians fought an indecisive battle with the Corinthians and committed the usual ravages on the Peloponnesian coast. An Athenian fleet also carried on successful operations on the western coast of Greece.

Nicias captures Cythera: the Battle of Delium (424 B.C.).—The eighth year of the war opened with brilliant prospects for the Athenians. Nicias, at the head of a fleet of sixty ships, captured Cythera, an island just south of Laconia, and from this point of vantage made repeated descents upon the mainland. He even defeated a small detachment of the enemy and raised a trophy upon Spartan soil. An attempt on the part of the Athenians to gain possession of Megara proved unsuccessful. But this was a matter of comparatively small importance. Elated with their continued good fortune, the Athenians now aimed at nothing less than the recovery of all the possessions which they had held before the Thirty Years' Truce. For this purpose they planned an expedition against Bœotia. But their good fortune

had now reached its culminating-point. They were defeated by the Bœotians with great loss at the battle of Delium, which was the greatest and most decisive engagement fought during the first period of the war. An interesting feature of the battle is that both Socrates and his pupil Alcibiades were engaged in it, the former among the hoplites, the latter in the cavalry. Socrates distinguished himself by his bravery, and won the enthusiastic admiration of Alcibiades, who, being mounted, protected his retreat.

Athenian Losses in the North: Brasidas.—This disastrous battle was speedily followed by the overthrow of the Athenian empire in Thrace. At the request of Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, and of the Chalcidian towns, which had sued for help against the Athenians, Brasidas had been sent by the Lacedæmonian government into Macedonia, at the head of a small body of troops. This able commander had conceived the idea that if Athens were to be humbled the attack must be directed against the allied cities which were the source of her strength. On his arrival in Macedonia he proclaimed that he was come to deliver the Grecian cities from the tyrannous yoke of Athens. His bravery, his kind and conciliating demeanor, his probity, moderation, and good faith, soon gained him the respect and love of the allies of Athens in that quarter. Acanthus and Stagirus hastened to open their gates to him; and early in the ensuing winter, by means of forced marches, he suddenly and unexpectedly appeared before the important Athenian colony of Amphipolis on the Strymon. The Athenian party in that town sent a message for assistance to Thucydides, the historian, who was then general in those parts. Thucydides hast-

ened with seven ships from Thasos, and succeeded in securing Eion at the mouth of the Strymon; but Amphipolis, which lay a little higher up the river, allured by the favorable terms offered, had already surrendered to Brasidas. For his want of vigilance on this occasion, Thucydides was sentenced to banishment, probably on the motion of Cleon, and spent the following twenty years of his life in exile. Brasidas also captured the important city of Torone, while other towns surrendered to him of their own accord.

A Year's Truce: Fruitless Negotiations (423 B.C.).—In the beginning of the following year a truce for one year was concluded between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians, with the intention on both sides of employing this time to arrange the terms of a general peace. But the negotiations which were carried on led to no result, mainly on account of the continued activity of Brasidas in the north. He took possession of two towns, Scione and Mende, which had revolted from Athens after the conclusion of the truce, and refused to give them up to the Athenians. The latter, accordingly, sent an expedition to the Chalcidian peninsula, which recaptured Mende and laid siege to Scione while Brasidas was assisting Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, against his neighbors to the west.

Cleon in Macedonia: the Battle of Amphipolis (422 B.C.).—In the following year at the expiration of this nominal truce, Cleon was sent to Macedonia to recover the Athenian dependencies, and especially Amphipolis. He encamped on a hill on the eastern side of the town. Having deserted the peaceful art of dressing hides for the more hazardous trade of war, in which he was almost totally inexperienced, and

having now no Demosthenes to direct his movements, Cleon was thrown completely off his guard by a very ordinary stratagem on the part of Brasidas, who contrived to give the town quite a deserted and peaceful appearance. Cleon suffered his troops to fall into disorder, till he was suddenly surprised by the astounding news that Brasidas was preparing for a sally. Cleon at once resolved to retreat. But his skill was unequal to his valor. He conducted his retreat in the most disorderly manner. His left wing had already fled off, and his right wing, with straggling ranks, was in the act of following, when Brasidas ordered the gates of the town to be flung open, and, rushing out at the head of only 150 chosen soldiers, charged the retreating columns in the flank. The attack was immediately followed up by the rest of the Peloponnesian troops under the command of Clearidas. The Athenians were immediately routed; but Brasidas received a mortal wound, and was carried off the field. Though his men were forming on the hill, Cleon fled as fast as he could on the approach of the enemy, but was pursued and slain by a Thracian peltast. In spite, however, of the disgraceful flight of their general, the right wing maintained their ground for a considerable time, till some cavalry and peltasts attacked them in flank and rear, and compelled them to fly. On assembling again at Eion it was found that 600 Athenians had been slain. Brasidas was carried into Amphipolis, and lived long enough to receive the tidings of his victory. He was interred within the walls with great military pomp, in front of what thenceforth became the chief agora; he was proclaimed œcist, or founder of the town, and was worshipped as a hero with annual games and sacrifices.

The Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.).—By the death of Brasidas and Cleon, the two chief obstacles to a peace were removed ; for the former loved war for the sake of its glory, the latter for the handle which it afforded for agitation and for attacking his political opponents. The Athenian Nicias and the Spartan king Pleistoanax zealously forwarded the negotiations, and in the spring of the year 421 B.C. a peace of fifty years, commonly called the Peace of Nicias, was concluded on the basis of a mutual restitution of prisoners and places captured during the war.



COIN OF AMPHIPOLIS

CHAPTER XII

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.—SECOND PERIOD, FROM THE PEACE OF NICIAS TO THE DEFEAT OF THE ATHENIANS IN SICILY, 421–413 B.C.

Discontent among the Allies of Sparta: the Argive Confederacy.—The Corinthians, Bœotians, Eleans, and Megarians, all allies of Sparta, were dissatisfied with the peace which she had concluded; and the Corinthians conceived the idea of reviving the ancient pretensions of Argos, and making her the head of a new confederacy, which should include all Greece, with the exception of Sparta and Athens. Once projected, the league soon became a reality, and was joined by the Eleans, the Mantineans, and the Chalcidians.

Negotiations and Embassies: Alcibiades.—Between Sparta and Athens themselves matters were far from being on a satisfactory footing. Sparta confessed her inability to compel the Bœotians and Corinthians to accede to the peace, or even to restore the town of Amphipolis. Athens consequently refused to surrender Pylus, though she removed the Helots and Messenians from the fortress. Now followed a continual series of embassies between the various states, especially Sparta, Athens, Bœotia, Corinth, and Argos. Negotiations were begun only to be broken off. It was a contest of diplomacy and duplicity in which no one of the participants gained a decided advan-

tage. In these negotiations and the discussions consequent upon them in the Athenian Assembly Alcibiades took a prominent part. This extraordinary man had already obtained immense influence at Athens. Young, rich, handsome, profligate, and clever, Alcibiades was the very model of an Athenian man of fashion. In lineage he was a striking contrast to the plebeian orators of the day. He traced his paternal descent from Ajax, while on his mother's side he claimed relationship with the Alcmaeonidæ, and consequently with Pericles. On the death of his father, Clinias, Pericles had become his guardian. From early youth the conduct of Alcibiades was marked by violence, recklessness, and vanity. He delighted in astonishing the more sober portion of the citizens by his capricious and extravagant feats. He was utterly destitute of morality, whether public or private. But his vices were partly redeemed by some brilliant qualities. He possessed both boldness of design and vigor of action; and, though scarcely more than thirty at the time of which we are now speaking, he had already distinguished himself by his bravery. He was an accomplished orator, and he had made his intimacy with Socrates the means of acquiring that clever skill in argument which was so highly appreciated by the Athenians.

Alcibiades Outwits the Spartan Envoys.—An incident from the history of the year 420 B.C. will serve to illustrate Alcibiades' political methods. A Spartan embassy had come to Athens to ask the surrender of Pylus and to urge the Athenians against concluding an alliance with Argos. The ambassadors had been so favorably received by the Senate that Alcibiades, alarmed at the prospect of their success, resorted to a

trick in order to defeat it. He called upon the Lacedæmonian envoys, and advised them not to tell the Assembly that they were furnished with full powers, as in that case the people would bully them into extravagant concessions, but rather to say that they were merely come to discuss and report. He promised, if they did so, to speak in their favor, and induce the Assembly to grant the restitution of Pylus, to which he himself had hitherto been the chief obstacle. Accordingly, when the ambassadors were introduced into the Assembly, Alcibiades blandly asked them on what footing they came, and what were their powers. In reply to these questions the ambassadors, who only a day or two before had told the Senate that they were come as plenipotentiaries, now publicly declared, in the face of the Assembly, that they were not authorized to conclude, but only to negotiate and discuss. At this announcement those who had heard their previous declaration could scarcely believe their ears. A universal burst of indignation broke forth at this exhibition of Spartan duplicity; while, to wind up the scene, Alcibiades, affecting to be more surprised than any, distinguished himself by being the loudest and bitterest in his invectives against the perfidy of the Lacedæmonians.

Athens in Alliance with the Argive Confederacy (420 B.C.).

—Shortly afterwards Alcibiades procured the completion of a treaty of alliance for 100 years with Argos, Elis, and Mantinea. Thus were the Grecian states involved in a complicity of separate and often apparently opposite alliances. It was evident that allies so heterogeneous could not long hold together; nevertheless, nominally at least, peace was at first observed.

The Battle of Mantinea (418 B.C.).—The growing ambition and success of Alcibiades prompted him to carry his schemes against Sparta into the very heart of Peloponnesus, without, however, openly violating the peace.

The Lacedæmonians now found it necessary to act with more vigor ; and accordingly, in 418 B.C., they assembled a large army, under the command of the Spartan king, Agis. Agis marched through Arcadia into Argolis, intending to punish the Argives for making war upon the Epidaurians, who were allies of Sparta. The opposing armies met in the plain of Argos, the Spartans having been joined by strong detachments from their allied states. But on the eve of battle a forty days' truce was patched up, and Agis returned to Sparta. When, however, the Argives with their allies marched into Arcadia, captured Orchomenus and threatened Tegea, Agis led his army northward again, and a great battle ensued near Mantinea, in which the Spartans gained a brilliant victory. This battle and that of Delium were the two most important engagements that had yet been fought in the Peloponnesian war. Although the Athenians had fought on the side of the Argives at Mantinea, the peace between Sparta and Athens continued to be nominally observed.

The Conquest of Melos (416 B.C.).—Two years later the Athenians attacked and conquered Melos, the only island among the Cyclades which had not been subject to the Athenian supremacy. The Melians having rejected all the Athenian overtures for a voluntary submission, their capital was blockaded by sea and land, and finally compelled to surrender. Thereupon all the adult males were put to death, the women and children sold into slavery, and the island

colonized afresh by 500 Athenians. This horrible proceeding was the more indefensible as the Athenians, having attacked the Melians in full peace, could not pretend that they were justified by the custom of war in slaying the prisoners. It was the crowning act of insolence and cruelty displayed during their empire, which from this period began rapidly to decline.

War between Egesta and Selinus: the Athenians resolve to aid the Egestæans (415 B.C.).—The event destined to produce that catastrophe—the intervention of the Athenians in the affairs of Sicily—was already in progress. A quarrel had broken out between Egesta and Selinus, both which cities were situated near the western extremity of Sicily; and Selinus, having obtained the aid of Syracuse, was pressing very hard upon the Egestæans. The latter appealed to the interests of the Athenians rather than to their sympathies. They represented how great a blow it would be to Athens if the Dorians became predominant in Sicily and joined the Peloponnesian confederacy; and they undertook, if the Athenians would send an armament to their assistance, to provide the necessary funds for the prosecution of the war. Their most powerful advocate was Alcibiades, whose ambitious views are said to have extended even to the conquest of Carthage. The quieter and more prudent Nicias threw his weight into the opposite scale. But the Athenian Assembly, dazzled by the idea of so splendid an enterprise, decided on despatching a large fleet under Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus, with the design of assisting Egesta, and of establishing the influence of Athens throughout Sicily, by whatever means might be found practicable.

Preparations for the Sicilian Expedition.—The preparations for the undertaking were now pressed on with the greatest ardor. Young and old, rich and poor, all vied with one another to obtain a share in the expedition. Six years of comparative peace had accumulated a fresh supply both of men and money, and the merchants of Athens embarked in the enterprise as in a trading expedition. It was only a few of the wisest heads that escaped the general fever of excitement. Meanwhile a sudden and mysterious event converted all these exulting feelings into gloomy foreboding.

The Mutilation of the Hermæ.—On the streets of Athens, at the doors of private houses, before temples, and in other public places, stood Hermæ, or statues of the god Hermes, consisting of a bust of that deity surmounting a quadrangular pillar of marble about the height of the human figure. When the Athenians rose one morning in May, 415 B.C., it was found that nearly all of these figures had been mutilated during the night. The act inspired political as well as religious alarm. It seemed to indicate a widespread conspiracy, for so sudden and general a mutilation must have been the work of many hands. The sacrilege might only be a preliminary attempt of some powerful citizen to seize the despotism, and suspicion pointed its finger at Alcibiades. Active measures were taken and large rewards offered for the discovery of the perpetrators. A public board was appointed to examine witnesses, which did not, indeed, succeed in eliciting any facts bearing on the actual subject of inquiry, but did obtain evidence respecting similar acts of impiety committed at previous times in drunken frolics. In these Alcibiades him-

self was charged with being implicated; and he was further accused of having profaned the Eleusinian mysteries by giving a representation of them in a private house. Alcibiades denied these accusations, and implored the people to have them investigated at once. His enemies, however, had sufficient influence to get the inquiry postponed till his return, thus keeping the charges hanging over his head, and gaining time to poison the public mind against him.

The Departure of the Expedition (415 B.C.).—The Athenian fleet, consisting of 100 triremes, and having on board 1500 chosen Athenian hoplites, as well as auxiliaries, at length set sail about midsummer, and proceeded to Corcyra, where it was joined by the other allies. Mustered now in its full strength, the expedition consisted of 134 triremes and 5100 hoplites, besides light-armed troops, slingers, and archers. Upon arriving at Rhegium the generals received the discouraging news that Egesta was unable to contribute more than thirty talents. A council of war was now held; and it was finally resolved to gain as many allies as possible among the Greek cities in Sicily, and, having thus ascertained what assistance could be relied upon, to attack Syracuse and Selinus.

The Arrest of Alcibiades: his Escape.—Naxos joined the Athenians, and shortly afterwards they obtained possession by surprise of the important city of Catania, which was now made the headquarters of the armament. Here an unwelcome message greeted Alcibiades. After his departure from Athens the people had put to death a number of prominent citizens who were accused, though on the weakest evidence, of having had a share in the mutilation of the Hermæ. This affair disposed of, they determined to investigate

the charge brought against Alcibiades of profaning the Eleusinian mysteries. Accordingly the state-vessel *Salaminia* was despatched to Sicily, carrying the decree of the Assembly for Alcibiades to come home and take his trial. The commander of the *Salaminia*, however, was instructed not to seize his person, but to allow him to sail in his own trireme. Alcibiades availed himself of this privilege to effect his escape. When the ships arrived at Thurii, in Italy, he absconded, and contrived to elude the search that was made for him. Nevertheless, though absent, he was arraigned at Athens, and condemned to death; his property was confiscated; and the Eumolpidæ, who presided over the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, pronounced upon him the curses of the gods. On hearing of his sentence, Alcibiades is said to have exclaimed, "I will show them that I am still alive."

Nicias Defeats the Syracusans.—Meanwhile the summer had ended and the Athenians had accomplished little or nothing, if we except the acquisition of Naxos and Catana. Nicias now resolved to make an attempt upon Syracuse. By a false message that the Catanæans were ready to assist in expelling the Athenians, he induced the Syracusans to proceed thither in great force, and he availed himself of their absence to sail with his whole fleet into the Great Harbor of Syracuse, where he landed near the mouth of the Anapus. The Syracusans, when they found that they had been deceived at Catana, marched back and offered Nicias battle in his new position. The latter accepted it, and gained the victory; after which he retired to Catana, and subsequently to Naxos into winter-quarters.

Alcibiades at Sparta.—The Syracusans employed the winter (415–414 B.C.) in preparations for defence.

They also sent requests for assistance to Corinth and Sparta, in the latter of which towns they found an unexpected advocate. Alcibiades, having crossed from Thurii to Cyllene in Peloponnesus, received a special invitation to proceed to Sparta. Here he revealed all the plans of Athens, and exhorted the Lacedæmonians to frustrate them. For this purpose he advised them to send an army into Sicily under the command of a Spartan general, and, by way of causing a diversion, to establish a fortified post at Decelea in the Attic territory. The Spartans fell in with these views, and resolved to send a force to the assistance of Syracuse in the spring, under the command of Gylippus.

The Situation and Topography of Syracuse.—Nicias, having received reinforcements from Athens, recommenced hostilities as soon as the season allowed, and resolved on besieging Syracuse. That town consisted of two parts—the inner and the outer city. The former of these—the original settlement—was situated upon the island of Ortygia; the latter, afterwards known by the name of Achradina, covered the high ground of the peninsula north of Ortygia, and was completely separate from the inner city. The island of Ortygia, to which the modern city is now confined, is of an oblong shape, about two and a half miles in circumference, lying between the Great Harbor on the west and the Small Harbor on the east, and separated from the mainland by a narrow channel. The Great Harbor is a splendid bay, about five miles in circumference, and the Small Harbor was spacious enough to receive a large fleet of ships of war. The outer city was surrounded on the north and east by the sea, and by sea-walls which rendered an assault on that side almost impracticable. On the land side



MAP OF SYRACUSE

it was defended by a wall, and partly also by the nature of the ground, which in some parts was very steep. West of the wall of the outer city were two unfortified suburbs, which, at a later period, were included within the walls of Syracuse under the names of Tycha and Neapolis. Between these two suburbs the ground rose in a gentle acclivity to the plateau called Epipolæ.

Nicias seizes Epipolæ and begins a Wall of Circumvallation (414 B.C.).—It was from the high ground of

Epipolæ that Syracuse was most exposed to attack. Nicias landed at Leon, a place upon the Bay of Thapsus, at the distance of only six or seven stadia from Epipolæ, took possession of Epipolæ, and erected on the summit a fort called Labdalum. Then coming farther down the hill towards Syracuse, he built another fort at a place called Syka. From the latter point he commenced his line of circumvallation, one wall extending southwards from Syka to the Great Harbor, and the other wall running northwards to the outer sea. The Athenians succeeded in completing the circumvallation towards the south, but in one of their many engagements with the Syracusans they lost the gallant Lamachus. At the same time, the Athenian fleet entered the Great Harbor, where it was henceforth permanently established. The northern wall was not yet completed, but along almost the whole line of its projected course the materials for constructing it had been collected. Nicias, who by the death of Lamachus had become sole commander, seemed now on the point of succeeding. The Syracusans were so sensible of their inferiority in the field that they no longer ventured to show themselves outside the walls. They began to contemplate surrender, and even sent messages to Nicias to treat of the terms. This caused the Athenian commander to indulge in a false confidence of success, and consequent apathy; and the army having lost the active and energetic Lamachus, operations were no longer carried on with the requisite activity.

Gylippus Arrives in Sicily: the Athenians on the Defensive.—It was in this state of affairs that the Spartan commander Gylippus passed over into Italy with a little squadron of four ships, with the view merely

of preserving the Greek cities in that country, supposing that Syracuse and, with her, the other Greek cities in Sicily were irretrievably lost. At Locri he learned to his great surprise and satisfaction that the Athenian wall of circumvallation at Syracuse had not yet been completed on the northern side. He now sailed through the Strait of Messina, and arrived at Himera on the north coast of Sicily. Here he began to levy an army, which the magic of the Spartan name soon enabled him to gather; and in a short time he was in a condition to march to Syracuse with about 3000 men. The Syracusans now dismissed all thoughts of surrender, and went out boldly to meet Gylippus, who marched towards the city over the heights of Epipolæ, which the supineness of Nicias had left unguarded. Halting near the Athenians, Gylippus sent a message to them, allowing them a five days' truce to collect their effects and evacuate the island. Nicias returned no answer to this insulting proposal; but the operations of Gylippus soon showed that the tide of affairs was really turned. His first exploit was to capture the Athenian fort at Labdalum, which made him master of Epipolæ. He next began constructing a counter-wall to intersect the Athenian wall on the northern side. Nicias now felt that the attempt to blockade Syracuse with his present force was hopeless. He therefore resolved to occupy the headland of Plemmyrium, the southern point of the entrance to the Great Harbor, which would be a convenient station for watching the enemy, as well as for facilitating the introduction of supplies. Here he accordingly erected three forts and formed a naval station. Meanwhile Gylippus was reinforced by the arrival of twelve triremes from

Corinth, Leucas, and Ambracia. On land some slight engagements took place, in which the balance of advantage was in favor of the Syracusans. Moreover, by their change of station the Athenians were now a besieged rather than a besieging force. Their triremes were becoming leaky, and their soldiers and sailors were constantly deserting. Nicias himself had fallen into a bad state of health; and in this discouraging condition of affairs he wrote to Athens requesting to be recalled, and insisting strongly on the necessity of sending reinforcements. Gylippus, on the other hand, summoned reinforcements both from Peloponnesus and from the Sicilian towns which had hitherto taken no part in the contest, but now, on seeing the turn that affairs had taken, were ready to join the Syracusans.

The Spartans Occupy Decelea (413 B.C.).—The Athenians refused to recall Nicias, but they determined on sending a large reinforcement to Sicily, and chose Demosthenes and Eurymedon to share the command with Nicias. Eurymedon set out for Syracuse during the winter (414–413 B.C.) with a fleet of ten ships; this small contingent he turned over to Nicias, and himself sailed back to the Grecian coast to join Demosthenes, who was making preparations to follow in the spring with further reinforcements. The news of these fresh and extensive preparations incited the Lacedæmonians to more vigorous action. The peace, if such it can be called, was now openly broken; and in the spring of 413 B.C. the Lacedæmonians, under King Agis, invaded Attica itself, and, following the advice of Alcibiades, established themselves permanently at Decelea, a place situated about 14 miles north of Athens, and commanding the Athenian plain. The

city was thus placed in a state of siege. Scarcity began to be felt within the walls; the revenues were falling off, while on the other hand expenses were increasing.

Naval Battles in the Great Harbor.—Meanwhile in Sicily the Syracusans had gained such confidence that they even ventured on a naval engagement with the Athenians. In the first battle the Athenians were victorious; Gylippus, however, improved his opportunity while the Athenians were fighting on board their ships, and captured the three forts on the headland of Plemmyrium, together with a quantity of provisions and equipments. Not long afterwards the Syracusans again offered battle to the Athenians, and after an engagement of two days' duration defeated them. The Athenians, having lost Plemmyrium, were now obliged to haul up their ships in the innermost part of the Great Harbor, under the lines of their fortified camp. A still more serious disaster than the loss of the battle was the loss of their naval reputation. It was evident that the Athenians had ceased to be invincible on the sea; and the Syracusans no longer despaired of overcoming them on their own element.

The Arrival of Reinforcements: Athenian Reverses.—Such was the state of affairs when, to the astonishment of the Syracusans, a fresh Athenian fleet of 73 triremes, under Demosthenes and Eurymedon, entered the Great Harbor with all the pomp and circumstance of war. It had on board a force of 5000 hoplites, of whom about a quarter were Athenians, and a great number of light-armed troops. The active and enterprising character of Demosthenes led him to adopt more vigorous measures than those which had been hitherto pursued. He saw at once that while Epipolæ re-

mained in the possession of the Syracusans there was no hope of taking their city, and he therefore directed all his efforts to the recapture of that position. But his attempts were unavailing. He was defeated not only in an open assault upon the Syracusan counter-wall, but in a nocturnal attempt to carry the heights by surprise. These reverses were aggravated by the breaking out of sickness among the troops. Demosthenes now proposed to return home and assist in expelling the Lacedæmonians from Attica, instead of pursuing an enterprise which seemed to be hopeless. But Nicias, who feared to return to Athens with the stigma of failure, refused to give his consent to this step. Demosthenes then urged Nicias at least to sail immediately out of the Great Harbor, and take up a position either at Thapsus or at Catana, where they could obtain abundant supplies of provisions, and would have an open sea for the manœuvres of their fleet. But even to this proposal Nicias would not consent; and the army and navy remained in their former position. Soon afterwards, however, Gylippus received such large reinforcements that Nicias found it necessary to adopt the advice of his colleague. Preparations were secretly made for their departure; the enemy appear to have had no suspicion of their intention, and they were on the point of quitting their ill-fated quarters, when, on the night of August 27th, 413 B.C., an eclipse of the moon took place. The soothsayers who were consulted said that the army must wait thrice nine days before it could quit its present position; and the devout and superstitious Nicias forthwith resolved to abide by this decision.

The Athenians Defeated and Blockaded in the Great Harbor.—Meanwhile the intention of the Athenians be-

came known to the Syracusans, who determined to strike a blow before their enemy escaped. They accordingly attacked the Athenian station both by sea and land. On land the attack of Gylippus was repulsed; but at sea the Athenian fleet was completely defeated, and Eurymedon, who commanded the right division, was slain. The spirits of the Syracusans rose with their victories; and though they would formerly have been content with the mere retreat of the Athenians, they now resolved on effecting their utter destruction. With this view they blocked up the entrance of the Great Harbor with a line of vessels moored across it. All hope seemed now to be cut off from the Athenians, unless they could succeed in forcing this line and thus effecting their escape. The Athenian fleet still numbered 110 triremes, which Nicias furnished with grappling-irons, in order to bring the enemy to close quarters, and then caused a large proportion of his land-forces to embark.

The Last Battle.—Never, perhaps, was a battle fought under circumstances of such intense interest or witnessed by so many spectators vitally concerned in the result. The basin of the Great Harbor, about five miles in circumference, in which nearly 200 ships were about to engage, was lined with spectators. A considerable portion of the Syracusan fleet was detailed to guard the barrier at the mouth of the harbor. Hither the first and most impetuous attack of the Athenians was directed. They failed, however, to break the barrier, and the battle then became general. The shouts of the combatants, and the crash of the vessels as they were driven together, resounded over the water, and were answered on shore by the

cheers or wailings of the spectators as their friends were victorious or vanquished. For a long time the battle was maintained with heroic courage and dubious result. At length, as the Athenian vessels began to yield and make back towards the shore, a universal shriek of horror and despair arose from the Athenian army, while shouts of joy and victory were raised from the pursuing vessels, and were echoed back by the Syracusans on land. As the Athenian vessels neared the shore their crews leaped out and made for the camp, while the boldest of the land army rushed forward to protect the ships from being seized by the enemy. The Athenians succeeded in saving only 60 ships, or about half their fleet. The Syracusan fleet, however, had been reduced to less than 50 ships; and Nicias and Demosthenes, as a last hope of escape, exhorted their men to make another attempt to break the enemy's line, and force their way out of the harbor. But the courage of the crews was so completely damped that they positively refused to re-embark.

The Retreat and Surrender of the Athenians.—The Athenian army still numbered 40,000 men; and, as all chance of escape by sea was now hopeless, it was resolved to retreat by land to some friendly city, and there defend themselves against the attacks of the Syracusans. As the soldiers turned to quit that fatal encampment, the sense of their own woes was for a moment suspended by the sight of their unburied comrades, who seemed to reproach them with the neglect of a sacred duty; but still more by the wailings and entreaties of the wounded, who clung around their knees and implored not to be abandoned to certain destruction. Amid this scene of universal woe

and dejection a fresh and unwonted spirit of energy and heroism seemed to be infused into Nicias. Though suffering from an incurable complaint, he was everywhere seen marshalling his troops, and encouraging them by his exhortations. The march was directed towards the interior of the island. The army was formed into a hollow square, with the baggage in the middle, Nicias leading the van, and Demosthenes bringing up the rear. The road ascended through a ravine over a steep hill called the Acræan cliff, on which the Syracusans had fortified themselves. After spending two days in vain attempts to force this position, Nicias and Demosthenes resolved during the night to strike off to the left towards the southern coast of the island. But they were overtaken, surrounded by superior forces, and compelled to surrender at discretion. Out of the 40,000 who started from the camp, only 7000 were left at the end of the eight days' march; the rest had either deserted or been slain. The prisoners were sent to work in the stone-quarries of Achradina. Here they were crowded together without any shelter, and with scarcely provisions enough to sustain life. The numerous bodies of those who died were left to putrefy where they had fallen, till the place became an intolerable centre of stench and infection. The survivors were at length sold as slaves. Nicias and Demosthenes were condemned to death, in spite of all the efforts of Gylippus to save them.

Such was the end of two of the largest and best-appointed armaments that had ever gone forth from Athens. Nicias, as we have seen, was from the first opposed to the expedition in which they were employed, as pregnant with the most dangerous conse-

quences to Athens ; and, though it must be admitted that in this respect his views were sound, it cannot, at the same time, be denied that his own want of energy and his incompetence as a general were the chief causes of the failure of the undertaking. His mistakes involved the fall of Demosthenes, an officer of far greater resolution and ability than himself, who, had his counsels been followed, would in all probability have conducted the enterprise to a safe termination, though there was no longer room to hope for success.



VICTORIOUS QUADRIGA



HEAD OF NIKE

Coins of Syracuse

CHAPTER XIII

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.—THIRD PERIOD, FROM THE
SICILIAN EXPEDITION TO THE END OF THE WAR,
413-404 B.C.

Results of the Disaster in Sicily.—The destruction of the Sicilian armament was a fatal blow to the power of Athens. It is astonishing that she was able to protract the war so long thereafter as she did with diminished strength and resources. Her situation inspired her enemies with new vigor; states hitherto neutral resolved to declare against her; her subject allies prepared to throw off the yoke; even the Persian satraps and the court of Susa bestirred themselves against her. The first blow to her empire was struck by the wealthy and populous island of Chios, which revolted. This again was the work of Alcibiades, at whose advice a Lacedæmonian fleet was sent to the assistance of the Chians. Their example was followed by nearly all the other Athenian allies in Asia; the only important exception was Samos, in which the democratical party gained the upper hand. In the midst of this general defection the Athenians did not give way to despair. Pericles had set apart a reserve of 1000 talents to meet the contingency of an actual invasion. This still remained untouched; and now, by a unanimous vote, the penalty of death, which forbade its appropriation to any other purpose,

was abolished, and the fund applied in fitting out a fleet against Chios. Samos became the headquarters of the fleet and the base of Athenian operations during the remainder of the war; for the scene of the great struggle was now transferred from the West to the East, first, by the revolt of the Ionian cities and islands, and secondly, by the intervention of the Persians, who now supplied the Lacedæmonians with funds for the prosecution of the war in the hope of recovering the possessions on the Asiatic coast which Athens had wrested from them.

Alcibiades and the Oligarchical Conspiracy.—The Athenians, though overmatched, and constantly weakened by the loss of allied states, were not at all points unsuccessful. They recovered Mytilene and Clazomenæ, defeated the Chians, and laid waste their territory (412 B.C.). They also gained a victory over a Peloponnesian force at Miletus; while the Lacedæmonians lost the active assistance of Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap, who had shortly before concluded a formal alliance with them. This defection, so fortunate for the Athenians, was brought about through the intrigues of Alcibiades. In the course of a short time Alcibiades had completely forfeited the confidence of the Lacedæmonians. The Spartan king Agis, whose wife he had seduced, was his personal enemy; other men of influence at Sparta envied and hated him; and finally the Ephors were persuaded to send out instructions to put him to death. Of this, however, he was informed in time to make his escape to the court of Tissaphernes (411 B.C.). Here he ingratiated himself into the confidence of the satrap, and persuaded him that it was not for the interest of Persia that either of the Grecian parties should be success-

ful, but rather that they should wear each other out in their struggles, when Persia would in the end succeed in expelling both. This advice was adopted by the satrap; and in order to carry the new policy into execution, steps were taken to secure the inactivity of the Peloponnesian armament, which, if vigorously employed, was powerful enough to put a speedy end to the war. In order to secure his return to Athens, Alcibiades further hoped to persuade Tissaphernes that it was more for the Persian interest to conclude a league with Athens than with Sparta; but the only part of his advice which the satrap seems to have sincerely adopted was that of playing off one party against the other. About this, however, Alcibiades did not at all concern himself. It was enough for his views, which had merely the aim of his own restoration to Athens, if he could make it appear that he possessed sufficient influence with Tissaphernes to procure his assistance for the Athenians. He therefore began to communicate with Athenians of influence at Samos, and held out the hope of a Persian alliance as the price of his restoration to his country. But as he both hated and feared the Athenian democracy, he coupled his offer with the condition that a revolution should be effected at Athens, and an oligarchy established. Many of the more wealthy and powerful Athenians at Samos were themselves eager to abolish the democracy, and greedily caught at this proposal of Alcibiades. The oligarchical conspirators formed themselves into a confederacy, and Pisander was sent to Athens to lay the proposal before the Athenian Assembly. It met, as it might be supposed, with the most determined opposition. The single but unanswerable reply of Pisander was the necessities of

the state; and at length the people gave way. Pisander and ten others were despatched to treat with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes.

Upon their arrival in Ionia they informed Alcibiades that measures had been taken for establishing an oligarchical form of government at Athens, and required him to fulfil his part of the engagement by procuring the aid and alliance of Persia. But Alcibiades knew that he had undertaken what he could not perform, and he now resolved to escape from the dilemma by one of his habitual artifices. He received the Athenian deputation in the presence of Tissaphernes himself, and made such extravagant demands on behalf of the satrap that Pisander and his colleagues indignantly broke off the conference.

Notwithstanding the conduct of Alcibiades, the oligarchical conspirators proceeded with the revolution at Athens, in which they had gone too far to recede. Pisander, with five of the envoys, returned to Athens to complete the work they had begun.

The Establishment of an Oligarchy at Athens (411 B.C.).
—A resolution was proposed and carried in the Assembly that a committee of thirty should be appointed to discuss the question of changes in the constitution. On an appointed day an assembly of the people was convened, not in the Pnyx, but in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Colonus, rather more than a mile from the city. Here the conspirators could station their own partisans, and were less liable to be overawed by superior numbers. The committee of thirty presented the following proposals: 1. That so long as the war lasted the right of citizenship should be restricted to those who were best able, by personal service or by means of their wealth, to help the state.

No less than 5000 citizens should be enrolled and should have the right as a body to conclude treaties. 2. The whole revenue of the state should be devoted to the prosecution of the war, and, until the close of the war, no magistrates should receive pay, except the archons and the prytanes. 3. A board of 100 commissioners, 10 from each tribe, should be chosen to select the 5000 citizens. These proposals were approved by the Assembly, whereupon the 100 commissioners were chosen and proceeded to enroll the appointed number of citizens. The 5000 then chose from their own number a second commission of 100 to determine upon a provisional and also a permanent form of government. This commission recommended that the control of the state should be turned over *pro tempore* to a Senate of 400. This Senate should have power to choose all magistrates and to govern as it saw fit, convening the 5000 or not at its pleasure. The permanent constitution which was formulated also provided for a Senate of 400, possessing powers similar to those enjoyed by the Areopagus in the earliest times. It should choose from its own number all important officials, civil and military, and direct the affairs of the state as an irresponsible body.

All these proposals of the commission of 100 were approved and the provisional government was at once established. Thus perished the Athenian democracy, after an existence of nearly a century since its establishment by Clisthenes. The revolution was begun from despair of the foreign relations of Athens, and from the hope of assistance from Persia; but it was carried out through the machinations of the conspirators after that delusion had ceased.

The Athenian Army Refuses to Recognize the new Government.—At Samos the Athenian army refused to recognize the new government. At the instance of Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus the soldiers pledged themselves to maintain the democracy, to continue the war against Peloponnesus, and to put down the usurpers at Athens. The soldiers, laying aside for a while their military character, constituted themselves into an assembly of the people, deposed several of their officers, and appointed others whom they could better trust. Thrasybulus proposed the recall of Alcibiades, notwithstanding his connection with the oligarchical conspiracy, because it was believed that he was now able and willing to aid his native city with the gold and forces of Persia. This proposal was agreed to; Alcibiades was brought to Samos and introduced to the Assembly, where, by his magnificent promises and extravagant boasts respecting his influence with Tissaphernes, he once more succeeded in deceiving the Athenians. He was thereupon elected one of the generals, and, in pursuance of his artful policy, began to pass backwards and forwards between Samos and Tissaphernes, with the view of inspiring both the satrap and the Athenians with a reciprocal idea of his influence with either, and of instilling distrust of Tissaphernes into the minds of the Peloponnesians.

Dissensions among the Four Hundred : the Revolt of Eubœa and Deposition of the Four Hundred.—At the first news of the re-establishment of democracy at Samos, distrust and discord had broken out among the Four Hundred. Antiphon and Phrynichus, at the head of the extreme section of the oligarchical party, were in favor of admitting a Lacedæmonian garrison, if need be, to main-

tain their government. But others, fearing that the overthrow of the oligarchy was inevitable, and desiring to be on the safe side, began to affect more popular sentiments; among these were Theramenes and Aristocrates. The assassination of Phrynichus precipitated trouble between the two factions, and for a time the city was in a state of tumult. Meanwhile a Peloponnesian fleet sailed around Sunium and up the Euripus to assist the Eubœans in a contemplated revolt from Athens. The Athenians, forgetting for the moment their differences, hastily gathered a fleet, met the Peloponnesians off Eretria, and suffered a crushing defeat. The revolt of all Eubœa was soon announced. The loss of this island seemed like a death-blow, for since the occupation of Decelea the Athenians had depended largely upon Eubœa for their food supplies. The Lacedæmonians might now easily blockade the ports of Athens and either starve her into surrender or compel the Athenians to return from Samos at the sacrifice of their possessions on the Asiatic coast. But from this fate they were saved by the characteristic slowness of the Lacedæmonians, who confined themselves to securing the conquest of Eubœa. Thus left unmolested, the Athenians convened an assembly in the Pnyx. Votes were passed for deposing the Four Hundred, and placing the government in the hands of the 5000, of whom every citizen who could equip himself as a hoplite might be a member. In a subsequent assembly it was resolved to recall Alcibiades and some of his friends. Thus the Four Hundred were overthrown after a reign of four months, 411 B.C.

The Battles of Cynossema and Abydos.—While these things were going on at Athens, the war was being

prosecuted with vigor on the coast of Asia Minor. Mindarus, who now commanded the Peloponnesian fleet, disgusted at length by the often-broken promises of Tissaphernes and the scanty and irregular pay which he furnished, set sail from Miletus and proceeded to the Hellespont, with the intention of assisting the Persian satrap Pharnabazus and of effecting, if possible, the revolt of the Athenian dependencies in that quarter. Hither he was pursued by the Athenian fleet under Thrasyllus. In a few days an engagement ensued, in the famous strait between Sestus and Abydus, in which the Athenians, though with a smaller force, gained the victory, and erected a trophy on the promontory of Cynossema. The Athenians followed up their victory by the reduction of Cyzicus, which had revolted from them. Not long afterwards another obstinate engagement took place between the Peloponnesian and Athenian fleets near Abydus, which lasted a whole day, and was at length decided in favor of the Athenians by the arrival of Alcibiades with his squadron of eighteen ships from Samos.

The Arrest and Escape of Alcibiades: The Battle of Cyzicus (410 B.C.).—Shortly after this battle Tissaphernes arrived at the Hellespont with the view of conciliating the offended Peloponnesians. He was not only jealous of the assistance which the latter were now rendering to Pharnabazus, but it is also evident that his temporizing policy had displeased the Persian court. This appears from his conduct on the present occasion, as well as from the subsequent appointment of Cyrus to the supreme command on the Asiatic coast, as we shall presently have to relate. When Alcibiades, who imagined that Tissaphernes was still favorable to the Athenian cause, waited on him with the

customary presents, he was arrested by order of the satrap, and sent in custody to Sardis. At the end of a month, however, he contrived to escape to Clazomenæ, and again joined the Athenian fleet early in the spring of 410 B.C. Mindarus, with the assistance of Pharnabazus on the land side, was now engaged in the siege of Cyzicus, which the Athenian admirals, having received considerable reinforcements, determined to relieve. Here a battle ensued, in which Mindarus was slain, the Lacedæmonians and Persians routed, and almost the whole Peloponnesian fleet captured. The severity of this blow was pictured in the laconic epistle which Hippocrates, the second in command, despatched to the Ephors: "Our ships are gone; Mindarus is slain; the men are starving; we know not what to do."

Sparta Proposes Terms of Peace, which are Rejected by the Athenians.—The results of this victory were most important. Perinthus was recovered, as well as Cyzicus; and the Athenians, once more masters of the Propontis, fortified the town of Chrysopolis, over against Byzantium, on the Bosphorus, established a toll of ten per cent. on all vessels passing from the Euxine, and left a squadron to guard the strait. So great was the discouragement of the Lacedæmonians at the loss of their fleet, that the Ephor Endius proceeded to Athens to treat for peace on the basis of both parties standing just as they were. The Athenian Assembly was at this time led by the demagogue Cleophon, a lyre-maker, known to us by the comedies of Aristophanes. Cleophon appears to have been a man of honesty and patriotism; but the recent victories had inspired him with too sanguine hopes, and he advised the Athenians to reject the terms proposed by Endius.

Athens thus threw away the golden opportunity, of which she stood so much in need, of recruiting her shattered forces; and to this unfortunate advice must be ascribed the calamities which subsequently overtook her.

The possession of the Bosphorus reopened to the Athenians the trade of the Euxine. From his lofty fortress at Decelea the Spartan king Agis could descry the corn-ships from the Euxine sailing into the harbor of Piræus, and felt how useless it was to occupy the fields of Attica while such abundant supplies of provisions were continually finding their way to the city.

In the following year (409 B.C.) the important towns of Calchedon, Selymbria, and Byzantium fell into the hands of the Athenians, thus leaving them the undisputed masters of the Propontis.

Darius Espouses the Cause of Sparta (408 B.C.): Cyrus and Lysander.—The tide of success seemed now to have turned in favor of Athens; but the Lacedæmonians were still supplied with money by the Persians, and were now able, with the aid of Pharnabazus, to build and equip a new fleet. Under these circumstances, the Athenian generals resolved to sue for the favor and assistance of the Great King, upon whom really depended the final issue of the struggle. While they were besieging Calchedon they entered into a compact with Pharnabazus, by the terms of which the satrap agreed to conduct an Athenian embassy to the court of Darius. The deputies set out with Pharnabazus, but were met at Gordium by a returning Spartan embassy, which announced that the king had definitely allied himself with the Peloponnesians, and was determined to adopt energetic measures in

their behalf. His first step was to supersede Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus. The king evidently felt that he could not trust these two satraps, whose policy had been vacillating from the beginning, and determined largely by their jealousy of each other. Accordingly he invested his younger son Cyrus, a prince of a bold and enterprising spirit, with the satrapies of Lydia, the Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia. Cyrus at once descended to the coast to carry out the pro-Spartan policy of the king. His arrival opens the last phase of the Peloponnesian war. Another event, in the highest degree unfavorable to the Athenian cause, was the accession of Lysander, as *Navarchus*, to the command of the Peloponnesian fleet. Lysander was the third of the remarkable men whom Sparta produced during the war. In ability, energy, and success he may be compared with Brasidas and Gylippus, though immeasurably inferior to the former in every moral quality. Born of poor parents, he was a man of boundless ambition, and he was wholly unscrupulous about the means which he employed to gratify it. In pursuit of his objects he hesitated at neither deceit nor perjury nor cruelty, and he is reported to have laid it down as one of his maxims in life to avail himself of the fox's skin where the lion's failed.

Lysander had taken up his station at Ephesus, with the Lacedæmonian fleet of 70 triremes; and when Cyrus arrived at Sardis he hastened to pay his court to the young prince, and was received with every mark of favor. A vigorous line of action was resolved on. Cyrus announced that he had come with 500 talents to devote to the war, and affirmed that, if more were needed, he was prepared to employ

his own private means, or even to coin into money the very throne of gold and silver on which he sat. In a banquet which ensued Cyrus drank to the health of Lysander, and desired him to name any wish which he could gratify. Lysander immediately requested an addition of an obolus to the daily pay of the seamen. Cyrus was surprised at so disinterested a demand, and from that day conceived a high degree of respect and confidence for the Spartan commander.

Alcibiades Returns to Athens (408 B.C.).—Meanwhile Alcibiades was revisiting his native city after an absence of seven years. The victories which he had won naturally paved the way for his return. In the spring of 408 B.C. he proceeded with the fleet to Samos, and thence sailed to Piræus. His reception was far more favorable than he had ventured to anticipate. The people of Athens flocked down to Piræus to welcome him, and escorted him to the city. He seemed to be in the present juncture the only man capable of restoring the grandeur and the empire of Athens: he was accordingly named general with unlimited powers, and a force of 100 triremes, 1500 hoplites, and 150 cavalry placed at his disposal. Before his departure he took an opportunity to atone for the impiety of which he had been suspected. His armament was not to set sail from Athens till after the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries at the end of September. For five years the customary procession across the Thriasian plain had been suspended, owing to the occupation of Decelea by the enemy, which compelled the sacred troop to proceed by sea. Alcibiades now escorted them on their progress and return by land with his forces, and thus succeeded in reconciling himself with

the offended goddesses of the sanctuary and with their holy priests, the Eumolpidæ.

The Battle of Notium and the Disgrace of Alcibiades (407 B.C.).—The Peloponnesian fleet was still lying in the harbor of Ephesus when Alcibiades returned to Samos. Being ill provided with funds for carrying on the war, he was driven to make predatory excursions for the purpose of raising money. During his absence on one occasion he intrusted the fleet to his pilot Antiochus, with strict injunctions not to venture on an action. Notwithstanding these orders, however, Antiochus brought the Peloponnesian fleet to an engagement off Notium, in which the Athenians were defeated with the loss of 15 ships, and Antiochus himself was slain. When the news of the battle reached Athens, the Athenians in their anger were easily persuaded to lay the blame upon Alcibiades, and showed their displeasure by refusing to re-elect him general. Of the ten new generals who were chosen, Conon was at the head.

Callicratidas succeeds Lysander (406 B.C.).—In the following spring the Spartans sent out Callicratidas to succeed Lysander as admiral of the fleet, the latter's term of command having expired. Callicratidas collected 50 ships from Chios, Rhodes, and other allied states to add to the 90 which had been delivered to him by his predecessor. But he soon found that he had other enemies than the Athenians to contend with. Through the intrigues of Lysander, he was received with dissatisfaction both by the Lacedæmonian seamen and by Cyrus. Complaints were raised of the impolicy of an annual change of commanders. Lysander threw all sorts of difficulties in the way of his successor, to whom he handed over an empty treasury,

having first repaid to Cyrus all the money in his possession. The straightforward conduct of Callicratidas, however, who summoned the Lacedæmonians, and, after a dignified remonstrance, plainly put the question whether he should return home or remain, silenced all opposition. But he was sorely embarrassed for funds. Cyrus treated him with haughtiness; when he waited on that prince he was dismissed not only without money, but even without an audience. Callicratidas, however, had too much energy to be daunted by such obstacles. Sailing with his fleet from Ephesus to Miletus, he laid before the Assembly of that city, in a spirited address, all the ills they had suffered at the hands of the Persians, and exhorted them to bestir themselves and dispense with the Persian alliance. He succeeded in persuading the Milesians to make him a grant of money, while individual citizens even came forward with private subscriptions. The Chians further provided him with a week's pay for the seamen.

The Athenians Blockaded at Mytilene.—The Lacedæmonian fleet was now double that of Conon, and the latter was compelled to run before the superior force of Callicratidas. Both fleets entered the harbor of Mytilene at the same time, whereupon a battle ensued, in which Conon lost 30 ships, and only saved the remaining 40 by hauling them ashore under the walls of the town. Callicratidas then blockaded Mytilene both by sea and land; but Conon contrived to despatch a trireme to Athens with the news of his desperate position.

The Battle of Arginusæ (406 B.C.).—As soon as the Athenians received intelligence of the blockade of Mytilene, vast efforts were made for its relief; and we

learn with surprise that in thirty days a fleet of 110 triremes was equipped and despatched from Piræus. The armament assembled at Samos, where it was reinforced by contingents from the allies, to the extent of more than 40 vessels. The whole fleet of 150 sail then proceeded to the small islands of Arginusæ, near the coast of Asia, and facing Malea, the southeastern cape of Lesbos. Callicratidas, who went out to meet them, took up his station at the latter point, leaving a squadron of 50 ships to maintain the blockade of Mytilene. He had thus only 120 ships to oppose to the 150 of the Athenians, and his pilot advised him to retire before the superior force of the enemy. But Callicratidas replied that he would not disgrace himself by flight, and that if he should perish Sparta would not feel his loss. The battle was long and obstinate. All order was speedily lost, and the ships fought singly with one another. In one of these contests, Callicratidas, who stood on the prow of his vessel ready to board the enemy, was thrown overboard by the shock of the vessels as they met, and perished. At length victory began to declare for the Athenians. The Lacedæmonians, after losing 70 vessels, retreated with the remainder to Chios and Phocæa. The loss of the Athenians was 25 vessels.

The Condemnation of the Generals.—The battle of Arginusæ led to a deplorable event, which has forever sullied the pages of Athenian history. A number of Athenian vessels were left floating about in a disabled condition after the battle; but, owing to a storm that ensued, no attempt was made to rescue the survivors, or to collect the bodies of the dead for burial. Eight of the ten generals were summoned home to answer for this conduct; Conon and Leon, who were com-

manding the blockaded fleet at Mytilene, were of course exculpated. Six of the generals obeyed the summons, and were denounced to the Assembly by Theramenes, formerly one of the Four Hundred, for neglect of duty. The generals replied that they had commissioned Theramenes himself, who commanded a trireme in the engagement, together with some others, to undertake the duty, and had assigned 47 ships to them for that purpose. They did not, however, accuse Theramenes and his companions of negligence, but maintained that it was the storm which prevented the rescue of the survivors and the recovery of the dead. After a day's debate, the question was adjourned; and in the interval the festival of the *Apaturia* was celebrated, in which, according to annual custom, the people met together according to their families and phratriæ. Those who had perished at Arginusæ were naturally missed on such an occasion; and the usually cheerful character of the festival was rendered melancholy by the relatives of the deceased appearing in black clothes and with shaven heads. The passions of the people were violently roused. At the next meeting of the Assembly, Calixenus, a senator, proposed that the people should at once proceed to pass its verdict on the generals, though they had been only partially heard in their defence; and, moreover, that they should all be included in one sentence, though it was contrary to a rule of Athenian law to indict citizens otherwise than individually. Some of the prytanes, or senators of the presiding tribe, at first refused to put this illegal proposal to vote in the Assembly; but their opposition was at length overawed by clamor and violence. There was, however, one honorable exception. The

philosopher Socrates, who was one of the prytanes, refused to withdraw his protest. But despite his opposition the proposal of Callixenus was carried. The generals were condemned, and compelled to drink the fatal hemlock. Among them was Pericles, the son of the celebrated statesman.

Capture of the Athenian Fleet at Ægospotami (405 B.C.).—

In the following year, through the influence of Cyrus and the other allies of Sparta, Lysander again obtained the command of the Peloponnesian fleet, though nominally under Aracus as admiral, since it was contrary to Spartan law that the same man should be twice *Navarchus*. His return to power was marked by vigorous measures. He sailed to the Hellespont, and attacked Lampsacus. The Athenian fleet arrived in the Hellespont too late to save the town, but proceeded up the strait and took up its position at Ægospotami, or the "Goat's River," a place which had nothing to recommend it except its vicinity to Lampsacus, from which it was separated by a channel somewhat less than two miles broad. It was a mere desolate beach, without houses or inhabitants, so that all the supplies had to be brought from Sestus, or from the surrounding country, and the seamen were compelled to leave their ships in order to obtain their meals. Under these circumstances the Athenians were very desirous of bringing Lysander to an engagement. But the Spartan commander, who was in a strong position, and abundantly furnished with provisions, was in no hurry to run any risks. In vain did the Athenians sail over several days in succession to offer him battle; they always found his ships ready manned, and drawn up in too strong a position to warrant an attack; nor

could they succeed in enticing him out to combat. This cowardice, as they deemed it, on the part of the Lacedæmonians begot a corresponding negligence on theirs; discipline was neglected, and the men were allowed to straggle almost at will. It was in vain that Alcibiades, who, since his dismissal, resided in a fortress in that neighborhood, remonstrated with the Athenian generals on the exposed nature of the station they had chosen, and advised them to proceed to Sestus. His counsels were received with taunts and insults. At length, on the fifth day, Lysander, having watched an opportunity when the Athenian seamen had gone on shore and were dispersed over the country, rowed swiftly across the strait with all his ships. He found the Athenian fleet, with the exception of a very few vessels, totally unprepared, and he captured nearly the whole of it, almost without striking a blow. Of the 180 ships which composed the fleet, only the trireme of Conon himself, the state-trireme *Paralus*, and seven other vessels succeeded in escaping. Conon was afraid to return to Athens after so signal a disaster, and took refuge with Evagoras, king of Salamis in Cyprus.

The Siege and Fall of Athens (404 B.C.).—By this momentous victory the Peloponnesian war was virtually brought to an end. Lysander, secure of an easy triumph, was in no haste to gain it by force. The command of the Euxine enabled him to control the supplies of Athens, and, sooner or later, famine must decide her fall. He now sailed forth to take possession of the Athenian towns, which fell one after another into his power as soon as he appeared before them. Towards the end of the year 405 B.C. he arrived at Ægina with a fleet of 150 triremes, and proceeded to

devastate Salamis and blockade Piræus. At the same time the whole Peloponnesian army was marched into Attica, and encamped in the precincts of the Academy, at the very gates of Athens. Famine soon began to be felt within the walls, and at the end of a few months it became so dreadful that the Athenians saw themselves compelled to submit to the terms of the conqueror. These terms were: That the long walls and the fortifications of Piræus should be demolished; that the Athenians should surrender all their ships of war except twelve; that they should readmit all their exiles; and that they should become subject allies of Sparta.

In was in April, 404 B.C., that Lysander sailed into Piræus, and took formal possession of Athens; the war, in singular conformity with the prophecies current at the beginning of it, having lasted for a period of thrice nine, or twenty-seven years. The insolence of the victors added another blow to the feelings of the conquered. The work of destruction, at which Lysander presided, was converted into a sort of festival. Female flute-players inaugurated the demolition of the strong and proud bulwarks of Athens; the Peloponnesian troops were crowned with garlands; and as the massive walls fell piece by piece, exclamations arose from their ranks that freedom had at length begun to dawn upon Greece.

CHAPTER XIV

THE THIRTY TYRANTS AND THE DEATH OF SOCRATES, 404-399 B.C.

The Establishment of the Thirty Tyrants (August, 404 B.C.).

—The fall of Athens brought back a host of exiles, all of them the enemies of her democratical constitution. Of these the most distinguished was Critias, a man of wealth and family, a relative of Plato, and once the intimate friend of Socrates, distinguished both for his literary and political talents, but of unmeasured ambition and unscrupulous conscience. Critias and his companions soon found a party with which they could co-operate; and, supported by Lysander, they proposed in the Assembly that a committee of thirty should be named to draw up laws for the future government of the city and to undertake its temporary administration. Among the most prominent of the thirty names were those of Critias and Theramenes. The proposal was, of course, carried. Lysander himself addressed the Assembly, and contemptuously told them that they had better take thought for their personal safety, which now lay at his mercy, than for their political constitution. The committee thus appointed soon obtained the title of the Thirty Tyrants, the name by which they have been known in all subsequent time. After naming a new Senate and appointing fresh magistrates they proceeded to exterminate

their most obnoxious opponents. But Critias and the more violent party among them still called for more blood, and with the view of obtaining it procured a Spartan garrison, under Callibius, to be installed in the Acropolis. Blood now flowed on all sides. Many of the leading men of Athens fell; others took to flight.

The Execution of Theramenes.—Thus a reign of terror was completely established. Theramenes, however, himself one of the Thirty, freely and boldly expressed his disapproval of these proceedings. But his moderation cost him his life. One day as he entered the Senate-house Critias rose and denounced him as a public enemy, and ordered him to be carried off to instant death. Upon hearing these words Theramenes sprang for refuge to the altar in the Senate-house; but he was dragged away by Satyrus, the cruel and unscrupulous head of the Eleven, a body of officers who carried into execution the penal sentence of the law. Being conveyed to prison, he was compelled to drink the fatal hemlock. The constancy of his end might have adorned a better life. After swallowing the draught, he jerked on the floor a drop which remained in the cup, according to the custom of the game called *cottabus*, exclaiming, "This to the health of the lovely Critias!"

The Death of Alcibiades.—Alcibiades was one of those who were hated and feared by the Thirty, for the people of Athens had begun to look to him as a possible deliverer; but the fate which now overtook him seems to have sprung from the fears of the Lacedæmonians, or perhaps from the personal hatred of Agis. After the battle of *Ægospotami*, Pharnabazus permitted the Athenian exile to live in Phrygia, and

treated him with honor. But a despatch came out from Sparta to Lysander, directing that Alcibiades should be put to death. Lysander communicated the order to Pharnabazus, who arranged for carrying it into execution. The house of Alcibiades was surrounded with a band of assassins and set on fire. He rushed out with drawn sword upon his assailants, who shrank from the attack, but slew him from a distance with their javelins and arrows. Thus perished miserably, in the vigor of his age, one of the most remarkable, though not one of the greatest, characters in Grecian history. With qualities which, properly applied, might have rendered him the greatest benefactor of Athens, he contrived to attain the distinction of being that citizen who had inflicted upon her the most signal amount of damage.



ALCIBIADES

Lysander, the Tyrant of Greece.—Meantime an altered state of feeling was springing up in Greece. Athens had ceased to be an object of fear or jealousy, and those feelings began now to be directed towards Sparta. Lysander had risen to a height of unparalleled power. He was in a manner idolized. Poets showered their praises on him, and his statues were set up in the shrines of the gods. In the name of Sparta he exercised almost uncontrolled authority in the cities he had reduced, including Athens itself. But it was soon discovered that, instead of the freedom promised by the Spartans, only another empire had been established. And all the oppressions which

were visited upon the subject states were rendered still more intolerable by the overweening pride and harshness of Lysander's demeanor.

Thrasybulus and the Exiles seize Phyle.—Even in Sparta itself the conduct of Lysander was beginning to inspire disgust and jealousy. Pausanias, son of Pleistanax, who was now king with Agis, as well as the new Ephors appointed in the autumn of 404 B.C., disapproved of his proceedings. The Thebans and Corinthians themselves were beginning to sympathize with Athens, and to regard the Thirty as mere instruments for supporting the Spartan dominion; while Sparta, in her turn, looked upon them as the tools of Lysander's ambition. Many of the Athenian exiles had found refuge in Bœotia; and one of them, Thrasybulus, was able, with the assistance of the Thebans, to equip a small band of seventy fellow-exiles and offer open resistance to the Thirty. Starting from Thebes, he seized the fortress of Phyle, in the passes of Mount Parnes and on the direct road to Athens. The Thirty marched out to attack Thrasybulus at the head of a strong force, but were repulsed in an attempt to capture the stronghold. Returning to the city, they despatched all but a few of the Lacedæmonian garrison and two squadrons of cavalry to keep guard a short distance from Phyle; but this force was attacked by Thrasybulus and defeated with considerable loss.

The Defeat and Overthrow of the Thirty Tyrants (403 B.C.).—It was not long before the garrison at Phyle had increased to about 1000 men, and Thrasybulus felt strong enough to march to Piræus, which he seized without opposition. When the whole force of the Thirty, including the Lacedæmonians, marched to attack him, he retired to the hill of Munichia, the cita-

del of Piræus, the only approach to which was by a steep ascent. Here he drew up his hoplites in files ten deep, posting behind them his slingers and dartmen. The forces of the Thirty advanced up the hill in a column fifty men deep; but in the onset which followed they were driven back and completely routed (April, 403 B.C.). Critias himself fell, and about seventy of his followers. The oligarchical party in Athens now voted to depose the Thirty, and chose in their place a new board of Ten; whereupon all but two of the surviving members of the Thirty retired to Eleusis. After a few days of desultory fighting with the forces of Thrasybulus, the new government of the Ten sent to Sparta to solicit aid; and a similar application was made at the same time by the section of the Thirty at Eleusis. These requests were complied with; and Lysander once more returned to Athens as harmost, or governor, while his brother Libys blockaded Piræus with a fleet. Fortunately, however, the jealousy of the Lacedæmonians towards Lysander led them at this critical juncture to supersede him in the command. King Pausanias was appointed to conduct an army into Attica, and when he encamped near Piræus he was joined by Lysander and his forces. Not wishing to appear openly as a friend of the democracy, Pausanias sent ambassadors to the party of Thrasybulus, bidding them disperse to their homes. When they refused to obey this command he prepared for an attack. The battle which followed was obstinately contested, but finally decided in favor of the Spartans. Having thus saved the honor of Sparta, Pausanias secretly sent messengers to the democrats in Piræus and the oligarchs in Athens, urging them to despatch ambassadors to Peloponnesus to treat for

peace with Sparta and a reconciliation with one another. The Spartan authorities sent back ten commissioners who, in concert with Pausanias, should arrange the terms of a treaty. The decision of this board was: That the exiles in Piræus should be readmitted to Athens; that whoever of the oligarchical party wished to leave the city might dwell at Eleusis; and that there should be an amnesty for all that had passed except as regarded the Thirty, the Ten, and the Eleven. When these terms were settled and sworn to, the Peloponnesians quitted Attica; and Thrasybulus and the exiles, marching under arms from Piræus to Athens, ascended to the Acropolis and offered up a solemn sacrifice. An assembly of the people was then held, in which Thrasybulus addressed an animated reproof to the oligarchical party.

The Restoration of the Democracy.—The return of Thrasybulus and his exiles took place in September, 403 B.C., and steps were now taken to restore the democracy. The Archons, the Senate of 500, the Public Assembly, and the Dicasteries were reconstituted in practically the same form as before the capture of the city. Thus was terminated, after a sway of thirteen months, the despotism of the oligarchy. The year which witnessed the establishment of the Thirty was not named after the archon, but was termed “the year of anarchy.” The first archon chosen after the fall of the oligarchy was Euclides, who gave his name to a year ever afterwards memorable among the Athenians.

Socrates: his Life, Character, and Philosophy.—For the next few years the only memorable event in the history of Athens is the death of Socrates. This celebrated philosopher was born in Athens about

the year 470 B.C. His father, Sophroniseus, was a sculptor, and Socrates was brought up to the same profession and for some time practised it. He was married to Xanthippe, by whom he had three sons; but her bad temper has rendered her name proverbial for a conjugal scold. His physical constitution was healthy, robust, and wonderfully enduring. Indifferent alike to heat and cold, the same scanty and homely clothing sufficed him both in summer and winter; and even in the campaign of Potidæa, amidst the snows of a Thracian winter, he went barefooted. But, though thus gifted with strength of body and of mind, he was far from being endowed with personal beauty. His thick lips, flat nose, and prominent eyes gave him the appearance of a Silenus or Satyr. He served with credit as a hoplite at Potidæa (432 B.C.), Delium (424



SOCRATES

B.C.), and Amphipolis (422 B.C.); but it was not till late in life, in the year 406 B.C., that he filled any political office. He was one of the prytanes when, after the battle of Arginusæ, Callixenus submitted his proposition respecting the six generals to the Assembly, and his refusal on that occasion to put an unconstitutional question to the vote has been already recorded. He had a strong persuasion that he was intrusted with a divine mission, and he believed himself to be attended by a *daimonion*, or genius, whose admonitions he frequently heard, not, however, in the way of incitement, but of restraint. He never *wrote* anything, but made oral instruction the

great business of his life. Early in the morning he frequented the public walks and the gymnasia; thence he adjourned to the market-place at its most crowded hours, and thus spent the whole day in conversing with young and old, rich and poor—with all, in short, who cared to listen to him.

That a reformer and destroyer, like Socrates, of ancient prejudices and fallacies which passed current under the name of wisdom should have raised up a host of enemies is only what might have been expected; but in his case this feeling was increased by the manner in which he fulfilled his mission. The oracle of Delphi, in response to a question put by his friend Chærephon, had affirmed that no man was wiser than Socrates. No one was more perplexed at this declaration than Socrates himself, since he was conscious of possessing no wisdom at all. However, he determined to test the accuracy of the priestess. He therefore selected an eminent politician who enjoyed a high reputation for wisdom, and soon discovered, by his scrutinizing method of cross-examination, that this statesman's reputed wisdom was no wisdom at all. But of this he could not convince the subject of his examination; whence Socrates concluded that he was wiser than this politician, inasmuch as he was conscious of his own ignorance, and therefore exempt from the error of believing himself wise when in reality he was not so. The same experiment was tried with the same result on various classes of men—on poets, mechanics, and especially on the rhetors and sophists, the chief of all the pretenders to wisdom.

The Trial and Death of Socrates (399 B.C.).—The first indication of the unpopularity which he had incurred is the attack made upon him by Aristophanes in the

“Clouds” in the year 423 B.C. That attack, however, seems to have evaporated with the laugh, and for many years Socrates continued his work without molestation. It was not till 399 B.C. that the indictment was preferred against him which cost him his life. In that year Meletus, a poet, seconded by Anytus, a leather-seller, and Lycon, a rhetor, accused him of impiety in not worshipping the gods of the city, but introducing new deities, and also of being a corrupter of the young. With respect to the latter charge, his former intimacy with Alcibiades and Critias weighed against him. Socrates made no preparations for his defence, and seems, indeed, not to have desired an acquittal. But although he addressed the dicasts in a bold and uncompromising tone, he was condemned by a majority of only sixty in a court composed of five hundred dicasts. After the verdict was pronounced he was entitled, according to the practice of the Athenian courts, to make some counter-proposition in place of the penalty of death which the accusers demanded, and if he had done so with any show of submission it is probable that the sentence would have been mitigated. But his tone after the verdict was higher than before. Instead of being punished, he asserted that he ought to be maintained in the Prytaneum at the public expense as a public benefactor. This seems to have enraged the dicasts, and he was condemned to death.

It happened that the vessel which proceeded to Delos on the annual deputation to the festival was prepared for its voyage the day before his condemnation, and until it should return it was unlawful to put any one to death. Socrates was thus kept in prison during thirty days, till the return of the vessel. He

spent the interval in philosophical conversations with his friends. Crito, one of these, endeavored to persuade him to escape from prison, undertaking to make all the necessary arrangements; but Socrates, as might have been expected from the tone of his defence, resolutely refused to save his life by a breach of the law. His last discourse, on the day of his death, turned on the immortality of the soul. With a firm and cheerful countenance he drank the cup of hemlock amidst his sorrowing and weeping friends.

Thus perished the greatest and most original of the Grecian philosophers, whose uninspired wisdom made the nearest approach to the divine morality of the Gospel. His life marks an epoch in the history of philosophy. Among his followers were Plato, the founder of the Academic philosophy; Euclides, the founder of the Megaric school; Aristippus, the founder of the Cyrenaic school; and many other philosophers of eminence.



COIN OF ATHENS

CHAPTER XV

THE EXPEDITION OF THE GREEKS UNDER CYRUS AND THE RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND, 401-400 B.C.

The Expedition of Cyrus (401 B.C.). — The assistance which Cyrus had rendered to the Lacedæmonians in the Peloponnesian war led to a remarkable episode in Grecian history. This was the celebrated expedition of Cyrus against his brother Artaxerxes, in which the superiority of Grecian to Asiatic soldiers was so strikingly shown.

The death of Darius Nothus, king of Persia, took place in the year 405 B.C. Cyrus, who was present at his father's death, was charged by Tissaphernes with plotting against his elder brother Artaxerxes, who succeeded to the throne. The accusation was believed by Artaxerxes, who seized his brother, and would have put him to death but for the intercession of their mother, Parysatis, who persuaded him not only to spare Cyrus, but to confirm him in his former government. . Cyrus returned to Sardis burning with revenge, and fully resolved to make an effort to dethrone his brother.

From his intercourse with the Greeks, Cyrus had become aware of their superiority to the Asiatics and of their usefulness in such an enterprise as he now contemplated. He accordingly enlisted large numbers of them in his service, under the pretence of a

private war with the satrap Tissaphernes. The Greek in whom he placed most confidence was Clearchus, a Lacedæmonian, and formerly harmost of Byzantium, who had been condemned to death by the Spartan authorities for disobedience to their orders.

The March from Sardis to Cunaxa.—It was not, how-



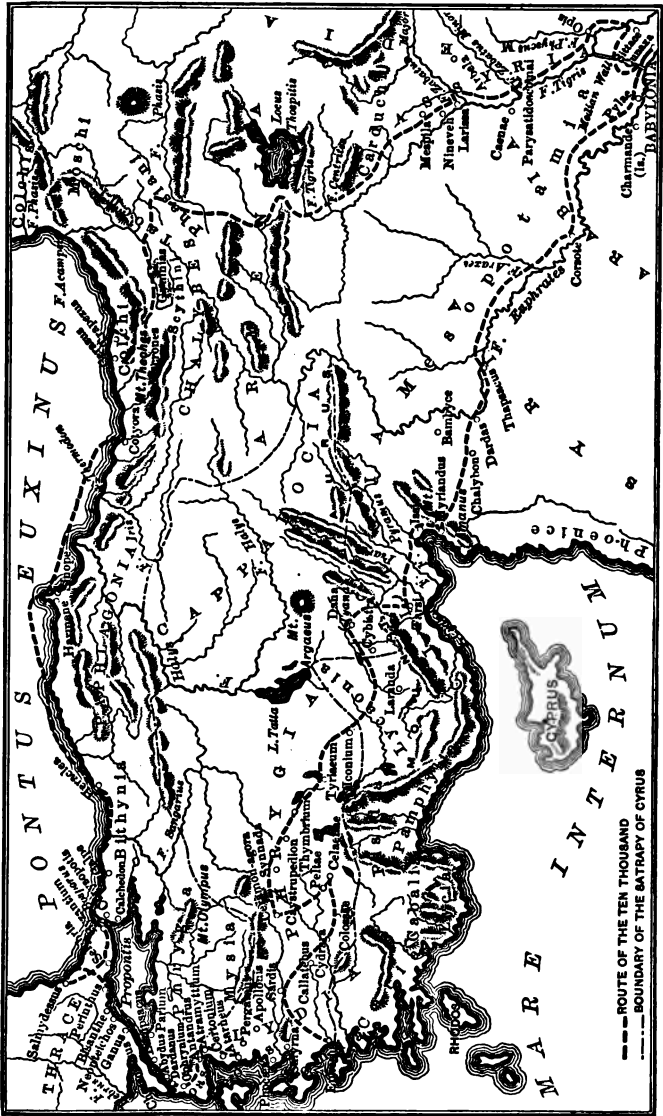
RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF CYBELE AT SARDIS

ever, till the beginning of the year 401 B.C. that the enterprise of Cyrus was ripe for execution. The Greek levies were then withdrawn from the various towns in which they were distributed, and concentrated in Sardis, to the number of about 8000; and in March of this year Cyrus marched from Sardis

with them, and with an army of 100,000 Asiatics. The object of the expedition was proclaimed to be an attack upon the mountain freebooters of Pisidia; its real destination was a secret to every one except Cyrus himself and Clearchus. Among the Greeks was Xenophon, an Athenian knight, to whom we owe a narrative of the expedition.

The march of Cyrus was directed through Lydia and Phrygia. After passing Colossæ he arrived at Celænæ, where he was joined by more Greek troops, the number of whom now amounted to about 11,000 hoplites and 2000 light-armed troops. Thence he proceeded through Lycaonia and Cappadocia into Cilicia. After halting for a short time at Tarsus, the army marched forward to Issus, the last town in Cilicia, situated on the gulf of the same name. Here they met the fleet, which brought them a reinforcement of 700 Lacedæmonians, sent out by the Ephors to assist Cyrus, in return for the help he had given them against Athens. They were also joined at Issus by 400 Greek mercenaries who had deserted from the Persians. The entire Grecian force now amounted, therefore, to about 14,000 men.

Abrocomas, who commanded for the Great King in Syria and Phœnicia, alarmed at the rapid progress of Cyrus, fled before him with all his army, reported as 300,000 strong, abandoning the impregnable pass situated one day's march from Issus, and known as the Gates of Cilicia and Syria. Marching in safety through this pass, the army of Cyrus proceeded eastward to Thapsacus on the Euphrates, where for the first time Cyrus formally announced that he was marching to Babylon against his brother Artaxerxes. The army now entered upon the desert, and after several days



ROUTE OF THE TEN THOUSAND

of toilsome march at length reached Pylæ, the entrance into the cultivated plains of Babylonia.

The Battle of Cunaxa.—Soon after leaving Pylæ symptoms became perceptible of a vast hostile force moving in their front. At length, on arriving at a place called Cunaxa, they received intelligence that Artaxerxes was in fact approaching with all his army. Cyrus immediately drew up his troops in order of battle. The Greeks were posted on the right, while Cyrus himself, surrounded by a picked body-guard of 600 Persian cuirassiers, took up his station in the centre. When the enemy was about half a mile distant the Greeks charged them with the usual war-shout. The Persians did not await their onset, but turned and fled. As Cyrus was contemplating the easy victory of the Greeks, his followers surrounded him and already saluted him with the title of king. But the centre and right of Artaxerxes still remained unbroken; and that monarch, unaware of the defeat of his left wing, ordered the right to wheel and encompass the army of Cyrus. No sooner did Cyrus perceive this movement than with his body-guard he impetuously charged the enemy's centre, where Artaxerxes himself stood, surrounded with 6000 horse. The latter were routed and dispersed, but Cyrus, becoming separated in the confusion of the pursuit from all but a few of his companions, was overborne by superior numbers and slain on the spot.

The Greeks begin the Homeward March: the Seizure of the Generals.—Meanwhile Clearchus had pursued the flying enemy upwards of three miles; but, hearing that the king's troops were in possession of the camp of Cyrus, he retraced his steps, again routing the Persians, who endeavored to intercept him. When the

Greeks regained their camp they found that it had been completely plundered, and were consequently obliged to go supperless to rest. It was not till the following day that they learned of the death of Cyrus—tidings which converted their triumph into sorrow and dismay. Soon the king sent heralds to command them to give up their arms; but they naturally refused to surrender to an enemy whom they had beaten. A few days later, when the Greeks had already begun the return march, they received a visit from Tissaphernes, who pretended much friendship towards them, and announced that he was ready to conduct them in person to Greece and to supply them with provisions during the journey. Accordingly, after many days' delay, they commenced the homeward march, escorted by Tissaphernes and his troops. Crossing the Tigris by a bridge of boats, they proceeded along its eastern bank to the river Zapatas, or Great Zab, where they halted three days. Mistrust, aggravated by slight hostilities, had been already manifested between the Greeks and the Persians under Tissaphernes, but it now became so serious that Clearchus demanded an interview with the satrap. The latter protested the greatest fidelity and good-will towards the Greeks, and promised to tell the Greek generals, on the following day, who the calumniators were who had set the two armies at variance. But when Clearchus, with four other generals, accompanied by twenty *lochagi*, or captains, and 200 soldiers, came to the Persian camp according to appointment, the captains and soldiers were immediately cut down; while the five generals were seized and sent to the Persian court. Four of them were immediately beheaded; the fifth, Menon, died after a year of torture.

New Generals are chosen : the Retreat to the Euxine.—Apprehension and dismay reigned among the Greeks. Their situation was, indeed, appalling. They were more than a thousand miles from home, in a hostile and unknown country, hemmed in on all sides by impassable rivers and mountains, without generals, without guides, without provisions. Xenophon was the first to rouse the captains to the necessity for taking immediate precautions. He was immediately urged to assume the command, and in a subsequent meeting of the officers was formally chosen as one of five new generals.

The Greeks, having first destroyed their superfluous baggage, crossed the Great Zab, and pursued their march along the bank of the Tigris, being constantly harassed by the Persian cavalry and archers. Reaching at length the mountainous country of the Carduchi and finding all other roads barred, they formed the resolution of striking northwards into the mountains, on the farther side of which lay Armenia, where both the Tigris and the Euphrates might be forded near their sources. After a difficult and dangerous march of seven days, during which their sufferings were far greater than any they had experienced from the Persians, the Greeks emerged into Armenia. It was now winter, and Armenia was cold and exposed, being a table-land raised high above the level of the sea. The route of the army still lay northwards over snow-covered plains, and at night in their open bivouacs the soldiers were sometimes almost buried by deep falls of snow. Some of them had their feet frost-bitten ; some were blinded by the snow ; while others, exhausted with cold and hunger, sank down and died. After a rest of several days in some

Armenian villages, they journeyed on, fighting their way through the country of the Taochi and the Chalbyes. They next reached the country of the Scythini, in whose territory they found abundance in a city called Gymnias. The chief of this place provided them with a guide who engaged to conduct them within sight of the Euxine in five days; on the fifth, after ascending a mountain, the sea suddenly burst on the view of the vanguard. The men proclaimed their joy by loud shouts of "The sea! the sea!" The rest of the army hurried to the summit, and gave vent to their joy and exultation in tears and mutual embraces. A few days' march through the country of the Macrones and the Colchians at length brought them to the objects for which they had so often pined, and which many at one time had never hoped to see again—a Grecian city and the sea. By the inhabitants of Trapezus, or Trebizond, on the Euxine, where they had now arrived, they were hospitably received, and, being quartered in some Colchian villages near the town, refreshed themselves after the hardships they had undergone by a repose of thirty days.

Further Fortunes of the Ten Thousand.—The most difficult part of the return of the Ten Thousand was now accomplished, and it is unnecessary to trace the remainder of their route. After many adventures they succeeded in reaching Byzantium, and subsequently engaged to serve the Lacedæmonians in a war which Sparta had just declared against the Persians.

In the spring of 399 B.C., Thibron, the Lacedæmonian commander, arrived in Ionia, and the remainder of the Ten Thousand Greeks became incorporated with his army.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SUPREMACY OF SPARTA, 404-371 B.C.

Character of the Spartan Rule.—After the fall of Athens Sparta stood without a rival in Greece. In the various cities which had belonged to the Athenian empire Lysander established an oligarchical Council of Ten, called a Decarchy, subject to the control of a Spartan harmost. The decarchies, however, remained only a short time in power, since the Spartan government regarded them with jealousy as the partisans of Lysander; but harmosts continued to be placed in every state subject to their empire. The government of the harmosts was corrupt and oppressive; no justice could be obtained against them by an appeal to the Spartan authorities at home; and the Grecian cities soon had cause to regret the milder and more equitable sway of Athens.

Agésilau8 becomes King of Sparta (397 B.C.).—On the death of Agis in 397 B.C., his half-brother Agésilau8 was appointed king, to the exclusion of Leotychides, the son of Agis. This was mainly effected by the powerful influence of Lysander, who erroneously considered Agésilau8 to be of a yielding and manageable disposition, and hoped by taking advantage of those qualities to extend his own influence, and under the name of another to be in reality king himself.

Agesilaus was now more than forty years of age, and was esteemed a model of those virtues which characterized the true Spartan. He was obedient to the constituted authorities, emulous to excel, courageous, energetic, capable of bearing all sorts of hardship and fatigue, simple and frugal in his mode of life. To these severer qualities he added the popular attractions of an agreeable countenance and pleasing address. His physical defects at first stood in the way of his promotion. He was not only low in stature, but also lame; and there was an ancient oracle which warned the Spartans to beware of "a lame reign." The ingenuity of Lysander, assisted probably by the popular qualities of Agesilaus, contrived to overcome this objection by interpreting a lame reign to mean not any bodily defect in the king, but the reign of one who was not a genuine descendant of Heracles. Once possessed of power, Agesilaus supplied any defect in his title by the prudence and policy of his conduct; and, by the marked deference which he paid both to the Ephors and the Senators, he succeeded in gaining for himself more real power than had been enjoyed by any of his predecessors.

Sparta at War with the Persians in Asia Minor (399 B.C.).

—The affairs of Asia Minor soon began to draw the attention of Agesilaus to that quarter. The assistance lent to Cyrus by the Spartans was no secret at the Persian court; and Tissaphernes, who had been rewarded for his fidelity with the provinces which had been ruled by Cyrus in addition to his own, no sooner returned to his government than he attacked the Ionian cities, then under the protection of Sparta. A considerable Lacedæmonian force under Thibron was despatched to their assistance, which, as related

in the preceding chapter, was joined by the remnant of the Greeks who had served under Cyrus. Thibron, however, proved so inefficient a commander that he was suspended towards the end of 399 B.C., and Dercyllidas appointed in his place. The new leader was more successful. Within eight days he deprived Pharnabazus of all Æolis, and forced the satrap to conclude a truce with him. The next year (398 B.C.) was largely spent in building a wall across the Thracian Chersonesus, to protect the Greek cities on the peninsula from the ravages of the barbarians. In 397 B.C. Dercyllidas marched into Caria and confronted the united armies of Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus. Tissaphernes, however, was afraid to venture upon an action, and an armistice was agreed to for the purpose of treating for a peace.

Pharnabazus availed himself of this armistice to make preparations for a renewal of the war. He obtained a grant of money from the king, and began to organize a fleet in Phœnicia and Cilicia. This was intrusted to the Athenian admiral Conon, of whom we now first hear again after a lapse of seven years since his defeat at Ægospotami. After that disastrous battle Conon fled with eight triremes to Cyprus, where he was now living under the protection of Evagoras, king of Salamis.

Agésilau proceeds to Asia Minor (396 B.C.).—It was the news of these preparations that induced Agésilau, on the suggestion of Lysander, to volunteer his services against the Persians. He proposed to take with him only thirty full Spartan citizens, or peers, to act as a sort of council, together with 2000 *Neodamodes*, or emancipated Helots, and 6000 troops of the allies. Lysander, of course, expected to be

the virtual commander of the expedition of which Agesilaus was nominally the head.

Since the time of Agamemnon no Grecian king had led an army into Asia, and Agesilaus availed himself of the prestige of that precedent in order to attract recruits to his standard. The Spartan kings claimed to inherit the sceptre of Agamemnon; and, to render the parallel more complete, Agesilaus proceeded to Aulis, intending to offer sacrifice where the Homeric hero had sacrificed before his departure for Troy. But as he had neglected to ask the permission of the Thebans, and conducted the sacrifice and solemnities by means of his own prophet, and in a manner at variance with the usual rites of the temple, the Thebans were offended, and prevented the completion of the sacrifice—an insult which Agesilaus never forgave.

It was in 396 B.C. that Agesilaus arrived at Ephesus, and took the command in Asia. He demanded of the Persians the complete independence of the Greek cities in Asia; and, in order that there might be time to communicate with the Persian court, the armistice was renewed. During this interval of repose, Lysander, by his arrogance and pretensions, offended both Agesilaus and the thirty Spartans. Agesilaus, determined to uphold his dignity, subjected Lysander to so many humiliations that he was at last fain to request his dismissal from Ephesus, and was accordingly sent to the Hellespont, where he did good service to the Spartan interests.

Defeat of the Persians and Death of Tissaphernes (395 B.C.).—Meanwhile Tissaphernes, having received reinforcements, sent a message to Agesilaus, ordering him to quit Asia. Agesilaus immediately made preparations as if he would attack Tissaphernes in Caria;

but, having thus put the enemy on a false scent, he suddenly turned northward into Phrygia, the satrapy of Pharnabazus, and marched without opposition to the neighborhood of Dascylium, the residence of the satrap himself. Here, however, he was repulsed by the Persian cavalry. He now proceeded into winter-quarters at Ephesus, where he employed himself in organizing a body of cavalry to compete with the Persians. During the winter the army was brought into excellent condition; and Agesilaus gave out in the spring of 395 B.C. that he should march directly into Lydia. Tissaphernes, suspecting another feint, again despatched his infantry to Caria, and stationed his cavalry in the plain of the Mæander. But this time Agesilaus marched as he had announced, and in three days arrived unopposed on the banks of the Pactolus before the Persian cavalry could be recalled. When they at last came up, the newly raised Grecian horse, assisted by the peltasts and some of the younger and more active hoplites, soon succeeded in putting them to flight. The Greeks pursued them across the Pactolus and captured their camp, which contained much booty and several camels.

Agesilaus was now free to ravage the rich district in the immediate neighborhood of Sardis, the residence of Tissaphernes. But the career of that timid and treacherous satrap was drawing to a close. The queen-mother, Parysatis, who had succeeded in regaining her influence over Artaxerxes, caused an order to be sent down from Susa for his execution; in pursuance of which he was seized in a bath at Colossæ, and beheaded. Tithraustes, who had been intrusted with the execution of this order, succeeded Tissaphernes in the satrapy, and immediately reopened negotiations

with Agesilaus, offering to allow the Greek cities of Asia to govern themselves, provided they paid to the king the same tribute as in former times. Agesilaus declared that he was unable to conclude such a compact without consulting the authorities at home. Negotiations seem to have progressed no further ; but meanwhile Tithraustes, by a subsidy of thirty talents, induced Agesilaus to move out of his satrapy into that of Pharnabazus.

Agesilaus is recalled to Greece (394 B.C.).—During this march into Phrygia Agesilaus received a new commission from home, appointing him the head of the naval as well as of the land force—two commands never before united in a single Spartan. He named his brother-in-law, Pisander, commander of the fleet. In the following year (394 B.C.) he set about preparing for an expedition on a grand scale into the interior of Asia Minor. Perhaps he dreamed of such conquests as Alexander realized sixty years later. But the time was not yet ripe. Agesilaus was not an absolute monarch, as was Alexander, and Sparta was not the unquestioned mistress of Greece, as was Macedonia in the days of Alexander. On the eve of his great expedition, Agesilaus was suddenly recalled home to avert the dangers which threatened his native country, and he had no choice but to obey the summons.

War between Sparta and Thebes.—The jealousy and ill-will with which the newly acquired empire of the Spartans was regarded by the other Grecian states had not escaped the notice of the Persians ; and when Tithraustes succeeded to the satrapy of Tissaphernes, he resolved to avail himself of this feeling by exciting a war against Sparta in the heart of Greece itself.

With this view he despatched one Timocrates, a Rhodian, to the leading Grecian cities, carrying with him a sum of fifty talents to be distributed among the chief men in each, for the purpose of rousing them to active measures against Sparta. Timocrates was successful in Thebes, Corinth, and Argos; in Athens he seems to have found no one to accept his offered bribes.

Hostilities were at first confined to Sparta and Thebes. The anti-Spartan party in Thebes instigated a quarrel between the Phocians and Locrians, and then prevailed upon their countrymen to march to the assistance of the Locrians, who were allies of Thebes. As the conspirators had anticipated, the Phocians now invoked the aid of the Lacedæmonians, who, elated at the prosperous state of their affairs in Asia, and, moreover, desirous of avenging the affronts they had received from the Thebans, readily listened to the appeal. Lysander, who seems to have taken an active part in promoting the war, was directed to levy troops in the states of northern Greece which were allied with Sparta, and proceed to the town of Haliartus; and it was arranged that king Pausanias should join him on a fixed day under the walls of that town, with the Lacedæmonians and their Peloponnesian allies.

Lysander defeated and slain at Haliartus (395 B. C.).— Nothing could more strikingly denote the altered state of feeling in Greece than the request for assistance which the Thebans, thus menaced, made to their ancient enemies and rivals, the Athenians. Nor were the Athenians backward in responding to the appeal. Lysander arrived at Haliartus before Pausanias, and undertook to capture the town by storm. The The-

bans, however, marched to its relief, and a battle was fought under the walls, in which the army of Lysander was routed and he himself slain (395 B.C.). His troops disbanded and dispersed in the night-time. Thus, when Pausanias at last came up, he found no army to unite with ; and as an Athenian force had arrived, he now, with the advice of his officers, took the humiliating step—always deemed a confession of inferiority—of requesting a truce in order to recover the bodies of those who had fallen in the preceding battle. Even this, however, the Thebans would not grant except on the condition that the Lacedæmonians should immediately quit their territory. With these terms Pausanias was forced to comply ; and, taking up the bodies of Lysander and his fallen comrades, the Lacedæmonians dejectedly pursued their homeward march. On reaching Sparta, Pausanias was brought to trial for his life on the charge of cowardice and neglect of duty. He succeeded, however, in effecting his escape to Tegea. Sentence of death was pronounced upon him in his absence, and he was succeeded by his son Agesipolis.

The Corinthian War.—The enemies of Sparta took fresh courage from this disaster to her arms. Athens, Corinth, and Argos now formed with Thebes a solemn alliance against her. The league was soon joined by the Eubæans, the Acarnanians, and other Grecian states. In the spring of 394 B.C. the allies assembled at Corinth, and the war, which had been hitherto regarded as merely Bœotian, was now called the Corinthian War, by which name it is known in history. This threatening aspect of affairs determined the Ephors to recall Agesilaus, as already related.

The Battle of Corinlh (394 B.C.).—The allies were soon

in a condition to take the field with a force of 24,000 hoplites, of whom one-fourth were Athenians, together with a considerable body of light-armed troops and cavalry. The Lacedæmonians had also made active preparations. In the neighborhood of Corinth a battle was fought, in which the Lacedæmonians gained the victory, though their allied troops were put to the rout.

Homeward March of Agesilaus: the Battle of Cnidus.—Agesilaus, who had relinquished with a heavy heart his projected expedition into Asia, was now on his homeward march. By the promise of rewards he had persuaded the bravest and most efficient soldiers in his army to accompany him, among whom were many of the Ten Thousand, including Xenophon himself. The route of Agesilaus was much the same as the one formerly traversed by Xerxes, and the camels which accompanied the army gave it somewhat of an Oriental aspect. At Amphipolis he received the news of the victory of Corinth, but his heart was so full of schemes against Persia that the feeling which it awakened in his bosom was rather one of regret that so many Greeks had fallen, whose united efforts might have emancipated Asia Minor, than of joy at the success of his countrymen. Having forced his way through a desultory opposition offered by the Thessalian cavalry, he crossed the Achæan Mountains, and marched unopposed the rest of the way through the pass of Thermopylæ to the frontiers of Phocis and Bœotia. Here the evil tidings reached him of the defeat and death of his brother-in-law Pisander, in a great sea-fight off Cnidus in Caria. Conon, with the assistance of Pharnabazus, had succeeded in raising a powerful fleet, partly Phœnician and partly

Grecian, with which he either destroyed or captured more than half of the Lacedæmonian fleet. Agesilaus, fearing the impression which such sad news might produce upon his men, announced that the Lacedæmonian fleet had gained a victory; and, having offered sacrifice as if for a victory, he ordered an advance.

The Battle of Coronea.—Agesilaus soon came up with the confederate army, which had prepared to oppose him in the plain of Coronea. The Thebans succeeded in driving in the Orchomenians, who formed the left wing of the army of Agesilaus, and penetrated as far as the baggage in the rear. But on the remainder of the line Agesilaus was victorious, and the Thebans now saw themselves cut off from their companions, who had retreated to Mount Helicon. Facing about and forming in compact order, the Thebans sought to rejoin the main body, but they were opposed by Agesilaus and his troops. The shock of the conflicting masses which ensued was one of the most terrible recorded in the annals of Grecian warfare. The Thebans finally forced their way through, but not without severe loss. Agesilaus himself was severely wounded, and was only rescued from death by the devoted courage of the fifty Spartans who formed his body-guard. His victory was not very decisive; but the Thebans tacitly acknowledged their defeat by soliciting the customary truce for the burial of their dead.

Agesilaus, on his arrival at Sparta, was received with the most lively demonstrations of gratitude and esteem, and became henceforward the sole director of Spartan policy.

Loss of the Spartan Maritime Empire.—Thus, within a few months, the Lacedæmonians had fought two

battles on land and one at sea; namely, those of Corinth, Coronea, and Cnidus. But, though they had been victorious in the land engagements, they were so little decisive as to lead to no important result, while their defeat at Cnidus produced the most disastrous consequences. It was followed by the loss of nearly all their maritime empire, even faster than they had acquired it after the battle of *Ægospotami*; for, as Conon and Pharnabazus sailed with their victorious fleet from island to island and from port to port, their approach was everywhere the signal for the flight or expulsion of the Spartan harmosts.

Conon rebuilds the Long Walls (393 B.C.).—In the spring of the following year Conon and Pharnabazus sailed to the isthmus of Corinth, then occupied as a central post by the allies. The appearance of a Persian fleet in the Saronic Gulf was a strange sight to Grecian eyes, and one which might have served as a severe comment on the effect of their suicidal wars. Conon dexterously availed himself of the hatred of Pharnabazus towards Sparta to procure a boon for his native city. As the satrap was on the point of proceeding homewards, Conon obtained leave to employ the seamen in rebuilding the fortifications of Piræus and the Long Walls of Athens. Pharnabazus also granted a large sum of money for that purpose; and Conon had thus the glory of appearing like a second Themistocles, the deliverer and restorer of his country.

Progress of the Corinthian War.—Meanwhile the territory of Corinth was the scene of a desultory warfare, which continued during the following years without being marked by any decisive engagement. One of the most important events of this period was the de-

struction of a whole Lacedæmonian *mora*, or battalion, by the light-armed troops of the Athenian Iphicrates (about 390 B.C.). Iphicrates was in command of a body of Athenians and mercenaries, consisting of peltasts.* For this force he introduced those improved arms and tactics which form an epoch in the Grecian art of war. His object was to combine, as far as possible, the peculiar advantages of the hoplites and light-armed troops. He substituted a linen corselet for the coat of mail worn by the hoplites, and lessened the shield, while he rendered the spear and sword of the hoplite more effective by lengthening them both considerably; each soldier seems also to have been provided with the missile weapons of the peltast. These troops soon proved very effective. After gaining several victories, he ventured to make a sally from Corinth and attack a Lacedæmonian *mora*. Avoiding a hand-to-hand contest, the peltasts slew so many of the Lacedæmonians with their missile weapons that at length the latter broke and fled in confusion. They were hotly pursued by the peltasts, and but very few of the entire force succeeded in effecting their escape.

The Peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.).—The maritime war was prosecuted with vigor. Thrasybulus, and after his death Iphicrates, were successful upon the coast of Asia Minor, and made the Athenians again masters of the Hellespont. Under these circumstances, the Lacedæmonians resolved to spare no efforts to regain the good-will of the Persians. Antalcidas, the Lacedæmonian commander on the Asiatic coast, entered into negotiations with Tiribazus, who was now satrap

* So called from the *pelte*, or kind of shield which they carried.

in Ionia, in order to bring about a general peace under the mediation of Persia. Antalcidas repaired to the Persian court, and prevailed on the Persian monarch both to define the terms of a peace and to declare war against those who should reject it. Antalcidas and Tiribazus returned to the coasts of Asia Minor armed with the royal mandate, and commissioned to carry it into execution. Resuming command of the Lacedæmonian fleet, Antalcidas was joined in the Hellespont, where Iphicrates and the Athenians were still predominant, by a contingent of Persian ships and by twenty triremes which Dionysius of Syracuse had placed at the service of the Lacedæmonians. The overwhelming force which Antalcidas now commanded, the largest that had been seen in the Hellespont since the battle of Ægospotami, rendered all resistance hopeless. The supplies of corn from the Euxine no longer found their way to Athens; and the Athenians, depressed at once both by what they felt and by what they anticipated, began to long for peace. As without the assistance of Athens it seemed hopeless for the other allies to struggle against Sparta, all Greece was inclined to listen to an accommodation.

Under these circumstances deputies from the Grecian states were summoned to meet Tiribazus; who, after exhibiting to them the royal seal of Persia, read to them the following terms of a peace: "King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia and the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus should belong to him. He also thinks it just to leave all the other Grecian cities, both small and great, independent—except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which are to belong to Athens, as of old. Should any refuse to

accept this peace, I will make war upon them, along with those who are of the same mind, both by land and sea, with ships and with money." All the Grecian states except Thebes accepted these terms. Thebes at first refused to do so. The smaller Bœotian cities, being members of a league of which Thebes was the head, were practically subject to her; but the terms of the peace secured independence to all Grecian cities, great or small, and Thebes was extremely unwilling to lose her subject allies. One great object, however, which Sparta had in view in concluding the peace was to cripple Thebes, and Agesilaus was the implacable enemy of that city. He accordingly made preparations for an expedition to Bœotia. But before he was ready to begin his march, the Thebans sent messengers to him agreeing to acknowledge the independence of the Bœotian towns and become parties to the treaty.

This disgraceful peace, called the Peace of Antalcidas, was concluded in the year 387 B.C. By it Greece seemed prostrated at the feet of the barbarians; for its very terms, engraven on stone and set up in the cities of Greece, recognized the Persian king as the arbiter of her destinies. Although Athens cannot be entirely exonerated from the blame of this transaction, the chief guilt rests upon Sparta, whose designs were far deeper and more hypocritical than they appeared. Under the specious pretext of securing the independence of the Grecian cities, her only object was to break up the confederacies under Athens and Thebes, and, with the assistance of Persia, to pave the way for her own absolute dominion in Greece.

The Spartans seize the Citadel of Thebes (383 B.C.).—Sparta first turned her attention to Mantinea and

Phlius. The wall of the former city was destroyed, and the inhabitants were compelled to distribute themselves in villages (385 B.C.). The Phliasians, in obedience to an order sent from Sparta, readmitted all their exiles, who were of course friends of the Lacedæmonians (384 B.C.). Next, by an act of disgraceful treachery, the Spartans obtained possession of Thebes. They had declared war against Olynthus, a town situated at the head of the Toronaic Gulf in the peninsula of Chalcidice, the head of a powerful confederation which included several of the adjacent Grecian cities. The Thebans were about to enter into an alliance with Olynthus, and had forbidden any of their citizens to join the Lacedæmonian army destined to act against it; but they were not strong enough to prevent its marching through their territory. Phœbidas, who was conducting a Lacedæmonian force against Olynthus, halted on his way through Bœotia not far from Thebes, where he was visited by Leontiades, one of the two polemarchs of the city, and the leader of the Lacedæmonian party in Thebes. It happened that the festival of the *Thesmophoria* was celebrating, during which the Cadmea, or Theban Acropolis, was given up for the exclusive use of the women. The opportunity seemed favorable for a surprise; and Leontiades and Phœbidas concerted a plot to seize it. In pursuance of the plan which was devised, the Theban returned to the city while Phœbidas pretended to resume his march; but Leontiades, finding that the coast was clear, mounted his horse, rejoined the Spartan army, and led the way towards the Cadmea. It was a sultry summer's afternoon, so that the very streets were deserted; and Phœbidas, without encountering any opposition,

seized the citadel (383 B.C.). This treacherous act during a period of profound peace awakened the liveliest indignation throughout Greece. Sparta herself could not venture to justify it openly, and Phœbidas was made the scape-goat of her affected displeasure. As a sort of atonement to the violated feeling of Greece, he was censured, fined, and deprived of his command. But that this punishment was a mere farce is perfectly evident; and, however indignant the Lacedæmonians affected to appear at the act of Phœbidas, they took care to reap the fruits of it by retaining their garrison in the Cadmea.

The once haughty Thebes was now enrolled a member of the Lacedæmonian alliance, and furnished her contingent—the grateful offering of the new Theban government—for the war which Sparta was prosecuting with redoubled vigor against Olynthus. This city was compelled to sue for peace in 379 B.C., and was received into the Lacedæmonian alliance. Many of the cities of the Olynthian confederacy hastened to make their submission to Sparta.

Sparta at the Height of her Power (379 B.C.).—The power of Sparta on land had now attained its greatest height. Her unpopularity in Greece was commensurate with the extent of her harshly administered dominion. She was leagued on all sides with the enemies of Grecian freedom—with the Persians, with Amyntas, king of Macedonia, and with Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse. But she had now reached the turning-point of her fortunes, and her successes, which had been earned without scruple, were soon to be followed by misfortunes and disgrace. The first blow came from Thebes, where she had perpetrated her most signal injustice.

The Liberation of Thebes (379 B.C.).—That city had been for more than four years in the hands of Leontiades and the Spartan party. During this time great discontent had grown up among the resident citizens; and there was also a party of exasperated exiles, who had taken refuge at Athens. Among these was Pelopidas, a young man of birth and fortune, who had already distinguished himself by his disinterested patriotism and ardent character, and who was destined to become one of the most illustrious of Thebans. The exiles at Athens gained the opportunity, which they had long sought, of delivering their city from Sparta through the assistance of a certain Phyllidas, who was secretary to the Theban polemarchs. Melon, one of the exiles, was a friend of Phyllidas, and when the latter visited Athens formed a plan with him for the overthrow of the Lacedæmonian faction. Accordingly Melon, Pelopidas, and five other exiles made their way by night to Bœotia, and on the next day towards dusk straggled through the gates of Thebes like workmen returning from the fields. They found shelter and concealment in the house of one Charon. Meanwhile Phyllidas had been doing his part towards carrying out the projected scheme. He had prepared a banquet for the polemarchs Archias and Philippus, and it was arranged that after they had partaken freely of wine the conspirators were to be introduced, disguised as women, and to complete their work by the assassination of the polemarchs. Plutarch relates that while the polemarchs were at table a messenger arrived from Athens with a letter for Archias, in which the whole plot was accurately detailed. The messenger, in accordance with his instructions, informed Archias that the letter related to

matters of great importance. But the polemarch, completely engrossed by the pleasures of the table, thrust the letter under the pillow of his couch, exclaiming, "Serious matters to-morrow."

The hour of their fate was now ripe. The conspirators, disguised with veils, and in the ample folds of female attire, were ushered into the room. They immediately unveiled themselves and struck down both Archias and Philippos. They then went to the house of Leontiades, whom they also despatched.

The news of the revolution soon spread abroad. Proclamations were issued announcing that Thebes was free, and calling upon all citizens who valued their liberty to gather in assembly. As soon as day dawned, and the citizens became aware that they were summoned to vindicate their liberty, their joy and enthusiasm were unbounded. The conspirators were introduced to the assembly, crowned with garlands by the priests and welcomed with acclamations by the people. Three of them, Pelopidas, Melon, and Charon, were chosen as the first restored Bœotarchs.

Meanwhile the remainder of the Theban exiles, accompanied by a body of Athenians, assembled on the frontiers of Bœotia, and at the first news of the success of the conspiracy hastened to Thebes to complete the revolution. The Thebans, under their new Bœotarchs, now made an assault upon the Cadmea; but the Lacedæmonians speedily capitulated, and were allowed to march out with the honors of war.

A New Athenian Confederacy (378 B.C.).—From this time must be dated the era of a new political combination in Greece. Athens strained every nerve to organize a fresh confederacy. Thebes did not scruple to enroll herself as one of its earliest members. The

basis on which the confederacy was formed closely resembled that of Delos. The cities composing it were to be independent, and to send deputies to a congress at Athens; if any member of the league was attacked, the other confederate cities were bound to defend it to the best of their ability, each furnishing its contingent of troops or ships. At a later period the smaller cities of the confederacy, instead of contributing their quota to the allied force, paid a fixed assessment in money. But care was taken to banish all recollections connected with the former unpopularity of the Athenian empire. The name of the tribute was no longer *phoros*, but *syntaxis*, or "contribution." The confederacy, which ultimately numbered seventy cities, was organized and extended chiefly through the exertions of Chabrias, and of Timotheus, the son of Conon. Nor were the Thebans less zealous, among whom the Spartan government had left a lively feeling of antipathy. The military force was put in the best training, and it was at about this time that the famous "Sacred Band" was instituted. This band was a regiment of three hundred hoplites. It was supported at the public expense, and kept constantly under arms. It was composed of young and chosen citizens of the best families, and was said to have been organized in such a manner that each man had at his side a dear and intimate friend. Its special duty was the defence of the Cadmea.

Epaminondas.—The Thebans had always been excellent soldiers; but their good fortune now gave them the greatest general that Greece had hitherto seen. Epaminondas, who now appears conspicuously in public life, deserves the reputation not merely of a Theban, but of a Grecian hero. Sprung from a poor

but ancient family, Epaminondas possessed all the best qualities of his nation without that heaviness, either of body or of mind, which was thought to characterize the masses of the Theban people. By the study of philosophy and by other intellectual pursuits his mind was enlarged beyond the sphere of vulgar superstition, and emancipated from that timorous interpretation of nature which caused some of the leading men of those days to behold a portent in the most ordinary phenomenon. A still rarer accomplishment for a Theban was that of eloquence, which he possessed in no ordinary degree. These intellectual qualities were matched by moral virtues worthy to consort with them. Though eloquent, he was discreet; though poor, he was neither avaricious nor corrupt; though naturally firm and courageous, he was averse to cruelty, violence, and bloodshed; though a patriot, he was a stranger to personal ambition and scorned the little arts by which popularity is too often courted. Pelopidas was his bosom friend, and during the next few years was the more prominent of the two. It was not until later that the military genius of Epaminondas shone forth in its full lustre.

Spartan Invasions of Bœotia: the Battle of Naxos (376 B.C.).

—The Spartans were resolved to avenge the repulse they had received; and in the winter of 379–378 B.C. king Cleombrotus marched with a large army into Bœotia. He was unable, however, to effect anything decisive, and subsequent invasions, led by Agesilaus in the years 378 and 377 B.C., were attended with the like result. In the following year (376 B.C.) the Spartans again undertook to march into Bœotia, but were met in the passes of Mount Cithæron by a force of Thebans and Athenians and compelled to retreat. Taught

by this experience, the Lacedæmonians now resolved to fit out a fleet in order to transport troops to Bœotia by sea, and at the same time to intercept Athenian grain-ships. But the Athenians also manned a fleet and won a decisive victory over their enemies in the battle of Naxos (376 B.C.). Athens was now once more mistress of the seas. Chabrias, the victor of Naxos, sailed to Thrace and carried on successful operations against the barbarians, while Timotheus, with another fleet, sailed round Peloponnesus and reduced the island of Corcyra (375 B.C.). In the following year peace was concluded between Athens and Sparta, but the treaty had hardly been ratified when the Spartans alleged that it had been violated by Timotheus, and hostilities were resumed. Sparta made an unsuccessful expedition against the Corcyræans, who were supported by the Athenians; but the war was not prosecuted with great energy or earnestness on either side.

The Battle of Tegyra (375 B.C.). — Meanwhile Bœotia had been free for some years from Spartan invasion. Thebes employed this time in extending her dominion over the neighboring cities. One of her most important successes during this period was the victory gained by Pelopidas, near Tegyra, over a Lacedæmonian force which constituted the garrison of Orchomenus. Pelopidas had with him only the Sacred Band and a small body of cavalry when he fell in with the Lacedæmonians, who were twice as numerous. He did not, however, shrink from the conflict on this account; and when one of his men, running up to him, exclaimed, "We are fallen into the midst of the enemy," he replied, "Why so, more than they into the midst of us?" In the battle which ensued the

two Spartan commanders fell at the first charge, and their men were put to the rout. So signal a victory inspired the Thebans with new confidence and vigor, as it showed that Sparta was not invincible even in a pitched battle, and with the advantage of numbers on her side. By the year 374 B.C. the Thebans had succeeded in reducing almost all the Bœotian towns to subjection. They also destroyed the restored city of Plataea, and obliged its inhabitants once more to seek refuge at Athens.

Peace between Athens and Sparta: the Thebans are excluded from the Treaty (371 B.C.).—The successes of the Thebans revived the jealousy and distrust of Athens. Prompted by these feelings, the Athenians sent ambassadors to Sparta to treat for peace, and urged the Thebans to do likewise. The other allies of Athens also sent deputies, and a congress was opened in Sparta in the early summer of 371 B.C. Among the Theban representatives was Epaminondas, then one of the Bœotarchs. The terms of a peace were agreed upon by which the independence of the various Grecian cities was to be recognized, and the Spartan harmosts and garrisons everywhere dismissed. Sparta ratified the treaty for herself and her allies; but Athens took the oath only for herself, and was followed separately by her allies, including the Thebans. On the following day, however, the Theban envoys returned and requested that the word "Bœotians" should be substituted for "Thebans" in the treaty, and that they should be thereby recognized as representatives of the united state of Bœotia. But Athens and Sparta, in their jealousy of Thebes, had sought above all to establish the independence of the Bœotian towns; and nothing was further from their purposes or desires

than to concede the sovereignty of Thebes in Bœotia. Agesilaus therefore replied to the Theban envoys that he would change nothing which was written; but if the Thebans did not wish to be included in the treaty he would strike out their name. This he straightway proceeded to do.

Thus Thebes ceased to be an ally of Athens, and was excluded from the peace between Athens and Sparta. The result with regard to Thebes and Sparta will appear in the following chapter.



COIN OF ORCHOMENUS

CHAPTER XVII

THE SUPREMACY OF THEBES, B.C. 371-362

The Battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.).—In pursuance of the treaty, the Lacedæmonians withdrew their harbours and garrisons, while the Athenians recalled their fleet from the Ionian Sea. Only one feeling prevailed at Sparta—a desire to crush Thebes. This city was regarded as doomed to destruction; and it was not for a moment imagined that, single-handed, she would be able to resist the might of Sparta. At the time when the peace was concluded Cleombrotus happened to be in Phocis at the head of a Lacedæmonian army, and he now received orders to invade Bœotia without delay. The Thebans, on their side, were equally determined on resistance. The two armies met on the memorable plain of Leuctra, near Thespiæ. The forces on each side are not accurately known, but the Thebans were undoubtedly outnumbered by the Lacedæmonians. The military genius of Epaminondas, however, compensated for any inferiority of numbers by novelty of tactics. Up to this time Grecian battles had been uniformly conducted by a general attack in line. Epaminondas now first adopted the manœuvre, used with such success by Napoleon in modern times, of concentrating heavy masses on a given point of the enemy's array. Having formed his left wing into a dense column fifty

men deep, he directed it against the Lacedæmonian right, containing the best troops in their army, drawn up twelve deep, and led by Cleombrotus in person. The shock was terrible. Cleombrotus himself was mortally wounded in the onset, and with difficulty carried off by his comrades. Numbers of his officers, as well as of his men, were slain, and the whole wing was broken and compelled to retreat. The loss of the Thebans was small compared with that of the Lacedæmonians. Out of 700 Spartans in the army of the latter, 400 had fallen; and their king also had been slain, an event which had not occurred since the fatal day of Thermopylæ.

The victory of Leuctra was gained within three weeks after the exclusion of the Thebans from the peace. The effect of it throughout Greece was electrical. It was everywhere felt that a new military power had arisen—that the prestige of the old Spartan discipline and tactics had departed. Yet at Sparta itself, though the reverse was the greatest that her arms had ever sustained, the news of it was received with an assumption of indifference characteristic of the people. The Ephors forbade the chorus of men, who were celebrating in the theatre the festival of the *Gymnopædia*, to be interrupted. They contented themselves with directing that the names of the slain be communicated to their relatives, and with issuing an order forbidding the women to wail and mourn. Those whose friends had fallen appeared abroad on the morrow with joyful countenances, while the relatives of the survivors seemed overwhelmed with grief and shame.

Jason of Pheræ: his Mediation.—Immediately after the battle of Leuctra the Thebans sent to Jason of Pheræ,

in Thessaly, to solicit his aid against the Lacedæmonians. This despot was one of the most remarkable men of the period. He was *Tagus*, or *Generalissimo*, of all Thessaly; and several tribes of *Ætolia* and *Epirus* were subject to him. He was a man of boundless ambition, and meditated nothing less than extending his dominion over the whole of Greece. Upon receiving the invitation of the Thebans, Jason immediately resolved to join them. When he arrived the Thebans were anxious that he should unite with them in an attack upon the Lacedæmonian camp; but Jason dissuaded them from the enterprise, advising them not to drive the Lacedæmonians to despair, and offering his mediation. He accordingly succeeded in effecting a truce, by which the Lacedæmonians were allowed to depart from *Bœotia* un molested.

The Humiliation of Sparta.—According to Spartan custom, the survivors of a defeat were looked upon as degraded men, and subjected to the penalties of civil infamy. No allowance was made for circumstances. But those who had fled at *Leuctra* were three hundred in number; an attempt to enforce against them the usual penalties might prove not only inconvenient, but even dangerous; and, on the proposal of *Agésilæus*, they were for this occasion suspended. The loss of material power which Sparta sustained by the defeat was great. The ascendancy she had hitherto enjoyed in parts north of the *Corinthian Gulf* fell from her at once, and was divided between *Jason of Pheræ* and the Thebans. Jason was shortly afterwards assassinated. His death was felt as a relief by Greece, and especially by Thebes. He was succeeded by his two brothers, *Polyphron* and

Polydorus ; but they possessed neither his ability nor his power.

The Athenians stood aloof from the contending parties. They had not received the news of the battle of Leuctra with any pleasure, for they now dreaded Thebes more than Sparta. But, instead of helping the latter, they endeavored to prevent either from obtaining the supremacy in Greece, and for this purpose called upon the other states to renew their oaths to abide by the Peace of Antalcidas, which provided for the independence of every Greek city. This proposal was accepted by all the states except Elis. Thus even the Peloponnesian cities became independent of Sparta. But this was not all. Never did any state fall with greater rapidity. She not only lost her dominion over states which she had ruled for centuries, but two new political powers sprang up in the peninsula which threatened her own independence.

Affairs in Arcadia: the Founding of Megalopolis (about 370 B.C.).—Hostilities first broke out between Sparta and the Arcadian towns of Mantinea and Tegea. The Mantineans, now independent by the terms of the renewed treaty, determined to rebuild their walls, which had been destroyed by the Lacedæmonians. In Tegea the anti-Spartan party sought to bring about the union of all Arcadia. They were supported by the Mantineans, and very many adherents of the opposite party fled to Sparta for refuge. Under these circumstances Agesilaus led an army across the frontier and offered battle to the assembled Arcadians, but, finding them unwilling to engage, marched back to Sparta. The project which the Tegeans had originated was accomplished at about this time, or very shortly afterwards, by the founding of a new city, Megalopo-

lis. The "Great City" deserved its name. Situated on the banks of the Helisson, it was surrounded by a wall fifty stadia in circumference and peopled by the inhabitants of forty distinct Arcadian townships. It was made the capital of Arcadia, and here a synod of deputies from the Arcadian towns, called the "Ten Thousand," met for the transaction of business. By founding Megalopolis the Arcadians sought to establish a bulwark against the power of Sparta. It was a long time since the Spartans had had an avowed enemy so near their city.

Epaminondas invades Laconia and re-establishes the Messenian State (370 B.C.).—Meanwhile the Thebans under Epaminondas had marched to the assistance of the Arcadians. Being reinforced by them, Epaminondas proceeded into Laconia, and threatened Sparta itself. The city, which was wholly unfortified, was filled with confusion and alarm. The women, who had never yet seen the face of an enemy, gave vent to their fears in wailing and lamentation. Agesilaus, however, was undismayed, and saved the state by his vigilance and energy. He repulsed the cavalry of Epaminondas as they advanced towards Sparta; and so vigorous were his measures of defence that the Theban general abandoned all further attempt upon the city, and proceeded southwards as far as Helos and Gytheum, the latter the port and arsenal of Sparta. After laying waste with fire and sword the valley of the Eurotas, he retired to Messenia, there to work Sparta still greater harm. This was accomplished by the re-establishment of the Messenian state. The Messenians had formerly lived under a dynasty of their own kings; but for nearly three centuries their land had been in the possession of the

Lacedæmonians, and they had been fugitives upon the face of the earth. The restoration of these exiles, dispersed in various Greek states and colonies, to their former rights would plant a bitterly hostile neighbor on the very borders of Laconia. Epaminondas accordingly opened communications with them, and great numbers of them joyfully accepted his invitation. He now founded the town of Messene. Its citadel was placed on Mount Ithome, which had been so bravely defended by the Messenians against the Spartans more than three centuries before. The strength of its fortifications was long afterwards a subject of admiration. The territory attached to the new city extended southwards to the Messenian Gulf and northwards to the borders of Arcadia, comprising some of the most fertile land in Peloponnesus.

An Alliance between Sparta and Athens (369 B.C.).— So low had Sparta sunk that she was fain to beg the assistance of the Athenians. This request was acceded to; and shortly afterwards an alliance was formed between the two states, in which Sparta waived all her claims to superiority and headship. In the same year the Thebans again invaded Peloponnesus, defeated the Lacedæmonians in a slight skirmish, and made an unsuccessful attempt upon Corinth. But the Spartans and Athenians, who had taken the field together, were now reinforced by a body of troops sent to their aid by Dionysius of Syracuse. The Syracusan cavalry, though few in number, harassed the Thebans to such an extent that they soon marched homeward.

The "Tearless Battle" (368 B.C.).— In the next year Peloponnesus was not invaded. The Arcadians

thought themselves strong enough to dispense with the aid of the Thebans, and continued to prosecute the war, supported only by the Argives. Meanwhile a second Syracusan force reached Greece and joined the Spartans. Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, led the united army against the Argives and Arcadians, and won a brilliant victory near the Laconian frontier. This was called the "Tearless Battle," because no single Spartan fell, though great numbers of the enemy were slain. During the same year a certain Philiscus, who was in the service of the Persians, invited the Thebans and Lacedæmonians to send deputies to a peace congress at Delphi. Both parties accepted the invitation, but nothing whatever was accomplished.

The Thebans in Thessaly (369 B.C.).—Meanwhile Pelopidas, with a Theban force, had been operating in Thessaly and Macedonia. Alexander of Pheræ, a nephew of the great Jason, had murdered his uncle Polyphron and become Tagus of Thessaly. His rule was harsh and tyrannical, and the Thessalians sought the aid of Alexander II., king of Macedonia, against him. The Macedonian invaded Thessaly, but it was soon found that he had come to advance his own interests and not to relieve the Thessalians. Thereupon the latter turned to Thebes. Pelopidas dispossessed the Macedonian king of the Thessalian cities which he had captured and freed the Thessalians from Alexander of Pheræ, whom he left to rule his own city. Pelopidas then marched into Macedonia, where he supported king Alexander against Ptolemy, a claimant to the throne. Their differences were amicably adjusted, and Pelopidas returned to Thebes, taking with him as hostages a number of young nobles,

among whom was Philip, Alexander's brother and the future king of Macedonia.

Pelopidas Imprisoned by Alexander of Pheræ: his Release (367 B.C.).—In the year 368 B.C. renewed complaints against Alexander of Pheræ reached Thebes, and Pelopidas returned to Thessaly, but this time without an army, trusting to his personal influence to settle all difficulties. Finding, however, that Ptolemy had murdered Alexander of Macedonia and seized the government, he collected a force of mercenaries and marched against the usurper. This undertaking was unsuccessful, and Pelopidas on his return to Thessaly was seized and imprisoned by Alexander of Pheræ. Expecting to be attacked by the Thebans in consequence of this deed, the tyrant sought aid of the Athenians, who sent him thirty triremes and troops to the number of 1000. The Thebans on their part despatched an army of 8000 hoplites and 600 cavalry to recover or avenge their favorite citizen. Unfortunately, however, they were no longer commanded by Epaminondas. They were forced to retreat, and the army was in such danger from the active pursuit of the Thessalians and Athenians that its destruction seemed inevitable. Luckily, however, Epaminondas was serving as a hoplite in the ranks. By the unanimous voice of the troops he was now called to the command, and succeeded in conducting the army safely back to Thebes. Here the unsuccessful Bœotarchs were disgraced; Epaminondas was restored to the command, and placed at the head of a second Theban army destined to attempt the release of Pelopidas. Directed by his superior skill, the enterprise proved successful, and Pelopidas returned in safety to Thebes (367 B.C.).

A Theban Embassy to Persia.—Very soon after his return from Thessaly, Pelopidas proceeded on an embassy to Persia. Ever since the Peace of Antalcidas the Great King had been the recognized mediator between the states of Greece, and his fiat seemed indispensable to stamp the claims of that city which pretended to the headship. The recent achievements of Thebes might entitle her to aspire to that position; and, at all events, the alteration which she had produced in the internal state of Greece by the establishment of Messene seemed to require for its stability the sanction of a Persian rescript. This was obtained without difficulty, as Thebes was now the strongest state in Greece, and it was evidently easier to exercise Persian ascendancy there by her means than through a weaker power. The Persian rescript pronounced the independence of Messene, and the Athenians were directed to lay up their ships of war. It is needless to say that this royal manifesto produced not the slightest effect in Greece. Sparta and Athens, whose ambassadors had been present at the Persian court with Pelopidas, had no intention of obeying the king's directions. The other states refused to be bound by the rescript, and braved the anger of the Thebans and Artaxerxes.

The Death of Pelopidas (364 B.C.).—Three years later Pelopidas again marched into Thessaly against Alexander of Pheræ. The latter's aggressions had once more forced the Thessalians to seek aid at Thebes, and Pelopidas, who no doubt burned to avenge his private wrongs, was sent to punish the tyrant. The battle was fought on the hills of Cynoscephalæ; the troops of Alexander were routed; and Pelopidas, observing his hated enemy endeavoring to rally them,

was seized with such a transport of rage that, regardless of his duties as a general, he rushed impetuously forward and challenged him to single combat. Alexander shrunk back within the ranks of his guards, followed by Pelopidas, who was soon slain, fighting with desperate bravery. Although the army of Alexander was defeated with severe loss, the news of the death of Pelopidas deprived the Thebans and their Thessalian allies of all the joy which they would otherwise have felt at their victory.

The War in Peloponnesus: Elis and Arcadia.—Meanwhile the war in Peloponnesus had continued. In the year 367 B.C. Epaminondas induced the Achæans to ally themselves with Thebes, but on his return from Peloponnesus the Theban authorities foolishly sent out harmosts, who expelled the aristocrats from the various cities of Achaia. The exiles effected their return, and, through their instrumentality, Achaia now sided with Sparta. During the next year little of importance happened. The Athenians sought to injure Thebes by forming an alliance with the Arcadians, while, on the other hand, Corinth and Phlius concluded peace with Thebes. In 365 B.C. war broke out between Arcadia and Elis. The Arcadians were, on the whole, successful, although the Eleans received aid from Sparta. In the year 364 B.C. they invaded Elis and assumed the direction of the Olympic games. But while the festival was in progress a force of Eleans marched to Olympia, and a battle took place among the temples and shrines of the sacred precinct. The Eleans, though at first successful, were not able to possess themselves of the sanctuary. The Arcadians now went so far as to appropriate the sacred treasure to support their army. This sacrilegious act

was not approved, however, by all the Arcadians, and internal dissension was thus produced. One party sent to Thebes for assistance, while the majority, including the Mantineans, concluded peace with Elis, and sought the aid of Sparta against the Thebans.

Epaminondas in Peloponnesus.—Under these circumstances, Thebes determined to establish her supremacy in Peloponnesus, and to this end sent thither a strong army under Epaminondas, consisting of Bœotians, Eubœans, and Thessalians. The Theban general was joined in Peloponnesus by the Argives, Messenians, and southern Arcadians, and established himself at Tegea, aiming to prevent the Spartans from effecting a junction with the Mantineans. Meanwhile Agesilaus with his army had marched out of Sparta, and Epaminondas, hoping to take the city by surprise, proceeded rapidly southward. But Agesilaus was forewarned, and reached Sparta before the Thebans. The latter did, indeed, enter the city, but withdrew without offering battle to its defenders. Epaminondas now retired to Arcadia, and a decisive battle was at length fought near Mantinea (362 B.C.). Almost all the states of Greece were represented in this struggle. The various contingents which made up the army of Epaminondas have been already enumerated; on the opposite side fought the Spartans, Athenians, Eleans, Achæans, and northern Arcadians. The advantage of numbers was on the side of Epaminondas.

The Battle of Mantinea: Death of Epaminondas (362 B.C.).—The Theban general adopted the same plan of battle which had proved so successful at Leuctra. His best troops, the Bœotians, he again stationed on the left wing, forming them into a column of extraordinary

depth. In the onset which followed they bore down all before them. The Lacedæmonians and Mantineans, who formed the right wing of the opposing army, turned and fled, and the rest followed their example. The day was won; but Epaminondas, who fought in the foremost ranks, fell pierced with a mortal wound. His fall occasioned such consternation among his troops that, although the enemy were in full flight, they did not know how to use their advantage and remained rooted to the spot. Epaminondas was carried off the field with the spear-head still fixed in his breast. Having satisfied himself that his shield was safe, and that the victory was gained, he inquired for Iolaidas and Daiphantus, whom he intended to succeed him in the command. Being informed that both were slain, he said, "Then you must make peace." After that he ordered the spear-head to be withdrawn, when the gush of blood which followed soon terminated his life. Thus died this truly great man; and never was there one whose title to that epithet has been less disputed. Antiquity is unanimous in his praise, and some of the first men of Greece subsequently took him for their model. With him the commanding influence of Thebes began and ended. His last advice was adopted, and peace was concluded probably before the Theban army quitted Peloponnesus. Its basis was an agreement to leave everything as it was, to acknowledge the Arcadian constitution and the independence of Messene. Sparta alone refused to join it on account of the last article, but she was not supported by her allies.

The Death of Agesilaus (358 B.C.).—Agesilaus had lived to see the empire of Sparta extinguished by her hated rival. Thus curiously had the prophecy been

fulfilled which warned Sparta of the evils awaiting her under "a lame reign." But Agesilaus had not yet abandoned all hope, and he now directed his views towards the east as the quarter from which Spartan power might still be resuscitated. At the age of eighty-one the indomitable old man proceeded with a force of 1000 hoplites to assist Tachos, king of Egypt, in his revolt against Persia. He died on shipboard while returning to Greece. His body was embalmed in wax, and splendidly buried in Sparta.



COIN OF THEBES

CHAPTER XVIII

HISTORY OF THE SICILIAN GREEKS FROM THE AC-
CESSION OF DIONYSIUS TO THE DEATH OF TIMO-
LEON.

Dionysius the Elder, Tyrant of Syracuse (405–367 B.C.).
—The affairs of the Sicilian Greeks, an important branch of the Hellenic race, deserve a passing notice. A few years after the destruction of the Athenian armament, Dionysius made himself master of Syracuse, and openly seized upon the supreme power (405 B.C.). His reign as tyrant was long and prosperous. He was successful in repeated struggles against the Carthaginians, and extended his dominion over the greater part of Sicily as well as a considerable portion of Magna Græcia. He raised Syracuse to be one of the chief Grecian states, second in influence, if indeed second, to Sparta alone. Under his sway Syracuse was strengthened and embellished with new fortifications, docks, and public buildings, and became superior even to Athens in extent and population.

Dionysius was a warm friend of literature, and was anxious to gain distinction by his literary compositions. In the midst of his political and military cares he devoted himself assiduously to poetry, and not only caused his poems to be publicly recited at the Olympic games, but contended successfully for the

prize of tragedy at Athens. In accordance with the same spirit, we find him seeking the society of men distinguished in literature and philosophy. Prominent among these was Plato, who visited Sicily about the year 388 B.C. The philosopher found an ardent disciple in Dion, the tyrant's brother-in-law, but his teachings failed to influence Dionysius.

Dionysius the Younger and Dion: the Syracusans appeal to Corinth (344 B.C.).—Dionysius died in 367 B.C., and was succeeded by his eldest son, commonly called Dionysius the Younger, who was twenty-eight years of age at the time of his father's death. At first he listened to the counsels of Dion, who had always enjoyed the respect and confidence of his father. At the advice of Dion he invited Plato to Syracuse, where the philosopher was received with the greatest honor. His illustrious pupil immediately began to take lessons in geometry; superfluous dishes disappeared from the royal table; and Dionysius even betrayed some symptoms of a wish to mitigate the former rigors of the despotism. But now the old courtiers took the alarm. It was whispered to Dionysius that the whole was a deep-laid scheme on the part of Dion for the purpose of effecting a revolution and placing his own nephews on the throne.* These accusations had the desired effect on the mind of Dionysius, who shortly afterwards expelled Dion from Sicily and dismissed Plato. The philosopher made a third visit to Syracuse in the year 361 B.C., but was unable to rec-

*The elder Dionysius had been twice married. One of his wives was a Locrian woman named Doris; the other, Aristomache, was a Syracusan, and the sister of Dion. The younger Dionysius was his eldest son by Doris; but he also had children by Aristomache.

oncile Dionysius with Dion or to transform the tyrant into a philosopher. After Plato's final departure Dionysius gave way to his vices without restraint, and became an object of contempt to the Syracusans. Dion saw that the time had come for avenging his own wrongs as well as those of his country. Collecting a small force, he sailed to Sicily, and suddenly appeared before the gates of Syracuse during the absence of Dionysius on an expedition to the coasts of Italy. The inhabitants, filled with joy, welcomed Dion as their deliverer; and Dionysius on his return from Italy was defeated in battle and compelled to flee from Syracuse (356 B.C.), leaving Dion master of the city. The latter was now in a condition to carry out all those exalted notions of political life which he had sought to instil into the mind of Dionysius. He seems to have contemplated some political changes; but his immediate and practical acts were tyrannical, and were rendered still more unpopular by his overbearing manners. His unpopularity continued to increase, till at length one of his bosom friends—the Athenian Callippus—seized the opportunity to mount to power by his murder, and caused him to be assassinated in his own house. This event took place in 354 B.C., only two years after the flight of Dionysius from Syracuse. Callippus contrived to retain the sovereign power for only a short time. A period of anarchy followed, during which Dionysius again made himself master of the city (346 B.C.). He was not able, however, to re-establish himself firmly in his former power. Most of the other cities of Sicily had shaken off the yoke of Syracuse, and were governed by petty despots. Meantime the Carthaginians prepared to take advantage of the

distracted condition of Sicily. In the extremity of their sufferings, several of the Syracusan exiles appealed for aid to Corinth, their mother-city. The application was granted, and Timoleon was appointed to command an expedition destined for the relief of Syracuse (344 B.C.).

Timoleon.—Timoleon was distinguished for gentleness as well as for courage, but towards traitors and despots his hatred was intense. He had once saved the life of his elder brother Timophanes in battle at the imminent peril of his own; but when Timophanes, availing himself of his situation as commander of the garrison in the citadel of Corinth, endeavored to enslave his country, Timoleon did not hesitate to consent to his death. Twice Timoleon pleaded with his brother, beseeching him not to destroy the liberties of his country; but when Timophanes turned a deaf ear to these appeals, Timoleon connived at the action of his friends, who put him to death, while he himself, bathed in a flood of tears, stood a little way aloof. The great body of the citizens regarded the conduct of Timoleon with love and admiration. In the mind of Timoleon, however, their approving verdict was far more than outweighed by the reproaches and execrations of his mother. For many years nothing could prevail upon him to return to public life. He buried himself in the country far from the haunts of men, till a chance voice in the Corinthian assembly nominated him as the leader of the expedition against Dionysius.

Timoleon arrives at Syracuse: his Career.—Roused by the nature of the cause and the exhortations of his friends, Timoleon accepted the post thus offered to him. His success exceeded his hopes. As soon as he

appeared before Syracuse, Dionysius, who appears to have abandoned all hope of ultimate success, surrendered the citadel into his hands on condition of being allowed to depart in safety to Corinth (343 B.C.). Dionysius passed the remainder of his life in that city, where he became as noted a character as Diogenes, the Cynic. He drank and squabbled with the poorest classes of citizens, while, on the other hand, he showed his literary inclinations by giving instruction in singing and declaiming.

Timoleon also expelled the other tyrants from the Sicilian cities, and gained a great victory over the Carthaginians at the river Crimisus. He restored a republican constitution to Syracuse; and his first public act was to destroy the impregnable fortifications of the citadel of Ortygia, the stronghold of the elder and the younger Dionysius. All the rewards which Timoleon received for his great services were a house in Syracuse and some landed property in the neighborhood of the city. He now sent for his family from Corinth, and became a Syracusan citizen. He continued, however, to retain, though in a private station, the greatest influence in the state. During the latter part of his life, though he was totally deprived of sight, yet when important affairs were discussed in the assembly it was customary to send for Timoleon, who was drawn in a car into the middle of the theatre amidst the shouts and affectionate greetings of the assembled citizens. When the tumult of his reception had subsided, he was informed of the subject under consideration. The opinion which he pronounced was usually ratified by the vote of the assembly; and he then left the theatre amidst the same cheers which had greeted his arrival. In this

happy and honored condition he breathed his last in 336 B.C., a few years after the battle of Crimisus. He was splendidly interred at the public cost, while the whole Syracusan population followed him to the grave.



COIN OF SYRACUSE

CHAPTER XIX

PHILIP OF MACEDON, 359-336 B.C.

Early History of Macedonia.—The internal dissensions of Greece produced their natural fruits, and we shall have now to relate the downfall of her independence and her subjugation by a foreign power. This power was Macedonia, an obscure state to the north of Thessaly, hitherto overlooked and despised, and considered as altogether barbarous and without the pale of Grecian civilization. But though the Macedonians were not Greeks, in the stricter sense of that word, their sovereigns claimed to be descended from an Hellenic race—namely, that of Temenus of Argos; and it is said that Alexander I. proved his Argive descent previously to contending at the Olympic games. Perdiccas was regarded by Herodotus as the founder of the monarchy; of the history of which, however, little is known till the reign of Amyntas I., his fifth successor, who was contemporary with the Pisistratidæ at Athens. Alexander I., the son and successor of Amyntas, was compelled to join Xerxes in his expedition against Greece, though his sympathies were really with the other side. His successor, Perdiccas II., who ruled during the early part of the Peloponnesian war, was an unscrupulous diplomat, and at one time a source of considerable trouble and loss to Athens. He died in 413 B.C., and was followed by Archelaus.

This monarch transferred his residence from *Ægæ* to Pella, which thus became the capital. He entertained many literary men at his court, among them Euripides, who ended his days in Macedonia. Archelaus was assassinated in 399 B.C., and after a considerable period of anarchy the crown devolved upon Amyntas II., a representative of the ancient line. Amyntas left three sons, the youngest being the celebrated Philip, of whom we have now to speak.

The Accession of Philip (359 B.C.): his First Achievements.—It has been already mentioned that the youthful Philip was one of the hostages delivered to the Thebans as security for the peace effected by Pelopidas. His residence at Thebes gave him some tincture of Grecian philosophy and literature; but the most important lesson which he learned at that city was the art of war, with all the improved tactics introduced by Epaminondas. Philip succeeded to the throne at the age of twenty-three (359 B.C.), and displayed at the beginning of his reign his extraordinary energy and abilities. Macedonia was threatened at the same time by the armies of three neighboring tribes—the Illyrians, Pæonians, and Thracians. Philip's right to the throne was disputed by two rival claimants: the one, Argæus, supported by the Athenians; the other by the Thracians. Philip bribed the Thracians and Pæonians to retire from his country, defeated an Athenian force which Argæus had enlisted in his cause, and, by sending his prisoners back to Athens, was able to conclude a peace with that city (358 B.C.). He then reduced the Pæonians to subjection and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Illyrians. Being thus freed from immediate danger, he was able to pursue the projects to which a boundless ambition prompted him.

Philip's Abilities and Aspirations.—Philip was a born general, and it was he who completed the revolution in military tactics which Epaminondas had begun. He introduced the far-famed Macedonian phalanx, and developed the body-guard which many Greek tyrants had possessed into a standing force. Philip was, moreover, a gifted and eloquent orator, and a master of diplomacy. The Athenians soon had reason to recognize both his military and diplomatic talents; for many cities on the Macedonian coast still owed allegiance to Athens, and Philip resolved to include them in his empire. He also aimed to reduce to subjection the numerous towns of the Chalcidian peninsula, which constituted the Olynthian confederacy; and, finally, the important city of Amphipolis, once the jewel of the Athenian empire, which had been captured by Brasidas in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war and never recovered by the Athenians, in spite of repeated efforts. Its situation near the mouth of the Strymon rendered it especially valuable to Macedonia, not only as a commercial port, but as opening a passage into Thrace.

The Capture of Amphipolis and Pydna (357 B.C.).—Philip first marched against Amphipolis. The Amphipolitans in alarm besought aid from the Athenians. At about the same time the Olynthians sent ambassadors to Athens to conclude an alliance against Philip as a common enemy. An alliance between two such powerful states as Olynthus and Athens might have proved an insurmountable obstacle to Philip's views, and it was therefore absolutely necessary to prevent this coalition. Here we have the first instance of Philip's skill and duplicity in negotiation. By secretly promising the Athenians that he would put Amphipolis into their

hands if they would give him possession of Pydna, he induced them to reject the overtures of the Amphipolitans and Olynthians. Amphipolis, being thus left unaided, soon fell into his hands (357 B.C.). And now, instead of waiting for the Athenians to give him Pydna, he proceeded forthwith to capture that city also. It is needless to say that he had no intention of restoring Amphipolis to Athens.

Philip gives Anthemus and Potidæa to the Olynthians (356 B.C.).—Philip had now just reason to dread the enmity of the Athenians, and accordingly it was his policy to court the favor of the Olynthians, and to prevent them from renewing their negotiations with Athens. In order to separate the two states more effectually, he put the Olynthians in possession of Anthemus and the important city of Potidæa, an Athenian possession, which yielded to him only after a long siege. Plutarch relates that the capture of Potidæa was accompanied by three other fortunate events in the life of Philip, namely, the prize gained by his race-horse at the Olympic games, a victory of his general Parmenio over the Illyrians, and the birth of his son Alexander.

The Founding of Philippi.—Philip now crossed the Strymon, on the left bank of which lay the rich gold mines of Mount Pangæus. He conquered the district, and founded there a new town called Philippi, on the site of the ancient town of Crenides. From the mines of Pangæus, Philip now derived an annual revenue of 1000 talents, or rather more than a million dollars.

The Social War (357–355 B.C.): Philip's Continued Activity.—Meanwhile Athens was engaged in a war with her allies, which has been called the Social War, and

which so taxed her energies that she was obliged to look quietly on while Philip was aggrandizing himself at her expense. This war broke out in 357 B.C. with the revolt of Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium. The chief causes of it seem to have been the contributions levied upon the allies by the Athenian generals. The war lasted two years; the Athenians made ineffectual efforts to win back the revolted states, but were finally compelled to acknowledge their independence (355 B.C.).

During the years 355 and 354 B.C. Philip was engaged in successful warfare with his barbarian neighbors, and the Athenians enjoyed a short respite. But in 353 B.C. he attacked Methone, the last town on the Macedonian coast which still belonged to Athens. The Athenian expedition which was sent to its relief arrived too late—Methone had already fallen.

The Sacred War: Philip defeats the Phocians in Thessaly (352 B.C.).—Meanwhile an intestine war had been raging in Greece, which did much to exhaust the Grecian states, and thus pave the way for Philip's progress to the supremacy. This was the Sacred War, which broke out between Thebes and Phocis in the year 355 B.C. An ill-feeling had long existed between those two countries. The Thebans now availed themselves of the influence which they possessed in the Amphictyonic Council to take vengeance upon the Phocians. They induced the Council to impose a heavy fine upon the Phocians, because they had cultivated a portion of the Cirrhæan plain, which was sacred to the Delphian god. When the Phocians failed to pay the fine, the Amphictyons resolved to lay waste and consecrate to Apollo the lands of those who had dishonored the deity. Thus

driven to desperation, the Phocians resolved to complete the sacrilege with which they had been branded by seizing the very temple of Delphi itself. The leader and counsellor of this enterprise was Philomelus, who, with a force of Phocians and mercenaries, surprised and took Delphi. At first, however, he carefully abstained from touching the sacred treasure; but, being hard pressed by the Thebans and their allies, prominent among whom were the Thesalians, he threw off the scruples which he had hitherto assumed, and announced that the sacred treasures should be converted into a fund for the payment of mercenaries. On the death of Philomelus the command was assumed by Onomarchus, who carried on the war with vigor and success. But he was checked in his career by Philip. The Macedonian king had been called into Thessaly by the Aleuadæ of Larisa to aid them against the tyrants of Pheræ. The latter were supported by Onomarchus, who was successful against Philip in two battles (353 B.C.), but in the end met with a crushing defeat at his hands (352 B.C.). Philip thus became master of Thessaly. He now directed his march southward with the view of subduing the Phocians; but, upon reaching Thermopylæ, he found the pass guarded by a strong Athenian force, and was compelled, or considered it more prudent, to retreat.

Demosthenes, the Orator.—After his return from Thessaly, Philip's views were directed towards Thrace and the Chersonese. It was at this juncture that Demosthenes stepped forward as the proclaimed opponent of Philip, and delivered the first of those celebrated orations which from their subject have been called "the Philippics." This most famous of all the Gre-

cian orators was probably born in 383 B.C. Having lost his father at the early age of seven, he was defrauded by his guardians of the greater part of his paternal inheritance. This misfortune, however, proved one of the causes which tended to make him an orator. Demosthenes resolved to make his guardians answerable for their conduct, and, on attaining his majority, brought them to trial on the charge of embezzlement and pleaded his own case against them. Plutarch relates that his first attempt to speak before the Assembly proved a failure, and he retired from the bema amidst the hooting and laughter of the citizens. The more judicious and candid among his auditors



THE BEMA OF THE PNYX AT ATHENS

perceived, however, marks of genius in his speech, and rightly attributed his failure to timidity and imperfect enunciation. Eunomus, an aged citizen, who met him wandering about Piræus in a state of dejection at his ill-success, bade him take courage and persevere. Demosthenes shortly afterwards withdrew awhile from public life, and devoted himself perseveringly to remedy his defects. They were such as might be lessened, if not removed, by practice, and consisted chiefly of a weak voice, imperfect articulation, and ungraceful action. He derived assistance

from Satyrus the actor, who exercised him in reciting passages from Sophocles and Euripides. He studied carefully the best models, and is said to have copied the work of Thucydides with his own hand no fewer than eight times. He shut himself up for periods of two or three months together in a subterranean chamber in order to practise composition and declamation. His perseverance was crowned with success; and he who on the first attempt had descended from the bema amidst the ridicule of the crowd became at last one of the greatest orators the world has ever seen.

The Fall of Olynthus (348 B.C.).—Demosthenes had established himself as a public speaker before the period which we have now reached; but it is chiefly in connection with Philip that we are to view him as a statesman as well as an orator. Philip had shown his ambition by his operations in the north and by the conquest of Thessaly; and Demosthenes now began to regard him as the enemy of the liberties of Athens and of Greece. In his first Philippic Demosthenes tried to rouse his countrymen to energetic measures against this formidable enemy; but his warnings and exhortations produced little effect, for the Athenians were no longer distinguished by the same spirit of enterprise which had characterized them in the days of their supremacy. No important step was taken to curb the growing power of Philip; and it was the danger of Olynthus which first induced the Athenians to prosecute the war with a little more energy. In the year 352 B.C. Olynthus had concluded peace with Athens, an act so displeasing to Philip that on his return from Thrace he invaded the Chalcidian peninsula. He did not, however, openly attack any city of the Olynthian league,

but marched back through Macedonia to undertake further conquests in Illyria and Epirus. In 349 B.C. he again appeared in the peninsula and laid siege to some of the smaller towns. Olynthus began to tremble for her own safety, and sent envoys to Athens to beg assistance. Olynthus was still at the head of thirty-two Greek towns, and the confederacy was a sort of counterpoise to the power of Philip. It was on this occasion that Demosthenes delivered his three Olynthiac orations, in which he warmly advocated an alliance with Olynthus and urged the Athenians to take the field against Philip.

Demosthenes was opposed by a strong party, with which Phocion commonly acted. Phocion is one of the most singular and original characters in Grecian history. He viewed the multitude and their doings with a scorn which he was at no pains to disguise, receiving their anger with indifference and their praises with contempt. His known probity, however, gave him weight with the Assembly. Demosthenes, who stood in awe of no other statesman, was accustomed to say, when Phocion rose, "Here comes the pruner of my periods." But Phocion's desponding views and his distrust of the Athenian people made him a poor statesman at a period which demanded the most active patriotism. He doubtless injured his country by uniting with those who opposed, in many cases from the meanest motives, the patriotic policy of Demosthenes. This division of opinion rendered the operations of the Athenians in almost all cases languid and desultory. Demosthenes did succeed, however, by his Olynthiac orations, in arousing the Athenians to an unwonted degree of activity. Three successive expeditions were sent out to the relief of

the threatened city, but all in vain. Town after town of the confederacy fell before Philip, and in 348 B.C. Olynthus itself was taken. The whole of the Chalcidian peninsula thus became incorporated in the Macedonian empire.

Peace between Philip and the Athenians (346 B.C.).—The destruction of so many Greek cities created a profound impression throughout Greece, and especially in Athens; for many Athenians who had been serving against Philip were now his prisoners of war. Moreover, the ineffectual efforts which Athens had put forth to check the growing power of Philip had been a severe drain upon the state, and the Athenians were eager to conclude peace on almost any terms. Philip, on the other hand, was not yet prepared to undertake the subjugation of Greece; a treaty of peace would give him time to gather strength for the final attempt. The Athenians had learned before the fall of Olynthus that Philip was ready to agree to a cessation of hostilities; and in the year 346 B.C. ten ambassadors, among whom were Demosthenes, Æschines, and Philocrates, were sent from Athens to Macedonia to open negotiations. Their proposals were received with favor, and a Macedonian embassy soon afterwards visited Athens, empowered to arrange the terms of a treaty. Peace was accordingly concluded with the condition that each party should retain its present possessions. The allies of both Philip and the Athenians were included in the treaty, but with the important exception, on the Athenian side, of the Phocians. The proposed exclusion of the Phocians was stoutly opposed by Demosthenes, but the Macedonians refused to yield. A second Athenian embassy was now sent to Philip to obtain his formal ratifica-

tion of the treaty. The envoys were compelled to wait in Pella for some time until Philip returned from Thrace; then they accompanied him into Thessaly, where he finally ratified the treaty by his oath.

The Conclusion of the Sacred War: its Results.—By the terms of this compact, which is known as the Peace of Philocrates, the Phocians were left to their fate. They had been strong enough to continue the Sacred War against the Thebans and Locrians; but Philip was now determined to bring it to an end. He immediately marched to Thermopylæ, where the Phocian army of 8000 men capitulated on learning that they had been deserted by Athens. Philip now entered Phocis and occupied Delphi, where he assembled the Amphictyons to pronounce sentence upon those who had been concerned in the sacrilege committed there. The Council decreed that all the cities of Phocis, except Abæ, should be destroyed and their inhabitants scattered into villages. Sparta was deprived of her share in the Amphictyonic privileges; the two votes in the Council possessed by the Phocians were transferred to the kings of Macedonia; and Philip was to share with the Bœotians and Thessalians the honor of presiding at the Pythian games (346 B.C.).

The result of the Sacred War rendered Macedonia the leading state in Greece. Philip at once acquired by it military glory, a reputation for piety, and an accession of power. His ambitious designs were now too plain to be mistaken. The eyes of the blindest among the Athenians were at last opened; the promoters of the peace which had been concluded with Philip incurred the hatred and suspicion of the people, while, on the other hand, Demosthenes rose higher than ever in public favor.

Philip's Intrigues in Peloponnesus.—It was always Philip's policy, after he had gained any decided advantage in his dealings with the Greeks, to turn his attention to his barbarian neighbors and wait for a time before striking another blow against Greece. So now, after returning from Phocis, he made an expedition against the Illyrians and Dardanians. A little later he began to make his influence felt in Peloponnesus, where the Argives, Messenians, and Megalopolitans were, as usual, on bad terms with Sparta. He ordered the Spartans to recognize the independence of Messene, and when they refused to do so he sent mercenaries to Messene and Argos, whom he promised to follow in person with a large army. Other Peloponnesian states besides Messene and Argos were friendly to Philip; in both Arcadia and Elis a Macedonian party gained the upper hand. The larger part of Eubœa also passed under Philip's control. Meanwhile, that monarch himself was operating in Epirus. Fears were entertained at Athens that he would march southward and cross over to Peloponnesus; but an Athenian embassy which was sent to Peloponnesus aroused so determined a spirit of resistance that Philip deemed it wise to forego any attempt in that quarter.

The Athenians organize a League against Phillip (340 B.C.) and save Byzantium.—Philip now marched into Thrace and completed the subjugation of that country (342–341 B.C.). His further advance soon threatened the Chersonesus and the Athenian possessions in that neighborhood; in fact, Athenian troops under Diopithes came into actual collision with the Macedonians. Demosthenes was now successful in inciting the Athenians to active measures. He himself effected a reconciliation between Athens and her revolted

ally Byzantium; successive Athenian expeditions won back the island of Eubœa; and in 340 B.C., by the efforts of Demosthenes and Callias of Chalcis, a league was formed which included Athens, Eubœa, Megara, Corinth, Achaia, Acarnania, Leucas, and Corcyra. Philip meanwhile laid siege to Perinthus, a city on the Propontis; but the Perinthians received such effective support from their ally Byzantium that Philip determined to raise the siege and attack Byzantium itself. This amounted to a declaration of war upon Athens, for Byzantium was now an Athenian dependence. Athens answered the challenge by formally renouncing the Peace of Philocrates and declaring war upon Philip. Still better, the Athenians sent out two successive expeditions to the relief of Byzantium. The allies of Athens also did their part, with the result that Byzantium was saved and Philip retired to Macedonia.

Philip seizes Elatea.—Baffled in the East, Philip soon found an opportunity of marching again into the very heart of Greece. Amphissa, a Locrian town, having been declared by the Amphictyonic Council guilty of sacrilege, Philip was appointed by the Council as their general to inflict punishment on the inhabitants of the guilty town. Accordingly, he marched southward towards the close of 339 B.C.; but instead of proceeding in the direction of Amphissa, he suddenly seized Elatea, an important town in the northeastern part of Phocis, thus showing clearly enough that his real design was against Bœotia and Attica. Intelligence of this event reached Athens in the evening and caused extraordinary alarm. On the following morning Demosthenes pressed upon the Assembly the necessity for making the most vigorous preparations for defence, and es-

pecially recommended them to send an embassy to Thebes, in order to persuade the Thebans to unite with them against the common enemy.

The Battle of Chæronea (338 B.C.).—The proposals of Demosthenes were approved by the Assembly, and he himself was put at the head of an embassy to Thebes. His eloquence won the day with the Thebans, in spite of the demands and threats of the Macedonian envoys who had been sent to that city. Thebes resolved to join the confederate states against Philip. A strong army was collected which met the Macedonians in a decisive struggle on the plain of Chæronea in Bœotia (August, 338 B.C.). In the Macedonian army was Philip's son, the youthful Alexander, who was intrusted with the command of one of the wings; and it was the charge made by him on the Theban Sacred Band that decided the fortune of the day. The Sacred Band was cut to pieces without flinching from the ground which it occupied, and the remainder of the combined army was completely routed. Demosthenes, who was serving as a foot-soldier in the Athenian ranks, has been absurdly reproached with cowardice because he participated in the general flight.

The battle of Chæronea crushed the liberties of Greece, and made it, in reality, a province of the Macedonian monarchy. To Athens herself the blow was almost as fatal as that of Ægospotami. But the manner in which Philip used his victory excited universal surprise. He dismissed the Athenian prisoners without ransom, and voluntarily offered a peace on terms more advantageous than the Athenians themselves would have ventured to propose. Philip, indeed, seems to have regarded Athens with a sort of

love and respect, as the centre of art and refinement, for his treatment of the Thebans was very different and marked by great harshness and severity. They were compelled to recall their exiles, in whose hands the government was placed, while a Macedonian garrison was established in the Cadmea, and Thebes ceased to be mistress of Bœotia.

A congress of the Grecian states was now summoned at Corinth, in which war was declared against Persia, and Philip was appointed generalissimo of the expedition. Thus was revived the great project which Agesilaus had been forced to abandon. Again the Persian empire was to be invaded by Greeks, and the Persians were to be punished for all the wrongs which Greece had suffered at their hands.

The Assassination of Philip (336 B.C.): his Achievements.

—In the spring of 336 B.C. Philip sent troops into Asia, under the command of Attalus and Parmenio, which were designed to liberate the Greek cities of Asia. But, before quitting Macedonia, Philip determined to provide for the safety of his dominions by celebrating the marriage of his daughter with Alexander of Epirus. It was solemnized at Ægæ, the ancient capital of Macedonia, with much pomp and ceremony. The day after the nuptials was dedicated to theatrical entertainments. The festival was opened with a procession of the images of the twelve Olympian deities, with which was associated that of Philip himself. When the crowd had gathered in the theatre, Philip himself entered, dressed in white robes and followed at some distance by his attendants. At this moment a youth suddenly rushed out of the crowd, and, drawing a sword which he had concealed under his cloak, plunged it into Philip's side. The king fell

dead upon the spot. The assassin was pursued by some of the royal guards, and, having stumbled in his flight, was despatched before he could reach the place where horses had been provided for his escape. His name was Pausanias. He was a youth of noble birth, and we are told that his motive for taking the king's life was the desire to avenge a private grievance. There can be little doubt, however, that the assassination of Philip was the ultimate result of political intrigues, which had their origin in the bitter enmity existing between the families and partisans of the two queens of Macedonia, Philip's rival wives.

Thus fell Philip of Macedon, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign and forty-seventh of his age (336 B.C.). When we reflect upon his achievements, and consider how, partly by policy and partly by arms, he converted his originally poor and distracted kingdom into the mistress of Greece, we must acknowledge him to have been a most extraordinary man. His views and his ambition were certainly as large as those of his son Alexander, but he was prevented by a premature death from carrying them out; nor would Alexander himself have been able to perform his great achievements had not Philip handed down to him all the means and instruments which they required.

CHAPTER XX

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, 336-323 B.C.

The Youth and Education of Alexander.—Alexander was twenty years old at the time of his father's death, having been born in 356 B.C. According to Plutarch, his early education was intrusted to Leonidas, a kinsman of his mother and a man of severe and parsimonious character, who trained him with Spartan simplicity and hardihood ; while Lysimachus, an assistant or successor of Leonidas, early inspired the young prince with ambitious notions, by teaching him to love and emulate the heroes of the Iliad. But the most striking feature in Alexander's education was that he had Aristotle for his teacher. Thus the greatest conqueror of the material world received the instruction of him who has exercised the most extensive empire over the human intellect. It was probably at about the age of thirteen that he first received the lessons of Aristotle, and they can hardly have continued more than three years, for Alexander soon gave up his studies for the employments of active life. At the age of fifteen we find him regent of Macedonia during Philip's absence ; and at eighteen we have seen him filling a prominent military post at the battle of Chæronea.

Alexander prevents Threatened Uprisings in Greece.—On succeeding to the throne, not without opposition and

distrust, Alexander determined to prosecute his father's expedition into Asia; but it was first necessary for him to settle the affairs of Greece, where the news of Philip's assassination and the accession of so young a prince had excited in several states a hope of shaking off the Macedonian yoke. Athens was the centre of these movements. Demosthenes, although in mourning for the recent loss of an only daughter, now came abroad dressed in white and crowned with a chaplet. He also moved a decree that Philip's death should be celebrated by a public thanksgiving. At the same time he made vigorous preparations for action. At his instance envoys were despatched to the principal Grecian states for the purpose of inciting them against Macedonia. Sparta and almost all Peloponnesus seemed inclined to shake off their compulsory alliance. Even the Thebans were affected by the same spirit, although the Cadmea was in the hands of the Macedonians.

The activity of Alexander disconcerted all these movements. Having marched through Thessaly, he assembled the Amphictyonic Council at Thermopylæ, and was formally recognized by them as commander-in-chief of the Greeks. He then advanced rapidly upon Thebes, and thus prevented the meditated revolution. The Athenians sent ambassadors to deprecate his wrath, who were graciously received. He then convened a general congress at Corinth, where he was appointed generalissimo for the Persian war in place of his father. Most of the philosophers and persons of note in Corinth came to congratulate him on this occasion; but Diogenes of Sinope, who was then living in one of the suburbs of Corinth, did not make his appearance. Alexander, therefore, resolved

to pay a visit to the eccentric Cynic, whom he found basking in the sun. On the approach of Alexander with a numerous retinue, Diogenes raised himself a little, and the monarch affably inquired how he could serve him. "By standing out of my sunshine," replied the churlish philosopher. Alexander was struck with surprise at a behavior to which he was so little accustomed; but, while his courtiers were ridiculing the manners of the Cynic, he turned to them and said, "Were I not Alexander, I should like to be Diogenes."



DIOGENES IN HIS TUB

Alexander defeats the Triballians and the Illyrians.—The result of the congress might be considered a settlement of the affairs of Greece. On his return to Macedonia, Alexander resolved to imitate his father in making his power felt by the barbarians to the north and west before beginning his great expedition to Asia. He therefore crossed Mount Hæmus and marched into the territory of the Triballians, defeated their forces, and penetrated to the Danube, which he crossed. Returning through the country of the Agrianians and Pæonians, he invaded Illyria, defeated the army of king Clitus, and compelled that monarch to fly for his life.

The Capture and Destruction of Thebes (335 B.C.).—During Alexander's absence on these expeditions no

tidings were heard of him for a considerable time, and a report of his death was industriously spread abroad in southern Greece. The Thebans rose and besieged the Macedonian garrison in the Cadmea, at the same time inviting other states to support them in a struggle for freedom. Demosthenes was active in aiding the movement. On his motion the Athenians voted to assist the revolted city; though instead of troops the Thebans received from Athens only munitions of war. But the rapidity of Alexander again crushed the insurrection in the bud. He pushed southward from Illyria by forced marches, and before the Thebans discovered that he had passed Thermopylæ he had already arrived at Onchestus, in Bœotia. Alexander was willing to afford the Thebans an opportunity for repentance, and marched slowly to the foot of the Cadmea. But the leaders of the insurrection, believing themselves irretrievably compromised, replied with taunts to Alexander's proposals for peace and excited the people to the most desperate resistance. An engagement was prematurely brought on by one of the generals of Alexander, in which some of the Macedonian troops were put to rout; but Alexander, coming up with the phalanx while the Thebans were in the disorder of pursuit, drove them back in turn and entered the gates along with them, when a fearful massacre ensued, committed principally by the Bœotians in Alexander's service. Six thousand Thebans are said to have been slain, and thirty thousand were made prisoners. The doom of the conquered city was referred to Alexander's Bœotian allies and the Phocians, who decreed her destruction (335 B.C.). The inhabitants were sold as slaves, and all the houses, except that of Pindar, were levelled to the

ground. The Cadmea was preserved to be occupied by a Macedonian garrison. Thebes seems to have been thus harshly treated as an example to the rest of Greece, for towards the other states, which were now eager to make their excuses and submission, Alexander showed much forbearance and lenity. The conduct of the Athenians exhibits them deeply sunk in degradation. When they heard of the chastisement inflicted upon Thebes, they immediately voted, on the motion of Demades, that ambassadors should be sent to congratulate Alexander on his safe return from his northern expeditions and on his recent success. Alexander, in reply, wrote a letter, demanding that a number of the leading Athenian orators should be delivered up to him. At the head of the list was Demosthenes. In this dilemma, Phocion, who did not wish to speak upon such a question, was loudly called upon by the people for his opinion; whereupon he rose and said that the persons whom Alexander demanded had brought the state into such a miserable plight that it could but obey the conqueror, and that, for his own part, he should be very happy to die for the commonwealth. At the same time, he advised them to try the effect of intercession with Alexander; and it was at last only by his own personal application to that monarch, to whom he was favorably known by reputation, that the orators were spared. According to another account, however, the wrath of Alexander was appeased by Demades, whom the friends of the orators had persuaded by a gift of five talents to undertake this task. It is said that at one time, probably soon after their meeting, Alexander sent a present of 100 talents to Phocion. But Phocion asked the persons who brought the money

why he should be selected for such a bounty. "Because," they replied, "Alexander considers you alone a good and upright man." "Then," said Phocion, "let him suffer me to be what I seem, and to retain that character." And when the envoys went to his house and beheld the frugality with which he lived, they perceived that the man who had refused such a gift was wealthier than he who had offered it.

Having thus put the affairs of Greece on a satisfactory footing, Alexander marched for the Hellespont in the spring of 334 B.C., leaving Antipater regent of Macedonia in his absence, with a force of 12,000 foot and 1500 horse. Alexander's own army consisted of only about 30,000 foot and 5000 horse. Of the infantry 12,000 were Macedonians, and these composed the pith of the celebrated Macedonian phalanx. Such was the force with which he proposed to attack the immense but ill-cemented empire of Persia, which, like the empires of Turkey and Austria in modern times, consisted of various nations and races, with different religions and manners and speaking different languages; the only bond of union being the despotic will of a monarch whose word was law. The provinces were administered by satraps and military governors, who enjoyed an almost independent authority. Before Alexander departed he is said to have distributed most of the crown property among his friends, and when Perdicas asked him what he had reserved for himself, to have replied, "My hopes."

The March to the Hellespont: Alexander at Troy (334 B.C.).—A march of twenty days brought Alexander to Sestus, where a large fleet and a number of transports had been collected. Embarking upon these, the army crossed the Hellespont to Abydus, while Alex-

ander himself proceeded to Elæus in the Chersonesus and offered sacrifice at the tomb of Protesilaus, the first of the Grecian heroes under Agamemnon who set foot upon the shore of Asia. Alexander was, as we have said, a great admirer of Homer, a copy of whose works he always carried with him ; and on landing upon the Asiatic coast he made it his first business to visit the plain of Troy. He then proceeded to Sigeum, where he crowned with a garland the tomb of Achilles, the hero whom he most admired and sought to emulate.

The Battle of the Granicus.—Alexander then marched to the northeast along the coast of the Hellespont. The satraps of Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, together with other Persian generals, were encamped on the farther bank of the river Granicus, with a force of about 20,000 mercenaries, for the most part Greeks, and an equal number of native cavalry, with which they prepared to dispute the passage of the river. The veteran general Parmenio advised Alexander to delay the attack till the following morning, to which he replied that it would be shameful, at the beginning of his expedition, if, after passing the Hellespont, he should be stopped by a paltry stream. Thereupon he directed his cavalry to cross the river, and soon followed himself at the head of the right wing. The passage, however, was by no means easy. The stream was in many parts so deep as to be hardly fordable, and the opposite bank was steep and rugged. The cavalry had great difficulty in maintaining their ground till Alexander came up to their relief. He immediately charged into the thickest of the fray, and exposed himself so much that his life was often in imminent danger, and on one occasion was saved

only by the interposition of his friend Clitus. Having routed the Persians, he next attacked the Greek mercenaries, 2000 of whom were made prisoners and the rest nearly all cut to pieces. In this engagement he killed two noble Persians with his own hand.

The March through Asia Minor: the "Gordian Knot."—Alexander now marched southward towards Sardis, which surrendered long before he reached its walls. Having left a garrison in that city, he arrived after a four days' march before Ephesus, which likewise capitulated on his approach. Magnesia, Tralles, and Miletus next fell into his hands, the last being taken by storm after a short siege. Halicarnassus made more resistance. It was found necessary to invest the city and to employ battering-rams and other engines of war against the walls; but at length the king's generals, finding it no longer tenable, set fire to the city in the night and left it to its fate. Alexander caused it to be razed to the ground, and pursued his march along the southern coast of Asia Minor, with the view of seizing those towns which might afford shelter to a Persian fleet. The winter was now approaching, and Alexander sent back to Macedonia such officers and soldiers as had been recently married, on condition that they should return in the spring with what reinforcements they could raise; and with the same view he despatched an officer to recruit troops in Peloponnesus. Meanwhile he himself proceeded along the coasts of Lycia and Pamphylia. After he had crossed the Xanthus most of the Lycian towns tendered their submission. He then marched to Perge, in Pamphylia, and, after turning aside to reduce Aspendus, forced his way northward through the barbarous tribes which inhabited

the mountains of Pisidia, and reached Gordium, in Phrygia. Here he was joined by the new levies from Greece. Gordium had been the capital of the early Phrygian kings, and in it was preserved with superstitious veneration the chariot or wagon in which the celebrated Midas, the son of Gordius, together with his parents, had entered the town, and, in conformity with an oracle, had been elevated to the monarchy. An ancient prophecy promised the sovereignty of Asia to him who should loose the knot of bark which fastened the pole of the wagon to the yoke. Alexander repaired to the Acropolis, where the wagon was preserved, to attempt this feat. Whether he undid the knot by drawing out a peg, or cut it through with his sword, is a matter of doubt; at any rate, his followers were led to believe that he had solved the problem, and that the conquest of Asia was therefore sure.

The Battle of Issus (333 B.C.).—In the spring of 333 B.C. Alexander pursued his march eastward, and on arriving at Ancyra received the submission of the Paphlagonians. He then advanced unopposed through Cappadocia; and, forcing his way through the passes of Mount Taurus (the *Pyle Ciliciæ*), descended into the plains of Cilicia. Hence he pushed on rapidly to Tarsus, which he found abandoned by the enemy. Tradition relates that while still heated with the march Alexander plunged into the clear but cold stream of the Cydnus, which runs by the town. The result was a fever, which soon became so violent as to threaten his life. An Acarnanian physician, named Philip, who accompanied him, prescribed a remedy; but at the same time Alexander received a letter informing him that Philip had been bribed by

Darius, the Persian king, to poison him. He had, however, too much confidence in the trusty Philip to believe the accusation, and handed him the letter while he drank the draught. Either the medicine or Alexander's youthful constitution at length triumphed over the disorder. After remaining some time at Tarsus, he continued his march along the coast to Mallus, where he first received certain tidings of a great Persian army, commanded by Darius in person. It is said to have consisted of 600,000 fighting men, besides all that train of attendants which usually accompanied the march of a Persian monarch. Alexander found Darius encamped near Issus, on the right bank of the little river Pinarus. The Persian king could hardly have been caught in a more unfavorable position, since the narrow plain between Mount Amanus and the sea afforded no scope for the evolutions of large bodies, and thus deprived him in large measure of the advantage of his numerical superiority. Descending from the heights into the plain of the Pinarus, Alexander ordered his troops to deploy into line as the ground expanded, and thus to arrive in battle array before the Persians. Darius had thrown 30,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry across the river, for sheer lack of space in which to draw up his army; while on the right bank were stationed his choicest Persian troops to the number of 60,000, together with 30,000 Greek mercenaries, who formed the centre, and on whom he chiefly relied. These, it appears, were all that the breadth of the plain allowed to be drawn up in line. Another detachment of 20,000 was posted on the hills to the east; the remainder of the vast host were stationed to the rear, and were unable to take any share in the combat.

Darius placed himself in the centre of the line in a magnificent state chariot. The banks of the Pinarus were in many parts steep, and where they were level Darius had caused them to be intrenched. The left wing of the Macedonians, under the command of Parmenio, was ordered to keep near the sea, to prevent being outflanked. The right wing was led by Alexander in person, who rushed impetuously into the river, and was soon engaged in close combat with



THE BATTLE OF ISSUS

From a Pompeian Mosaic

the Persians. The latter were immediately routed; but what chiefly decided the fortune of the day was the timidity of Darius himself, who, on beholding the defeat of his left wing, immediately took to flight. His example was followed by his whole army. One hundred thousand Persians are said to have been left upon the field. On reaching the hills Darius threw aside his royal robes, his bow and shield, and, mounting a fleet courser, was soon out of reach of pursuit.

The Persian camp became the spoil of the Macedonians ; but the tent of Darius, together with his chariot, robes, and arms, was reserved for Alexander himself. It was now that the Macedonian king first had ocular proof of the nature of Eastern royalty. One compartment of the tent of Darius had been fitted up as a bath, which exhaled the richest odors, while another presented a magnificent pavilion, containing a table richly spread for the banquet of Darius. But from an adjoining tent issued the wail of female voices, where Sisygambis, the mother, and Statira, the wife of Darius, were lamenting the supposed death of the Persian monarch. Alexander sent to assure them of his safety, and ordered them to be treated with the most delicate and respectful attention.

Alexander plans the Reduction of Phœnicia and Egypt: Peace Proposals.—Such was the memorable battle of Issus, fought in November, 333 B.C. A large treasure which Parmenio was sent forward to seize fell into the hands of the Macedonians at Damascus. The Persians who survived the battle dispersed, and Alexander was free to march whither he chose. But instead of penetrating at once into the heart of the Persian empire he deemed it necessary to reduce Phœnicia and Egypt, the two countries upon which the naval power of Darius depended. The Persians were continually endeavoring to arouse the Greeks to revolt against Macedonia, and before the battle of Issus a Persian fleet had sailed as far west as Siphnos. In order, therefore, to secure his empire at home, Alexander must be master of the king's maritime provinces and so prevent Persian ships from sailing at will up and down the Ægean.

Meanwhile, Darius, attended by a body of only 4000 fugitives, had crossed the Euphrates at Thapsacus. His hopes and resources were not yet at an end, for he might still gather a fresh army from the remoter provinces of the empire. Nevertheless, he thought it safer to open negotiations with Alexander than to trust to the chance of arms. With this view he sent a letter to Alexander, who was now at Marathus in Phœnicia, proposing to become his friend and ally; but Alexander rejected all his overtures, and told him that he must in future be addressed, not in the language of an equal, but of a subject.

The Siege of Tyre (332 B.C.).—As Alexander advanced southward, the towns of Phœnicia hastened to open their gates; the inhabitants of Sidon even hailed him as their deliverer. The Tyrians also sent ambassadors to inform him that they were prepared to obey his commands; Alexander vouchsafed to them the assurance that he would visit their city and offer sacrifices to Melcarth, a Tyrian deity, who was considered identical with the Grecian Heracles. Hereupon, however, the Tyrians informed Alexander that they could admit no one, Persian or Macedonian, within their walls. Alexander indignantly dismissed their ambassadors, and announced his intention of laying siege to their city. The Tyrians probably deemed it impregnable. It was by nature a place of great strength, and had been rendered still stronger by art. The island on which it stood was half a mile distant from the mainland; and, though the channel was shallow near the coast, it deepened to three fathoms near the island. The shores of the island were precipitous, and, on the side towards the mainland, the walls rose to a very great height. As Alexander

possessed no ships, the only method by which he could approach the town was by constructing a causeway, the materials for which were collected principally from the ruins of Old Tyre, on the mainland. After overcoming many difficulties, the mole was at length pushed to the foot of the walls. Alexander also succeeded in gathering a fleet, and the walls of the city were now attacked on all sides. The engines of war which were employed soon made a breach in the walls large enough to admit of the entrance of an attacking party. This breach was stormed under the immediate inspection of Alexander himself; and though the Tyrians made a desperate resistance, they were at length overpowered, when the city became a scene of indiscriminate carnage and plunder. The siege had lasted seven months, and the Macedonians were so exasperated by the difficulties and dangers they had undergone that they granted no quarter. Eight thousand of the citizens are said to have been slain; and the remainder, with the exception of the king and some of the principal men, who had taken refuge in the temple of Melcarth, were sold into slavery. Tyre was taken in the month of August, 332 B.C.

While Alexander was engaged in the siege of Tyre, Darius made him further and more advantageous proposals. He now offered 10,000 talents as the ransom of his family, together with all the provinces west of the Euphrates, and one of his daughters in marriage, as the conditions of a peace. When these offers were submitted to the council, Parmenio was not unnaturally struck with their magnificence, and observed that were he Alexander, he would accept them. "And so would I," replied the king,

“were I Parmenio.” His proposals having been rejected, Darius prepared himself for a desperate resistance.

The Conquest of Egypt.—After the fall of Tyre, Alexander marched with his army towards Egypt, while his fleet proceeded along the coast. Gaza, a strong fortress near the sea-shore, obstinately held out, and delayed his progress for two months. After the capture of this city Alexander met his fleet at Pelusium, and ordered it to sail up the Nile as far as Memphis, whither he himself marched with his army across the desert. He conciliated the affection of the Egyptians by the respect with which he treated their national superstitions, while the Persians, by an opposite line of conduct, had incurred their deadliest hatred. He then sailed down the western branch of the Nile, and at its mouth traced the plan of the new city of Alexandria, which for many centuries continued to be not only the grand emporium of Europe, Africa, and India, but also the principal centre of intellectual life. Being now on the confines of Libya, Alexander resolved to visit the celebrated oracle of Ammon, which lay in the bosom of the Libyan wilderness. The conqueror was received by the priests with all the honors of sacred pomp. He consulted the oracle in secret, and is said never to have disclosed the answer which he received; though the magnificence of the offerings which he made to the god seemed to show that it was an answer which contented him. Many say that Ammon saluted him as the son of Zeus. Certain it is that, in some way, Alexander succeeded in starting and maintaining among many of his followers, and among many of the barbarian nations yet to be conquered by him, a belief in his divinity.

The Battle of Gaugamela (October, 331 B.C.).— Alexander returned to Phœnicia in the spring of 331 B.C. He then directed his march through Syria, and arrived at Thapsacus on the Euphrates in July. After crossing the river he proceeded to the northeast through a fertile and well-supplied country. On his march he was told that Darius was posted with an immense force on the left bank of the Tigris, but on arriving at that river he found nobody to dispute his passage. He then proceeded southward along its banks, and after four days' march fell in with a few of the enemy's cavalry. From some of these who were made prisoners Alexander learned that Darius was encamped with his host on one of the extensive plains to the east of the Tigris, near a village called Gaugamela. The town of Arbela, after which the battle that ensued is commonly named, was about sixty miles distant, and there Darius had deposited his baggage and treasure. That monarch had been easily persuaded that his former defeat was owing solely to the nature of the ground; and, therefore, he now selected a wide plain for an engagement, where there was abundant room for his multitudinous infantry and for the evolutions of his horsemen and charioteers. Alexander, after giving his army a few days' rest, set out to meet the enemy shortly before midnight, in order that he might come up with them about daybreak. On ascending some hillocks, the whole array of the Persians suddenly burst upon the view of the Macedonians, at the distance of three or four miles. Darius, as usual, occupied the centre, surrounded by his body-guard and chosen troops. Near the royal position were ranged the war-chariots and on either side the Greek mercenaries. The whole

army of Darius is said to have numbered 1,000,000 foot and 40,000 horse. Alexander spent the first day in surveying the ground and preparing for the attack ; he also addressed his officers, pointing out to them that the prize of victory would not be a mere province, but the dominion of all Asia. Yet so great was the tranquillity with which he contemplated the result that at daybreak on the following morning, when the officers came to receive his final instructions, they are said to have found him in a deep slumber. His army, which consisted of only 40,000 foot and 7000 horse, was drawn up in the order which he usually observed, namely, with the phalanx in the centre in six divisions, and the Macedonian cavalry on the right, where Alexander himself took his station. The Persians, fearful of being surprised, had stood under arms the whole night, so that the morning found them exhausted and dispirited. Some of them, however, fought with considerable bravery ; indeed, Parmenio, who commanded the left wing of the Macedonians, was defeated and compelled to seek assistance from Alexander. But when Alexander succeeded in breaking the Persian centre by an impetuous oblique charge, Darius mounted a fleet horse and took to flight, as at Issus, though the fortune of the day was yet far from having been decided. At length, however, the rout became general. While daylight lasted Alexander pursued the flying enemy as far as the banks of the Lycus. After resting his men a few hours, he continued the pursuit at midnight in the hope of overtaking Darius at Arbela. The Persian monarch, however, had continued his flight without stopping ; but the whole of the royal baggage and treasure was captured.

Alexander at Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis.—Finding any further pursuit of Darius hopeless, Alexander now directed his march towards Babylon. At a little distance from the city the greater part of the population came out to meet him, headed by their priests and magistrates, tendering their submission and bearing with them magnificent presents. Nor was this the mere display of a compulsory submission. Under the Persian sway the Chaldean religion had been oppressed and persecuted ; the temple of Belus had been destroyed and still lay in ruins ; and both priests and people consequently rejoiced at the downfall of a dynasty from which they had suffered so much wrong. Alexander observed here the same politic conduct which he had adopted in Egypt. He caused the ruined temples to be restored, and offered personally, but under the direction of the priests, a sacrifice to Belus. He then proceeded to Susa. It was there that the Persian treasures were chiefly accumulated, and Alexander had despatched one of his generals to take possession of the city immediately after the battle of Gaugamela. It was surrendered without a blow by the satrap Abulites. The treasure found there amounted to 50,000 talents. Moreover, the interest of the Greeks was excited in a lively manner by the discovery of the spoils carried off from Greece by Xerxes. Among them were the bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which Alexander now sent back to Athens, and which were long afterwards preserved in the Ceramicus.

At Susa Alexander received reinforcements of more than 15,000 men from Greece. He then directed his march southeastward towards Persepolis. His road lay through the mountainous territory of the

Uxians, who refused him a passage unless he paid the usual tribute which they were in the habit of extorting even from the Persian kings. But Alexander routed them with great slaughter. He then advanced rapidly to Persepolis, whose magnificent ruins still attest its ancient splendor. It was the real capital of the Persian kings, though they generally resided at Susa during the winter and at Ecbatana in summer. The treasure found there exceeded that of Babylon and Susa. It is said to have amounted to 120,000 talents, or about \$125,000,000. It was here that Alexander is related to have committed an act of thoughtless folly, by firing the ancient and magnificent palace of the Persian kings.

The Death of Darius (330 B.C.).— Thus, in between three and four years after crossing the Hellespont, Alexander had established himself on the Persian throne. But Darius was not yet in his power. After the battle of Gaugamela that monarch had fled to Ecbatana. It was not till several months after the battle of Gaugamela, and consequently early in 330 B.C., that Alexander quitted Persepolis to resume the pursuit of Darius. On approaching Ecbatana he learned that the Persian monarch had already fled with the little army which still adhered to him. Alexander, with his main body, then pursued Darius through Media by forced marches, and reached Rhagæ, a town about three hundred and sixty miles from Ecbatana, in eleven days. Such was the rapidity of the march that many men and horses died of fatigue. At Rhagæ he heard that Darius had already passed the defile called the "Caspian Gates," leading into the northeastern provinces of the Persian empire; and, as that pass was about fifty miles distant,

urgent pursuit was evidently useless. He therefore allowed his troops five days' rest, and then resumed his march. Soon after passing the Gates, he learned that Darius had been seized by his own satrap Bessus, who entertained the design of usurping the kingly power. This intelligence stimulated Alexander to make still further haste with part of his cavalry and a chosen body of foot. On the fourth day he succeeded in overtaking the fugitives with his cavalry, having been obliged to leave the infantry behind, with directions to follow more at leisure. The enemy, who did not know his real strength, were struck with consternation at his appearance; most of them offered no resistance. Bessus, however, and his immediate companions did not take to flight until they had mortally wounded Darius in the carriage in which they kept him confined. Alexander gave orders that he should be magnificently buried in the tomb of his ancestors, and provided for the fitting education of his children.

Alexander subjugates the Remoter Provinces of the Persian Empire (330-327 B.C.).—The next three years were employed by Alexander in subduing Hyrcania, Drangiana, Bactria, Sogdiana, and the other northern and eastern provinces of the Persian empire. In these distant regions he founded several cities, one of which, in Aria, called after him (Alexandria Ariorum), is still, under the name of Herat, one of the chief cities in central Asia. Alexander's stay in Prophthasia, the capital of Drangiana, was made memorable by the trial of Philotas, the son of Parmenio, on the charge of treason. Alexander had long entertained suspicions of Philotas, but the immediate subject of accusation against him was that he had not revealed

a conspiracy which was reported to be forming against Alexander's life. He was consequently suspected of being implicated in it, and was put to death (330 B.C.). Moreover, Alexander at once sent an order to Ecbatana, where Parmenio then was, directing that that veteran general should be executed.

Meantime Bessus had assumed the royal dignity in Bactria, but upon Alexander's approach he fled across the Oxus into Sogdiana (329 B.C.). After receiving the submission of the Bactrians, Alexander pushed on in pursuit of the usurper, who was at length captured through the treachery of two of his own officers. He was carried to Ecbatana and there put to death.

Alexander even crossed the river Jaxartes and defeated the Scythians. Sogdiana alone of the northern provinces offered any serious resistance to his arms. Accordingly, in 328 B.C., he again crossed the Oxus. He divided his army into five bodies, ordering them to scour the country in different directions. After a successful campaign Alexander went into winter-quarters at Nautaca. Early in the spring he marched against a fortress in which many of the barbarians had taken refuge. It was situated on an isolated rock, so precipitous as to be deemed inaccessible, and so well supplied with provisions as to defy a blockade. The summons to surrender was treated with derision by the commander, who inquired whether the Macedonians had wings. But a small body of Macedonians having succeeded in reaching the summit of the rock during the night, the garrison became so alarmed that they immediately surrendered. To this place a Bactrian named Oxyartes, an adherent of

Bessus, had sent his daughters for safety. One of them, named Roxana, was of surpassing beauty, and Alexander made her his queen.

The Murder of Clitus.—It was probably in Sogdiana that Alexander was guilty of a crime which has forever stained his memory. He was celebrating with his friends a festival in honor of the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux), and the banquet which closed the day had already been long continued when some of those who were present began to magnify the praises of Alexander with extravagant flattery. Clitus, whom wine had released from all prudent reserve, rebuked their adulation; and, as the conversation turned on the comparative merits of the exploits of Alexander and his father Philip, he did not hesitate to prefer the exploits of the latter. He reminded Alexander of his former services, and, stretching forth his hand, exclaimed, "It was this hand, Alexander, which saved your life at the battle of the Granicus!" The king, who was also flushed with wine, was so enraged by these words that he rushed at Clitus with the intention of killing him on the spot, but he was held back by his friends, while Clitus was at the same time hurried out of the room. But when he returned to brave the anger of Alexander, the monarch struck him down with a spear. When the deed was done he was seized with repentance and remorse. He flung himself on his couch, and remained for three days in an agony of grief, refusing all sustenance, and calling on the names of Clitus and of his sister Lanice, who had been his nurse. It was not till his bodily strength began to fail through protracted abstinence that he at last became more composed and consented to listen to the consolations of his friends.

The Indian Expedition (327-325 B.C.).—After reducing Sogdiana, Alexander returned into Bactria and began to prepare for his projected expedition into India. While he was thus employed a plot was formed against his life by the royal pages, incited by Hermolaus, one of their number, who had been punished with stripes for anticipating the king during a hunting-party in slaying a wild boar. Hermolaus and his associates were apprehended and put to death. It seems certain that a conspiracy existed, but no less certain that the growing pride and haughtiness of Alexander were gradually alienating from him the hearts of his followers.

Alexander did not leave Bactria till late in the spring (327 B.C.). He crossed the Indus by a bridge of boats near Taxila, where the river is about 1000 feet broad and very deep. He now found himself in the district between the rivers Indus and Hydaspes. Taxiles, the sovereign of the district, at once surrendered Taxila, his capital, and joined the Macedonian force with 5000 men. Hence Alexander proceeded to the river Hydaspes. On the opposite bank, Porus, a powerful Indian king, prepared to dispute his progress with a numerous and well-appointed force. Alexander, however, by a skilful stratagem conveyed his army safely across the river. An obstinate battle then ensued. In the army of Porus were many elephants, the sight of which frightened the horses of Alexander's cavalry. But these unwieldy animals ultimately proved as dangerous to the Indians as to the Greeks; for when driven into a narrow space they became unmanageable and created great confusion in the ranks of Porus. By a few vigorous charges the Indians were completely routed, with the

loss of more than 20,000 men. Among the prisoners was Porus himself, who was conducted into the presence of Alexander. The courage which he had displayed in the battle had excited the admiration of the Macedonian king. Mounted on an enormous elephant, he retreated leisurely when the day was lost, and long rejected every summons to surrender, till at length, overcome by thirst and fatigue, he permitted himself to be taken. Even in this situation Porus still retained his majestic bearing, the effect of which was increased by his extraordinary stature. On Alexander's inquiring how he wished to be treated, he replied, "Like a king." "And have you no other request?" asked Alexander. "No," answered Porus; "everything is comprehended in the word king." Struck by his magnanimity, Alexander not only restored him to his dominions, but also considerably enlarged them, seeking in this way to retain him as an obedient and faithful vassal.

Alexander rested a month on the banks of the Hydaspes, where he celebrated his victory by games and sacrifices, and founded two towns, one of which he named Nicæa and the other Bucephala, in honor of his gallant charger Bucephalus, which is said to have died there. He then crossed the Acesines, captured the city of Sangala, and marched on to the Hyphasis. Upon reaching this river, the army, worn out by fatigues and dangers, positively refused to proceed any farther, although Alexander passionately desired to attack the tribes which dwelt beyond the Hyphasis. All his attempts to induce his soldiers to proceed proving ineffectual, he returned to the Hydaspes, where he ordered detachments of his army to descend along the banks on either side, while he him-

self, with 8000 men, embarked on board a large fleet, which he had ordered to be built with the view of sailing down the Indus to its mouth.

The army began to move in the summer of 326 B.C. The navigation lasted several months, but was accomplished without any serious opposition except from the tribe of the Malli. At the storming of a town in their country the life of Alexander was exposed to imminent danger. He was the first to scale the walls of the citadel, and was followed by three others; but before a fourth man could mount, the ladders broke, and Alexander was left exposed on the wall to the missiles of the enemy. Leaping down into the citadel among the barbarians, he placed his back to the wall, where he succeeded in keeping the enemy at bay, and slew their chief, who had ventured within reach of his sword; but an arrow which pierced his corselet brought him to the ground, fainting with loss of blood. Two of his followers, who had jumped down after him, now stood over and defended him, till at length, more soldiers having scaled the walls and opened one of the gates, sufficient numbers poured in not only to rescue their monarch, but to capture the citadel, whereupon every living being within the place was put to the sword. When the mouth of the Indus was reached, Nearchus, with the fleet, was directed to proceed along the coast to the Persian Gulf and the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates. Meanwhile Alexander proceeded with his army through the burning deserts of Gedrosia towards Persepolis, marching on foot himself, and sharing the privations and fatigues of the meanest soldier. In these regions the very atmosphere seems to be composed of a fine dust, which on the slightest wind penetrates into the mouth

and nose, while the soil affords no firm footing to the traveller. The march through this inhospitable region lasted sixty days, during which numbers of the soldiers perished from fatigue, hunger, or disease. At length they emerged into the fertile province of Carmania. While in this country Alexander was rejoined by Nearchus, who subsequently prosecuted his voyage to the head of the Persian Gulf.

The Return to Susa: Mutiny at Opis (324 B.C.).—Upon reaching Susa, Alexander allowed his soldiers to repose from their fatigues and amused them with a series of brilliant festivities. It was here that he adopted various measures with the view of consolidating his empire. One of the most important was to form the Greeks and Persians into one people by means of intermarriages. He himself celebrated his nuptials with Barsine, the eldest daughter of Darius, and bestowed the hand of her sister, Drypetis, upon Hephæstion. Other marriages were made between Alexander's officers and Asiatic women, to the number, it is said, of nearly a hundred, while more than ten thousand of the common soldiers followed their example and took native wives. As another means of amalgamating the Europeans and Asiatics, he caused numbers of the latter to be admitted into the army, and to be armed and trained in the Macedonian fashion. But these innovations were regarded with a jealous eye by most of the Macedonian veterans; and their feeling was increased by the conduct of Alexander himself, who assumed every day more and more of the state and manners of an Eastern monarch. Their long-stifed dissatisfaction broke out into open mutiny and rebellion at a review which took place at Opis, on the Tigris. But the mutiny was quelled by

the decisive conduct of Alexander. He immediately caused thirteen of the ringleaders to be seized and executed, and then, addressing the remainder, pointed out to them how, by his own and his father's exertions, they had been raised from the condition of scattered herdsmen to be the masters of Greece and the lords of Asia; and that, while he had given over to them the richest and most valuable fruits of his conquest, he had reserved nothing but the diadem for himself, as the mark of his superior labors and more imminent perils. He then secluded himself for two whole days; on the third his Macedonian guard was exchanged for a Persian one, while nobles of the same nation were appointed to the most confidential posts about his person. Overcome by these marks of alienation on the part of their sovereign, the Macedonians now supplicated with tears to be restored to favor. A solemn reconciliation was effected, and 10,000 veterans were permitted to return to their homes under the conduct of Craterus. That general was also appointed to the government of Macedonia and Greece in place of Antipater, who was ordered to repair to Asia with fresh reinforcements.

Soon after these occurrences Alexander proceeded to Ecbatana, where a grand festival was celebrated with literary and athletic contests. But the king's enjoyment was suddenly converted into bitterness by the death of his friend Hephæstion, who was carried off by a fever. This event threw Alexander into a deep melancholy, from which he never entirely recovered. The memory of Hephæstion was honored by extravagant marks of public mourning, and his body was conveyed to Babylon, to be there interred with the utmost magnificence.

The Death of Alexander (323 B.C.).—Alexander returned to Babylon early in the year 323 B.C., notwithstanding the warnings of the Chaldean soothsayers, who predicted some serious evil to him if he entered the city at that time. Babylon was now to witness the consummation of his triumphs and of his life. Ambassadors from all parts of Greece, from Libya, Italy, and still more distant regions, were waiting to salute him and to do homage to him as the conqueror of Asia; the fleet under Nearchus had arrived after its long and enterprising voyage; while for the reception of this navy a spacious harbor was in process of construction, which seemed to turn the inland city of Babylon into a port. The mind of Alexander was still occupied with plans of conquest and ambition; his next design was the subjugation of Arabia. He despatched three expeditions to explore the coast of that country, while he devoted his own energies to surveying the course of the Euphrates and devising and perfecting important changes in the organization of the phalanx. While thus occupied, he was suddenly seized with symptoms of fever. Within a few days the malady had gained a fatal strength, and terminated his life in June, 323 B.C., at the early age of thirty-two. While he lay speechless on his death-bed his troops were admitted to see him, but he could offer them only faint tokens of recognition.

Alexander's Character and Achievements.—The magnitude of Alexander's achievements gives him an undisputed right to the title of "Great." He was great as a general, as an administrator, and as a man. A young and impetuous conqueror, he was vain of his exploits and too apt to yield to outbursts of passion.

Yet he was a humane leader, a true friend, and a man of great purity and uprightness of character. His talents as a statesman are shown by the effective organization and government of his vast empire. On the field of battle his troops were held under the most perfect control, and their movements directed with swift and unerring sagacity against that point in the enemy's line where a successful charge meant victory. It has been said that Alexander's military renown consists more in the seemingly extravagant boldness of his enterprises than in the real power of the foes whom he overcame, and that his chief difficulties were the geographical conditions of distance, climate, and the nature of the ground traversed. This, however, is only partially true; for Alexander encountered large bodies of Greek mercenaries at the Granicus, at Issus, and at Gaugamela, and the foes whom he met in his later battles were by no means so easy to subdue as the ill-organized and cowardly masses who made up in great part the armies of Darius. The motive which actuated Alexander was, no doubt, the love of glory and conquest rather than any wish to benefit his subjects. Yet his achievements, though they undoubtedly occasioned great misery, must be regarded as beneficial to the human race. By his conquests the two continents were put into closer communication with each other; and both, but particularly Asia, were the gainers. The language, the arts, and the literature of Greece were introduced into the East; and, after the death of Alexander, Greek kingdoms were formed in the western parts of Asia, which continued to exist for many generations.

CHAPTER XXI

FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO
THE CONQUEST OF GREECE BY THE ROMANS, 323—
146 B.C.

Unsuccessful Uprising in Greece: Demosthenes "On the Crown" (330 B.C.).—The vast empire of Alexander the Great was divided, at his death, among his generals; but before relating their history it is necessary to take a brief retrospective glance at the affairs of Greece. Four years after Alexander had quitted Europe the Spartans made a vigorous effort to throw off the Macedonian yoke. They were joined by many of the Peloponnesian states; but, though they met with some success at first, they were finally defeated with great slaughter by Antipater near Megalopolis. Agis fell in this battle, and the supremacy of Macedonia was established more firmly than ever. This victory, and the successes of Alexander in the East, encouraged the Macedonian party in Athens to take active measures against Demosthenes; and Æschines, his great opponent, now pressed a charge against him which had lain dormant for several years. Not long after the battle of Chæronea, a certain Ctesiphon had proposed that Demosthenes should be presented with a golden crown in the theatre during the great Dionysiac festival, on account of the services which he had rendered his country. Æs-

chines thereupon indicted Ctesiphon, charging that the proposed decree was unconstitutional. Ctesiphon, therefore, was the nominal defendant, though really it was Demosthenes who was put upon his trial. The case was decided in 330 B.C., and has been immortalized by the memorable and still extant speeches of Æschines "Against Ctesiphon," and of Demosthenes "On the Crown." Æschines, who did not obtain a fifth part of the votes, and consequently became himself liable to a penalty, was so chagrined at his defeat that he retired to Asia Minor.

Harpalus in Athens: the Exile of Demosthenes (323 B.C.).—In 324 B.C., Harpalus arrived in Athens. He had been left by Alexander at Babylon in charge of the royal treasures; but during the absence of Alexander in India he gave himself up to the most extravagant luxury and profusion, squandering the treasures intrusted to him, at the same time that he alienated the people subject to his rule by his lustful excesses. He no doubt thought that Alexander would never return from the remote regions of the East into which he had penetrated; but when he at length learned that the king had reached Persia in safety, and had visited with unsparing rigor those of his officers who had been guilty of any excesses during his absence, he at once saw that his only resource was in flight. Collecting together all the treasures which he could, and assembling a body of 6000 mercenaries, he hastened to the coast of Asia, and thence crossed over to Attica. At first the Athenians refused to receive him; returning, however, shortly afterwards, without troops but with his ill-gotten gold, he was admitted to the city. Such a step on the part of the Athenians was tantamount to an act

of hostility against Macedonia itself, and accordingly Philoxenus, the Macedonian satrap of Cilicia and western Asia Minor, ordered the Athenians to deliver up the fugitive. Instead of obeying this command, the Athenians contented themselves, on the advice of Demosthenes, with imprisoning Harpalus and taking public charge of his treasure. Harpalus soon effected his escape to Crete, whereupon it was discovered that one half of the treasure which he had brought to Athens had disappeared. An investigation was instituted, and Demosthenes was one of those who were brought to trial on the charge of bribe-taking. He was declared to be guilty, and condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents. Not being able to raise that sum, he was thrown into prison, but contrived to make his escape, and went into exile.

The Lamian War (323-322 B.C.).—When the news of Alexander's death reached Athens the anti-Macedonian party, which since the exile of Demosthenes had been led by Hyperides, carried all before it. The people in a decree declared their determination to support the liberty of Greece. Envoys were despatched to all the Grecian states to announce the determination of Athens, and to exhort them to struggle with her for their independence. This call met with little or no response in Peloponnesus; on the other hand, many of the states of northern Greece joined the movement. The Athenian Leosthenes was appointed commander-in-chief of the allied forces.

The Grecian army assembled in the neighborhood of Thermopylæ. Antipater now advanced from the north, and offered battle near the pass; but, being deserted by his Thessalian cavalry, who went over

to his opponents before or during the engagement, he was defeated and obliged to retreat, whereupon he threw himself into Lamia, a strongly fortified town near the Malian Gulf. Leosthenes, desirous to finish the war at a blow, pressed the siege with the utmost vigor; but his assaults were repulsed, and he was compelled to resort to the slower method of a blockade. From this town the contest between Antipater and the allied Greeks has been called the Lamian War.

The novelty of a victory over the Macedonian arms was received with boundless exultation at Athens, and renewed efforts were put forth to enlarge and strengthen the anti-Macedonian confederation. Demosthenes, though still an exile, attached himself to an Athenian embassy in Peloponnesus, and exerted himself in various states in counteracting the envoys of Antipater, and in endeavoring to gain adherents to the cause of Athens and the allies. The Athenians, in return, invited Demosthenes back to his native country, and a ship was sent to convey him to Piræus, where he was received with extraordinary honors.

Meanwhile Leonnatus, ruler of the Hellespontine Phrygia, appeared on the theatre of war with an army of 20,000 foot and 2500 horse. Leosthenes had been slain at Lamia by a sally of the besieged; and Antiphilus, to whom the command of the allied army was given, hastened to offer battle to Leonnatus before he could arrive at Lamia. In the engagement which ensued Leonnatus was killed and his troops defeated. Antipater, as soon as the blockade of Lamia was raised, had followed Antiphilus, and on the day after the battle he effected a junction with the beaten army of Leonnatus.

Shortly afterwards Antipater was still further reinforced by the arrival of Craterus with a considerable force from Asia; and being now at the head of an army which outnumbered the forces of the allies, he marched against them and gained a decisive victory near Crannon, in Thessaly, in September, 322 B.C. The allies now determined to sue for peace; but Antipater refused to treat with them except as separate states, foreseeing that by this means many would be detached from the confederacy. The result answered his expectations. One by one the various states submitted, till at length all had laid down their arms. Athens, the original instigator of the insurrection, now lay at the mercy of the conqueror. As Antipater advanced, Phocion used all the influence which he possessed with the Macedonians in favor of his countrymen, but he could obtain no other terms than unconditional surrender. On a second mission Phocion received the final demands of Antipater, which were that the Athenians should deliver up a certain number of their statesmen, among whom were Demosthenes and Hyperides; that their political franchise should be limited by a property qualification; that they should receive a Macedonian garrison in Munichia; and that they should defray the expenses of the war. Such was the result of the Lamian war, which riveted the fetters of Greece still more firmly.

The Death of Demosthenes (322 B.C.).—After the return of the envoys bringing the ultimatum of Antipater, the unscrupulous Demades procured a decree for the death of the denounced statesmen. Demosthenes and the other persons concerned had already made their escape from Athens. Hyperides, with two others, fled to the sanctuary of Æacus, in Ægina, while De-

mosthenes took refuge in that of Poseidon, in the isle of Calauria, near Trœzen. But the satellites of Antipater, under the guidance of a Thurian named Archias, who had formerly been an actor, hunted down the fugitives. Hyperides was carried to Cleonæ to be executed, and it is said that Antipater took the brutal and cowardly revenge of ordering his tongue to be cut out and his remains to be thrown to the dogs. Demosthenes contrived at last to escape the insults of the conqueror. Archias at first endeavored to entice him from his sanctuary by the blandest promises. But Demosthenes, forewarned, it is said, by a dream, fixing his eyes intently upon him, exclaimed, "Your acting, Archias, never touched me formerly, nor do your promises now." And when Archias began to employ threats, "Now," said Demosthenes, "you speak as from the Macedonian tripod; before you were only playing a part. But wait awhile, and let me write my last directions to my family." So, taking his writing materials, he put the reed into his mouth, and bit it for some time, as was his custom when composing; after which he covered his head with his garment. The guards who accompanied Archias, imagining this to be mere cowardice, laughed and called him a weakling, while Archias began to renew his false persuasions. Demosthenes, feeling the poison work—for such it was that he had concealed in the reed—now bade him lead on. "You may now," said he, "enact the part of Creon, and cast me out unburied; but at least, O gracious Poseidon, I have not polluted thy temple by my death, which Antipater and his Macedonians would not have scrupled to do." But while he was endeavoring to walk out he fell down by the altar and expired.

The Division of Alexander's Empire.—The history of Alexander's successors is marked from first to last by dissensions, crimes, and unscrupulous ambition. It is only necessary for the purpose of the present work to mention very briefly the most important events.

Alexander, on his death-bed, is said to have given his signet-ring to Perdiccas, but he had left no heir to his throne, though his wife Roxana was pregnant. After Alexander's death a military council was assembled in which Perdiccas assumed a leading part, and in which, after much debate, an arrangement was at length effected on the following basis: That Philip Arrhidæus, a young man of weak intellect, the half-brother of Alexander (being the son of Philip by a Thessalian woman named Philinna), should be declared king; that the government of Macedonia and Greece should be divided between Antipater and Craterus; that Ptolemy should preside over Egypt; that Antigonus should have the Greater Phrygia, Lycia, and Pamphylia; that the Hellespontine Phrygia should be assigned to Leonnatus; that Eumenes should have the satrapy of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, the latter of which countries, however, still remained to be subdued; that Laomedon should rule over Syria; that Philotas should receive Cilicia; and that Thrace should be committed to Lysimachus. Perdiccas took to himself the title of Protector of the Empire, and became commander-in-chief of the army. In due time Roxana was delivered of a son. He was at once hailed as king, received the name Alexander, and was made the partner of Arrhidæus in the empire. Roxana had previously caused Barsine, the other wife of Alexander, to be assassinated. It was not until now, as it appears, that the last rites were paid to

Alexander's remains. They were finally conveyed in a magnificent funeral car to Alexandria in Egypt.

The Death of Perdiccas: a Second Division of the Empire (320 B.C.).—Perdiccas, by virtue of his position as protector or regent, was nominally at the head of the empire; he aspired to be recognized as actually supreme, and sought to strengthen himself by a marriage with Cleopatra, Alexander's sister. His ambitious designs, however, soon brought him into conflict with the most powerful of Alexander's generals, Antigonus and Ptolemy. Antigonus had declined to assist Eumenes, the intimate friend of Perdiccas, in the conquest of Cappadocia. Perdiccas, therefore, attempted to bring him to trial on the charge of insubordination (322 B.C.); but Antigonus made his escape to Macedonia, where he revealed to Antipater the full extent of the ambitious schemes of Perdiccas, and thus at once induced Antipater and Craterus to unite in a league with him against the regent. Ambassadors were also sent to Egypt to secure the support of Ptolemy. Meanwhile the growing power of the latter had aroused the ill-will of Perdiccas, who determined, now that he had put Antigonus to flight, to turn his arms against Ptolemy. Accordingly, having sent Eumenes to the Hellespont to meet Antipater and Craterus, he set out on his march against Egypt at the head of a formidable army and accompanied by Philip Arrhidæus and Roxana with her infant son. He advanced without opposition as far as Pelusium, but he found the banks of the Nile strongly fortified and guarded by Ptolemy, and he was repulsed with considerable loss in an attack upon a fortress near the river. A little later, attempting to cross the Nile in the neighborhood of Memphis,

he lost great numbers of men by the depth and rapidity of the current. Perdicas had never been popular with the soldiery, and these disasters completely alienated their affections. A conspiracy was formed against him, and some of his chief officers murdered him in his tent (321 B.C.).

The death of Perdicas was followed by a fresh distribution of the provinces of the empire. At a meeting held at Triparadisus, in Syria, in the year 320 B.C., Antipater was declared regent, retaining the government of Macedonia and Greece; Ptolemy was confirmed in the possession of Egypt; Seleucus received the satrapy of Babylon; while Antigonus retained his former provinces, and was declared general-in-chief in place of Perdicas. Eumenes, the friend of Perdicas, who had meanwhile defeated Craterus in a decisive battle which cost the latter his life, was condemned to death; but he was not yet conquered and continued to maintain himself for some time single-handed.

Polysperchon Regent: the Condemnation of Phocion (318 B.C.).—Antipater did not long survive these events. He died in the year 319 B.C., at the advanced age of eighty, leaving Polysperchon, one of Alexander's oldest generals, regent; much to the surprise and mortification of his son Cassander, who at this time held the secondary position of Chiliarch. Cassander was now bent on obtaining the regency; but, seeing no hope of success in Macedonia, he went over to Asia to solicit the assistance of Antigonus.

Polysperchon, on his side, sought to conciliate the friendship of the Grecian states by proclaiming them all free and independent, and by decreeing the abolition of the oligarchies which had been set up by An-

tipater. In order to enforce these measures, Ptolemy prepared to march into Greece, while his son Alexander was despatched beforehand with an army towards Athens, to compel the Macedonian garrison under the command of Nicanor to evacuate Munichia. Nicanor, however, refused to move without orders from Cassander, whose general he declared himself to be. Phocion was suspected of intriguing in favor of Nicanor, and, being deprived of his position as general, fled to Alexander, now encamped near Athens. Alexander sent Phocion to his father, who sent him back to Athens in chains, to be tried by the Athenian people. The theatre where his trial was to take place was soon full to overflowing. Phocion was assailed on every side by the clamors of his enemies, which prevented his defence from being heard, and he was condemned to death by a show of hands. To the last he maintained his calm and dignified, but somewhat contemptuous, bearing. He died in 318 B.C., being more than eighty years old. Nearly sixty years of his life had been spent in the service of the state, and his condemnation is one of the darkest blots upon the fair fame of Athens. As sincere a patriot as Demosthenes, Phocion differed from him in believing that the welfare of Athens was best insured, not by an uncertain and dangerous freedom, but by dependence upon the stronger government of Macedonia. The Athenians afterwards repented of their conduct towards Phocion. His bones were interred at the public expense and a bronze statue was erected to his memory.

Cassander becomes Master of Athens and of Macedonia (317-316 B.C.).—While Alexander was negotiating with Nicanor about the surrender of Munichia, Cas-

sander arrived in Piræus with a considerable army and fleet with which Antigonus had supplied him. Alexander and Polysperchon at length retired from Athens, and Cassander established an oligarchical government in the city under the presidency of Demetrius of Phalerum (317 B.C.).

Polysperchon's ill-success had caused his enemies to despise him, but he was still supported in Macedonia by Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great. The first foe whom Olympias and Polysperchon met was Eurydice, the wife of Philip Arrhidæus, who gathered an army and marched against them. But her soldiers would not fight against Alexander's mother; both Arrhidæus and Eurydice were captured and put to death. Cassander now appeared again in Macedonia and laid siege to Pydna. In this city Olympias had taken refuge, together with Roxana and her son, but after a blockade of some months it was obliged to surrender (316 B.C.). Olympias had stipulated that her life should be spared, but Cassander soon afterwards caused her to be put to death and kept Roxana and her son in custody in the citadel of Amphipolis. Shortly afterwards Cassander began the restoration of Thebes, in the twentieth year after its destruction by Alexander, a measure highly popular with the Greeks.

War in the East (315-311 B.C.): the Murder of Roxana and Alexander.—A new war now broke out in the East. Antigonus had become the most powerful of Alexander's successors. In 316 B.C. he had conquered Eumenes, who had long defied his arms, and he now began to dispose of the provinces as he thought fit. His increasing power and ambitious projects led to a general coalition against him, consisting of Ptolemy,

Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, the governor of Thrace. The war began in the year 315 B.C., and was carried on with great vehemence and alternating success in Syria, Phœnicia, Asia Minor, and Greece. After four years all parties seem to have become wearied with the struggle, and peace was accordingly concluded in 311 B.C., on condition that the Greek cities should be free, that Cassander should retain his authority in Europe till Alexander came of age, that Ptolemy and Lysimachus should keep possession of Egypt and Thrace respectively, and that Antigonus should have the government of all Asia. This hollow peace, which had been merely patched up for the convenience of the parties concerned, was not of long duration. It seems to have been the immediate cause of another of those crimes which disgrace the history of Alexander's successors. His son Alexander, who was now about twelve years old, was still shut up with his mother, Roxana, in Amphipolis; and his partisans, with injudicious zeal, expressed their wish that he should be released and placed upon the throne. In order to avert this event, Cassander contrived the secret murder both of the mother and the son. This abominable act seems to have met with general approval among the parties to the recent treaty.

Athens Surrenders to Demetrius Pollorcetes (307 B.C.).— It is not clear on what pretence and at what time the peace was broken. In 310 B.C., however, the war was again in progress and Ptolemy was carrying on an active campaign against Antigonus in Cilicia. Ptolemy met with considerable success in various quarters, while Cassander and Lysimachus widened and strengthened their power in Greece and Thrace.

Under these circumstances, Antigonus resolved, after the war had lasted three years, to make a vigorous effort to wrest Greece from the hands of Cassander and Ptolemy, who held most of the principal towns in it. Accordingly, in the spring of 307 B.C., he despatched his son Demetrius from Ephesus to Athens with a fleet of 250 sail and 5000 talents in money. Demetrius, who afterwards obtained the name of "Poliorcetes," or "Besieger of Cities," was a young man of ardent temperament and great abilities. Upon arriving at the Piræus he immediately proclaimed the object of his expedition to be the liberation of Athens and the expulsion of the Macedonian garrison. Supported by the Macedonians, Demetrius the Phalerean had now ruled Athens for a period of ten years. A pupil of Theophrastus, he owed his elevation entirely to his own talents and perseverance. His skill as an orator raised him to distinction among his countrymen; and his politics, which led him to embrace the party of Phocion, recommended him to Cassander and the Macedonians. He cultivated many branches of literature, and was at once an historian, a philosopher, and a poet; but none of his works have come down to us. The Athenians heard with pleasure the proclamations of the son of Antigonus; his namesake, the Phalerean, was obliged to surrender the city to him, and to retire to Thebes. The Macedonian garrison in Munichia offered a slight resistance, which was soon overcome. Demetrius Poliorcetes then formally announced to the Athenian Assembly the restoration of their ancient constitution, and promised them a large donation of corn and ship-timber. This munificence was repaid by the Athenians with the basest and most abject

flattery. Both Demetrius and his father were deified, and two new tribes, called respectively Antigonis and Demetrias, were added to the existing ten which derived their names from the ancient heroes of Attica.

The War between Antigonus and Ptolemy: the Siege of Rhodes (305-304 B.C.).—Demetrius Poliorcetes did not, however, remain long at Athens. He was recalled by his father, and, sailing to Cyprus, undertook the siege of Salamis. Ptolemy hastened to its relief with 140 vessels and 10,000 troops. The battle that ensued was one of the most memorable in the annals of ancient naval warfare, more particularly on account of the vast size of the vessels engaged. Ptolemy was completely defeated; and so important was the victory deemed by Antigonus that on the strength of it he assumed the title of king, which he also conferred upon his son. This example was followed by Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander.

Antigonus now determined to follow up the victory which Demetrius had gained by invading Egypt. He met, however, with no better success than Perdiccas had achieved fifteen years before. Ptolemy again defended the western bank of the Nile; and Antigonus, not receiving the support he had hoped for from Demetrius, retired to Syria without striking a blow.

Demetrius soon afterwards undertook an expedition against Rhodes, which had refused its aid in the attack upon Ptolemy. It was from the memorable siege of Rhodes that Demetrius obtained his name of "Poliorcetes." After in vain attempting to take the town from the sea side by means of floating batteries, from which stones of great weight were hurled from engines against the walls, he determined to alter

his plan and invest it on the land side. He constructed a machine which, in anticipation of its effect, was called Helepolis, or "the city-taker." This was a square wooden tower, 150 feet high, and divided into nine stories, filled with armed men, who discharged missiles through apertures in one side. When armed and prepared for attack it required the strength of 3400 men to set this enormous machine in motion. But though it was assisted by the operation of two battering-rams, each 180 feet long, and propelled by the labor of 1000 men, the Rhodians were so active in building inner lines of wall, with which to defend themselves when the outer were broken down, that after a year spent in the vain attempt to take the town, Demetrius retired and granted the Rhodians peace (304 B.C.).

The Death of Antigonus: a Third Division of the Empire (301 B.C.). — During the following years Demetrius succeeded in making himself master of a large part of Greece. The effect of these conquests, however, was more than neutralized by subsequent events in Asia. In 301 B.C. the struggle between Antigonus and his rivals was brought to a close by the battle of Ipsus, in Phrygia, in which Antigonus was killed and his army completely defeated. He was more than eighty years old at the time of his death. A third partition of the empire of Alexander was now made. Seleucus and Lysimachus, who had won the battle of Ipsus against Antigonus, shared between them his possessions. Seleucus received the lion's share. His empire now included all Asia as far west as Phrygia, with the exception of Cilicia; Lysimachus, as it seems, was forced to content himself with the western provinces of Asia Minor. Se-

leucus founded on the Orontes a new capital of his empire, which he named Antioch, after his father Antiochus, and which long continued to be one of the most important Greek cities in Asia.

Demetrius Ruler of Greece : his Death (284 B.C.).—Demetrius was now a fugitive, but not long after the battle of Ipsus he was agreeably surprised by receiving an embassy from Seleucus, by which that monarch solicited his daughter Stratonice in marriage. Demetrius gladly granted the request, and at once set out for Syria with Stratonice. But the friendship between Seleucus and Demetrius lasted but a short time. After their alienation Demetrius returned to Greece, captured Eleusis, and proceeded against Athens. The city capitulated after a long siege, and the bloodthirsty Lachares, who had established himself as tyrant, was driven out (294 B.C.).

Meanwhile Cassander had died shortly before the siege of Athens began, and was succeeded on the throne of Macedonia by his eldest son, Philip IV.* (297 B.C.). But that young prince died after a reign of four months, and Cassander's second son, Antipater, who succeeded him, became involved in a quarrel with his younger brother, Alexander. Demetrius availed himself of the distracted state of Macedonia to make himself master of that country (294 B.C.). He reigned over Macedonia and the greater part of Greece about six years. He seems to have aimed at recovering the whole of his father's dominions in Asia ; but before he was ready to take the field his adversaries, alarmed at his preparations, determined to forestall him. In the year 288 B.C. Ptolemy sent

* Philip Arrhidæus is called Philip III.

a powerful fleet against Greece, while Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, on the one side, and Lysimachus on the other simultaneously invaded Macedonia. Demetrius had completely alienated his own subjects by his proud and haughty bearing, and by his lavish expenditure on his own luxuries; while Pyrrhus by his daring courage had become the hero of the Macedonians, who looked upon him as a second Alexander. The appearance of Pyrrhus was the signal for revolt; the Macedonian troops flocked to his standard and Demetrius was compelled to fly. Pyrrhus now ascended the throne of Macedonia, but his reign was of brief duration, and at the end of a few months he was in turn driven out by Lysimachus. Demetrius remained for a time in Greece and then set sail for Asia, where he successively endeavored to establish himself in the territories of Lysimachus and of his son-in-law Seleucus. Falling at length into the hands of the latter, he was kept in a kind of magnificent captivity in a royal residence in Syria, where in 284 B.C., at the early age of fifty-three, his checkered career was brought to a close, partly by chagrin, and partly by the sensual indulgences with which he endeavored to divert it.

Seleucus, the Last of Alexander's Generals: his Empire.—The fall of Demetrius left the empire of Alexander in the hands of three powerful kings, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy. In Egypt the aged Ptolemy abdicated in 285 B.C. in favor of his son by Berenice, afterwards known as Ptolemy Philadelphus, and to the exclusion of his eldest son, Ptolemy Ceraunus, by his wife Eurydice. Ptolemy Ceraunus quitted Egypt in disgust and fled to the court of Lysimachus; and Arsinoe, the wife of Lysimachus, jeal-

ous of her step-son Agathocles, the heir-apparent to the throne, and desirous of securing the succession for her own children, conspired with Ptolemy Ceraunus against the life of Agathocles. She even procured the consent of Lysimachus to his murder; and, after some vain attempts to make away with him by poison, he was flung into prison, where Ptolemy Ceraunus despatched him with his own hand. Lysandra, the wife of Agathocles, fled with her family to Seleucus, to demand from him protection and vengeance; and Seleucus, induced by the hopes of success inspired by the discontent and dissensions which so foul an act had excited among the subjects of Lysimachus, espoused her cause. The hostilities which ensued between him and Lysimachus were brought to a termination by the battle of Corupedion, in the Hellespontine Phrygia, in which Lysimachus was defeated and slain (281 B.C.). By this victory Macedonia and Thrace fell into the hands of Seleucus, who was now master of much the greater part of Alexander's empire.

The Death of Seleucus: the Celtic Invasions (279-278 B.C.).

—The aged monarch, who had not beheld his native land since he first joined the expedition of Alexander, now crossed the Hellespont to take possession of Macedonia. Ptolemy Ceraunus, who, before the battle of Corupedion, had thrown himself on the mercy of Seleucus, and had been received with forgiveness and favor, accompanied him on his journey. The murder of Agathocles had not been committed by Ptolemy merely to oblige Arsinoe. He had even then designs upon the kingly power, which he now completed by another crime. In the neighborhood of Lysimachia, in Thrace, he treacherously assassinated Seleucus.

After this base and cowardly act, Ptolemy Ceraunus, who gave himself out as the avenger of Lysimachus, was saluted king by the army; but the Asiatic dominions of Seleucus fell to his son Antiochus, surnamed Soter. The crime of Ptolemy, however, was speedily overtaken by a just punishment. In the year 279 B.C. his kingdom of Macedonia and Thrace was invaded by an immense host of Celts; Ptolemy led an army against them, but was defeated, taken captive, and put to death. A second invasion of the same barbarians compelled the Greeks to raise a force for their defence (278 B.C.). The Grecian army undertook to defend Thermopylæ; but, just as in the time of Xerxes, the barbarians forced the pass by sending a detachment over the mountain to attack the Greeks in the rear. The Celts now marched to Delphi with the view of plundering the famous temple; but the god, it is said, vindicated his sanctuary on this occasion in the same supernatural manner as when it was attacked by the Persians. Having lost their leader Brennus, the Celts returned with diminished numbers to Thrace. Nevertheless, some of them succeeded in establishing themselves near the Danube; while others passed over into Asia, and gave their name to the country called Galatia.

Antigonus Gonatas Master of Macedonia and Greece (277–239 B.C.).—After the death of Ptolemy Ceraunus Macedonia fell for some time into a state of anarchy and confusion, and the crown was disputed by several potentates. At length, in 277 B.C., Antigonus Gonatas, son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, succeeded in establishing himself on the throne of Macedonia; and, with the exception of two years (274–272 B.C.), during which he was temporarily expelled by Pyrrhus, he continued

to retain possession of it till his death in 239 B.C. The struggle between Antigonus and Pyrrhus was brought to a close at Argos in 272 B.C. Pyrrhus had marched into Peloponnesus with a large force in order to make war upon Sparta, but with the collateral design of reducing the places which still held out for Antigonus. Having failed in an attempt to take Sparta, he marched against Argos, where Antigonus also arrived with his forces. Both armies entered the city by opposite gates; and in a battle which ensued in the streets Pyrrhus was struck from his horse by a tile hurled by a woman from a house-top, and was then despatched by some soldiers of Antigonus. Such was the inglorious end of one of the bravest and most warlike monarchs of antiquity.

By the death of Pyrrhus, Antigonus became master not only of Macedonia but of a large part of Greece as well. Not all the Greeks, however, were yet disposed to submit to the rule of a foreign prince. In 267 or 266 B.C. we find Athens and Sparta united in an alliance with Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt against Antigonus. Elis, Achaia, and a few Arcadian towns also joined the league. Antigonus marched first against the Athenians; Sparta sent out king Areus with an army to their assistance, while from Egypt came a fleet under Patrocles. Areus, however, refused to offer battle to Antigonus, and finally led his troops back to Peloponnesus. The Egyptian fleet could now offer little aid to Athens, which was at length compelled to capitulate and receive a Macedonian garrison. Areus was afterwards defeated and slain near Corinth. Thus the war ended about the year 258 B.C.

The Achæan League: its Constitution and Growth.—While

a great part of Greece seemed hopelessly prostrate at the feet of Macedonia, a new political power, which sheds a lustre on the declining period of Grecian history, arose in a small state in Peloponnesus, the very name of which has been hitherto rarely mentioned. In Achaia, a narrow strip of country upon the shores of the Corinthian Gulf, a league had existed from a very early period among the twelve cities of the province. This league, however, had never possessed much political importance, and it had been suppressed by the Macedonians. At about the time when Antigonus Gonatas became king of Macedonia, the decline in the power of that country, consequent upon the Celtic invasions and the disputes between various aspirants to the throne, led to a revival of the ancient league in Achaia. One after another the Achæan towns, now ten in number, freed themselves from the Macedonians and began to unite again for mutual protection; but Aratus of Sicyon, one of the most remarkable characters of this period of Grecian history, was the man who, in the year 251 B.C., first called the new league into active political existence. He had long lived in exile at Argos, while his native city groaned under the dominion of a succession of tyrants. Having collected a small band of slaves and mercenaries, he surprised Sicyon in the night and drove out the last of these tyrants. Instead of seizing the tyranny for himself, as he might perhaps have done, Aratus consulted only the advantage of his country, and with this view united Sicyon with the Achæan league. The accession of so important a town does not appear to have altered the constitution of the confederacy. The league was at this time governed by a *Strategus*, or general, whose func-

tions were both military and civil; a *Grammateus*, or secretary; and a council of ten *Damiorgi*. The sovereignty, however, resided in an Assembly, which met at fixed periods in Aegium, where the common sanctuary of the league was located. This Assembly was composed of all Achæans who possessed a certain property qualification, and it had the right of electing the officers of the league and of deciding questions of war, peace, foreign alliances, and the like. An offensive war, however, could only be undertaken with the sanction of a Greater Assembly, of which every Achæan who had attained the age of thirty was a member. In the year 245 B.C. Aratus was elected strategus of the league, and again in 243 B.C. In the latter of these years he succeeded in wresting Corinth from the Macedonians by another nocturnal surprise, and uniting it to the league. The confederacy now spread with wonderful rapidity. It was soon joined by Træzen, Epidaurus, and Megara; a little later Ægina, Argos, Phlius, Megalopolis, Tegea, and many other Peloponnesian towns became members of the league. On the other hand, Aratus was unsuccessful in his efforts to enrol Bœotia and Athens in the confederacy. With Ætolia, at that time one of the most powerful states in Greece, he concluded an alliance.

The Fall of Sparta.—Sparta still continued to retain her independence, but without a shadow of her former greatness and power. The primitive simplicity of Spartan manners had been completely destroyed by the collection of wealth into a few hands and by the consequent progress of luxury. The number of Spartan citizens had been reduced to seven hundred; but even of these there were not above one hundred

who still possessed lands. The young king, Agis IV., who succeeded to the crown in 243 B.C., attempted to revive the ancient Spartan virtue by restoring the institutions of Lycurgus, increasing the number of the citizens, cancelling all debts, and making a new distribution of lands; and with this view he relinquished all his own property for the public good. But Agis perished in this attempt, being put to death as a traitor to his order. A few years afterwards, however, Cleomenes III. not only succeeded in effecting the reforms which had been contemplated by Agis, but was also able to overthrow the Ephors, thus still further weakening the power of the aristocracy. The effect of these new measures soon became visible in the increased success of the Spartan arms. Aratus was so hard pressed that he determined to solicit the assistance of the Macedonians. Both Antigonus Gonatas and his son Demetrius II.—who had reigned in Macedonia from 239 to 229 B.C.—were now dead, and the government was administered by Antigonus Doson, as guardian of Philip, the youthful son of Demetrius II. It was to Antigonus Doson that Aratus now applied for aid. The contest between Macedonia and the Achæans on one side and Sparta on the other was of short duration; Cleomenes was defeated in the fatal battle of Sellasia, in Laconia (221 B.C.). His army was almost totally annihilated; he himself was obliged to fly to Egypt; and Sparta, which for many centuries had remained unconquered, fell into the hands of the victor.

The Ætolian League.—In the same or the following year Antigonus was succeeded by Philip V.,* the

* The succession of Macedonian kings from Alexander the Great

son of Demetrius II., who was then about fifteen or sixteen years of age. During the first years of his reign he was occupied with a war against the Ætoli-ans. This people were a species of freebooters and the terror of their neighbors ; yet they were united, like the Achæans, in a confederacy or league. In its organization and government the Ætolian league was not unlike the Achæan. The *Strategus*, or general, and the *Grammateus*, or secretary, were charged with duties similar to those performed by the same officials in the Achæan league. The General Assembly of the league convened every autumn at Thermon to elect the strategus and other officers, and to decide the more important questions touching the welfare of the confederacy. The current business of the league was transacted by a permanent Council or Senate, acting in concert with the strategus. The Ætolians availed themselves of the disorganized state of Greece

to the extinction of the monarchy will be seen from the following table :

	B.C.
Philip III. Arrhidæus	323-317
Cassander.....	316-297
Philip IV.....	297-297
Antipater	297-294
Demetrius I. Poliorcetes.....	294-288
Pyrrhus.....	288-287
Lysimachus.....	287-281
Seleucus.....	281-280
Ptolemy Ceraunus and others.....	280-277
Antigonus Gonatas.....	277-239
Demetrius II.....	239-229
Antigonus Dason.....	229-220
Philip V.....	220-179
Perseus.....	179-168

during the first half of the third century B.C. to extend their power. The league came to include cities and states outside Ætolia. The Ætolians, however, always endeavored to maintain their own supremacy over the other members of the confederacy, and it was in this respect especially that the Ætolian league differed from the Achæan. The Ætolians had gained possession of Naupactus and Delphi at an early period. In process of time Doris, Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, and various cities of Acarnania and Thessaly were enrolled in the league. Bœotia soon renounced its allegiance, but this loss was made good by gains in Peloponnesus. Here the Ætolians came into conflict with the Achæan league, and were defeated by Aratus near Pellene. They succeeded, however, in forming alliances with the Eleans and Messenians, and in gaining the Arcadian city of Phigalia as a member of their league.

The Social War (219–217 B.C.).—After the battle of Sellasia the Achæans, supported by Antigonus Dason, whose dependants they had virtually become, were able to win away from the Ætolians their Thessalian, Phocian, and Acarnanian allies. The Ætolians revenged themselves by a series of predatory expeditions both in northern Greece and in Achaia and Messenia. Aratus marched to the assistance of the Messenians at the head of the Achæan forces, but was totally defeated in a battle near Caphyæ, in Arcadia. The Achæans now saw no hope of safety except through the assistance of Philip. That young monarch was ambitious and enterprising, and moreover possessed considerable military ability. He readily listened to the application of the Achæans, and took the field against the Ætolians (219 B.C.). The

war which ensued has been called the Social War, though the Achæans took almost no part in it. Philip met with considerable success against the Ætolians, but concluded a treaty of peace with them in 217 B.C., in order that he might be free to undertake more ambitious conquests.

Philip V. in Alliance with Hannibal against Rome (216 B.C.).—The great struggle now going on between Rome and Carthage was attracting the attention of the whole civilized world. In the year 217 B.C. Hannibal had won his third great victory in the battle of lake Trasimenus; and Philip seems to have thought that the power of Macedonia might be employed with good effect against Rome. Accordingly he made an expedition against the Illyrian Scerdilædas, an ally of the Romans, in which he met with considerable success. He even meditated an invasion of Italy, and with that view constructed a fleet with which he sailed against Apollonia (216 B.C.); but hearing of the approach of a Roman fleet, he was panic-stricken and returned to Macedonia. In the same year, after the battle of Cannæ, he concluded a treaty with Hannibal, which, among other clauses, provided that the Romans should not be allowed to retain their conquests on the eastern side of the Adriatic. He made no attempt, however, to render Hannibal any assistance, but turned his attention to affairs in Peloponnesus. Here he pursued a most treacherous policy against the Messenians; and when Aratus remonstrated with him respecting his proceedings, he got rid of his former friend and counsellor by means of a slow and secret poison (213 B.C.).

Philopœmen, "the Last of the Greeks."—The Romans now begin to play a prominent part in the affairs of

Greece. As soon as they were freed from immediate danger in the war with Hannibal (211 B.C.), they concluded an alliance with the Ætolians, the Spartans, and the Eleans, all enemies of Philip, whose hostility to Rome had not been forgiven. Philip still had the support of the Achæans, whose spirit was at this time revived by Philopœmen, one of the few noble characters of the period, who has been styled "the last of the Greeks." He was a native of Megalopolis, in Arcadia, and in 208 B.C. was elected strategus of the league. In this post Philopœmen made great alterations and improvements in the arms and discipline of the Achæan forces, which he assimilated to those of the Macedonian phalanx. These reforms, as well as the public spirit with which he had inspired the Achæans, were attended with the most beneficial results. In 207 B.C. Philopœmen gained at Mantinea a signal victory over the Lacedæmonians; 4000 of them are said to have been left upon the field, and among them Machanidas, who had made himself tyrant of Sparta. This decisive battle, combined with the withdrawal of the Romans, who, being desirous of turning their undivided attention towards Carthage, concluded peace with Philip (205 B.C.), secured for a few years the tranquillity of Greece. It also raised the fame of Philopœmen to its highest point; and at the next Nemean festival, being a second time general of the league, he was hailed by the assembled Greeks as the liberator of their country.

War between Philip and the Romans: the Battle of Cynoscephalæ (197 B.C.).— Philip could not long remain quiet. He hated the Romans, but he stood in too great dread of Rome's power to undertake open hos-

tilities against her. He was so short-sighted, however, as to begin an offensive war against the allies of Rome, not considering apparently what the final result must be. His attacks were mainly directed against Pergamum and Rhodes. Thereupon Attalus, king of Pergamum, betook himself to Athens and urged the Athenians to join an alliance with Pergamum, Rhodes, and Rome against Philip (200 B.C.). Rhodian envoys seconded the appeal, while Roman ambassadors were also present. Athens was persuaded to declare war against Philip. But that king's eyes were not yet opened, and he made no attempt to avert the coming conflict. Both Attalus and the Romans sent troops to Greece, and Philip, who had made an attack upon Athens, was forced to retreat. For some time thereafter the war lingered on without any decided success on either side; but in 198 B.C. the consul T. Quinctius Flaminius succeeded in gaining over the Achæan league to the Roman alliance; and as the Ætolians were enemies of Philip, the rival leagues stood for a short time on the same side. In 197 B.C. the struggle was brought to a termination by the battle of Cynoscephalæ, near Scotussa, in Thessaly, which decided the fate of the Macedonian monarchy. Philip was obliged to sue for peace, and a treaty was ratified by which the Macedonians were compelled to renounce their supremacy in Greece, to withdraw their garrisons from the Grecian towns, to surrender all their ships of war except five, and to pay an indemnity of 1000 talents. At the ensuing Isthmian games (196 B.C.) Flaminius solemnly proclaimed through a herald the freedom of those Greeks who had been subject to Philip, which was received by them with overwhelming joy and gratitude.

The Subjugation of the Ætolians (189 B.C.).—The next monarch who tried his strength against the Romans in Greece was Antiochus III., king of Syria. He felt that Rome was encroaching on his rightful possessions in the East, and when the Ætolians, who claimed that they had received too small a share of the Macedonian booty, summoned him to assist them against the Romans, he was ready to grant their request. He passed over into Greece with a wholly inadequate force, and was defeated by the Romans at Thermopylæ (191 B.C.). The Ætolians were now compelled to make head against the Romans by themselves. After some ineffectual attempts at resistance they were reduced to sue for peace, which they at length obtained, on conditions as favorable as they could have hoped for (189 B.C.). They were required to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, to renounce all claim to such cities as had been captured by Rome or had voluntarily embraced her friendship, to pay an indemnity of 500 talents, and to engage in future to aid the Romans in their wars. The power of the Ætolian league was thus forever crushed, though it seems to have existed, in name at least, till a much later period.

Later History of the Achæan League.—The Achæan league still survived, though destined before long to experience the same fate as its rival. At first, indeed, it enjoyed the protection of the Romans, and even acquired an extension of members through their influence, though this protectorate involved a state of virtual dependence upon Rome. Philopœmen also succeeded, in the year 192 B.C., in adding Sparta to the confederacy, and during the war between the Ætolians and the Romans, Elis and Messenia joined the

league, which now embraced the whole of Peloponnesus. But Sparta having displayed symptoms of insubordination, Philopœmen marched against it in 188 B.C. and captured the city, whereupon he put to death eighty of the leading men, razed the walls and fortifications, abolished the institutions of Lycurgus, and compelled the citizens to adopt the democratic constitution of the Achæans. Shortly afterwards the Messenians, under the leadership of Dinocrates, revolted from the league (184 B.C.). Philopœmen, who had now attained the age of seventy, led an expedition against them ; but, having fallen from his horse in a skirmish of cavalry, he was captured, and conveyed with many circumstances of ignominy to Messene, where he was executed. His fate was avenged by Lycortas, the father of the historian Polybius, who succeeded him as general.

The Fall of the Macedonian Empire (168 B.C.).—In 179 B.C. Philip died, and was succeeded by his son Perseus, the last monarch of Macedonia. The latter years of the reign of Philip had been spent in preparations for a renewal of the war, which he foresaw to be inevitable ; yet a period of eight years elapsed after the accession of Perseus before the mutual enmity of the two powers broke out into open hostilities. The war which at length ensued was waged for three years without any decisive result, but was brought to a conclusion in 168 B.C. by the consul L. Æmilius Paullus, who defeated Perseus with great loss near Pydna. Perseus was carried to Rome to adorn the triumph of Paullus, and was permitted to spend the remainder of his life in a sort of honorable captivity at Alba. Such was the end of the Macedonian empire, which was now divided into four dis-

tricts, each under the jurisdiction of its own magistrates.

The Roman commissioners deputed to arrange the affairs of Macedonia did not confine their attention to that province, but evinced their design of reducing all Greece to a state, not indeed of subjection, but of quiet submission to the will of Rome. In these views they were assisted by many adherents of the Roman party in various states of Greece, and especially by Callicrates, a man of great influence among the Achæans, who lent himself as the base tool of the Romans to effect the enslavement of his country. After the fall of Macedonia, Callicrates denounced more than a thousand Achæans, who were charged with having favored the cause of Perseus. These, among whom was Polybius the historian, were apprehended and sent to Rome for trial. Similar measures were taken in Ætolia, Bœotia, Acarnania, and Epirus. The last-named country suffered the hardest fate; in one day no fewer than seventy of its towns were abandoned by Paullus to his soldiers for pillage, and 150,000 persons are said to have been sold into slavery.

The End of Grecian Independence (146 B.C.).—A second quarrel between the Achæans and Sparta afforded the Romans an opportunity for crushing the small remains of Grecian independence.

The Spartans, feeling themselves incompetent to resist the Achæans, appealed to the Romans for assistance; and in 147 B.C. Roman commissioners were sent to Greece to settle the dispute between the two states. These commissioners decided in favor of Sparta, granting to that city the wished-for privilege of withdrawing from the Achæan league. This deci-

sion occasioned serious riots at Corinth, one of the principal cities of the league. All the Spartans in the town were seized, and even the Roman commissioners narrowly escaped violence. On their return to Rome, a fresh embassy was despatched to settle the controversy. But the violent and impolitic conduct of Critolaus, then strategus of the league, rendered all attempts at an adjustment fruitless, and precipitated war between Rome and the Achæans. The cowardice and incompetence of Critolaus as a general were only equalled by his previous insolence. On the approach of the Romans under Metellus from Macedonia he did not even venture to make a stand at Thermopylæ; and being overtaken by them near Scarphea in Locris, he was totally defeated, and never again heard of. Diæus, who succeeded him as strategus, displayed rather more energy and courage. But upon the arrival of the consul L. Mummius, Diæus was overthrown in a battle near Corinth, and that city was immediately evacuated not only by the troops of the league, but also by the greater part of its inhabitants. On entering it Mummius put most of the few males who remained to the sword, sold the women and children as slaves, and, having carried away all its treasures, consigned the city to the flames (146 B.C.). Corinth was filled with masterpieces of ancient art, but Mummius was so insensible to their excellence as to stipulate with those who contracted to convey them to Italy that if any were lost in the passage they should be replaced by others of equal value! Mummius then employed himself in chastising such states as had offered resistance to the Roman arms, while ten commissioners were sent from Rome to settle the future condition of Greece.

Whether it was annexed to the Roman province of Macedonia, or remained nominally free, is a disputed question. At all events, it is clear that Greece was virtually subject to Rome from the time of the fall of Corinth.



POSEIDON
Coin of Macedonia

CHAPTER XXII

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF GREEK LITERATURE FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Principal Types in Poetry and Prose.—The thoughts and feelings of mankind find literary expression either in poetry or in prose. In both poetry and prose we distinguish three principal types: in poetry, the epic, lyric, and dramatic; in prose, the historical, oratorical, and philosophical. All these various types were either created or developed to their highest perfection by the Greeks.

Epic Poetry: the Homeric Iliad and Odyssey.—The literature of Greece begins with the two Homeric poems, the Iliad and the Odyssey. These poems were not, indeed, the first products of Greek literary genius. A literature does not open with finished masterpieces, but rather with short and rude songs. There can be no doubt that such songs were composed and sung by Greek minstrels before the age which created the Iliad, but none of them have been preserved. For us, therefore, the Homeric poems are the oldest monuments of Greek literature.

The Iliad and the Odyssey are epic poems—that is, narrative poems in hexameter verse. The general subject of the Iliad was the exploits of Achilles and of the other Grecian heroes before Ilium, or Troy;

that of the *Odyssey* was the wanderings and adventures of Odysseus after the capture of Troy on his return to his native island. Throughout the flourishing period of Greek literature these works were universally regarded as the productions of a single



IDEAL HEAD OF HOMER

mind; but there was very little agreement respecting the place of the poet's birth, the details of his life, or the times in which he lived. Seven cities laid claim to Homer's birth, and many legends were current regarding his parentage, his blindness, and his life of

an itinerant bard acquainted with poverty and sorrow. It is now generally believed, on the ground of internal evidence, that the Iliad is older than the Odyssey, and consequently that the two poems are not the work of the same creative genius. Further, most scholars agree that neither poem was composed in its entirety by one person. It is held that the Iliad, for example, was planned, and its most essential parts executed, by a single great poet, but that this primitive Iliad was developed to its present form by gradual additions, which are to be ascribed to various bards. So the Odyssey, though probably more largely the work of one poet, received additions of the same sort. Perhaps it may be said that the name of Homer belongs to the author of the original Iliad, if to any one. Opinions differ very widely as to the probable date of the Iliad and the Odyssey. It is reasonable to suppose that both poems were practically complete in their present form as early as the eighth century B.C.; but various authorities place the composition of the original Iliad and the original Odyssey from one to three centuries earlier.

The mode in which these poems were preserved has occasioned great controversy in modern times, and attempts have been made to show that a literary use of writing was impossible to the Greeks at the early period when the Iliad and the Odyssey began to be formed. This thesis is not now regarded as susceptible of proof; but, on the other hand, it is clear that the poems were long known to the Greeks, not through written copies, but through public recitation. The earlier bard sang lays of his own composition at the houses of the great, accompanying himself on the lyre. In the historical age the old bard

was in a manner represented by the public reciter, or "rhapsode." Probably the earlier rhapsodes were sometimes composers of epic, but in general the term was understood to refer to one who recited selections from the poems of others. It is known that the Homeric poems were thus publicly recited in various parts of Greece as early as the sixth century B.C.; probably the custom was considerably older. At Athens, in accordance with a special ordinance, "Homer" was recited at the Great Panathenaic festival, once in every four years. There is a late tradition that Pisistratus, the tyrant of Athens, was the first who collected the "poems of Homer." If this story is to be believed, it may with much probability be understood to mean that Pisistratus and his assistants put together and arranged in their proper order the rhapsodies or cantos which for generations had been recited as detached selections.

Homer was to the Greeks their great national poet. The Homeric poems were studied in the schools and were the familiar possession of every educated man. They were a rich treasury of political maxims, moral teaching, religious ritual, and historical tradition. The Greeks of every state and age appealed to Homer as to an unquestioned authority.

The Trojan Cycle.—The Iliad and the Odyssey were not the only Greek epics which had their origin in the story of Troy. The Iliad describes the events of only a few weeks in the last year of the siege of Troy, while the Odyssey follows the adventures of a single hero after the fall of that city. Consequently many legends of the heroes who fought before Troy were left untouched by the two great poems. Out of this material at least six other epics were con-

structed, which, together with the Iliad and the Odyssey, made up what was called the Trojan cycle. The names and subjects of these later poems are known to us, but only scanty fragments of them have been preserved.

Hesiod.—The Greeks looked upon Hesiod as their second great epic poet. It is mainly in their subject-matter that the works of Hesiod differ from the Homeric poems. The latter deal with an heroic past, with stories of war and adventure; Hesiod is concerned with the soberer realities of life, the daily tasks of the husbandman, and with those moral and religious truths which he deemed an important part of human knowledge. In a word, the poetry of Hesiod moves not in the sphere of imagination, but of fact.

Three works have come down to us bearing the name of Hesiod—the *Works and Days*, the *Theogony*, and the *Shield of Heracles*. The last of these three cannot be regarded as a genuine production of Hesiod. Our knowledge of the poet is derived chiefly from his own works. From these we learn that he was a native of Ascra, a village at the foot of Mount Helicon, to which his father had migrated from the Æolian Cyme in Asia Minor. He further tells us that he gained the prize at Chalcis in a poetical contest, and that he was robbed of a fair share of his heritage by the unrighteous decision of judges who had been bribed by his brother Perses. The latter became afterwards reduced in circumstances, and applied to his brother for relief; and it is to him that Hesiod addresses his didactic poem of the *Works and Days*, in which he lays down various maxims for the regulation of his conduct and his life. It contains an interesting representation of the feelings,

habits, and superstitions of the rural population of Greece in the earlier ages. The *Theogony* treats of the origin of the universe and the gods, and traces the genealogies of gods and heroes. Respecting the date of Hesiod nothing certain can be affirmed. He is placed in the ninth or eighth century B.C.

Elegiac and Iambic Poetry.—Epic poetry in Greece was regularly composed in the Ionic dialect, even if the poet was an Æolian, as Hesiod, or a Dorian, as Theocritus. Ionic was also the recognized dialect for elegiac and iambic poetry, which follow epic in the order of development. Elegiac is the name given to a species of verse in which dactylic hexameters and pentameters succeed one another in alternate lines. Elegiac poetry is eminently serious and reflective, but not passionate. It may deal with a very great variety of subjects. Iambic verse was first used in satirical composition. The fundamental foot, the iambus, consists of a short followed by a long syllable, and the most usual form in which the verse appears is a line of six iambic feet, or three iambic measures (iambic trimeter). The early elegiac and iambic poets belonged to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Prominent among them were Tyrtaeus, Archilochus, Solon, and Theognis.

Tyrtaeus.—The traditional history of Tyrtaeus and his warlike songs, which roused the fainting courage of the Spartans in the second Messenian war, have already been referred to. His works were for the most part in elegiac verse, though he also composed marching-songs in an anapæstic meter (— — —).

Archilochus.—Archilochus was a native of the island of Paros, and flourished during the seventh century B.C. He composed songs of war and of mourning in

elegiac verse ; but his fame rests chiefly on his terrible satires, written in the iambic meter, in which he gave vent to the bitterness of a disappointed man.

Solon.—Solon, the law-giver of Athens, employed elegiac poetry as a means of moral teaching, and especially of political persuasion. It was by his inspiring verses that he roused the Athenians to attempt the conquest of Megara (600 B.C.). In his later years he reviews and defends in elegiac and iambic verse the reforms he had wrought.

Theognis.—Theognis was the most famous of the elegiac poets, as was Archilochus among the writers of iambic verse. He was a Dorian noble of Megara, and lived at a time (about 540 B.C.) when the common people were endeavoring to assert themselves against the aristocracy. He was, in fact, driven from his native country by a democratic revolution. Bitterly hostile to the rule of the many and despising the rude peasants and shepherds who would overthrow the nobility, Theognis makes his poems a vehicle for the expression of his political views. They also contain many wise maxims and bits of practical philosophy. About 1400 lines of Theognis have come down to us, while only scattered fragments are preserved of the works of Tyrtaeus, Archilochus, and Solon.

Lyric Poetry.—Elegiac and iambic poetry may be regarded as marking an intermediate stage between epic and lyric, partaking in some measure of the characteristics of both ; and the rise of lyric poetry in Greece follows closely upon that of elegiac and iambic composition. Lyric poetry is poetry that may be sung to music ; with the Greeks the musical accompaniment was never wanting. Greek lyric

poetry belongs to the Æolic and Doric dialects, as epic belongs to the Ionic. Choral lyric poetry, which found its expression in solemn hymns to the gods and in the songs that dignified public festivals, was the creation of the Dorians ; on the other hand, the passionate song of love or war was Æolian. Greek lyric poetry, with the exception of that of Pindar, has almost entirely perished, and all that we possess of it consists of a few songs and isolated fragments.

Alcæus and Sappho.—Alcæus and Sappho were both natives of Mytilene, in the Æolian island of Lesbos, and flourished about 610–580 B.C. Their songs, which were composed for a single voice, are the most melodious creations of Greek literature. They are the warm outpouring of the writers' inmost feelings, and present the lyric poetry of the Æolians at its highest point.

Alcæus took an active part in the civil dissensions of his native state, and warmly espoused the cause of the aristocratic party, to which he belonged by birth. He lived for a time in exile, but spent the latter days of his life in Lesbos. He wrote hymns to the gods, songs of war and love, and drinking-songs.

Of the events of Sappho's life we have scarcely any information ; and the common story that, being in love with Phaon, and finding her love unrequited, she leaped down from the Leucadian rock, seems to have been an invention of later times. Two lines of Alcæus which are preserved to us are addressed to Sappho, and connect closely the names of the two great singers of Lesbos. Sappho's poems are incomparable in their melody and in their tenderness and depth of feeling.

Anacreon.—Anacreon was a native of the Ionian city of Teos. He spent part of his life at Samos under the patronage of Polycrates; and after the death of that tyrant he went to Athens at the invitation of Hipparchus. The odes of Anacreon celebrate in graceful verse the sensuous joys of life—love, song, and wine. The poet himself, in youth and old age, loved the pleasures of which he sang.

Alcman.—Alcman was the first to develop the choral lyric song, which, as we have seen, belonged especially to the Dorians. He was a native of Sardis in Lydia, and is said to have been brought to Sparta as a slave. He was afterwards emancipated, but continued to live in Sparta, and chose the Dorian dialect of Laconia for his poems. His works include hymns, pæans, songs of love, and especially processional and choral songs. He lived in the seventh century B.C.

Arion.—Arion was a native of Methymna in Lesbos, though as a lyric poet he belongs to the Dorian school. He lived some time at the court of Periander, tyrant of Corinth, who began to reign in 625 B.C. Nothing is known of his life beyond the beautiful story of his escape from the sailors with whom he sailed from Tarentum to Corinth. On one occasion, as Herodotus tells the story, Arion went to Sicily and Italy to take part in musical contests. Crowned with success and laden with prizes, he embarked in a Corinthian ship to return to his friend Periander. The rude sailors coveted his treasure, and meditated his murder. After imploring them in vain to spare his life, he obtained permission to play for the last time on his beloved lyre. In festal attire, he placed himself on the deck of the vessel, sang a solemn hymn, and then threw himself into the sea. But a

song-loving dolphin took the bard on its back and carried him to Tænarum, whence he returned to Corinth in safety, and related his adventure to Periander. Upon the arrival of the Corinthian vessel, Periander inquired of the sailors after Arion. They replied that he had remained behind at Tarentum; but when Arion came forward, the sailors could but own their guilt. The great improvement in lyric poetry ascribed to Arion is the invention of the dithyramb. This was a choral song and dance in honor of the god Dionysus, and is of great interest in the history of poetry, since it was the germ from which sprang at a later time the magnificent productions of the tragic muse at Athens.

Simonides.—Simonides, of the island of Ceos, was born in 556 B.C., and reached a great age. He lived many years at Athens, both at the court of Hipparchus, together with Anacreon, and subsequently under the democracy during the Persian wars. The struggles of Greece for her independence furnished him with a noble subject for his muse. He carried away the prize from Æschylus with an elegy upon the warriors who had fallen at the battle of Marathon. Subsequently we find him celebrating the heroes of Thermopylæ, Artemisium, Salamis, and Platæa. He was eighty years old when his long poetical career at Athens was closed by the victory which he gained with the dithyrambic chorus in 476 B.C., making the fifty-sixth prize that he had carried off. Shortly after this event he went to Syracuse, at the invitation of Hieron. Here he probably spent the remaining years of his life. He is best known by his elegiac and dithyrambic poems and by his dirges.

Pindar.—Pindar, the greatest of Greek lyric poets,

was a contemporary of Simonides, but considerably younger. He was born in the neighborhood of Thebes in Bœotia, about the year 522 B.C. Many poetic stories gathered about the life of Pindar. Thus it is related that bees distilled honey upon his lips while as a boy he lay asleep upon Mount Helicon. His talent, however, was not all inspiration, for we know the names of several teachers under whom he studied music and the details of the art of the lyric poet. He began his professional career at an early age, and soon acquired so great a reputation that he was employed by various states and princes of the Hellenic race to compose choral songs. He was courted especially by the Sicilian princes, Hieron of Syracuse and Theron of Agrigentum. The estimation in which Pindar was held is also shown by the honors conferred upon him by the free states of Greece. Although a Theban, he was always a great favorite with the Athenians. On one occasion, when he had bestowed a distinguished tribute of praise upon their city, the Athenians testified their gratitude by making him their public guest, and by giving him 10,000 drachmas. That Pindar's fame lived after his death is proved by the well-known story that Alexander the Great spared the house of the poet when he destroyed the rest of Thebes. The only poems of Pindar which have come down to us entire are his *Epinicia*, or triumphal odes, composed in commemoration of victories gained in the great public games. But these were only a portion of his works. He also wrote hymns, pæans, dithyrambs, odes for processions, choral songs for maidens, choral dancing-songs, drinking-songs, dirges, and encomia or laudatory odes.

Dramatic Poetry.—We come now to the third great type of poetry, the dramatic. Dramatic poetry came into existence after epic and lyric, in obedience to a natural law of development ; for Greek drama combined in a complex and artistic form the elements of both epic and lyric poetry.

The Origin of Tragedy and Comedy : the Satyr-Play.—The drama pre-eminently distinguished Athenian literature. But, though it was brought to perfection among the Athenians, the first rude performances in which we find the origin of drama were Dorian. The drama arose out of the worship of Dionysus. This worship had both a serious and a sportive side. On the one hand, Dionysus was the god of wine and good cheer. When the vintage season was past, the feast which was celebrated in honor of the god was a scene of jest and merry-making. On the other hand, the Greek legends pictured Dionysus as a god who had known sorrow. They described his wanderings over the earth, his adventures, and his sufferings ; and on the day sacred to the god the gathered crowd listened to a choral song which portrayed what Dionysus had achieved and endured. Here, then, we have the origin of both tragedy and comedy. Tragedy (*τραγῳδία*) means strictly the hymn sung by a chorus clad in goat-skins. By this disguise the chorus sought to liken themselves to the legendary attendants of Dionysus, the satyrs, and so to bring themselves closer to the god. On the other hand, comedy (*κωμῳδία*) is the song of the festal procession in honor of Dionysus.

The sacred hymn to Dionysus was not drama, but rather a devotional service in which all the assembled worshippers probably took part. As the song became more artistic and the dance which accompanied it

more complicated, both came naturally to be executed by a few who were especially skilful and who were trained for the occasion. Hence arose the *dithyramb* and the dithyrambic chorus. Arion, to whom, as we have seen, the invention of the dithyramb was ascribed, probably did nothing more than to give it a more perfect artistic form. The dithyrambic chorus regularly consisted of fifty persons. As distinguished from the later chorus of tragedy, it is called a cyclic chorus, because its members grouped themselves in a circle about the altar of Dionysus. The leader of the chorus related episodes from the life of Dionysus, and the chorus gave expression to the feelings which the recital aroused in them. It will be readily seen that it is but a short step from a performance of this kind to actual drama; and, in fact, the ancient philosopher and critic Aristotle finds the origin of tragedy in the dithyramb.

We do not know certainly at what time and by whom the important step was taken which led to tragedy. The ancients, however, ascribed the credit of this innovation to Thespis, who is therefore known as the founder of tragedy. Thespis was a native of the Attic village of Icaria, and is said to have presented his first tragedy in the year 536 B.C. We may reasonably suppose that the change which he introduced consisted in separating the chorus-leader entirely from the chorus, and making him impersonate some character. For in *impersonation* lies the essence of drama, and in the impersonator we have the first real *actor*. The tragedies of Thespis still consisted, for the most part, of choral songs, but these were now interspersed with dialogue between the single actor and a newly appointed chorus-leader.

Comedy is said to have been brought to Attica in the early part of the sixth century B.C. by Susarion of Megara. We have already found its origin in the merry-making of the Dionysiac festival, where rude banter and practical joking played an important part. It seems to have been at Syracuse that comedy first received an artistic form. Probably no performances which deserve the name of comedy took place in Athens until after the Persian wars. Then comedy assumed a place beside its elder sister, tragedy. Along with tragedy and comedy there existed at Athens a third species of drama, the so-called satyr-play, which derived its name from the fact that the persons who made up the chorus were disguised as satyrs. The satyr-play may be regarded as a concession to the spirit of the early Dionysiac celebrations. We have seen that the original Dionysiac chorus represented these attendants of the god; when, however, tragedy became more refined and more fully developed, the grotesque garb of the satyr-chorus was discarded. But the older and ruder choral celebration was perpetuated in the satyr-play, which now took on an artistic form of its own. It may be defined as a burlesque of tragedy—that is, a species of play in which the ordinary subjects of tragedy were treated in a lively and farcical manner.

Differences between Ancient and Modern Tragedy.—Before taking up the further history of Greek drama, we have to consider some important external differences between ancient and modern tragedy. First, the subjects of Greek tragedy were taken, with few exceptions, from the national mythology. Tragedy never entirely lost its original character as a religious ceremonial, although at an early period it began to

deal with other myths besides those about Dionysus. Since the tragic poets derived their materials from such a source, the plot and story represented were in almost all cases known to the spectators, a circumstance which strongly distinguishes the ancient tragedy from the modern. Second, the part played by the chorus is a distinctive feature of Greek tragedy. Poetry, music, and dancing were more thoroughly kindred arts to the Greeks than to us; and so, besides the added epic element of the dialogue, Greek tragedy still retained the lyric element in its choral odes. Third, it early became customary to exhibit dramas in tetralogies, or sets of four—namely, a tragic trilogy, or series of three tragedies, followed by a satyr-play. These tragedies were originally on connected subjects; and the satyr-play at the end served as a merry after-piece to relieve the minds of the spectators. Fourth, tragedies were not presented every day, but only at certain fixed intervals, at the festivals of Dionysus, of which they formed one of the greatest attractions. During the whole day the Athenian public sat in the theatre witnessing tragedy after tragedy; and a prize was awarded, by judges appointed for the purpose, to the poet who produced the best set of dramas.

The internal differences of literary form and content, which are no less important than the external, can only be appreciated by a study of the dramas themselves.

Early Athenian Dramatists.—We return at length to Thespis, the reputed founder of Greek tragedy. He was followed by Chœrilus, Phrynichus, and Pratinas, all of whom lived in the latter part of the sixth and the early part of the fifth century B.C. Of these

three Phrynichus seems to have been the most famous. Pratinas, a Dorian of Phlius, who lived, however, at Athens, is best known as the poet who developed in a high degree the satyr-play.

Æschylus.—All these early tragedians are far out-ranked by Æschylus, who, from the great improvements which he introduced in tragedy, was regarded by the Athenians as its father or founder. Æschylus



ÆSCHYLUS

was born at Eleusis in Attica in 525 B.C., and was thus contemporary with Simonides and Pindar. He fought at the battle of Marathon, and also at that of Salamis and of Plataea. In 485 B.C. he gained his first tragic prize. In 468 B.C. he was defeated in a tragic contest by his younger rival, Sophocles. He died at Gela, in Sicily, in 456 B.C., in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

Tradition relates that an eagle, mistaking the poet's bald head for a stone, let a tortoise fall upon it in order to break the shell, thus fulfilling an oracle which predicted that he was to die by a blow from heaven. The improvements introduced into tragedy by Æschylus concerned both its form and composition, and its manner of representation. In the former his principal innovation was the introduction of a second actor; whence

arose the dialogue, properly so called, and the limitation of the choral parts, which now became subsidiary. He seems also to have been the first to employ a temporary structure to represent the scene of the action. He furnished the actors with more appropriate and more magnificent dresses, invented for them more various and expressive masks, and raised their stature by providing them with thick-soled cothurni, or buskins. Æschylus excels in representing the superhuman, in depicting demigods and heroes, and in tracing the irresistible march of fate. His style resembles the ideas which it clothes; it is bold, sublime, and full of gorgeous imagery, but sometimes borders on the turgid. Seven of his tragedies are preserved.

Sophocles.—Sophocles, the younger rival and immediate successor of Æschylus in the tragic art, was born at Colonus, a village rather more than a mile from Athens, about 496 B.C. We have already referred to his wresting the tragic prize from Æschylus in 468 B.C., from which time he seems to have retained the almost undisputed possession of the Athenian stage, until a young but formidable rival arose in the person of Euripides. There is a story that the close of his life was troubled with family dissensions. Iophon, his son by an Athenian wife, and therefore his legitimate heir, was jealous of the affection manifested by his father for his grandson Sophocles, the offspring of another son, Ariston, whom he had had by a Sicyonian woman. Fearing lest his father should bestow a great part of his property upon his favorite, Iophon summoned him before the *phratores*, or clansmen, on the ground that his mind was affected. The old man's only reply was, "If I am Sophocles, I am not beside myself; and if I am beside myself, I am

not Sophocles." Then taking up his *Œdipus at Colonus*, which he was then engaged in composing, but had not yet brought out, he read from it a beautiful passage, with which the judges were so struck that they at once dismissed the case. He died shortly afterwards, in 406 B.C., at the age of ninety. As a poet Sophocles is universally allowed to have brought the drama to the greatest perfection of which it is susceptible. His plays stand in the just medium between the sublime but unregulated flights of Æschylus and the too familiar scenes and rhetorical declamations of Euripides. His plots are worked up with more skill and care than the plots of either of his great rivals. Sophocles added the last improvement to the form of the drama by the introduction of a third actor—a change which greatly enlarged the scope of the action. The improvement was so obvious that it was adopted by Æschylus in his later plays; but the number of three actors seems to have been exceeded in only a very few cases. Sophocles wrote upwards of one hundred plays, but only seven of them are now extant.

Euripides.—Euripides was born in 480 B.C., sixteen years after Sophocles. He studied the philosophy and rhetoric of Anaxagoras, Protagoras, and Prodicus, and he was also a friend of Socrates. In 441 B.C. he gained his first prize, and he continued to exhibit plays until 408 B.C., the date of his *Orestes*. He is said to have been the author of ninety-two dramas, of which nineteen—one of them a satyr-play—have come down to us. He spent the last years of his life at the Macedonian court, whither he had gone at the invitation of king Archelaus. It was here that he died at the age of seventy-four (406 B.C.). Common re-

port relates that he was torn to pieces by the king's dogs. In treating his characters and subjects Euripides often arbitrarily departed from the received legends, and diminished the dignity of tragedy by depriving it of its ideal character and by bringing it down to the level of everyday life. His dialogue was garrulous and colloquial, wanting in heroic dignity, and frequently frigid through misplaced philosophical disquisitions. Yet in spite of all these faults Euripides has many beauties, and is particularly remarkable for pathos, so that Aristotle calls him "the most tragic of poets."



EURIPIDES

The Old, Middle, and New Comedy: Aristophanes and Menander.—Comedy received its full development at Athens from Cratinus, who lived in the age of Pericles. Cratinus and his younger contemporaries, Eupolis and Aristophanes, were the three great poets of what is called the Old Attic Comedy. The comedies of Cratinus and Eupolis are lost; but of Aris-

tophanes, who was the greatest of the three, we have eleven dramas extant. Aristophanes was born about 450 B.C. Of his life we know almost nothing. He exhibited his first comedy in 427 B.C., and from that time till near his death, which probably happened about 385 B.C., he was a frequent and most successful contributor to the Attic stage.

The function of Old Comedy at Athens has been compared to that of the Censors at Rome. Many of the comedians, especially Aristophanes, seem to have sought with all honesty to advance the weal of Athens by attacking current abuses and the incapable, often corrupt, demagogues who exerted so baneful an influence over the Athenians. But they were no respecters of persons. Public characters were introduced upon the stage under their real names, and Pericles and Socrates were held up to ridicule as well as Cleon; while to attain its ends, old comedy not only employed bitter satire and the boldest caricature, but directed against individual citizens the most unsparing abuse. Towards the end of the career of Aristophanes the unrestricted license and libellous personality of comedy began gradually to be suppressed. This was a blow at the very life of old comedy. On the other hand, the disastrous result of the Peloponnesian war had left the Athenians too poor to undertake willingly the expense of equipping and training choruses; so the choral element finally disappears. These two important changes prepared the way for Middle Comedy, which was characterized by veiled attacks, and those rather upon classes and pursuits than upon individuals, and by a fondness for parody. Middle comedy was, in fact, only a connecting link between the old comedy and the new,

or the comedy of manners. The New Comedy arose after Athens had become subject to the Macedonians. Politics were now excluded from the stage, and the materials of the dramatic poet were derived entirely from the fictitious adventures of persons in private life. The two most distinguished writers of this school were Philemon and Menander. Philemon was probably born about the year 360 B.C., and was either a Cilician or Syracusan, but came at an early age to Athens. He is considered as the founder of the new comedy, which was soon afterwards brought to perfection by his younger contemporary Menander. The latter was an Athenian, who was born in 342 B.C. and lived to be fifty-one years old. He wrote upwards of one hundred comedies, of which only fragments remain; and the unanimous praise of posterity awakens our regret for the loss of one of the most elegant writers of antiquity. The comedies, indeed, of Plautus and Terence may give us a general notion of the new comedy of the Greeks, from which they were confessedly drawn; but there is reason to suppose that the works even of the latter Roman writer fell far short of the wit and elegance of Menander.

History: Herodotus.—We turn now to prose literature, to history, oratory, and philosophy. The Greeks had reached a high stage of civilization before they can be said to have possessed a history. The first essays in literary prose cannot be placed earlier than the sixth century B.C.; but the first writer who deserves the name of an historian is Herodotus, hence called the Father of History. Herodotus was born in the Dorian colony of Halicarnassus in Caria, about the year 484 B.C., and accordingly about the time of the Persian expeditions against Greece. He resided some

years in Samos, and also undertook extensive travels, of which he speaks in his work. There was scarcely a town in Greece or on the coasts of Asia Minor with which he was not acquainted ; he had explored Thrace and the coasts of the Black Sea ; in Egypt he had penetrated as far south as Elephantine ; and in Asia he had visited the cities of Babylon, Ecbatana, and Susa. The latter part of his life was spent at Thurii, a colony in Italy founded by the Athenians in 445 B.C. According to a well-known story in Lucian, Herodotus, when he had completed his work, recited it publicly at the great Olympic festival, as the best means of procuring for it that celebrity to which he felt that it was entitled. The effect is described as immediate and complete. The delighted audience at once assigned the names of the nine Muses to the nine books into which the history is divided. A still later author (Suidas) adds that Thucydides, then a boy, was present at the festival with his father, Olorus, and was so affected by the recital as to shed tears ; upon which Herodotus congratulated Olorus on having a son who possessed so early such a zeal for knowledge. But there are many objections to the probability of these tales.

Herodotus interwove into his history all the varied and extensive knowledge acquired in his travels and by his own personal researches. But the real subject of the work is the conflict between the Greek race, in the widest sense of the term and including the Greeks of Asia Minor, with the Asiatics. Thus the historian had a vast epic subject presented to him, which was brought to a natural and glorious termination by the defeat of the Persians in their attempts upon Greece. The work concludes with the reduc-

tion of Sestus by the Athenians in 478 B.C. Herodotus wrote in the Ionic dialect, and his style is marked by an ease and simplicity which lend it an indescribable charm.

Thucydides.—Thucydides, the greatest of the Greek historians, was an Athenian, and was probably born about the year 455 B.C. His family was connected with that of Miltiades and Cimon. He possessed gold-mines in Thrace, and enjoyed great influence in that country. He commanded an Athenian squadron of seven ships at Thasos, in 424 B.C., at the time when Brasidas was besieging Amphipolis; and having failed to relieve that city in time, he was sentenced to banishment. He spent twenty years in exile, principally in places under the dominion or influence of Sparta. He probably returned to Athens in 403 B.C., the date of its liberation by Thrasylulus. According to the unanimous testimony of antiquity, he met with a violent end, and it seems probable that he was assassinated in Thrace. His ashes were brought to Athens for burial.

From the beginning of the Peloponnesian war Thucydides had intended to write its history, and he employed himself in collecting materials for that purpose during the continuance of the struggle. It is not certain, however, that any part of his work was actually composed until after the close of the war, though some authorities believe that the earlier books were written during the period immediately following the Peace of Nicias. Thucydides was, no doubt, engaged upon the history at the time of his death. The first of the eight books into which the work is divided is introductory, dealing with the earliest history of Greece, the growth of the Athenian empire

after the Persian wars, and the causes of the Peloponnesian war. The remaining seven books are filled with the details of the war, related according to the division into summers and winters, into which all campaigns naturally fall; and the work breaks off abruptly in the middle of the twenty-first year of the war (411 B.C.). The materials of Thucydides were collected with the most scrupulous care; the events are related with the strictest impartiality; underlying causes and motives are carefully sought out; and the work probably offers a more exact account of a long and eventful period than any other history, whether ancient or modern, of an equally long and important era. The style of Thucydides is brief and sententious, and, whether in moral or political reasoning or in description, gains wonderful force from its condensation. But this characteristic is sometimes carried to a faulty extent, so as to render his style harsh and his meaning obscure.

Xenophon.—Xenophon, the son of Gryllus, was also an Athenian, and was probably born not long before 430 B.C. He was a disciple of Socrates, by whose teachings his whole life was influenced. His accompanying Cyrus the younger in his expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, king of Persia, formed a striking episode in his life, and has been recorded by himself in his *Anabasis*. He was still in Asia at the time of the death of Socrates in 399 B.C., and was probably banished from Athens soon after that period, in consequence of his close connection with the Lacedæmonians. He accompanied Agesilaus, the Spartan king, on the return of the latter from Asia to Greece; and he fought along with the Lacedæmonians against his own countrymen at the battle of Coronea in 394

B.C. After this battle he went with Agesilaus to Sparta, and soon afterwards settled at Scillus in Elis, near Olympia. He was nearly eighty years old at the time of his death.

Probably all the works of Xenophon are still extant. The *Anabasis* is the work on which his fame as an historian chiefly rests. It is written in a simple and agreeable style, and displays much descriptive and dramatic power. The *Hellenica* is a continuation of the history of Thucydides, and comprehends in seven books a space of about forty-nine years—namely, from the time when Thucydides breaks off, 411 B.C., to the battle of Mantinea in 362 B.C. The subject is treated in a very dry and uninteresting style; and the historian's evident partiality to Sparta and dislike of Athens have frequently warped his judgment, and led him to exaggerate or to suppress important facts. Nevertheless, the *Hellenica* is valuable as our best historical authority for the period which it covers. The *Cyropædia*, one of the most pleasing and popular of his works, professes to be a history of Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy, but is, in reality, a kind of political romance, and possesses no authority whatever as an historical work. The design of the author seems to have been to draw a picture of a perfect state; and though the scene is laid in Persia, the materials of the work are derived from his own philosophical notions and the usages of Sparta, engrafted on the popularly current stories respecting Cyrus. Xenophon displays in this work his dislike of democratic institutions like those of Athens, and his preference for an aristocracy, or even a monarchy. Xenophon was also the author of several minor works; but the only other treatise which we

need mention is the *Memorabilia of Socrates*, in four books, which was intended as a defence of his master against the charges which occasioned his death, and undoubtedly contains a genuine picture of Socrates, and of his philosophy so far as Xenophon was able to comprehend it. The genius of Xenophon was not of the highest order; it was practical rather than speculative; but he is distinguished for his good sense, his moderate views, his humane temper, and his earnest piety.

The Ten Attic Orators.—The latter days of literary Athens were chiefly distinguished for the genius of her orators and philosophers. Ten of the Attic orators were classed together by later Greek critics, and recognized as the most distinguished masters of their art. Their names were Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias, Isocrates, Isæus, Æschines, Demosthenes, Hyperides, Lycurgus, and Dinarchus.

Antiphon, the earliest of the ten, was born in 480 B.C. He opened a school of oratory, and won distinction as a pleader. He was put to death in 411 B.C. for the part which he took in establishing the oligarchy of the Four Hundred.

Andocides, who was concerned in the celebrated affair of the Hermæ, was born at Athens about 440 B.C., and probably died in exile. His speeches are characterized by natural and vivid narrative rather than by artistic execution.

Lysias was born at Athens about 450 B.C., but was the son of a Syracusan and never enjoyed the full rights of Athenian citizenship. He was an advocate who wrote pleas for his clients to deliver in the law-courts. Lysias is a type of the simple, unadorned style in oratory, and his speeches show great naturalness and purity of diction.

Isocrates was born in 436 B.C. After receiving the instructions of some of the most celebrated sophists of the day, he became a speech-writer and a professor of oratory, the weakness of his voice and his natural timidity preventing him from taking a part in public life. He is said to have made away with himself in 338 B.C., after the fatal battle of Chæronea, in despair of his country's fate. He took great pains with his compositions, and is reported to have spent ten years over his Panegyric oration. His style is well represented in Latin by that of Cicero.

Isæus flourished between the end of the Peloponnesian war and the accession of Philip of Macedon. He was a teacher of oratory at Athens, and is said to have numbered Demosthenes among his pupils. The orations of Isæus were exclusively judicial, and all of the eleven which have come down to us turn on the subject of inheritances.

Æschines was born in the year 389 B.C., and first became known as a public speaker in the year of the capture of Olynthus by Philip of Macedon (348 B.C.). At that time he was a pronounced anti-Macedonian; but after his embassy along with Demosthenes and others to Philip's court, he was the constant advocate of peace. Demosthenes and Æschines now became the leading speakers on their respective sides, and the heat of political animosity soon degenerated into personal hatred. In 343 B.C. Demosthenes brought a charge against Æschines of unfaithfulness to his duties as an ambassador on the occasion above mentioned; and the speech in which he brought forward this accusation was answered in another by Æschines. Æschines was acquitted, but by a majority of only thirty votes. We have already referred to his im-



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peachment of Ctesiphon, and the celebrated reply of Demosthenes in his speech *On the Crown* (330 B.C.). In exile, Æschines is said to have employed himself in teaching rhetoric at Rhodes. He died in 314 B.C.

Of the life of his great rival, Demosthenes, we have already given some account. Demosthenes was unquestionably the greatest orator of antiquity. The principal element of his success must be traced in his purity of purpose, which gave to his arguments all the force of conscientious conviction. The effect of his speeches was still further heightened by a wonderful and almost mag-

ic force of diction, and by a masterly strength and

earnestness in delivery. That his power was recognized by his rival is shown by a well-known anecdote. It is said that Æschines once read to the Rhodians his speech against Ctesiphon. His audience having expressed their surprise that he should have been defeated after such an oration, he remarked: "You would cease to wonder if you had heard Demosthenes."

The remaining three Attic orators, viz., Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Dinarchus, were contemporaries of Demosthenes. Lycurgus and Hyperides both belonged to the anti-Macedonian party, and were warm supporters of the policy of Demosthenes. Dinarchus, who is the least important of the Attic orators, survived Demosthenes, and was a friend of Demetrius of Phalerum.

The Ionic School of Philosophy.—The history of Greek philosophy, like that of Greek history, began in Asia Minor. The earliest philosopher of distinction was Thales of Miletus, who was born about 640 B.C., and died at the age of ninety. He was the founder of the Ionic school of philosophy, and to him were traced the first beginnings of physical science. The main doctrine of his philosophical system was that water, or fluid substance, was the single original element from which everything came. Anaximander, the successor of Thales in the Ionic school, lived from about 610 to 545 B.C. He was distinguished for his knowledge of astronomy and geography, and is said to have been the first to introduce the use of the sun-dial into Greece. Anaximenes, the third in the series of Ionian philosophers, lived somewhat later than Anaximander. He endeavored, like Thales, to derive the origin of all material things from a single

element ; and, according to his theory, air was the source of all life.

Heraclitus of Ephesus, who was a little younger than Anaximenes, has been generally classed with the Ionian philosophers, though his doctrines cannot be regarded as closely allied with theirs. He held that all matter was in continuous, restless motion ; that nothing really existed, but that all things were in a state of "becoming"—*i.e.*, passing from one form of existence to another.

The Eleatic School.—A second school of Greek philosophy was the Eleatic, which derived its name from Elea or Velia, a Greek colony on the western coast of southern Italy. It was founded by Xenophanes of Colophon, who had fled to Elea after the conquest of his native land by the Persians. He conceived the whole of nature to be God. Parmenides, the principal representative of the Eleatic school, was born at Elea about 515 B.C. Following Xenophanes, he maintained, in direct opposition to Heraclitus, that being is eternal and unchangeable ; that everything which exists has existed, and will remain the same forever.

Anaxagoras.—Anaxagoras has been described as one of those who sought to reconcile the teachings of Heraclitus with those of the Eleatic school. Anaxagoras was himself an Ionian, born at Clazomenæ in the year 500 B.C. He came to Athens about 462 B.C., where he continued to teach for thirty years, numbering among his hearers Pericles, Thucydides, and Euripides. He abandoned the system of his Ionian predecessors, and, instead of regarding some elementary form of matter as the origin of all things, he held that a supreme mind or intelligence, distinct from the visible world, had imparted form and order

to the chaos of nature. These beliefs afforded the Athenians a pretext for indicting Anaxagoras on the charge of impiety, though it is not improbable that his connection with Pericles was the real cause of that proceeding. The philosopher was obliged to quit Athens, and retired to Lampsacus, where he died at the age of seventy-two.

The Atomists.—The Atomists also may be said to occupy a position midway between Heraclitus and the Eleatics. Leucippus, the founder of this school, and Democritus, its chief representative, adopted the Eleatic theory of the immutability of matter, while, on the other hand, they so far followed Heraclitus as to believe that all matter is in a state of constant movement. They maintained the existence of an infinite number of original elements, or atoms, by the combinations of which all things are produced.

The Pythagoreans.—Still another important school of philosophy was the Pythagorean, founded by Pythagoras. He was a native of Samos, and was born about 575 B.C. He is said to have been taught by Thales and Anaximander, and to have travelled extensively in Greece and Egypt. He believed in the transmigration of souls; and later writers inform us that Pythagoras asserted that his own soul had formerly dwelt in the body of the Trojan Euphorbus, the son of Panthous, who was slain by Menelaus, and that in proof of his assertion he took down, at first sight, the shield of Euphorbus from the temple of Hera at Argos, where it had been dedicated by Menelaus. Pythagoras was a religious teacher as well as a philosopher; and he looked upon himself as a being destined by the gods to reveal to his disciples a new

and a purer mode of life. He founded at Croton, in Italy, a kind of religious brotherhood, the members of which were bound together by peculiar rites and observances. This brotherhood soon widened, and acquired great influence in other cities of Magna Græcia. The Pythagoreans were distinguished for their knowledge of geometry, arithmetic, and astronomy; and they regarded number as the basis and essence of all things.

Socrates and Plato: the Academy.—At Athens a new direction was given to the study of philosophy by Socrates, whose life and teachings have already been described. It was Socrates who first realized that the proper subject of philosophy is not nature, but man, and it is with Socrates that psychological and ethical study begins. His great disciple, Plato, was born at Athens about 427 B.C. Plato's first literary attempts were in poetry; but his attention was soon turned to philosophy by the teaching of Socrates, whose follower he became at about the age of twenty. From that time till the death of Socrates he appears to have lived in the closest intimacy with that philosopher. After the death of his master, Plato withdrew to Megara, and subsequently undertook extensive travels, in the course of which he visited Cyrene, Egypt, Sicily, and Magna Græcia. His intercourse with the elder and the younger Dionysius at Syracuse has been already described. His absence from Athens lasted about twelve years; on his return, being then about forty, he began to teach in the gymnasium of the Academy. Here he gathered around him a circle of devoted admirers and disciples. It is said that over the door of his lecture-room was inscribed, "Let no one enter who

is ignorant of geometry." The most distinguished of his auditors were Speusippus, his nephew and successor, and Aristotle. He died in 347 B.C.

Plato has been well called "*deus philosophorum.*" Developing the philosophy of Socrates, he clothes his teachings in the form of dialogues, in which Socrates is chief spokesman. Plato sought to gain a clearer conception of the great ideals, which are represented in the visible world only by imperfect copies—above all, a clearer conception of the Ideal Good. It was education, he thought, that must quicken man's love for the ideal forms of goodness and truth, and lead to that harmonious union of all the virtues which makes perfection. Aside from their philosophical value, Plato's works are universally admired as masterpieces of style. The school of philosophy which he founded, and which bore the name of the Academy, continued to exist for many centuries.

Aristotle: the Peripatetic School.—Aristotle was born in 384 B.C. at Stagirus, a town of Chalcidice, whence he is frequently called "the Stagirite." At the age of seventeen, Aristotle, who had then lost his father, came to Athens. Plato considered him his best scholar, and called him "the intellect of the school." Aristotle remained in Athens until the death of Plato, in 347 B.C. Four or five years later he accepted the invitation of Philip of Macedon to undertake the instruction of his son Alexander. In 335 B.C., after Alexander had ascended the throne, Aristotle quitted Macedonia, to which he never returned. He again took up his abode at Athens, where he began teaching in the gymnasium called the Lyceum. From the shady walks (*peripatoi*) of this place his school

was called the Peripatetic. He is said to have lectured in the morning only to a select class of pupils; these lectures were termed *esoteric*. His afternoon discourses were delivered to a wider circle, and were therefore called *exoteric*. It was during the twelve



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years in which he presided over the Lyceum that he composed the series of great works which have come down to us. The latter part of Aristotle's life was unfortunate. After the death of Alexander the disturbances which ensued in Greece proved unfavorable to his peace and security. He left Athens and retired to Chalcis, where he died in 322 B.C.

Of all the great thinkers of antiquity, Aristotle may be said

to have done the most to satisfy the practical needs of mankind. His teachings were founded on a close and accurate observation of human nature and of the external world; but, while he sought the practical and useful, he did not neglect the beautiful and noble. His works consisted of treatises in natural, moral, and political philosophy, logic, rhetoric, criticism, etc.; indeed, there was scarcely a branch of knowledge which his vast and comprehensive genius did not embrace.

The Stoics and the Epicureans: Zeno and Epicurus.—

The Academic and Peripatetic schools of philosophy, founded respectively by Plato and Aristotle, enjoyed the foremost distinction down to the beginning of the third century B.C. Then two new schools came into existence and gained strength rapidly. These were the Stoic and the Epicurean.

Zeno, the founder of the Stoic school, was a native of Citium, in the island of Cyprus. He settled at Athens and, in the last decade of the fourth century B.C., opened a school in the Pœcile Stoa, or painted hall, whence the name of his sect. The moral standard of the Stoics was a very high one. They held that the end of philosophy was the attainment of virtue, and that vice was the only thing which man should fear. It has been said that they introduced into philosophy the conception of duty. A famous Stoic paradox was that the wise man is always happy.

Epicurus was born at Samos in 341 B.C., and about the year 306 B.C. founded in his "garden" at Athens the school which bears his name. He taught that pleasure is the highest good; not, however, *positive* pleasure, but the happier state of freedom from pain and from unsatisfied want. The ideas of atheism and sensual degradation with which the name of Epicurus has been so frequently coupled are founded on ignorance of his real teaching. But as he denied the immortality of the soul and the interference of the gods in human affairs—though he believed in their existence—his tenets were very liable to be abused by those who did not fully understand them.

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