History Reading #1 – From Homer to Socrates

Homeric Hymns

XXV. TO THE MUSES AND APOLLO (7 lines)

(ll. 1-5) I will begin with the Muses and Apollo and Zeus. For it is through the Muses and Apollo that there are singers upon the earth and players upon the lyre; but kings are from Zeus. Happy is he whom the Muses love: sweet flows speech from his lips.

(ll. 6-7) Hail, children of Zeus! Give honour to my song! And now I will remember you and another song also.

XXVI. TO DIONYSUS (13 lines)

(ll. 1-9) I begin to sing of ivy-crowned Dionysus, the loud-crying god, splendid son of Zeus and glorious Semele. The rich-haired Nymphs received him in their bosoms from the lord his father and fostered and nurtured him carefully in the dells of Nysa, where by the will of his father he grew up in a sweet-smelling cave, being reckoned among the immortals. But when the goddesses had brought him up, a god oft hymned, then began he to

wander continually through the woody coombes, thickly wreathed with ivy and laurel. And the Nymphs followed in his train with him for their leader; and the boundless forest was filled with their outcry.

(ll. 10-13) And so hail to you, Dionysus, god of abundant clusters! Grant that we may come again rejoicing to this season, and from that season onwards for many a year.

XXVII. TO ARTEMIS (22 lines)

(ll. 1-20) I sing of Artemis, whose shafts are of gold, who cheers on the hounds, the pure maiden, shooter of stags, who delights in archery, own sister to Apollo with the golden sword. Over the shadowy hills and windy peaks she draws her golden bow, rejoicing in the chase, and sends out grievous shafts. The tops of the high mountains tremble and the tangled wood echoes awesomely with the outcry of beasts: earthquakes and the sea also where fishes shoal. But the goddess with a bold heart turns every way destroying the race of wild beasts: and when she is satisfied and has cheered her heart, this huntress who delights in arrows slackens her supple bow and goes to the great house of her dear brother Phoebus Apollo, to the rich land of Delphi, there to order the lovely dance of the Muses and Graces. There

she hangs up her curved bow and her arrows, and heads and leads the dances, gracefully arrayed, while all they utter their heavenly voice, singing how neat-ankled Leto bare children supreme among the immortals both in thought and in deed.

(ll. 21-22) Hail to you, children of Zeus and rich-haired Leto!
And now I will remember you and another song also.

XXVIII. TO ATHENA (18 lines)

(ll. 1-16) I begin to sing of Pallas Athene, the glorious goddess, bright-eyed, inventive, unbending of heart, pure virgin, saviour of cities, courageous, Tritogeneia. From his awful head wise Zeus himself bare her arrayed in warlike arms of flashing gold, and awe seized all the gods as they gazed. But Athena sprang quickly from the immortal head and stood before Zeus who holds the aegis, shaking a sharp spear: great Olympus began to reel horribly at the might of the bright-eyed goddess, and earth round about cried fearfully, and the sea was moved and tossed with dark waves, while foam burst forth suddenly: the bright Son of Hyperion stopped his swift-footed horses a long while, until the maiden Pallas Athene had stripped the heavenly armour from her immortal shoulders. And wise Zeus was glad.

(ll. 17-18) And so hail to you, daughter of Zeus who holds the aegis! Now I will remember you and another song as well.

XXX. TO EARTH THE MOTHER OF ALL (19 lines)

(ll. 1-16) I will sing of well-founded Earth, mother of all, eldest of all beings. She feeds all creatures that are in the world, all that go upon the goodly land, and all that are in the paths of the seas, and all that fly: all these are fed of her store. Through you, O queen, men are blessed in their children and blessed in their harvests, and to you it belongs to give means of life to mortal men and to take it away. Happy is the man whom you delight to honour! He has all things abundantly: his fruitful land is laden with corn, his pastures are covered with cattle, and his house is filled with good things. Such men rule orderly in their cities of fair women: great riches and wealth follow them: their sons exult with ever-fresh delight, and their daughters in flower-laden bands play and skip merrily over the soft flowers of the field. Thus is it with those whom you honour O holy goddess, bountiful spirit.

(ll. 17-19) Hail, Mother of the gods, wife of starry Heaven; freely bestow upon me for this my song substance that cheers the heart! And now I will remember you and another song also.

XXXI. TO HELIOS (20 lines)

(ll. 1-16) (34) And now, O Muse Calliope, daughter of Zeus, begin to sing of glowing Helios whom mild-eyed Euryphaessa, the far-shining one, bare to the Son of Earth and starry Heaven. For Hyperion wedded glorious Euryphaessa, his own sister, who bare him lovely children, rosy-armed Eos and rich-tressed Selene and tireless Helios who is like the deathless gods. As he rides in his chariot, he shines upon men and deathless gods, and piercingly he gazes with his eyes from his golden helmet. Bright rays beam dazzlingly from him, and his bright locks streaming form the temples of his head gracefully enclose his far-seen face: a rich, fine-spun garment glows upon his body and flutters in the wind: and stallions carry him. Then, when he has stayed his golden-yoked chariot and horses, he rests there upon the highest point of heaven, until he marvellously drives them down again through heaven to Ocean.

(ll. 17-19) Hail to you, lord! Freely bestow on me substance that cheers the heart. And now that I have begun with you, I will celebrate the race of mortal men half-divine whose deeds the Muses have showed to mankind.

Theognis of Megara, *Elegies* 39-68

Our city is pregnant, Cyrnus, and I fear that
she will bear a man who will smash our wicked pride;
for though her citizens still have sense, their
leaders are turning, falling into great evil.
Good men never yet destroyed a city, Cyrnus,
but when the wicked in their pride corrupt
the common folk and condemn the just
in order to seize their wealth and power,
then, Cyrnus, you can be sure that the city
will not have peace much longer.
When wicked men take pleasure in private gains
that bring with them public ills,
then factions and violence follow, and tyrants –
God save us from them all!
Cyrnus, our city stands, but her people have changed.
In former times there was a breed who knew neither
laws nor manners, but wore goatskins for clothing
and grazed like deer outside the city walls.
But now, Cyrnus, these same men are nobles,
And the nobles of old are scum.
Who can bear to see such things?
These new men don't know the difference
between right and wrong;

they smile while they cheat each other!

Don’t give your heart to them, Cyrnus,

no matter how much profit there may be in it.

Appear to be a friend to all, but

when it comes to serious business you had

better keep your distance; for they have

miserable little hearts, and like men

no longer sure of life they love

only mischief, tricks and deceit.

Tyrtaeus of Sparta

ARETE

Rise up, warriors, take your stand at one another's sides,
our feet set wide and rooted like oaks in the ground.
Then bide your time, biting your lip, for you were born
from the blook of Heracles, unbeatable by mortal men,
and the god of gods has never turned his back on you.

So cast off whatever fears arise at the armoured legions
they'll muster before you, hedge yourselves round
with hollow shields, and learn to love death's ink-black
shadow as much as you love the light of dawn.
So that when the hour comes, the battle lines drawn.

you won't hang back beyond javelin and stone but,
marshaled into ranks, advance as one to engage your enemy
hand to hand. Then hefting your bronze-tipped
spears and raking the air with your broadswords,
set foot to foot, battle dreww to weaponry,

horsehair crest to polished mail, and - helmet to helmet,
eye to eye - mangle their gear, hack off limbs, lay open
the organs that warm their chests, then beat them down
until the plain runs red with enemy blood and you
still stand, breathlessly gripping your wet sword's hilt.

FRONTIERS

You should reach the limits of virtue, before you cross the border of death.

For no man ever proves himself a good man in war unless he can endure to face the blood and the slaughter, go close against the enemy and fight with his hands.

Thus a man should endeavor to reach this high place of courage with all of his heart, and, so trying, never be backward in war.

Fragment 11. 11-14 also known as 'The War Song'

Those who display the courage to go into close combat in the front line, standing side by side with each other, die in fewer numbers and save those behind. But when men tremble, the courage of all is destroyed. No one could ever in words go through those several ills, which befall a man, if he has been actuated by cowardice. For ‘tis grievous to wound in the rear the back of a flying man in hostile war. Shameful too is a corpse lying low in the dust, wounded behind in the back by the point of a spear.

Alcaeus of Mytilene

The Bulwark of the State

Not in hewn stones, nor in

well-fashioned beams,

Not in the noblest of the

Builder’s dreams,

But in courageous men of

Purpose great,
There is the fortress, there
the living State.

Sappho of Lesbos

Yea, Thou Shalt Die

Yea, thou shalt die,
And lie
Dumb in the silent tomb;
Nor to thy name
Shall there be any fame
In ages yet to be or years
to come:
For of the flowering Rose,
Which on Pieria blows,
Thou hast no share:
But in sad Hades' house,
Unknown, inglorious,
'Mid the dim shades that
wander there
Shalt thou flit forth and
haunt the filmy air.

Thy Form is Lovely

Thy form is lovely and thine

eyes are honeyed,

O'er thy face the pale

Clear light of love lies like a

veil.

Bidding thee rise,

With outstretched hands,

Before thee Aphrodite stands.

Archilochus of Paros

Archilochus' Shield

Some Saian mountaineer

Struts today with my shield.

I threw it down by a bush and ran

When the fighting got hot.

Life seemed somehow more precious.

It was a beautiful shield.

I know where I can buy another

Exactly like it, just as round.

Of Wealth and Power

These golden matters

Of Gyges and his treasuries

Are no concern of mine.

Jealousy has no power over me,

Nor do I envy a god his work,

And I do not burn to rule.

Such things have no

Fascination for my eyes.

Fr. 130 (A.M. Miller)

All things are easy for the gods. Often out of misfortunes

they set men upright who have been laid low on the black earth;

often they trip even those who are standing firm and roll them

onto their backs, and then many troubles cone to them,

and a man wanders in want of livelihood, unhinged in mind.

The Journey

Narrow is our way of life

and necessity is pitiless

Pindar

Olympian 5 For Psaumis of Camarina Mule Car Race ?460 or 456 B. C.

[1] Daughter of Ocean, with a smiling heart receive the sweet bloom of lofty excellence and Olympian garlands, the gifts ofPsaumis and of his mule car team with untiring feet. [4] Psaumis who, exalting your city, Camarina, which cares for its people, [5] honored the six double altars, at the greatest festivals of the gods, with the sacrifice of oxen and in contests on the fifth day, [7] contests of horse teams, and mule teams, and of riding the single horse. To you he has dedicated rich renown by his victory, and he had his father Acron and his

new-founded home proclaimed by the herald. [9] Coming from the lovely homes of Oenamaus and of Pelops, [10] he sings of your sacred grove, Pallas protector of the city, and of the river Oanis, and the local lake, [12] and the sacred canals with which Hipparis waters its people, and swiftly builds a tall-standing grove of steadfast dwellings, bringing this host of citizens out of helplessness into the light. [15][15] Always, when it is a question of excellence, toil and expense strive to accomplish a deed that is shrouded in danger; those who are successful seem wise, even to their fellow-citizens. [17] Savior Zeus, high in the clouds, you who dwell on the hill of Cronus and honor the wide-flowing Alpheus and the sacred cave of Ida! I come as your suppliant, singing to the sound of Lydian flutes, [20][20] entreating you to adorn this city with glorious hosts of noble men; and that you, Psaumis the Olympic victor, delighting in the horses of Poseidon, may carry on to the end a pleasurable old age [23] with your sons standing beside you. If a man cultivates both prosperity and health, being generous with his possessions and winning praise as well, let him not seek to become a god.

Xenophon, ***The Constitution of the Lacedaemonians***

I

I recall the astonishment with which I first noted the unique position of Sparta amongst the states of Hellas, the relatively sparse population, and at the same time the extraordinary power and prestige of the community. I was puzzled to account for the fact. It was only when I came to consider the peculiar institutions of the Spartans that my wonderment ceased. Or rather, it is transferred to the legislator who gave them those laws, obedience to which has been the secret of their prosperity. This legislator, Lycurgus, I must needs admire, and hold him to have been one of the wisest of mankind. Certainly he was no servile imitator of other states. It was by a stroke of invention rather, and on a pattern much in opposition to the commonly-accepted one, that he brought his fatherland to this pinnacle of prosperity.

Take for example—and it is well to begin at the beginning —the whole topic of the begetting and rearing of children. Throughout the rest of the world the young girl, who will one day become a mother (and I speak of those who may be held to be well brought up), is nurtured on the plainest food attainable, with the scantiest addition of meat or other condiments; whilst as to wine they train them either to total abstinence or to take it highly diluted with water. And in imitation, as it were, of the handicraft type, since the majority of artificers are sedentary, we, the rest of the Hellenes, are content that our girls should sit

quietly and work wools. That is all we demand of them. But how are we to expect that women nurtured in this fashion should produce a splendid offspring?

Lycurgus pursued a different path. Clothes were things, he held, the furnishing of which might well enough be left to female slaves. And, believing that the highest function of a free woman was the bearing of children, in the first place he insisted on the training of the body as incumbent no less on the female than the male; and in pursuit of the same idea instituted rival contests in running and feats of strength for women as for men. His belief was that where both parents were strong their progeny would be found to be more vigorous.

II

Throughout the rest of Hellas the custom on the part of those who claim to educate their sons in the best way is as follows. As soon as the children are of an age to understand what is said to them they are immediately placed under the charge of Paidagogoi(or tutors), who are also attendants, and sent off to the school of some teacher to be taught "grammar," "music," and the concerns of the palestra. Besides this they are given shoes to wear which tend to make their feet tender, and their bodies are enervated by various changes of clothing. And as for food, the only measure recognised is that which is fixed by appetite.

But when we turn to Lycurgus, instead of leaving it to each member of the state privately to appoint a slave to be his son's tutor, he set over the young Spartans a public guardian, the Paidonomos or "pastor," to give them his proper title, with complete authority over them. This guardian was selected from those who filled the highest magistracies. He had authority to hold musters of the boys, and as their overseer, in case of any misbehaviour, to chastise severely. The legislator further provided his pastor with a body of youths in the prime of life, and bearing whips, to inflict punishment when necessary, with this happy result that in Sparta modesty and obedience ever go hand in hand, nor is there lack of either.

Instead of softening their feet with shoe or sandal, his rule was to make them hardy through going barefoot. This habit, if practised, would, as he believed, enable them to scale heights more easily and clamber down precipices with less danger. In fact, with his feet so trained the young Spartan would leap and spring and run faster unshod than another shod in the ordinary way.

Instead of making them effeminate with a variety of clothes, his rule was to habituate them to a single garment the whole year through, thinking that so they would be better prepared to withstand the variations of heat and cold.

Again, as regards food, according to his regulation the Eiren, or head of the flock, must see that his messmates gathered to the club meal, with such moderate food as to avoid that heaviness which is engendered by repletion, and yet not to remain altogether unacquainted with the pains of penurious living. His belief was that by such training in boyhood they would be better able when occasion demanded to continue toiling on an empty stomach. They would be all the fitter, if the word of command were given, to remain on the stretch for a long time without extra dieting. The craving for luxuries would be less, the readiness to take any victual set before them greater, and, in general, the regime would be found more healthy. Under it he thought the lads would increase in stature and shape into finer men, since, as he maintained, a dietary which gave suppleness to the limbs must be more conducive to both ends than one which added thickness to the bodily parts by feeding.

On the other hand, in order to guard against a too great pinch of starvation, though he did not actually allow the boys to help themselves without further trouble to what they needed more, he did give them permission to steal this thing or that in the effort to alleviate their hunger. It was not of course from any real difficulty how else to supply them with nutriment that he left it to them to provide themselves by this crafty method. Nor can I conceive that any one will so misinterpret the custom. Clearly its explanation lies in the fact that he who would live the life of a robber must forgo sleep by night, and in the daytime he must employ shifts and lie in ambuscade; he must prepare and make ready his scouts, and so forth, if he is to succeed in capturing the quarry.

It is obvious, I say, that the whole of this education tended, and was intended, to make the boys craftier and more inventive in getting in supplies, whilst at the same time it cultivated their warlike instincts. An objector may retort: "But if he thought it so fine a feat to steal, why did he inflict all those blows on the unfortunate who was caught?" My answer is: for the self-same reason which induces people, in other matters which are taught, to punish the mal-performance of a service. So they, the Lacedaemonians, visit penalties on the boy who is detected thieving as being but a sorry bungler in the art. So to steal as many cheeses as possible (off the shrine of Orthia) was a feat to be encouraged; but, at the same moment, others were enjoined to scourge the thief, which would point a moral not obscurely, that by pain endured for a brief season a man may earn the joyous reward of lasting glory. Herein, too, it is plainly shown that where speed is requisite the sluggard will win for himself much trouble and scant good.

Furthermore, and in order that the boys should not want a ruler, even in case the pastor himself were absent, he gave to any citizen who chanced to be present authority to lay upon them injunctions for their good, and to chastise them for any trespass committed. By so

doing he created in the boys of Sparta a most rare modesty and reverence. And indeed there is nothing which, whether as boys or men, they respect more highly than the ruler. Lastly, and with the same intention, that the boys must never bereft of a ruler, even if by chance there were no grown man present, he laid down the rule that in such a case the most active of the Leaders or Prefects was to become ruler for the nonce, each of his own division. The conclusion being that under no circumstances whatever are the boys of Sparta destitute of one to rule them.

IV

But if he was thus careful in the education of the stripling, the Spartan lawgiver showed a still greater anxiety in dealing with those who had reached the prime of opening manhood; considering their immense importance to the city in the scale of good, if only they proved themselves the men they should be. He had only to look around to see what wherever the spirit of emulation is most deeply seated, there, too, their choruses and gymnastic contests will present alike a far higher charm to eye and ear. And on the same principle he persuaded himself that he needed only to confront his youthful warriors in the strife of valour, and with like result. They also, in their degree, might be expected to attain to some unknown height of manly virtue.

What method he adopted to engage these combatants I will now explain. It is on this wise. Their ephors select three men out of the whole body of the citizens in the prime of life. These three are named Hippagretai, or masters of the horse. Each of these selects one hundred others, being bound to explain for what reason he prefers in honour these and disapproves of those. The result is that those who fail to obtain the distinction are now at open war, not only with those who rejected them, but with those who were chosen in their stead; and they keep ever a jealous eye on one another to detect some slip of conduct contrary to the high code of honour there held customary. And so is set on foot that strife, in truest sense acceptable to heaven, and for the purposes of state most politic. It is a strife in which not only is the pattern of a brave man's conduct fully set forth, but where, too, each against other and in separate camps, the rival parties train for victory. One day the superiority shall be theirs; or, in the day of need, one and all to the last man, they will be ready to aid the fatherland with all their strength.

Necessity, moreover, is laid upon them to study a good habit of the body, coming as they do to blows with their fists for very strife's sake whenever they meet. Albeit, any one present has a right to separate the combatants, and, if obedience is not shown to the peacemaker, the Pastor of youth hales the delinquent before the ephors, and

the ephors inflict heavy damages, since they will have it plainly understood that rage must never override obedience to law.

With regard to those who have already passed the vigour of early manhood, and on whom the highest magistracies henceforth devolve, there is a like contrast. In Hellas generally we find that at this age the need of further attention to physical strength is removed, although the imposition of military service continues. But Lycurgus made it customary for that section of his citizens to regard hunting as the highest honour suited to their age; albeit, not to the exclusion of any public duty. And his aim was that they might be equally able to undergo the fatigues of war with those in the prime of early manhood.

V

The above is a fairly exhaustive statement of the institutions traceable to the legislation of Lycurgus in connection with the successive stages of a citizen's life. It remains that I should endeavour to describe the style of living which he established for the whole body, irrespective of age. It will be understood that, when Lycurgus first came to deal with the question, the Spartans like the rest of the Hellenes, used to mess privately at home. Tracing more than half the current misdemeanours to this custom, he was determined to drag his people out of holes and corners into the broad daylight, and so he invented the public mess-rooms. Whereby he expected at any rate to minimise the transgression of orders.

As to food, his ordinance allowed them so much as, while not inducing repletion, should guard them from actual want. And, in fact, there are many exceptional dishes in the shape of game supplied from the hunting field. Or, as a substitute for these, rich men will occasionally garnish the feast with wheaten loaves. So that from beginning to end, till the mess breaks up, the common board is never stinted for viands, nor yet extravagantly furnished.

So also in the matter of drink. Whilst putting a stop to all unnecessary potations, detrimental alike to a firm brain and a steady gait, he left them free to quench thirst when nature dictated; a method which would at once add to the pleasure whilst it diminished the danger of drinking. And indeed one may fairly ask how, on such a system of common meals, it would be possible for anyone to ruin either himself or his family either through gluttony or wine-bibbing.

This too must be borne in mind, that in other states equals in age, for the most part, associate together, and such an atmosphere is little conducive to modesty. Whereas in Sparta Lycurgus was careful so to blend the ages that the younger men must benefit largely by the experience of the elder—an education in itself, and the more so since by custom of the country conversation at the common meal has reference to the honourable acts which

this man or that man may have performed in relation to the state. The scene, in fact, but little lends itself to the intrusion of violence or drunken riot; ugly speech and ugly deeds alike are out of place. Amongst other good results obtained through this out-door system of meals may be mentioned these: There is the necessity of walking home when the meal is over, and a consequent anxiety not to be caught tripping under the influence of wine, since they all know of course that the supper-table must be presently abandoned, and that they must move as freely in the dark as in the day, even the help of a torch to guide the steps being forbidden to all on active service.

In connection with this matter, Lycurgus had not failed to observe the effect of equal amounts of food on different persons. The hardworking man has a good complexion, his muscles are well fed, he is robust and strong. The man who abstains from work, on the other hand, may be detected by his miserable appearance; he is blotched and puffy, and devoid of strength. This observation, I say, was not wasted on him. On the contrary, turning it over in his mind that anyone who chooses, as a matter of private judgment, to devote himself to toil may hope to present a very creditable appearance physically, he enjoined upon the eldest for the time being in every gymnasium to see to it that the labours of the class were proportional to the meats. And to my mind he was not out of his reckoning in this matter more than elsewhere. At any rate, it would be hard to discover a healthier or more completely developed human being, physically speaking, than the Spartan. Their gymnastic training, in fact, makes demands alike on the legs and arms and neck, etc., simultaneously.

VI

There are other points in which this legislator's views run counter to those commonly accepted. Thus: in other states the individual citizen is master over his own children, domestics, goods and chattels, and belongings generally; but Lycurgus, whose aim was to secure to all the citizens a considerable share in one another's goods without mutual injury, enacted that each one should have an equal power of his neighbour's children as over his own. The principle is this. When a man knows that this, that, and the other person are fathers of children subject to his authority, he must perforce deal by them even as he desires his own child to be dealt by. And, if a boy chance to have received a whipping, not from his own father but some other, and goes and complains to his own father, it would be thought wrong on the part of that father if he did not inflict a second whipping on his son. A striking proof, in its way, how completely they trust each other not to impose dishonourable commands upon their children.

In the same way he empowered them to use their neighbour's domestics in case of need. This communism he applied also to dogs used for the chase; in so far that a party in need of

dogs will invite the owner to the chase, and if he is not at leisure to attendhimself, at any rate he is happy to let his dogs go. The same applies to the use of horses. Someone has fallen sick perhaps, or is in want of a carriage, or is anxious to reach some point or other quickly—in any case he has a right, if he sees a horse anywhere, to take and use it, and restores it safe and sound when he has done with it.

And here is another institution attributed to Lycurgus which scarcely coincides with the customs elsewhere in vogue. A hunting party returns from the chase, belated. They want provisions—they have nothing prepared themselves. To meet this contingency he made it a rule that owners are to leave behind the food that has been dressed; and the party in need will open the seals, take out what they want, seal up the remainder, and leave it. Accordingly, by his system of give-and-take even those with next to nothing have a share in all that the country can supply, if ever they stand in need of anything.

VII

There are yet other customs in Sparta which Lycurgus instituted in opposition to those of the rest of Hellas, and the following among them. We all know that in the generality of states every one devotes his full energy to the business of making money: one man as a tiller of the soil, another as a mariner, a third as a merchant, whilst others depend on various arts to earn a living. But at Sparta Lycurgus forbade his freeborn citizens to have anything whatsoever to do with the concerns of money-making. As freemen, he enjoined upon them to regard as their concern exclusively those activities upon which the foundations of civic liberty are based.

And indeed, one may well ask, for what reason should wealth be regarded as a matter for serious pursuit in a community where, partly by a system of equal contributions to the necessaries of life, and partly by the maintenance of a common standard of living, the lawgiver placed so effectual a check upon the desire of riches for the sake of luxury? What inducement, for instance, would there be to make money, even for the sake of wearing apparel, in a state where personal adornment is held to lie not in the costliness of the clothes they wear, but in the healthy condition of the body to be clothed? Nor again could there be much inducement to amass wealth, in order to be able to expend it on the members of a common mess, where the legislator had made it seem far more glorious that a man should help his fellows by the labour of his body than by costly outlay. The latter being, as he finely phrased it, the function of wealth, the former an activity of the soul.

He went a step further, and set up a strong barrier (even in a society such as I have described) against the pursuance of money-making by wrongful means. In the first place, he established a coinage of so extraordinary a sort, that even a single sum of ten minas

could not come into a house without attracting the notice, either of the master himself, or of some member of his household. In fact, it would occupy a considerable space, and need a wagon to carry it. Gold and silver themselves, moreover, are liable to search, and in case of detection, the possessor subjected to a penalty. In fact, to repeat the question asked above, for what reason should money-making become an earnest pursuit in a community where the possession of wealth entails more pain than its employment brings satisfaction?

VIII

But to proceed. We are all aware that there is no state (1) in the world in which greater obedience is shown to magistrates, and to the laws themselves, than Sparta. But, for my part, I am disposed to think that Lycurgus could never have attempted to establish this healthy condition, (2) until he had first secured the unanimity of the most powerful members of the state. I infer this for the following reasons. (3) In other states the leaders in rank and influence do not even desire to be thought to fear the magistrates. Such a thing they would regard as in itself a symbol of servility. In Sparta, on the contrary, the stronger a man is the more readily does he bow before constituted authority. And indeed, they magnify themselves on their humility, and on a prompt obedience, running, or at any rate not crawling with laggard step, at the word of command. Such an example of eager discipline, they are persuaded, set by themselves, will not fail to be followed by the rest. And this is precisely what has taken place. It is reasonable to suppose that it was these same noblest members of the state who combined to lay the foundation of the ephorate, after they had come to the conclusion themselves, that of all the blessings which a state, or an army, or a household, can enjoy, obedience is the greatest. Since, as they could not but reason, the greater the power with which men fence about authority, the greater the fascination it will exercise upon the mind of the citizen, to the enforcement of obedience.

Accordingly the ephors are competent to punish whomsoever they choose; they have power to exact fines on the spur of the moment; they have power to depose magistrates in mid career—nay, actually to imprison them and bring them to trial on the capital charge. Entrusted with these vast powers, they do not, as do the rest of states, allow the magistrates elected to exercise authority as they like, right through the year of office; but, in the style rather of despotic monarchs, or presidents of the games, at the first symptom of an offence against the law they inflict chastisement without warning and without hesitation.

But of all the many beautiful contrivances invented by Lycurgus to kindle a willing obedience to the laws in the hearts of the citizens, none, to my mind, was happier or more excellent than his unwillingness to deliver his code to the people at large, until, attended by the most powerful members of the state, he had betaken himself to Delphi, and there made inquiry of the god whether it were better for Sparta, and conducive to her interests, to obey

the laws which he had framed. And not until the divine answer came: "Better will it be in every way," did he deliver them, laying it down as a last ordinance that to refuse obedience to a code which had the sanction of the Pythian god himself was a thing not illegal only, but profane.

IX

The following too may well excite our admiration for Lycurgus. I speak of the consummate skill with which he induced the whole state of Sparta to regard an honourable death as preferable to an ignoble life. And indeed if anyone will investigate the matter, he will find that by comparison with those who make it a principle to retreat in face of danger, actually fewer of these Spartans die in battle, since, to speak truth, salvation, it would seem, attends on virtue far more frequently than on cowardice—virtue, which is at once easier and sweeter, richer in resource and stronger of arm, than her opposite. And that virtue has another familiar attendant—to wit, glory—needs no showing, since the whole world would fain ally themselves after some sort in battle with the good.

Yet the actual means by which he gave currency to these principles is a point which it were well not to overlook. It is clear that the lawgiver set himself deliberately to provide all the blessings of heaven for the good man, and a sorry and ill-starred existence for the coward.

In other states the man who shows himself base and cowardly wins to himself an evil reputation and the nickname of a coward, but that is all. For the rest he buys and sells in the same market-place as the good man; he sits beside him at play; he exercises with him in the same gymnasium, and all as suits his humour. But at Lacedaemon there is not one man who would not feel ashamed to welcome the coward at the common mess-tabe, or to try conclusions with such an antagonist in a wrestling bout. Consider the day's round of his existence. The sides are being picked up in a football match, but he is left out as the odd man: there is no place for him. During the choric dance he is driven away into ignominious quarters. Nay, in the very streets it is he who must step aside for others to pass, or, being seated, he must rise and make room, even for a younger man. At home he will have his maiden relatives to support in isolation (and they will hold him to blame for their unwedded lives). A hearth with no wife to bless it—that is a condition he must face, and yet he will have to pay damages to the last farthing for incurring it. Let him not roam abroad with a smooth and smiling countenance; let him not imitate men whose fame is irreproachable, or he shall feel on his back the blows of his superiors. Such being the weight of infamy which is laid upon all cowards, I, for my part, am not surprised if in Sparta they deem death preferable to a life so steeped in dishonour and reproach.

X

That too was a happy enactment, in my opinion, by which Lycurgus provided for the continual cultivation of virtue, even to old age. By fixing the election to the council of elders as a last ordeal at the goal of life, he made it impossible for a high standard of virtuous living to be disregarded even in old age. (So, too, it is worthy of admiration in him that he lent his helping hand to virtuous old age. Thus, by making the elders sole arbiters in the trial for life, he contrived to charge old age with a greater weight of honour than that which is accorded to the strength of mature manhood.) And assuredly such a contest as this must appeal to the zeal of mortal man beyond all others in a supreme degree. Fair, doubtless, are contests of gymnastic skill, yet are they but trials of bodily excellence, but this contest for the seniority is of a higher sort—it is an ordeal of the soul itself. In proportion, therefore, as the soul is worthier than the body, so must these contests of the soul appeal to a stronger enthusiasm than their bodily antitypes.

And yet another point may well excite our admiration for Lycurgus largely. It had not escaped his observation that communities exist where those who are willing to make virtue their study and delight fail somehow in ability to add to the glory of their fatherland. That lesson the legislator laid to heart, and in Sparta he enforced, as a matter of public duty, the practice of virtue by every citizen. And so it is that, just as man differs from man in some excellence, according as he cultivates or neglects to cultivate it, this city of Sparta, with good reason, outshines all other states in virtue; since she, and she alone, as made the attainment of a high standard of noble living a public duty.

And was this not a noble enactment, that whereas other states are content to inflict punishment only in cases where a man does wrong against his neighbour, Lycurgus imposed penalties no less severe on him who openly neglected to make himself as good as possible? For this, it seems, was his principle: in the one case, where a man is robbed, or defrauded, or kidnapped, and made a slave of, the injury of the misdeed, whatever it be, is personal to the individual so maltreated; but in the other case whole communities suffer foul treason at the hands of the base man and the coward. So that it was only reasonable, in my opinion, that he should visit the heaviest penalty upon these latter.

Moreover, he laid upon them, like some irresistible necessity, the obligation to cultivate the whole virtue of a citizen. Provided they duly performed the injunctions of the law, the city belonged to them, each and all, in absolute possession and on an equal footing. Weakness of limb or want of wealth was no drawback in his eyes. But as for him who, out of the cowardice of his heart, shrank from the painful performance of the law's injunction, the finger of the legislator pointed him out as there and then disqualified to be regarded longer as a member of the brotherhood of peers.

It may be added, that there was no doubt as to the great antiquity of this code of laws. The point is clear so far, that Lycurgus himself is said to have lived in the days of the Heraclidae. But being of so long standing, these laws, even at this day, still are stamped in the eyes of other men with all the novelty of youth. And the most marvelous thing of all is that, while everybody is agreed to praise these remarkable institutions, there is not a single state which cares to imitate them.

XI

The above form a common stock of blessings, open to every Spartan to enjoy, alike in peace and in war. But if anyone desires to be informed in what way the legislator improved upon the ordinary machinery of warfare and in reference to an army in the field, it is easy to satisfy his curiosity.

In the first instance, the ephors announce by proclamation the limit of age to which the service applies for cavalry and heavy infantry; and in the next place, for the various handicraftsmen. So that, even on active service, the Lacedaemonians are well supplied with all the conveniences enjoyed by people living as citizens at home. All implements and instruments whatsoever, which an army may need in common, are ordered to be in readiness, some on wagons and others on baggage animals. In this way anything omitted can hardly escape detection.

For the actual encounter under arms, the following inventions are attributed to him. The soldier has a crimson-coloured uniform and a heavy shield of bronze; his theory being that such an equipment has no sort of feminine association, and is altogether most warrior-like. It is most quickly burnished; it is least readily soiled.

He further permitted those who were above the age of early manhood to wear their hair long. For so, he conceived, they would appear of larger stature, more free and indomitable, and of a more terrible aspect.

XV

I wish to explain with sufficient detail the nature of the covenant between king and state as instituted by Lycurgus; for this, I take it, is the sole type of rule which still preserves the original form in which it was first established; whereas other constitutions will be found either to have been already modified or else to be still undergoing modifications at this moment.

Lycurgus laid it down as law that the king shall offer in behalf of the state all public sacrifices, as being himself of divine descent, and whithersoever the state shall dispatch her armies the king shall take the lead. He granted him to receive honorary gifts of the things

offered in sacrifice, and he appointed him choice land in many of the provincial cities, enough to satisfy moderate needs without excess of wealth. And in order that the kings also might camp and mess in public he appointed them public quarters; and he honoured them with a double portion each at the evening meal, not in order that they might actually eat twice as much as others, but that the king might have wherewithal to honour whomsoever he desired. He also granted as a gift to each of the two kings to choose two mess-fellows, which same are called Puthioi. He also granted them to receive out of every litter of swine one pig, so that the king might never be at a loss for victims if in aught he wished to consult the gods.

Close by the palace a lake affords an unrestricted supply of water; and how useful that is for various purposes they best can tell who lack the luxury. Moreover, all rise from their seats to give place to the king, save only that the ephors rise not from their thrones of office. Monthly they exchange oaths, the ephors in behalf of the state, the king himself in his own behalf. And this is the oath on the king's part: "I will exercise my kingship in accordance with the established laws of the state." And on the part of the state the oath runs: "So long as he (who exercises kingship) shall abide by his oaths we will not suffer his kingdom to be shaken."

These then are the honours bestowed upon the king during his lifetime (at home) — honours by no means much exceeding those of private citizens, since the lawgiver was minded neither to suggest to the kings the pride of the despotic monarch, nor, on the other hand, to engender in the heart of the citizen envy of their power. As to those other honours which are given to the king at his death, the laws of Lycurgus would seem plainly to signify hereby that these kings of Lacedaemon are not mere mortals but heroic beings, and that is why they are preferred in honour.

The Spartan Army: Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 22.3 – 23

When the young Spartans were on the battlefield their training exercises were less severe, their life easier, their discipline less strict; in fact, they were the only people in this world to whom war offered some relief from training. When their forces were lined up in battle formation, with the enemy in view, the king sacrificed a young goat, ordered his soldiers to adorn their heads with garlands, and commanded the pipers to sound the tune of the hymn to Castor; at the same time he personally began to sing the paean of attack. Seeing them march to the sound of their flutes while maintaining a perfect order in their ranks, full of self-control and confidence, with unflinching expressions as they moved calmly and

cheerfully with the beat of music to the deadly encounter, was both a magnificent and terrifying spectacle. In this condition it was unlikely that the men would be possessed by fear or reckless fury. Instead, they displayed the studied valour of hope and certainty, as if some divine force had taken charge and was guiding them.

The king always marched against the enemy accompanied by a man who had been crowned in the Olympic games. It is said, in connection with this custom, that a Spartan once refused a valuable present offered to him on the condition that he abstain from competing in the games. When, after defeating his opponent with a great effort, some of the spectators asked him, "Spartan, what have you now gained with your victory?" he replied with a smile, "I shall fight at the side of the king."

When the Spartans forced an enemy to retreat they pushed him only until they were completely assured of their victory; then they halted, for they considered it ignoble and unworthy of a Greek people to annihilate men who had given up their fight and ceased to resist.

This treatment of their enemies was not only noble and magnanimous, but politically sound as well: being aware that the Spartans destroyed only those who resisted them, and spared the rest, their enemies found it more advantageous to flee than to hold their position and perish.

The Mixed Constitution: Aristotle, *Politics*, 1265b, 33-42

Some people claim that the best polity is a mixture of the three basic forms, and as a consequence they praise the Spartan constitution because it is a combination of oligarchy, monarchy and democracy. They call the king the monarchic element, the Gerousia the oligarchic element and say that the Ephorsrepresent the democratic element, since they are selected from among the people. Others, however, declare the Ephorate to be a characteristic of tyranny and see democracy expressed in the common meals and the other habits of daily life.

The Oligarchic Constitution of Crete: Aristotle, *Politics*, 1271b.10 – 1271b.23

The Cretan constitution is similar to the Spartan; not inferior in a few respects, but in general less polished. It is said, and it is probably true, that theLaconian constitution was, for the most part, modeled after the Cretan, for in ancient times most institutions were less elaborate than their modern counterparts. They say that when Lycurgus gave up the guardianship of King Charillus and went abroad he spent most of his time in Crete because of the ties of kinship which existed between Crete and Sparta. For the Lyctians were Spartan colonists who adopted the laws they found in existence among the native inhabitants when they came to establish their colony. Even now the *perioeci* use them in the same form in which they had been promulgated byMinos. It seems that the island has been intended by nature to rule over Greece, and that it is well-situated. It lies right across the sea around which nearly all of the Greeks dwell and is located a short distance from both the Peloponnese on one side and from the region of Asia about Triopium and Rhodes on the other. Because of this Minos became the ruler of the seas, conquering some of the islands and colonizing others until, in the end, he attacked Sicily and lost his life there near Camicus.

These are some of the similarities between the Cretan
and Laconian institutions. The *helots* cultivate the land for the Spartans and the *perioeci* do the same for the Cretans, and both peoples have common meals which the Spartans originally called by their Cretan name, *andreia*, and not *phiditia*. It is clear, then, that this institution derives from Crete. This is also true of their constitution. For the Spartan *ephors* have the same powers held in Crete by the magistrates called *kosmoi*, with the difference that the number of *ephors* is five, while the board of *kosmoi* consists of ten members. The Spartan elders correspond to the elders of Crete, who are called by the Cretans their Council. Kingship also existed in Crete in early times, though the Cretans abolished it and leadership in war is now exercised by the *kosmoi*. Everyone is allowed to participate in the assembly, but it has no powers except the ratification of the decisions of the elders and *kosmoi*. The common meals are better managed among the Cretans than among the Spartans. At Sparta everyone contributes a stipulated per capita amount, and failure to contribute results in the loss of citizenship, as has been previously explained; in Crete, however, there is more communal sharing. Out of all the produce from the public lands and the revenues from state-owned cattle and the tribute paid by the perioeci a portion is reserved for the gods and for public services in general, and another portion is set aside for the communal meals so that all people, men, women and children, are maintained by the state. The lawgiver has also given much thought to finding ways of encouraging moderation in eating as a useful practice, and of controlling the growth of the population by separating men from women and by sanctioning the companionship of men with other men; whether this practice is good or bad will be considered at a later time. It is obvious,

then, that the communal meals in Crete are better managed than those in Sparta, although the*kosmoi* as an institution are even worse than the *ephors*. For what is wrong with the *ephors* is wrong with the *kosmoi* as well, since both are indiscriminately chosen; in Crete, however, they do not enjoy the compensating political advantages which the *ephors* have in Sparta. There, because the *ephors* are chosen from the entire citizen body, the people want the constitution to be preserved since they themselves share in the highest office. In Crete, however, the *kosmoi*are not selected from the whole people, but from certain clans, and the elders are chosen from the ranks of those who have served as *kosmoi*. With regard to them we may repeat the same objections that have been already made about the Spartan elders, namely that the lack of accountability for their acts and the life tenure of their office are greater privileges than they deserve, and that it is dangerous for them to rule according to their own judgement rather than by the law. The fact that the people who do not hold the office remain quiet is no proof of the goodness of this practice. Neither is there any profit to be gained from service in this magistracy, as is the case with the *ephors*, for the *kosmoi*, who are confined on an island, are far removed from the temptation of foreign corruption.

The means they employ to cure the ills of this magistracy are absurd, being unconstitutional and arbitrary. For quite frequently the *kosmoi* are driven out of office either by some of their own colleagues or by the conspiracies of private citizens. However, it is also possible for them to resign before the expiration of their term of office; but all of these matters can be best regulated by the rule of law rather than by the will of individuals, for the latter is an unsafe practice. Worst of all, however, is the condition of not having *kosmoi* at all, which the powerful often bring about as a means of avoiding justice. It is very clear, then, that although their government has some characteristics of a constitutional state, it is in reality a closed oligarchy [*dynasteia*]. The powerful are accustomed to forming bands composed of their friends and the people and stirring up quarrels and fights with each other, thus causing a state of anarchy. How does this differ from the temporary cessation of government and the dissolution of the political community? A city in this condition would be in greater danger from those who are willing and able to attack it. But, as I have already remarked, they are saved by their geographical situation: remoteness has kept foreigners away as effectively as the expulsion of strangers in Sparta. This is why the Cretan *perioeci* remain quiet, whereas the Spartan helots often rise in revolt. The Cretans have no foreign dominions, either, though recently a foreign war reached the island and revealed the weaknesses of their institutions. But enough has been said about the Cretan government.

Aristotle – *The Constitution of Athens* (from Solon to Cleisthenes)

[Book 1]

Part 6

As soon as he was at the head of affairs, Solon liberated the people once and for all, by prohibiting all loans on the security of the debtor's person: and in addition he made laws by which he cancelled all debts, public and private. This measure is commonly called the Seisachtheia [= removal of burdens], since thereby the people had their loads removed from them.

Part 7

Next Solon drew up a constitution and enacted new laws; and the ordinances of Draco ceased to be used, with the exception of those relating to murder. The laws were inscribed on the wooden stands, and set up in the King's Porch, and all swore to obey them; and the nine Archons made oath upon the stone, declaring that they would dedicate a golden statue if they should transgress any of them. This is the origin of the oath to that effect which they take to the present day. Solon ratified his laws for a hundred years; and the following was the fashion in which he organized the constitution. He divided the population according to property into four classes, just as it had been divided before, namely, Pentacosiomedimni, Knights, Zeugitae, and Thetes. The various magistracies, namely, the nine Archons, the Treasurers, the Commissioners for Public Contracts (Poletae), the Eleven, and Clerks (Colacretae), he assigned to the Pentacosiomedimni, the Knights, and the Zeugitae, giving offices to each class in proportion to the value of their rateable property. To who ranked among the Thetes he gave nothing but a place in the Assembly and in the juries. A man had to rank as a Pentacosiomedimnus if he made, from his own land, five hundred measures, whether liquid or solid. Those ranked as Knights who made three hundred measures, or, as some say, those who were able to maintain a horse…

…Those ranked as Zeugitae who made two hundred measures, liquid or solid; and the rest ranked as Thetes, and were not eligible for any office. Hence it is that even at the present day, when a candidate for any office is asked to what class he belongs, no one would think of saying that he belonged to the Thetes.

Part 8

The elections to the various offices Solon enacted should be by lot, out of candidates selected by each of the tribes. Each tribe selected ten candidates for the nine archonships, and among these the lot was cast. Hence it is still the custom for each tribe to choose ten candidates by lot, and then the lot is again cast among these. Such was Solon's legislation with respect to the nine Archons; whereas in early times the Council of Areopagus summoned suitable persons according to its own judgement and appointed them for the year to the several offices. There were four tribes, as before, and four tribe-kings. Each tribe was divided into three Trittyes [=Thirds], with twelve Naucraries in each; and the Naucraries had officers of their own, called Naucrari, whose duty it was to superintend the current receipts and expenditure. Hence, among the laws of Solon now obsolete, it is repeatedly written that the Naucrari are to receive and to spend out of the Naucraric fund. Solon also appointed a Council of four hundred, a hundred from each tribe; but he assigned to the Council of the Areopagus the duty of superintending the laws, acting as before as the guardian of the constitution in general. It kept watch over the affairs of the state in most of the more important matters, and corrected offenders, with full powers to inflict either fines or personal punishment. The money received in fines it brought up into the Acropolis, without assigning the reason for the mulct. It also tried those who conspired for the overthrow of the state, Solon having enacted a process of impeachment to deal with such offenders. Further, since he saw the state often engaged in internal disputes, while many of the citizens from sheer indifference accepted whatever might turn up, he made a law with express reference to such persons, enacting that anyone who, in a time civil factions, did not take up arms with either party, should lose his rights as a citizen and cease to have any part in the state.

[Book 2]

Part 9

Such, then, was his legislation concerning the magistracies. There are three points in the constitution of Solon which appear to be its most democratic features: first and most important, the prohibition of loans on the security of the debtor's person; secondly, the right of every person who so willed to claim redress on behalf of any one to whom wrong was being done; thirdly, the institution of the appeal to the jury courts; and it is to this last, they say, that the masses have owed their strength most of all, since, when the democracy is master of the voting-power, it is master of the constitution. Moreover, since the laws were not drawn up in simple and explicit terms (but like the one concerning inheritances and wards of state), disputes inevitably occurred, and the courts had to decide in every matter, whether public or private.

Part 11

When he had completed his organization of the constitution in the manner that has been described, he found himself beset by people coming to him and harassing him concerning his laws, criticizing here and questioning there, till, as he wished neither to alter what he had decided on nor yet to be an object of ill will to everyone by remaining in Athens, he set off on a journey to Egypt, with the combined objects of trade and travel, giving out that he should not return for ten years. He considered that there was no call for him to expound the laws personally, but that everyone should obey them just as they were written. Moreover, his position at this time was unpleasant. Many members of the upper class had been estranged from him on account of his abolition of debts, and both parties were alienated through their disappointment at the condition of things which he had created. The mass of the people had expected him to make a complete redistribution of all property, and the upper class hoped he would restore everything to its former position, or, at any rate, make but a small change. Solon, however, had resisted both classes. He might have made himself a despot by attaching himself to whichever party he chose, but he preferred, though at the cost of incurring the enmity of both, to be the saviour of his country and the ideal lawgiver.

Part 16

Pisistratus' administration was temperate, as has been said before, and more like constitutional government than a tyranny. Not only was he in every respect humane and mild and ready to forgive those who offended, but, in addition, he advanced money to the poorer people to help them in their labours, so that they might make their living by agriculture. In this he had two objects, first that they might not spend their time in the city but might be scattered over all the face of the country, and secondly that, being moderately well off and occupied with their own business, they might have neither the wish nor the time to attend to public affairs. At the same time his revenues were increased by the thorough cultivation of the country, since he imposed a tax of one tenth on all the produce. For the same reasons he instituted the local justices,' and often made expeditions in person into the country to inspect it and to settle disputes between individuals, that they might not come into the city and neglect their farms. It was in one of these progresses that, as the story goes, Pisistratus had his adventure with the man of Hymettus, who was cultivating the spot afterwards known as 'Tax-free Farm'. He saw a man digging and working at a very stony piece of ground, and being surprised he sent his attendant to ask what he got out of this plot of land. 'Aches and pains', said the man; 'and that's what Pisistratus ought to have his tenth of'. The man spoke without knowing who his questioner was; but Pisistratus was

so leased with his frank speech and his industry that he granted him exemption from all taxes. And so in matters in general he burdened the people as little as possible with his government, but always cultivated peace and kept them in all quietness. Hence the tyranny of Pisistratus was often spoken of proverbially as 'the age of gold'; for when his sons succeeded him the government became much harsher. But most important of all in this respect was his popular and kindly disposition. In all things he was accustomed to observe the laws, without giving himself any exceptional privileges. For these reasons he held power long, and whenever he was expelled he regained his position easily. The majority alike of the upper class and of the people were in his favour; the former he won by his social intercourse with them, the latter by the assistance which he gave to their private purses, and his nature fitted him to win the hearts of both. Moreover, the laws in reference to tyrants at that time in force at Athens were very mild, especially the one which applies more particularly to the establishment of a tyranny. The law ran as follows: 'These are the ancestral statutes of the ATHENIANs; if any persons shall make an attempt to establish a tyranny, or if any person shall join in setting up a tyranny, he shall lose his civic rights, both himself and his whole house.'

Part 20

After the overthrow of the tyranny, the rival leaders in the state were Isagoras son of Tisander, a partisan of the tyrants, and Cleisthenes, who belonged to the family of the Alcmeonidae. Cleisthenes, being beaten in the political clubs, called in the people by giving the franchise to the masses. Thereupon Isagoras, finding himself left inferior in power, invited Cleomenes, who was united to him by ties of hospitality, to return to Athens, and persuaded him to 'drive out the pollution', a plea derived from the fact that theAlcmeonidae were suppposed to be under the curse of pollution. On this Cleisthenes retired from the country, and Cleomenes, entering Attica with a small force, expelled, as polluted, seven hundred Athenian families. Having effected this, he next attempted to dissolve the Council, and to set up Isagoras and three hundred of his partisans as the supreme power in the state. The Council, however, resisted, the populace flocked together, and Cleomenes and Isagoras, with their adherents, took refuge in the Acropolis. Here the people sat down and besieged them for two days; and on the third they agreed to let Cleomenes and all his followers de art, while they summoned Cleisthenes and the other exiles back to Athens. When the people had thus obtained the command of affairs, Cleisthenes was their chief and popular leader. And this was natural; for the Alcmeonidae were perhaps the chief cause of the expulsion of the tyrants, and for the greater part of their rule were at perpetual war with them.

Part 21

The people, therefore, had good reason to place confidence in Cleisthenes. Accordingly, now that he was the popular leader, three years after the expulsion of the tyrants, in the archonship of Isagoras, his first step was to distribute the whole population into ten tribes in place of the existing four, with the object of intermixing the members of the different tribes, and so securing that more persons might have a share in the franchise. Next he made the Council to consist of five hundred members instead of four hundred, each tribe now contributing fifty, whereas formerly each had sent a hundred. Further, he divided the country into thirty groups of demes, ten from the districts about the city, ten from the coast, and ten from the interior. These he called trittyes; and he assigned three of them by lot to each tribe, in such a way that each should have one portion in each of these three localities. All who lived in any given deme he declared fellow-demesmen, to the end that the new citizens might not be exposed by the habitual use of family names, but that men might be officially described by the names of their demes; and accordingly it is by the names of their demes that the Athenians speak of one another. He gave names to the demes, some from the localities to which they belonged, some from the persons who founded them, since some of the areas no longer corresponded to localities possessing names. On the other hand he allowed everyone to retain his family and clan and religious rites according to ancestral custom.

Part 22

By these reforms the constitution became much more democratic than that of Solon. The laws of Solon had been obliterated by disuse during the period of the tyranny, while Cleisthenes substituted new ones with the object of securing the goodwill of the masses. Among these was the law concerning ostracism. Four year after the establishment of this system, in the archonship ofHermocreon, they first imposed upon the Council of Five Hundred the oath which they take to the present day. Next they began to elect the generals by tribes, one from each tribe, while the Polemarch was the commander of the whole army. Then, eleven years later, in the archonship of Phaenippus they won the battle of Marathon; and two years after this victory, when the people had now gained self-confidence, they for the first time made use of the law of ostracism. This had originally been passed as a precaution against men in high office, because Pisistratus took advantage of his position as a popular leader and general to make himself tyrant; and the first person ostracized was one of his relatives, Hipparchus son of Charmus, of the deme of Collytus, the very person on whose account especially Cleisthenes had enacted the law, as he wished to get rid of him. Hitherto, however, he had escaped; for the Athenians, with the usual leniency of the

democracy, allowed all the partisans of the tyrants, who had not joined in their evil deeds in the time of the troubles to remain in the city; and the chief and leader of these was Hipparchus. Then in the very next year, in the archonship of Telesinus, they for the first time since the tyranny elected, tribe by tribe, the nine Archons by lot out of the five hundred candidates selected by the demes, all the earlier ones having been elected by vote; and in the same year Megacles son of Hippocrates, of the deme of Alopece, was ostracized. Thus for three years they continued to ostracize the friends of the tyrants, on whose account the law had been passed; but in the following year they began to remove others as well, including anyone who seemed to be more powerful than was expedient. The first person unconnected with the tyrants who was ostracized wasXanthippus son of Ariphron. Two years later, in the archonship of Nicodemus, the mines of Maroneia were discovered, and the state made a profit of a hundred talents from the working of them. Some persons advised the people to make a distribution of the money among themselves, but this was prevented by Themistocles. He refused to say on what he proposed to spend the money, but he bade them lend it to the hundred richest men in Athens, one talent to each, and then, if the manner in which it was employed pleased the people, the expenditure should be charged to the state, but otherwise the state should receive the sum back from those to whom it was lent. On these terms he received the money and with it he had a hundred triremes built, each of the hundred individuals building one; and it was with these ships that they fought the battle of Salamis against the barbarians. About this time Aristides the son of Lysimachus was ostracized. Three years later, however, in the archonship of Hypsichides, all the ostracized persons were recalled, on account of the advance of the army of Xerxes; and it was laid down for the future that persons under sentence of ostracism must live between Geraestus and Scyllaeum, on pain of losing their civic rights irrevocably.

Herodotus – "The Battle of Marathon"

[6.105] ...[When the Persian fleet was approaching Attica], the [Athenian] generals sent to Sparta a herald, Pheidippides an Athenian....[6.106]...[and] on the second day out of Athens he was in Sparta; and coming before the magistrates he said: "Lakedaimonians, the Athenians need you to help them and not to watch a city, the oldest among the Hellenes, fall enslaved to men who are *barbaroi,* for even now Eretria is reduced to slavery and so by a notable *polis* Hellas has become the weaker."

Indeed, he gave them the message entrusted to him; for their part they were delighted, on the one hand, to help the Athenians; but it was impossible, on the other hand, immediately

to do this, since they did not want to break a law; for of the first part of the month it was the ninth day and on the ninth they would not go out, they said, except when the moon was at the full point of its cycle.

[6.107] So they waited for the full moon. The *barbaroi,* on the other hand, were guided by Hippias son of Peisistratos againstMarathon. In the preceding night Hippias saw a vision of this sort: it seemed to him that with his own mother he had gone to bed. He conjectured from this dream that by going again to Athens and getting back his power he would end his days in his own motherland, an old man. Indeed, from the vision he conjectured these things. At the time, however, being leader, he disembarked the slaves from Eretria on the island, a Styrean one, called Aiglea. In addition, having led them to Marathon he anchored the ships and, when they disembarked onto the land he stationed the *barbaroi* in their positions.

And while he was doing these things, there came upon him a sneezing and also a coughing greater than was customary. He was sufficiently old that of his teeth most were shaky; therefore one of these teeth fell out because of the force of the cough. When it fell out into the sand he made a great effort to find it, but when the tooth did not appear, groaning he said to those standing around, "this land is not ours, nor will we be able to subject it; whatever part of it was for me to hold, my tooth holds."

[6.108] Indeed, Hippias conjectured that in this way the vision had been fulfilled.

But when the Athenians were drawn up in the precinct of Herakles there came to their aid the Plataeans in full force; for thePlataeans had given themselves over to the Athenians [for protection] and on their behalf the Athenians had undertaken many labors already....

[6.109] Among the Athenian generals there was a division of opinion, some not wanting to fight (on the grounds that they were too few to fight the army of the Persians) and others—including Miltiades—bidding them to. And when the division happened and the victor was [likely to be] the worse of the opinions, then, because there was an eleventh voter...the *polemarch* Kallimachos ofAphidnae, Miltiades went to him and said the following: "It is for you now, Kallimachos, either to enslave Athens or to make her free and so leave a memorial for the whole of man's existence, such as not even Harmodios and Aristogeiton left. For now, indeed, out of the whole time since there have been Athenians, they are come into their greatest danger; and if they bow down to the Persians it seems to me that they will obey and be given over to Hippias; on the other hand if the *polis* itself survives, it might become first of the Hellenic *poleis.* How therefore such things can happen, and how it comes upon you to have authority over these matters, I now am come to tell you. We generals, being ten, have become divided in opinion, some bidding

us to fight and others not to. Now if we don't fight, I expect a civil discord, a great one, to shake up and fall upon the Athenians' thinking to such an extent that they will go over to the Persians. If on the other hand we fight before some such rotten thing comes upon some of the Athenians, then—given that the gods deal with us equitably—it is possible that we will win in the fighting. These things, therefore, all to you now tend and on you are fixed. For if you join yourself to my opinion, your fatherland will be free and your *polis* the first of those in Hellas. But if it is those who are not eager to fight whom you choose, your decision will cause the opposite of the good things I spoke of."

[6.110] By saying these things Miltiades won over Kallimachos, and by the addition of the *polemarch*'s opinion it was decided to fight. And afterwards the generals whose opinion favored fighting, when each of their daily supreme commands happened, gave them over to Miltiades; and he received them, but did not make an attack until his own supreme command happened.

[6.111] But when it did come around to him, then the Athenians were stationed for fighting in the following way: the right horn was led by the *polemarch,* Kallimachos...and...those holding the left horn [were] the Plataeans. (Since that battle, when the Athenians bring sacrifices to the assemblies that happen every five years an Athenian herald prays saying that good things should happen to both Athenians and Plataeans.)...Their battle-line was equal in length to the Persian battle-line, and while the middle part was only a few ranks deep (and in that place the battle-line was weakest) the horn nevertheless, on each side, was healthy in its multitude.

[6.112] And when they were stationed and the sacrificial omens were good, then as soon as they were released the Athenians at a run went against the *barbaroi* (and there were between them not less than eight *stades).* But when the Persians saw them coming on at a run they prepared to receive them, and deemed it a mania among the Athenians—and one wholly destructive—seeing them so few and charging at a run, not having horsemen with them nor archers. Such things then the *barbaroi* surmised; but the Athenians, when all in a bunch they mixed in with the *barbaroi,* fought in a way worthy of report. For they were the first of the Hellenes—of all those of whom we know—to make use of a running charge against enemy warriors, and the first who bore even seeing the clothing of the Persians and the men therein clothed—until then it was for Hellenes a fearful thing even to hear the name of the Persians.

[6.113] While they were battling at Marathon a long time passed, and in the middle of the battle-line victory went to the *barbaroi*(here the Persians themselves and Sakae were stationed; for this reason, indeed, victory went to the *barbaroi)* and breaking through they pursued the Athenians inland; on the other hand, at the horn on each end victory went to

the Athenians and Plataeans. And since they were victors, they allowed the routed part of the *barbaroi* to flee, but at the middle, against those who had broken through their own lines, they pulled together the horns and, on both sides, fought. The Athenians were the victors. And as the Persians fled, they followed, cutting them down, until when they had come to the sea they demanded fire and seized the ships.

[6.114] This too: in this work the *polemarch* was killed, a man become heroic, and also there died, of the generals, Stesileos son of Thrasyleos; and this too: Kynegeiros son of Euphorion there, seizing the stern of a ship, had his hand cut off by an axe, and fell; so too other Athenians, many and famous.

[6.115] Seven of the ships were gotten in this way by the Athenians. But in the rest the *barbaroi* put out to sea and, taking up from the island in which they had left them the Eretrian slaves, they sailed around Sounion, hoping to anticipate the Athenians in coming into the city. Blame for this, it was held among the Athenians, fell to the Alkmaeonids: that by their scheme this plan was put in the minds of the Persians, for they had conspired together with them and showed them a shield [as signal] when they were already on their ships.

[6.116] They indeed sailed around Sounion, but the Athenians as fast as their feet could go went to help the city, and anticipated them by coming before the *barbaroi* arrived, and made camp (having come from the precinct of Herakles at Marathon into another precinct of Herakles at Kynosargos). The *barbaroi* then, in their ships lay off Phaleron (for that was the navy base then of the Athenians) and having there anchored their ships, they sailed away later back to Asia.

[6.117] In this battle at Marathon were killed, of the *barbaroi* about six thousand four hundred men, and of the Athenians one hundred and ninety-two—there fell, on both sides, so many.

And there occurred there a marvelous happening, as follows: an Athenian man, Epizelos son of Cuphagoras, while fighting at his station—a man become heroic—was bereft of his eyes, although not struck in any part of his body nor shot, and for the rest of his life he lived, from this time, blind. And he said himself about what he had suffered, as I heard, something like this: a man seemed to him—a hoplite—to stand against him—a huge man whose beard shadowed his whole shield; this phantom passed by Epizeloshimself, but killed the man standing beside him. These things indeed, as I learned, Epizelos said.
....

[6.120] And of the Lakedaimonians there came to Athens two thousand, after the full moon, and they had great zeal to get there, so much so that on the third day out of Sparta they

were in Attica. Although they arrived too late for the battle, they desired nevertheless to view the Persians, and going to Marathon, they viewed them. Afterwards, praising the Athenians and the deed done by them, they went off back again.

The Athenians Abandon Their City – *The Themistocles Decree*

The Gods,

Resolved by the Boule and the People on the proposal of Themistocles the son of Neocles of the deme Phrearrhioi: to entrust the city to the Guardian of Athens, Athena, and to all the other gods to protect it and defend it against the barbarian.

All Athenians and the resident aliens of Athens shall remove their families to Troezen...The older people and the movable possessions shall be transported to Salamis for safekeeping.

The treasures and the priests shall remain on the Acropolis to protect the property of the gods. All other Athenians and aliens who are of military age shall embark on the two hundred ships that lie ready for service, to repel the barbarian in defense of their freedom and the freedom of the other Greeks, in common cause with the Spartans, the Corinthians, the Aeginetans and all the rest who desire to share the danger. Beginning tomorrow, the generals shall appoint from among those who have legitimate children and own land and homes in Athens two hundred trierarchs, one for each ship. To these men, who may not be older than fifty, the ships will be assigned by lot. The generals shall also assign ten marines to each ship, men between twenty and thirty years of age, and four archers. They shall also assign by lot the petty officers for each ship when they allot the trierarchs. Moreover, the generals shall make a list of the rest of the crew, ship by ship, on whiteboards, drawing the names of the Athenians from the lexiarchic records and those of the aliens from the registers of the polemarch. They shall list them, after dividing them into two hundred units, each containing one hundred men, and they shall record for each division the name of the ship and the names of the trierarch and the petty officers, so that they will know which ship each unit shall board. When all the divisions have been assigned and allotted to the ships, the Boule and the generals shall proceed to man all of the two hundred ships after performing sacrifices to appease Zeus the Almighty and Athena and Victory and Poseidon the Securer.

When the manning of the ships is completed, they shall dispatch one hundred of them to Artemisium in Euboea, while the remaining one hundred shall be kept around Salamis and the rest of Attica for the protection of the country. In order to ensure that all Athenians

may be united in warding off the barbarian, those who have been ostracized for ten years shall go to Salamis and stay there until the People reach a decision about them...

Simonides of Ceos, "On the Athenian Dead at Plataea"

If to die nobly is the greatest part of virtue

then to us, of all men, Fortune has granted this fate;

for, hastening to assure the freedom of Greece,

we lie here enjoying ageless glory.

Simonides of Ceos, "On the Spartan Dead at Plataea"

These men, having crowned their beloved country

with everlasting honour,

were shrouded in the dark cloud of death;

yet, though dead, they have not died,

for their virtue raises them in glory

high above the house of Hades!

The Delian League and Athenian Power, Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* I.95-99

By that time Pausanias had already become domineering, thereby alienating the rest of the Greeks and in particular the Ionians and others who had been recently freed from the Persian king. They went to the Athenians and pleaded with them as kinsmen to be their leaders and to protect them against Pausanias if he tried to coerce them. The Athenians accepted their proposals and resolved both to put up with Pausanias' behaviour no longer

and to settle matters to their own advantage. Meanwhile, the Lacedaemonians called Pausanias back to Sparta in order to question him about rumours they had heard, for he had been accused of many crimes by Greeks who came to Sparta and had seemed more like a tyrant than a general in exercising his authority. His recall happened at the very time that their hatred for him led the allies, except for the Peloponnesians, to turn to the Athenians. When he arrived in Lacedaemon he was held responsible for his offenses against individuals, but he was acquitted on the principal charge, that he had been involved in treasonable negotiations with the Persians, even though his guilt had seemed obvious. He did not retain his command, however; the government gave it instead to Dorcis and a few others with a very small force. But the allies would not recognize these men as their leaders and so they returned home. After that the Lacedaemonians sent no more commanders, for they were afraid that these would be corrupted as Pausanias had been. They had also grown tired of fighting the Persians and so, believing that the Athenians were their friends, they acknowledged that they were competent to take command.

This, then, is how the Athenians became the leaders of the allies, who gave them the command voluntarily and because they despised Pausanias. They determined which of the cities should contribute money and which should supply ships for the war against the barbarians, the avowed purpose of which was to compensate themselves and the allies for their losses by plundering the Persian King's country. And it was then that the Athenians created the office of Hellenic treasurers, who received the *phoros*, as the tribute was called. The first assessment was four hundred and sixty talents. The treasury was the island of Delos, where the allies held their councils in the temple.

Leaders of allies how, at least in the beginning, were autonomous and met in common councils, the Athenians in the interval between the Persian wars and this war scored great military and administrative victories against the barbarians, their own allies when they rebelled, and against the Peloponnesians who sometimes became involved in those rebellions. I have gone out of my way to write about this interval because earlier writers have ignored it. They have focused either on Greek affairs prior to the Persian Wars or on the Persian Wars themselves. Hellanicus is the only one who has touched on this interval, but his account is brief and his chronology is inaccurate. My narrative of events during this interval will also serve to explain how the Athenian empire grew.

First, under the leadership of Cimon, son of Miltiades, the Athenians took by siege Persian-held Eion on the river Strymon, making slaves of its citizens. Then they enslaved the Dolopians who lived on Scyros and made that Aegean island their own colony. A war broke out between the Athenians and the Carystians in which the other Euboeans remained

uninvolved, and after a while the parties settled on terms of surrender. The Athenians then waged war on the Naxians, who had revolted, and took them by siege. The Naxians were the first of the allies to be enslaved for violating the order established by Athens, enslavement being a practice which would later become common.

There were many factors which led to the rebellions of the allies, but the most important were their failure to pay the tribute or to supply ships and, in some cases, their refusal to perform their military service. For the Athenians were very severe in their exacting of the tribute and they offended by their coercive measures people who were neither accustomed to nor willing to put up with the hardships of forced service. And there were other ways in which the Athenians turned out to be less agreeable as rulers than they had been at first; they would no longer take part in joint campaigns unless they were in charge, and they found it easy to put down allies who rebelled. And yet it was the allies themselves who were really responsible for their fate, for most of them, because they disliked military service and did not want to be away from home, agreed to make their contributions in money rather than ships. Their contributions increased the size of the Athenian fleet, but they themselves were always untrained and unprepared when they rebelled.

The Cures of Asclepius at Epidaurus

22. Hermon of Thasos. A blind man, he was cured by Asclepius. But since, after his healing, he did not bring his thank-offering, the god caused him to be blind again. When he returned, however, and slept again in the templed, Asclepius restored his sight.

23. Aristagora or Troezen. Having tapeworm in her intestines, she had a dream while sleeping in the temple of Asclepius at Troezen. It seemed to her that the sons of Asclepius, while the god was away in Epidaurus, cut off her head. Then, when they were unable to put it back on her body, they sent someone to Asclepius requesting his return. In the meantime daylight came and the priest clearly saw her head detached from her body. With the coming of nightAristagora had another vision. It seemed to her that the god, having returned from Epidaurus, placed her head on her neck again and then cut open her belly, removed the tapeworm, and sewed her up. Her health was restored after that.

26. A dog healed an Aeginetan boy who had a growth on his neck. When he came to the god one of the sacred dogs cured him by licking him with his tongue while he was awake, and made him healthy.

27. A man who had an ulcer in his abdomen. While he was sleeping in the temple he had a dream. It seemed to him that the god commanded the servants who were escorting him to get a tight hold on him so that he could make an incision in his abdomen. He tried to escape, but they grabbed him and tied him to the knocker of a door. After that, Asclepius cut open his belly, removed the ulcer, sewed him up again and released him from the ties which had held him. The result was that he left the temple a healthy man, though the floor of the temple was stained with blood.

31. Andromache of Epirus, who hoped to have children. While sleeping in the temple she had a dream. It seemed to her that a handsome youth removed her covers and that the god later touched her with his hands. As a result, Andromache had a son by Arrybas.

32. Anticrates of Cnidus. He was struck by a spear in battle and was blinded in both eyes. He carried the point of the spear embedded in his face. While sleeping in the temple he saw a vision. It seemed to him that the god extracted the projectile and then put the so-called pupils back into his eyes. The next day he left the temple cured.

35. [ ] of Epidaurus, who was lame. He came to the sanctuary as a suppliant on a litter. While sleeping he saw a vision. It seemed to him that the god broke his crutch and told him to bring a ladder and to climb to the highest point of the sanctuary. He tried, but then he lost his nerve and halted on the cornice; eventually he abandoned his effort and slowly came down the ladder. At first Asclepius was displeased with his behaviour, but then laughed at him for his lack of courage. When daytime came he dared to try it again, and he walked out unscathed.

43. [ ] of Cos, who had gout. While awake, he approached a goose who bit his feet and caused him to bleed, thus making him healthy.

Hippocrates, *On the Sacred Disease*

It is thus with regard to the disease called Sacred: it appears to me to be nowise more divine nor more sacred than other diseases, but has a natural cause from the originates like other affections. Men regard its nature and cause as divine from ignorance and wonder, because it is not at all like to other diseases. And this notion of its divinity is kept up by their inability to comprehend it, and the simplicity of the mode by which it is cured, for men are freed from it by purifications and incantations. But if it is reckoned divine because it is wonderful, instead of one there are many diseases which would be sacred; for, as I will

show, there are others no less wonderful and prodigious, which nobody imagines to be sacred. The quotidian, tertian, and quartan fevers, seem to me no less sacred and divine in their origin than this disease, although they are not reckoned so wonderful. And I see men become mad and demented from no manifest cause, and at the same time doing many things out of place; and I have known many persons in sleep groaning and crying out, some in a state of suffocation,some jumping up and fleeing out of doors, and deprived of their reason until they awaken, and afterward becoming well and rational as before, although they be pale and weak; and this will happen not once but frequently. And there are many and various things of the like kind, which it would be tedious to state particularly.

They who first referred this malady to the gods appear to me to have been just such persons as the conjurors, purificators, mountebanks, and charlatans now are, who give themselves out for being excessively religious, and as knowing more than other people. Such persons, then, using the divinity as a pretext and screen of their own inability to of their own inability to afford any assistance, have given out that the disease is sacred, adding suitable reasons for this opinion, they have instituted a mode of treatment which is safe for themselves, namely, by applying purifications and incantations, and enforcing abstinence from baths and many articles of food which are unwholesome to men in diseases. Of sea substances, the surmullet, the blacktail, the mullet, and the eel; for these are the fishes most to be guarded against. And of fleshes, those of the goat, the stag, the sow, and the dog: for these are the kinds of flesh which areaptest to disorder the bowels. Of fowls, the cock, the turtle, and the bustard, and such others as are reckoned to be particularly strong. And of potherbs, mint, garlic, and onions; for what is acrid does not agree with a weak person. And they forbid to have a black robe, because black is expressive of death; and to sleep on a goat's skin, or to wear it, and to put one foot upon another, or one hand upon another; for all these things are held to be hindrances to the cure. Allthese they enjoin with reference to its divinity, as if possessed of more knowledge, and announcing beforehand other causes so that if the person should recover, theirs would be the honor and credit; and if he should die, they would have a certain defense, as if the gods, and not they, were to blame, seeing they had administered nothing either to eat or drink as medicines, nor had overheated him with baths, so as to prove the cause of what had happened. But I am of opinion that (if this were true) none of the Libyans, who live in the interior, would be free from this disease, since they all sleep on goats' skins, and live upon goats' flesh; neither have they couch, robe, nor shoe that is not made of goat's skin, for they have no other herds but goats and oxen. But if these things, when administered in food, aggravate the disease, and if it be cured by abstinence from them, godhead is not the cause at all; nor will purifications be of any avail,but it is the food which is beneficial and prejudicial, and the influence of the divinity vanishes.

Thus, they who try to cure these maladies in this way, appear to me neither to reckon them sacred nor divine. For when they are removed by such purifications, and this method of cure, what is to prevent them from being brought upon men and induced by other devices similar to these? So that the cause is no longer divine, but human. For whoever is able, by purifications conjurations, to drive away such an affection, will be able, by other practices, to excite it; and, according to this view, its divine nature is entirely done away with. By such sayings and doings, they profess to be possessed of superior knowledge, and deceive mankind by enjoining lustrations and purifications upon them, while their discourse turns upon the divinity and the godhead. And yet it would appear to me that their discourse savors not of piety, as they suppose, but rather of impiety, and as if there were no gods, and that what they hold to be holy and divine, were impious and unholy. This I will now explain.

For, if they profess to know how to bring down the moon, darken the sun, induce storms and fine weather, and rains and droughts, and make the sea and land unproductive, and so forth, whether they arrogate this power as being derived from mysteries or any other knowledge or consideration, they appear to me to practice impiety, and either to fancy that there are no gods, or, if there are, that they have no ability to ward off any of the greatest evils. How, then, are they not enemies to the gods? For if a man by magical arts and sacrifices will bring down the moon, and darken the sun, and induce storms, or fine weather, I should not believe that there was anything divine, but human, in these things, provided the power of the divine were overpowered by human knowledge and subjected to it. But perhaps it will be said, these things are not so, but, not withstanding, men being in want of the means of life, invent many and various things, and devise many contrivances for all other things, and for this disease, in every phase of the disease, assigning the cause to a god. Nor do theyremember the same things once, but frequently. For, if they imitate a goat, or grind their teeth, or if their right side be convulsed, they say that the mother of the gods is the cause. But if they speak in a sharper and more intense tone, they resemble this state to a horse, and say that Poseidon is the cause. Or if any excrement be passed, which is often the case, owing to the violence of the disease, the appellation of Enodia is adhibited; or, if it be passed in smaller and denser masses, like bird's, it is said to be from Apollo Nomius. But if foam be emitted by the mouth, and the patient kick with his feet, Ares then gets the blame. But terrors which happen during the night, and fevers, and delirium, and jumpings out of bed, and frightful apparitions, and fleeing away,- all these they hold to be the plots of Hecate, and the invasions and use purifications and incantations, and, as appears to me, make the divinity to be most wicked and most impious. For they purify those labouring under this disease, with the same sorts of blood

and the other means that are used in the case of those who are stained with crimes, and of malefactors, or who have been enchanted by men, or who have done any wicked act; who ought to do the very reverse, namely, sacrifice and pray, and, bringing gifts to the temples, supplicate the gods. But now they do none of these things, but purify; and some of the purifications they conceal in the earth, and some they throw into the sea, and some they carry to the mountains where no one can touch or tread upon them. But these they ought to take to the temples and present to the god, if a god be the cause of the disease. Neither truly do I count it a worthy opinion to hold that the body of man is polluted by god, the most impure by the most holy; for were it defiled, or did it suffer from any other thing, it would be like to be purified and sanctified rather than polluted by god. For it is the divinity which purifies and sanctifies the greatest of offenses and the most wicked, and which proves our protection from them. And we mark out the boundaries of the temples and the groves of the gods, so that no one may pass them unless he be pure, and when we enter them we are sprinkled with holy water, not as being polluted, but as laying aside any other pollution which we formerly had. And thus it appears to me to hold, with regard to purifications.

But this disease seems to me to be no more divine than others; but it has its nature such as other diseases have, and a cause whence it originates, and its nature and cause are divine only just as much as all others are, and it is curable no less than the others, unless when, the from of time, it is confirmed, and has became stronger than the remedies applied. Its origin is hereditary, like that of other diseases. For if a phlegmatic person be born of a phlegmatic, and a bilious of a bilious, and a phthisical of a phthisical, and one having spleen disease, of another having disease of the spleen, what is to hinder it from happening that where the father and mother were subject to this disease, certain of their offspring should be so affected also? As the semen comes from all parts of the body, healthy particles will come from healthy parts, and unhealthy from unhealthy parts. And another great proof that it is in nothing more divine than other diseases is, that it occurs in those who are of a phlegmatic constitution, but does not attack the bilious. Yet, if it were more divine than the others, this disease ought to befall all alike, and make no distinction between the bilious and phlegmatic.

Hippocrates, *The Oath*

I SWEAR by Apollo the physician, and Aesculapius, and Health, and All-heal, and all the gods and goddesses, that, according to my ability and judgment, I will keep this Oath and this stipulation- to reckon him who taught me this Art equally dear to me as my parents, to

share my substance with him, and relieve his necessities if required; to look upon his offspring in the same footing as my own brothers, and to teach them this art, if they shall wish to learn it, without fee or stipulation; and that by precept, lecture, and every other mode of instruction, I will impart a knowledge of the Art to my own sons, and those of my teachers, and to disciples bound by a stipulation and oath according to the law of medicine, but to none others. I will follow that system of regimen which, according to my ability and judgment, I consider for the benefit of my patients, and abstain from whatever is deleterious and mischievous. I will give no deadly medicine to any one if asked, nor suggest any such counsel; and in like manner I will not give to a woman a pessary to produce abortion. With purity and with holiness I will pass my life and practice my Art. I will not cut persons labouring under the stone, but will leave this to be done by men who are practitioners of this work. Into whatever houses I enter, I will go into them for the benefit of the sick, and will abstain from every voluntary act of mischief and corruption; and, further from the seduction of females or males, of freemen and slaves. Whatever, in connection with my professional practice or not, in connection with it, I see or hear, in the life of men, which ought not to be spoken of abroad, I will not divulge, as reckoning that all such should be kept secret. While I continue to keep this Oath unviolated, may it be granted to me to enjoy life and the practice of the art, respected by all men, in all times! But should I trespass and violate this Oath, may the reverse be my lot!

A Hippocratic Physician: Excerpts

1. All those who have undertaken to speak or write about medicine have set up for themselves various hypotheses – heat, cold, moisture, dryness or anything else they want – on which they base their discourses, thus reducing the causal principles of diseases and of death and attributing to all the same explanations, by postulating one or two things. These people are manifestly wrong in much of what they say, but they are especially deserving of blame because they are in error about an art which serves all people, an art which concerns matters of the greatest importance and whose craftsmen and practitioners are greatly honoured by all. There are incompetent medical practitioners and there are others who are highly skilled, a distinction that wouldn't exist if medicine weren't an art at all and did not involve research and discovery, in which case all its practitioners would be equally inexperienced and inexpert and the treatment of the sick would be in all respects a matter of chance. But this is not the case in our time, for just as in all other arts the practitioners differ from one another considerably in skill and in knowledge, so it is also in medicine. For these reasons I do not think that medicine needs any such empty assumptions as do dark

mysteries which, if one attempts to deal with them, require a hypothesis; for example, things in the sky or under the earth. If one were to know and discourse on the nature of these mysterious things it would not be clear either to the speaker himself or to his listeners whether his sayings were true or not, for there would be no way of testing his statements by comparing them with anything that is clearly known.

2. Medicine, however, has for a long time had all the means of dealing with these problems and has discovered both a principle and a method of procedure by which many excellent discoveries have been made over the years. What remains to be learned will be found if the investigator is competent, has mastered what has already been discovered, and proceeds from this knowledge in conducting his research. Anyone who rejects and casts aside all these procedures, who seeks to make discoveries in any other way or by any other methods, and claims to have discovered something, is and has been fooled. To do so is not possible. I will try to show the reasons why it is impossible by explaining what the art of medicine really is. From this exposition it will become obvious that discoveries cannot be made in any other way. It is my opinion, however, that anyone who discusses the art of medicine must keep in mind especially what is familiar to the common people. For what he investigates and discusses is nothing more than the sufferings of these same people when they are sick and in pain. To them, because they are simple people, the understanding of their own sufferings, their causes and their cures, and the reasons they get worse or better, is not easy; but when this knowledge is gained and explained by another it is easy for them to understand it. For nothing else is required but for each person to refer to his memory when he listens to a description of his own experiences. If, however, one does not succeed in being understood by the common people and is unable to affect his listeners in this manner, he will fail. And for these reasons medicine does not need any assumptions.