

CAMBRIDGE LIBRARY COLLECTION

Books of enduring scholarly value

Classics

From the Renaissance to the nineteenth century, Latin and Greek were compulsory subjects in almost all European universities, and most early modern scholars published their research and conducted international correspondence in Latin. Latin had continued in use in Western Europe long after the fall of the Roman empire as the lingua franca of the educated classes and of law, diplomacy, religion and university teaching. The flight of Greek scholars to the West after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 gave impetus to the study of ancient Greek literature and the Greek New Testament. Eventually, just as nineteenth-century reforms of university curricula were beginning to erode this ascendancy, developments in textual criticism and linguistic analysis, and new ways of studying ancient societies, especially archaeology, led to renewed enthusiasm for the Classics. This collection offers works of criticism, interpretation and synthesis by the outstanding scholars of the nineteenth century.

A History of Greece

Widely acknowledged as the most authoritative Victorian study of ancient Greece, George Grote's twelve-volume work, begun in 1846, established the view of Greek history which still prevails in textbooks and popular accounts of the ancient world today. Grote employs direct and clear language to take the reader from the earliest times of legendary Greece to the death of Alexander and his generation, drawing upon epic poetry and legend, and examining the growth and decline of the Athenian democracy. The work explains Greek political constitutions and philosophy, and interwoven throughout are the important but outlying adventures of the Sicilian and Italian Greeks. Volume 3 reviews the world which the Greeks knew, and to which they sent colonies, and discusses their neighbours around the Mediterranean and Black Sea, from the Egyptians to the Scythians, and from Persia to what is now France.



Cambridge University Press has long been a pioneer in the reissuing of out-of-print titles from its own backlist, producing digital reprints of books that are still sought after by scholars and students but could not be reprinted economically using traditional technology. The Cambridge Library Collection extends this activity to a wider range of books which are still of importance to researchers and professionals, either for the source material they contain, or as landmarks in the history of their academic discipline.

Drawing from the world-renowned collections in the Cambridge University Library, and guided by the advice of experts in each subject area, Cambridge University Press is using state-of-the-art scanning machines in its own Printing House to capture the content of each book selected for inclusion. The files are processed to give a consistently clear, crisp image, and the books finished to the high quality standard for which the Press is recognised around the world. The latest print-on-demand technology ensures that the books will remain available indefinitely, and that orders for single or multiple copies can quickly be supplied.

The Cambridge Library Collection will bring back to life books of enduring scholarly value (including out-of-copyright works originally issued by other publishers) across a wide range of disciplines in the humanities and social sciences and in science and technology.



A History of Greece

VOLUME 3

GEORGE GROTE





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paolo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108009522

© in this compilation Cambridge University Press 2009

This edition first published 1847 This digitally printed version 2009

ISBN 978-1-108-00952-2 Paperback

This book reproduces the text of the original edition. The content and language reflect the beliefs, practices and terminology of their time, and have not been updated.

Cambridge University Press wishes to make clear that the book, unless originally published by Cambridge, is not being republished by, in association or collaboration with, or with the endorsement or approval of, the original publisher or its successors in title.



HISTORY OF GREECE.

BY

GEORGE GROTE, Esq.

VOL. III.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1847.



CONTENTS.

VOL. III.

PART II.

CONTINUATION OF HISTORICAL GREECE.

CHAPTER IX.

Corinth, Sikyôn, and Megara.—Age of the Grecian Despots.

Early commerce and enterprise of the Corinthians.—Oligarchy of the Bacchiadæ. - Early condition of Megara. - Early condition of Sikyôn.-Rise of the despots.-Earliest changes of government in Greece.-Peculiarity of Sparta.-Discontinuance of kingship in Greece generally.-Comparison with the middle ages of Europe.—Anti-monarchical sentiment of Greece-Mr. Mitford.-Causes which led to the growth of anti-monarchical sentiment.—Change to oligarchical government.-Such change indicates an advance in the Greek mind.—Dissatisfaction with the oligarchies-modes by which the despots acquired power.—Examples.—Tendency towards a better organized citizenship.—The demagoguedespot of the earlier times compared with the demagogue of later times.-Contrast between the despot and the early heroic king. Position of the despot.-Good government impossible to him.—Conflict between oligarchy and despotism preceded that between oligarchy and democracy.-Early oligarchies included a multiplicity of different sections and associations.-Government of the Geômori-a close order of present or past proprietors.—Classes of the people.— Military force of the early oligarchies consisted of cavalry. -Growth of the heavy-armed infantry and of the free military marine - both unfavourable to oligarchy. - Dorian states-Dorian and non-Dorian inhabitants.-Dynasty of despots at Sikyôn-the Orthagoridæ.-Violent proceedings of Kleisthenês.-Classes of the Sikyonian population.-Fall



iv

CONTENTS.

of the Orthagoridæ-state of Sikyôn after it.-The Sikyonian despots not put down by Sparta.-Despots at Corinth -Kypselus-Periander.-Great power of Corinth under Periander.-Fall of the Kypselid dynasty.-Megara-Theagenês the despot.—Disturbed government at Megara -The poet Theognis .-- Analogy of Corinth, Sikyôn and Megara

1 - 64

Page

CHAPTER X.

Ionic portion of Hellas .- Athens before Solon.

History of Athens before Drako-only a list of names.-No king after Kodrus. Life archons. Decennial archons. Annual archons, nine in number.—Archonship of Kreon, B.C. 683—commencement of Attic chronology.—Obscurity of the civil condition of Attica before Solon .- Alleged duodecimal division of Attica in early times .- Four Ionic tribes -Geleontes, Hoplêtes, Ægikoreis, Argadeis.-These names are not names of castes or professions .-- Component portions of the four tribes.—The Trittys and the Naukrary.— The Phratry and the Gens.-What constituted the gens or gentile communion. - Artificial enlargement of the primitive family association. Ideas of worship and ancestry coalesce.-Belief in a common divine ancestor.-This ancestry fabulous, yet still accredited .- Analogies from other nations .- Roman and Grecian gentes .- Rights and obligations of the gentile and phratric brethren.-The gens and phratry after the revolution of Kleisthenês became extra-political.—Many distinct political communities originally in Attica.-Theseus.-Long continuance of the cantonal feeling .- What demes were originally independent of Athens. -Eleusis.-Eupatridæ, Geômori, and Demiurgi.-Eupatridæ originally held all political power.-Senate of Areopagus.-The nine archons-their functions.-Drako and his laws.-Different tribunals for homicide at Athens.-Regulations of Drako about the Ephetæ.--Local superstitions at Athens about trial of homicide.—Attempted usurpation by Kylôn.—His failure, and massacre of his partisans by order of the Alkmæônids.-Trial and condemnation of the Alkmæônids.-Pestilence and suffering at Athens.-Mystic sects and brotherhoods in the sixth century B.c. Epimenidês of Krete. - Epimenidês visits and purifies Athens.—His life and character.—Contrast of his age with that of Plato

65-117



CONTENTS.

Page

CHAPTER XI.

Solonian Laws and Constitution.

Life, character and poems of Solon.-War between Athens and Megara about Salamis.-Acquisition of Salamis by Athens .- Settlement of the dispute by Spartan arbitration in favour of Athens.-State of Athens immediately before the legislation of Solon.—Internal dissension—misery of the poorer population.—Slavery of the debtors—law of debtor and creditor .- Injustice and rapacity of the rich .-General mutiny and necessity for a large reform. - Solon is made archon, and invested with full powers of legislation. -He refuses to make himself despot.-His Seisachtheia, or relief law for the poorer debtors. -- He debases the money standard.—General popularity of the measure after partial dissatisfaction.-Different statements afterwards as to the nature and extent of the Seisachtheia.-Necessity of the measure—mischievous contracts to which the previous law had given rise.—Solon's law finally settled the question -no subsequent complaint as to private debts-respect for contracts unbroken under the democracy.-Distinction made in an early society between the principal and the interest of a loan-interest disapproved of in toto.-This opinion was retained by the philosophers, after it had ceased to prevail in the community generally.-Solonian Seisachtheia was never imitated at Athens-money-standard honestly maintained afterwards.-Solon is empowered to modify the political constitution. - His census-four scales of property.-Graduated liability to income-tax, of the three richest classes, one compared with the other.—Admeasurement of political rights and franchises according to this scale—a Timocracy.—Fourth or poorest class—exercised powers only in assembly—chose magistrates and held them to accountability.—Pro-bouleutic or pre-considering Senate of Four Hundred.—Senate of Areopagus—its powers enlarged.—Confusion frequently observable between Solonian and post-Solonian institutions.-Loose language of the Athenian orators on this point.—Solon never contemplated the future change or revision of his own laws.—Solon laid the foundation of the Athenian democracy, but his institutions are not democratical.—The real Athenian democracy begins afterwards with Kleisthenês.-Athenian government after Solon still oligarchical, but mitigated .- The archons still continued to be judges until after the time of Kleisthenes.-After-changes in the Athenian constitution over-



> vi CONTENTS.

looked by the orators, but understood by Aristotle, and strongly felt at Athens during the time of Periklês.-Gentes and Phratries under the Solonian constitution-status of persons not included in them .- Laws of Solon .- The Drakonian laws about homicide retained; the rest abrogated .-Multifarious character of the laws of Solon: no appearance of classification. - He prohibits the export of landed produce from Attica, except oil.—This prohibition of little or no effect.—Encouragement to artisans and industry.—Power of testamentary bequest-first sanctioned by Solon.-Laws relating to women.-Regulations about funerals.-About evil-speaking and abusive language.-Rewards to the victors at the sacred games .- Theft .- Censure pronounced by Solon upon citizens neutral in a sedition.-Importance, under the Grecian city-governments, of some positive political sentiment on the part of the citizens.—Contrast in this respect between the age of Solon and the subsequent democracy .-- Analogous idea followed out in the subsequent Ostracism.—Sentiment of Solon towards the Homeric poems and the drama.-Difficulties of Solon after the enactment of the laws. He retires from Attica.-Visits Egypt and Cyprus.—Alleged interview and conversation of Solon with Crœsus at Sardis.-Moral lesson arising out of the narrative.—State of Attica after the Solonian legislation.—Return of Solon to Athens .- Rise of Peisistratus .- His memorable stratagem to procure a guard from the people.-Peisistratus seizes the Akropolis and becomes despot-courageous resistance of Solon.-Death of Solon-his character.--Appendix, on the procedure of the Roman law respecting principal and interest in a loan of money 118-215

CHAPTER XIL

Eubœa.—Cyclades.

The islands called Cyclades.—Eubœa.—Its six or seven towns -Chalkis, Eretria, &c.-How peopled.-Early power of Chalkis, Eretria, Naxos, &c .- Early Ionic festival at Dêlos; crowded and wealthy. - Its decline about 560 B.c. -causes thereof.—Homeric hymn to the Delian Apollo-evidence as to early Ionic life .- War between Chalkis and Eretria in early times - extensive alliances of each. - Commerce and colonies of Chalkis and Eretria-Euboic scale of money and weight.-Three different Grecian scales-Æginæan, Euboic, and Attic-their ratio to each other ... 216-228

Page



CONTENTS.

vii

CHAPTER XIII.

Asiatic Ionians.

Page

Twelve Ionic cities in Asia.—Legendary event called the Ionic migration .- Emigrants to these cities -- diverse Greeks .-Great differences of dialect among the twelve cities .- Ionic cities really founded by different migrations. - Consequences of the mixture of inhabitants in these colonies-more activity-more instability.-Mobility ascribed to the Ionic race as compared with the Doric-arises from this cause. -Ionic cities in Asia-mixed with indigenous inhabitants. -Worship of Apollo and Artemis-existed on the Asiatic coast prior to the Greek immigrants-adopted by them .-Pan-Ionic festival and Amphiktyony on the promontory of Mykalê.—Situation of Milêtus—of the other Ionic cities.— Territories interspersed with Asiatic villages.-Magnêsia on the Mæander-Magnêsia on Mount Sipylus.-Ephesus-Androklus the Œkist--first settlement and distribution.--Increase and acquisitions of Ephesus .- Kolophôn, its origin and history.-Temple of Apollo at Klarus, near Kolophôn-its legends.-Lebedus, Teôs, Klazomenæ, &c.-Internal distribution of the inhabitants of Teôs.-Erythræ and Chios.—Klazomenæ—Phôkæa.—Smyrna 229-253

CHAPTER XIV.

Æolic Greeks in Asia.

Twelve cities of Æolic Greeks.-Their situation-eleven near together on the Elæitic Gulf .-- Legendary Æolic migration. -Kymê-the earliest as well as the most powerful of the twelve.--Magnêsia ad Sipylum.--Lesbos.--Early inhabitants of Lesbos before the Æolians.—Æolic establishments in the region of Mount Ida.—Continental settlements of Lesbos and Tenedos. -Ante-Hellenic inhabitants in the region of Mount Ida-Mysians and Teukrians.-Teukrians of Gergis.-Mitylênê-its political dissensions-its poets. -Power and merit of Pittakus. -Alkæus the poet-his flight from battle.—Bitter opposition of Pittakus and Alkæus in internal politics.-Pittakus is created Æsymnete, or Dictator of Mitylênê 254-269



viii

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XV.

Asiatic Dorians.

CHAPTER XVI.

Natives of Asia Minor with whom the Greeks became connected.

CHAPTER XVII.

Lydians.-Medes.-Cimmerians.-Scythians.

Lydians—their music and instruments.—They and their capital Sardis unknown to Homer.—Early Lydian kings.—Kandaulês and Gygês.—The Mermnad dynasty succeeds to the Herakleid.—Legend of Gygês in Plato.—Feminine influence running through the legends of Asia Minor.—Distribution of Lydia into two parts—Lydia and Torrhêbia.—Proceedings of Gygês.—His son and successor Ardys.—Assyrians and Medes.—First Median king—Dêïokês.—His history composed of Grecian materials, not Oriental.—Phraortês—Kyaxarês.—Siege of Nineveh—invasion of the Scythians and Cimmerians.—The Cimmerians.—The Scythians.—Grecian settlements on the coast of the Euxine.—Scythia as described by Herodotus.—Tribes of Scythians.—Manners and worship.—Scythians formidable from num-



CONTENTS.

ix

Page

bers and courage.-Sarmatians.-Tribes east and north of the Palus Mæotis.-Tauri in the Crimea-Massagetæ.-Invasion of Asia by Scythians and Cimmerians.-Cimmerians driven out of their country by the Scythians .-- Difficulties in the narrative of Herodotus.-Cimmerians in Asia Minor.-Scythians in Upper Asia.-Expulsion of these Nomads, after a temporary occupation.—Lydian kings Sadyattês and Alyattês-war against Milêtus.-Sacrilege committed by Alvattês-oracle-he makes peace with Milêtus.--Long reign--death---and sepulchre, of Alyattês.--Crœsus.—He attacks and conquers the Asiatic Greeks.— Want of co-operation among the Ionic cities.—Unavailing suggestion of Thalês-to merge the twelve Ionic cities into one Pan-Ionic city at Teôs.—Capture of Ephesus.—Crœsus becomes king of all Asia westward of the Halys.-New and important æra for the Hellenic world-commencing with the conquests of Crœsus.-Action of the Lydian empire continued on a still larger scale by the Persian 294-351

CHAPTER XVIII.

Phenicians.

Phenicians and Assyrians-members of the Semitic family of the human race.-Early presence of Phenician ships in the Grecian seas-in the Homeric times.-Situation and cities of Phenicia.—Phenician commerce flourished more in the earlier than in the later times of Greece.-Phenician colonies -Utica, Carthage, Gadês, &c.-Commerce of the Phenicians of Gadês-towards Africa on one side and Britain on the other.-Productive region round Gadês, called Tartêssus. -Phenicians and Carthaginians-the establishments of the latter combined views of empire with views of commerce.-Phenicians and Greeks in Sicily and Cyprus-the latter partially supplant the former.—Iberia and Tartêssus—unvisited by the Greeks before about 630 B.C.—Memorable voyage of the Samian Kôlæus to Tartêssus .- Exploring voyages of the Phôkæans, between 630-570 B.C.-Important addition to Grecian geographical knowledge, and stimulus to Grecian fancy, thus communicated .- Circumnavigation of Africa by the Phenicians.—This circumnavigation was really accomplished—doubts of critics, ancient and modern, examined.—Caravan-trade by land carried on by the Phenicians 352-385



X

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-00952-2 - A History of Greece, Volume 3 George Grote Frontmatter More information

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XIX.

Assyrians.—Babylon.

Assyrians-their name rests chiefly on Nineveh and Babylon. -Chaldwans at Babylon-order of priests.-Their astronomical observations.—Babylonia—its laborious cultivation and fertility.-City of Babylon-its dimensions and walls. -Babylon-only known during the time of its degradation -vet even then the first city in Western Asia.-Immense command of human labour possessed by the Babylonian kings .- Collective civilization in Asia, without individual freedom or development.-Graduated contrast between Egyptians, Assyrians, Phenicians, and Greeks.-Deserts and predatory tribes surrounding the Babylonians 386-405

Page

CHAPTER XX.

Egyptians.

Phenicians—the link of commerce between Egypt and Assyria.—Herodotus—earliest Grecian informant about Egypt. -The Nile in the time of Herodotus.-Thebes and Upper Egypt-of more importance in early times than Lower Egypt, but not so in the days of Herodotus.- Egyptian castes or hereditary professions .- Priests .- The military order .- Different statements about the castes .- Large town population of Egypt.-Profound submission of the people. -Destructive toil imposed by the great monuments.-Worship of animals.- Egyptian kings-taken from different parts of the country. - Relations of Egypt with Assyria. -Egyptian history not known before Psammetichus.-First introduction of Greeks into Egypt under Psammetichus-stories connected with it.-Importance of Grecian mercenaries to the Egyptian kings-caste of interpreters. -Opening of the Kanôpic branch of the Nile to Greek commerce-Greek establishment at Naukratis.-Discontents and mutiny of the Egyptian military order.-Nekôs son of Psammetichus-his active operations.-Defeated by Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemisch.-Psammis, son of Nekôs. - Apriês. - Amasis dethrones Apriês by means of the native soldiers.-He encourages Grecian commerce.-Important factory and religious establishment for the Greeks at Naukratis.-Prosperity of Egypt under Amasis.-Appendix, on the Egyptian chronology given by Manetho, as explained by M. Boëckh...... 406-450



CONTENTS.

Δi

CHAPTER XXI.

Decline of the Phenicians .-- Growth of Carthage.

Page

Decline of the Phenicians—growth of Grecian marine and commerce.—Effect of Phenicians, Assyrians and Egyptians on the Greek mind.—The alphabet.—The scale of money and weight.-The gnomon-and the division of the day.-Carthage.—Æra of Carthage.—Dominion of Carthage.— Dido.—First known collision of Greeks and Carthaginians -Massalia.-Amicable relations between Tyre and Car-

CHAPTER XXII.

Western Colonies of Greece-in Epirus, Italy, Sicily, and Gaul.

Early unauthenticated emigration from Greece.-Ante-Hellenic population of Sicily-Sikels-Sikans-Elymi-Phenicians.—Œnotria-Italia.—Pelasgi in Italy.—Latins-Œnotrians-Epirots-ethnically cognate.-Analogy of languages-Greek, Latin, and Oscan.-Grecian colonisation of ascertained date in Sicily-commences in 735 B.c.-Cumæ in Campania-earlier-date unknown.-Prosperity of Cumæ between 700-500 B.c.-Decline of Cumæ from 500 B.c.—Revolution—despotism of Aristodêmus.—Invasion of Cumæ by Tuscans and Samnites from the interior. -Rapid multiplication of Grecian colonies in Sicily and Italy, beginning with 735 B.C.—Foundation of Naxos in Sicily by Theoklês.--Spot where the Greeks first landed in Sicily-memorable afterwards.-Ante-Hellenic distribution of Sicily .- Foundation of Syracuse .- Leontini and Katana.-Megara in Sicily.-Gela.-Zanklê, afterwards Messênê (Messina).-Sub-colonies-Akræ, Kasmenæ, Kamarina, &c.-Agrigentum, Selinus, Himera, &c.-Prosperity of the Sicilian Greeks .- Mixed character of the population. - Peculiarity of the monetary and statical system, among the Sicilian and Italian Greeks.-Sikels and Sikans gradually hellenised.-Difference between the Greeks in Sicily and those in Greece Proper.-Native population in Sicily not numerous enough to become formidable to the Greek settlers.—Sikel prince Duketius.—Grecian colonies in Southern Italy .- Native population and territory.—Sybaris and Krotôn.—Territory and colonies of Sybaris and Krotôn.-Epizephyrian Lokri.-Original set-



> xii CONTENTS.

tlers of Lokri-their character and circumstances.-Treachery towards the indigenous Sikels .- Mixture of Sikels in their territory-Sikel customs adopted.-Lokrian lawgiver Zaleukus.-Rigour of his laws-government of Lokri.-Rhêgium.—Chalkidic settlements in Italy and Sicily-Rhêgium, Zanklê, Naxos, Katana, Leontini.-Kaulônia and Skyllêtium.—Siris or Hêrakleia.—Metapontium.—Tarentum-circumstances of its foundation.-The Partheniæ-Phalanthus the œkist.—Situation and territory of Tarentum.—Iapygians.—Messapians.—Prosperity of the Italian Greeks between 700-500 B.C.—Ascendency over the Œnotrian population.—Krotôn and Sybaris—at their maximum from 560-510 B.c.—The Sybarites—their luxury—their organisation, industry, and power.-Grecian world about 560 B.c.-Ionic and Italic Greeks are then the most prominent among Greeks .-- Consequences of the fall of Sybaris.-Krotoniates-their salubrity, strength, success in the Olympic games, &c.—Massalia 461-533

Page

CHAPTER XXIII.

Grecian Colonies in and near Epirus.

Korkyra.—Early foundation of Korkyra from Corinth.—Relations of Korkyra with Corinth.-Relations with Epirus. -Ambrakia founded by Corinth.-Joint settlements by Corinth and Korkyra.-Leukas and Anaktorium.-Apollonia and Epidamnus,-Relations between these colonies-

CHAPTER XXIV.

Akarnanians.--Epirots.

Akarnanians.—Their social and political condition.—Epirots -comprising different tribes, with little or no ethnical kindred.—Some of these tribes ethnically connected with those of Southern Italy .- Others, with the Macedonians-impossible to mark the boundaries .-- Territory distributed into villages-no considerable cities .- Coast of Epirus discouraging to Grecian colonisation.—Some Epirotic tribes governed by kings, others not...... 546-558