began with success: the Spartans were defeated at Arginusae in 406 B.C. But the battle was fought during a storm, and many Athenian sailors were drowned. The failure of the generals to rescue their drowning men caused an explosion of anger in the popular assembly at Athens. The generals were deprived of their command, and those of them who had come home were put to death. Such summary justice did not encourage their successors. To this cause among others the Athenians owed their final and decisive defeat, which took place at Aegospotami near the entrance of the Hellespont.

With the fleet the last hope of Athens perished. She was forced to accept the terms of peace dictated by Sparta in 404 B.C. The walls of the Pireaeus were levelled, and also the walls connecting the fortifications of the Pireaeus with those of Athens; the fleet, with the exception of twelve ships, was destroyed; and Athens was forced to join the Lacedaemonian league, in complete dependence upon Sparta. She continued, however, to exist as an independent state, in spite of the persistence with which Megara and Corinth demanded her complete destruction. Sparta even carried her magnanimous policy so far that she did not require Athens to retain the oligarchical government set up by Lysander, which was carried on by Critias and the rest of the Thirty Tyrants. When Thrasybulus overthrew the Thirty and restored the democracy, this revolution was quietly accepted by the Spartans.

The fundamental question of Greek politics was thus settled, and settled once for all. Local freedom and self-determination for each state had been bought; and the price paid was the collapse of the one attempt to consolidate Greece into a single political unit. It is true that this attempt was based on the ascendency of one state over all the rest. We shall see later that Greece endeavoured to settle the question of national unity by resorting to federation. But by that time the existence of an independent Greek power, based upon an association of free city-states, was altogether out of the question.
GREEK CIVILIZATION AND SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT FROM 500 TO 400 B.C.

After the defeat of Persia by Athens and Sparta, Athens became the chief political power in the Greek world, especially in central Greece, the islands, and Asia Minor; and to her also fell the leadership in economic development and in culture. In these departments, Sparta had neither the power nor the wish to rival her, and Asia Minor was entirely dependent upon her. The Greeks in Italy and Sicily still kept their economic and cultural importance but such outposts of Hellas had little influence on the life of those Greeks who lived round the Aegean. Athens, on the other hand, had acquired not only great political influence but a still greater moral authority. Greece recognized that Athenian persistence and patriotism had saved her, when the whole nation was threatened with the fate of the Ionian Greeks. For this reason Athens and all her doings were now watched with intense interest by the whole nation.

Life at Athens itself underwent radical changes. The city had become the capital of Hellas, and the citizens were conscious of this. Perhaps the growth of the city itself is the most obvious proof of this change in the position of Athens. In the sixth century B.C. the city, though large, had grown up irregularly; its religious centre was on the Acropolis, which had once been occupied by the fortified palace of the kings and was now consecrated to Athena, the guardian goddess of Athens, and the site of her
modest temple of local stone, Pisistratus did much for Athens. He built a large and convenient central market, improved the water-supply, erected a stately entrance to the Acropolis and a new central temple to Athena on the same hill. All this was swept away by the Persian invasion. When the city was recovered by its inhabitants, they found it in ruins. From 479 B.C. the work of making good the destruction went busily on. Cimon was conspicuous in this task. He rebuilt the city, particularly the market-place, which served also as an exchange and a social club, and was the place where some political business was transacted. Beside the marketplace, one of his relatives built the famous Stoa Poecile, or Painted Colonnade, decorated with paintings, some of them by a celebrated artist, Polygnotus. Of these paintings some represented heroic actions belonging to the legendary past; but others depicted such recent achievements as the battle of Marathon.

The Acropolis, however, still lay in ruins. Pericles, the director and organizer of the Athenian Empire, undertook the task of restoring it. Millions were spent by Athens to turn the Acropolis into one of the most perfect of architectural productions, adorned with a whole museum of masterpieces in stone and in colour. The work was still going on during the Peloponnesian war, at the very time when the shipwreck of Athenian power was drawing near. In realizing his artistic design Pericles was assisted by the architect Ictinus and by Phidias, the greatest of Greek sculptors. Their intention was to make the Acropolis a splendid dwelling-place for Athena, reigning above the city and symbolizing the power and might of Athens, both as an empire and as the heart of Greek civilization. It was still a fortress at the time of the Persian invasion, but it ceased now to be a fortress; the centre of Athens had no further need of fortifications. On its slopes there were no private houses and no shops; only a few shrines, including that of Asclepius, enlivened the steep sides of the hill. A stately staircase, ending in an elaborate entrance supported on pillars (Propylaea), led up from the plain below. In
Plate XIX  ZEUS. SCULPTURE OF THE 5TH CENTURY B.C.

1. The statue found in the sea near Cape Artemisium. The statue, larger than life-size, is an exceptionally well-preserved masterpiece of Greek bronze-casting. It represents a god, Zeus or Poseidon, hurling his (lost) weapon against the enemy. First half of the 5th century B.C. National Museum, Athens.

2. Zeus and Ganymede. This terracotta statue of Zeus and Ganymede originally ornamented a building in Olympia. Zeus, who has descended to earth, carries away Ganymede. The boy clutches at a cock, love-gift of the god. About 470 B.C. Museum, Olympia.

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one wing of this entrance was a picture-gallery. Over the staircase, on the right-hand side as you went in, there rose on a high bastion the beautiful temple of Athena Nike, the guardian and defender of the Acropolis. The whole surface of the hill was converted into a level terrace, divided by the Sacred Way. Both sides of the Way were lined by a forest of votive offerings dedicated by Athenian citizens to their great goddess, and by the archives of the Athenian democracy—the most important decrees of the popular assembly, engraved on stone. To the right and left of this Way rose the two dwelling-places of Athena.

To the right is the mighty Parthenon, the home of Athena Parthenos, a great Doric temple, with a gabled roof and columns all round it. The east of the building was occupied by the cela, the real temple, the dwelling of the goddess; here by the inner wall stood the ivory and gold statue of Athena; two rows of columns divided the cela into three aisles. Behind this was a chamber in which the treasures of Athena were kept. The rich sculpture which adorned the temple told the spectator the history of the relations between the goddess and the city. Over the columns, on their outer side, in the metopes (or spaces between the triglyphs) the struggle of civilization against the forces of primeval chaos was unrolled—the Lapithae, the oldest Greek inhabitants of Thessaly, conquering the Centaurs, half-men and half-horses; the Greeks conquering the East personified in the Amazons; and the gods conquering the giants. Of the pediments (or triangular gables at the ends of the temple) one represented the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus, the other the strife between Athena and Poseidon for possession of Athens. Lastly, the famous frieze which ran round the outer wall of the cela represents the Pan-Athenaic festival—the annual procession of Athenian citizens to the shrine of the goddess. In life-like groups they move towards the temple—priests and victims for sacrifice, magistrates, maidens carrying the garment newly woven for Athena by Athenian women, reverend elders leaning on their
staves, and noble youths riding on thoroughbred horses. A group
of gods looks on.

On the other side of the Sacred Way was the Erechtheum, one of the most refined and beautiful examples of the Ionic order of architecture. This second dwelling for Athena was built in the dark days of the Peloponnesian war; it was dedicated to Athena Polias, the protector of the city. This one building united the worship of Poseidon, god of the sea and sea-borne trade and formerly the protector of Athens, with that of Athena, the new mistress of the Athenian Empire, who brought with her the olive-tree to her city. Between the Propylaea and the Erechtheum stood a colossal bronze statue of Athena Promachos (the Champion), the golden gleam of whose spear-point could be seen by sailors approaching Athens from the sea.

Such was the centre of Athens as a great state, unrivalled in Greece. The rest of the city was mean and insignificant by comparison, with its narrow crooked streets, modest houses, shops and workshops, noise, dust, and mud. All the inhabitants lived in more or less identical conditions. Many of the citizens were rich, but they built themselves no luxurious palaces. It was a public scandal when Alcibiades broke the custom and adorned the walls of his house with painting. Athens was a democracy, and the rich were afraid to make themselves conspicuous by display and extravagance. Besides this, the men at Athens did not spend much of their time at home. The market-place; the Pnyx, where the popular assembly met; the law-courts and the council-chamber—these were the places where the higher classes passed their time. The lower classes worked in the docks and warehouses of the Pireaus, or in their shops and workshops. All classes alike devoted their spare time to bodily exercise and games, for the sake of health. For this purpose a number of gymnasia, wrestling-schools, and paddocks surrounded by colonnades were constructed in the suburbs; and here all the population of Athens, young and old alike, practised running and wrestling.
Plate XX  GREEK ARCHITECTURE

1. The Acropolis. The large temple in the centre is the Parthenon. To the right is the temple of Nike (the goddess of victory). To the left of the Parthenon is the Erechtheum.

2. View of the ruins of the Parthenon, the grand creation of Pericles, Ictinus, and Phidias.

3. Two of the famous temples of the Greek city Poseidonia (now Paestum) in South Italy. Poseidonia was one of the flourishing Greek cities of Italy in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. The site was abandoned in the 9th century A.D. This explains the splendid state of preservation of the ruins as shown on our illustration, which shows two of the temples: in the foreground, the so-called temple of Poseidon (in fact, of Hera), with six Doric columns on the fronts and twelve on the sides, a regular Doric temple; farther off, the oldest and the largest, the so-called 'Basilica' with nine columns on the fronts and eighteen on the sides, an excellent example of an early Doric temple. The 'Basilica' belongs to the early part of the 6th century B.C.; the temple of Poseidon to the 5th.
2. THE RUINS OF THE PARTHENON

3. TWO OF THE Temples OF THE CREEK CityPOSEIDONIA
Plate XXI  GREEK SCULPTURE OF THE
5TH CENTURY B.C. THE GODS

1. Part of the marble frieze of the Parthenon. The whole frieze is
about one metre high and 160 metres long. It shows the procession
of the Panathenaea, the chief festival of the Athenian calendar, in
honour of Athena. The procession consists of young men on horse-
back and in chariots, of old men, of musicians, of offering-bearers.
The priest assisted by the priestess is folding the beautiful 'peplon'
(garment) of the goddess which has been woven by noble Athenian
women. And finally the gods are watching the majestic procession.
Our section of the frieze represents three of the group of the gods:
Poseidon, Apollo, and Artemis. Whether the frieze was designed by
Pheidias and carved under his direction or not is a matter of contro-
versy: certainly it breathes the spirit of Phidian art. About 440 B.C.
Acropolis Museum, Athens.
2. Marble relief found at Athens, representing Athena looking at a pillar (mete) which marked the starting point (and finish) of a course in sports contests. The goddess seems to ponder over the choice of the winner in the contest. National Museum, Athens.
Plate XXII  GREEK SCULPTURE OF THE 5th CENTURY B.C. RELIEFS

1.—3. Three marble slabs adorned with reliefs found in the Villa Ludovisi at Rome. It is still a question to what kind of structure the slabs belonged. Probably an altar. Equally controversial is the explanation of the figures. A young and beautiful woman is represented either in a crouching position or emerging from the soil or from the sea. Two other women are helping her. On the short sides we see a seated woman placing incense on a thurible, and a naked girl playing a double flute. Some scholars suggest that the central figure represents Aphrodite emerging from the sea, others think that it is Leto giving birth to the twins Apollo and Artemis as described in the Homeric hymn. Another related set of similar reliefs is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The reliefs of the Villa Ludovisi are a fine product of Ionian sculpture of the early 5th century, soft and gracious. About 470 B.C. Museo delle Terme, Rome.

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1. Relief found at Eleusis, the great centre of the cult of Demeter and of the famous Eleusinian mysteries. The bas-relief shows the gods of the place: Demeter (to the left) gives Triptolemus the corn-ears that he may go out and teach; Kore, the daughter of Demeter, with the Eleusinian torch, puts a crown on the head of Triptolemus. The relief shows the typical features of the great art of Phidias. It is a little earlier than the frieze of the Parthenon (Pl. XXI). Middle of the 5th century B.C. National Museum, Athens.
2. Relief found in Italy. Orpheus, the mythical hero of the Orphic mysteries, came down to Hades to rescue his bride Eurydice. Having charmed the rulers of Hades by his music, he received permission to take her back to life, on condition that he lead her back without looking at her. He did not fulfil his promise, and Hermes is gently taking the poor young bride back to the nether world. The great mystery of life and death was the main point in the teaching of the Orphics. A copy, made in Roman times, of an Attic work of the late 5th century B.C. Naples Museum.
played ball, and threw the quoit and the javelin, and then plunged into the cold water of the pools which formed part of these establishments. Here, too, the education compulsory for every young Athenian was carried on. The boys were trained for war and for competition in the local and Pan-hellenic games; they also learned reading and writing, and elementary mathematics, but their chief study was music, singing, and the reading of literary masterpieces, especially the poems of Homer.

Women did not play that part in the life of Athens in the fifth century which they had played when Greece and Ionia were ruled by aristocracies, and which they still played in Sparta. The time of their political influence, of their importance in public life, and of their literary activity had gone by. As late as the beginning of the fifth century, Elpince, the sister of Cimon, exercised considerable influence on Athenian politics; but in the age of Pericles, Aspasia, with her personal ascendancy over that great Athenian, was an exception. Democracy banished women from the street to the house: the kitchen and the nursery, and the gymaeceum, a special part of the house reserved for women and children, now became their sphere.

During this century the two unenfranchised classes, the metoeci or resident aliens and the slaves, steadily increased in numbers and became more prominent in social life. The former class was deliberately attracted to the city by the political leaders. The citizens themselves were too busy with agriculture and public affairs to give much time to trade and manufacture. Therefore the aliens, who had no other occupation or interest except commercial affairs, became the instrument which, more than anything else, created the extraordinary economic development of Athens in this century. They controlled the merchant-ships of Athens, the banks, now an important feature in financial life, and the large factories. They suffered under one disability: they might not own land within the bounds of Attica. Although liable for military service, they had no political rights. They did
not constitute a class by themselves: in society no distinction was made between an alien and a citizen.

Another notable feature of fifth-century Athens is the rise of slaves, if not in legal status, at least in social and economic importance. The industrial activity of an Athenian citizen was based upon slave labour. If he owned a factory, the power that ran it was his confidential slave who directed the workmen; and some of the workmen also were slaves. If he was a trader, a slave was his right hand. If he owned a bank, all the business was managed by slaves and freedmen. There were, no doubt, other slaves of lower rank, mere outcasts and beasts of burden, like those who perished by hundreds in the silver-mines of Laurion, spending whole years in hard labour. But such slaves were not visible at Athens. Those employed in trade and manufacture lived in the same way as the rest of the population. Many of these forced themselves to the front as dexterous men of business and eventually received their freedom. An Athenian conservative of this century, in the course of a malignant pamphlet directed against Athenian democracy, notes with good reason that it is impossible to distinguish slaves and aliens from citizens in the streets and squares of Athens, because all classes dress alike and live in the same way.

Such was the city of Athens, the pulse of Athenian life. But the city must not make us lose sight of the country; for there the majority of Athenian citizens were to be found. After the time of Solon and Pisistratus the country came into favour again. In the demes of Attica, in farms scattered over hill and valley, in the forests that clothed the mountains, thousands of citizens spent their lives—small landowners, husbandmen, vine-dressers, olive-growers, shepherds, and charcoal-burners. They had no liking for the city and were a little afraid of it. But they were devoted with all their heart to their country, and came in their thousands, when they were needed, to the popular assembly. The existence of this class explains the fact that the Athenian state,
in spite of its democratic constitution and boldness in speculation, never ceased to be, on the whole, conservative and devoted to the past.

But the most remarkable change at Athens in this century was in the region of the intellect. Among the poets and thinkers of the previous century Solon is the one Athenian citizen who finds a place. Now things are entirely different: the majority of prominent thinkers and writers are either Athenians or, if citizens of other states, live at Athens. In Asia Minor a few representatives of the fountain-head of Greek philosophy are still at work—Heraclitus, for instance, the first to understand and appreciate the importance of motion in the universe, as well as Leucippus of Miletus and Democritus of Abdera, who founded the Atomistic School. But Anaxagoras, a native of Clazomenae in Asia Minor, lived and worked at Athens. In the West also a group of philosophers was busy; but Empedocles of Acragas, who carried on the Eleatic philosophy, invented the theory of four elements and taught evolution and the survival of the fittest, found no successors in his native country: it was at Athens that Anaxagoras supplemented the theory of elements by introducing Mind (Nous) as the cause of evolution of an infinite variety of 'seeds'.

These examples show how quickly the intellectual centre of gravity was shifted to Athens. The conditions were favourable. Athens opened up opportunities, unequalled elsewhere, for original genius. Nowhere else was there such perfect freedom of thought and speech; nowhere else did men take such a keen interest in every novelty. The democracy, indeed, insisted on its right to dispose of the persons and lives of the citizens, when this was demanded by the interests of the state. A law passed in the popular assembly was all-powerful. Democracy feared too influential leaders of the strong minority as a possible source of revolutions; therefore it removed them by the device known as ostracism, and sentenced them to exile without disgrace. But with the private life and pursuits of the citizen, with his thoughts
and words, democracy did not interfere but suffered each man to live as he chose.

In religious matters the Athenians were more conservative. While leaving men free to speak and think as they pleased, they were jealous in maintaining the ancient traditions in religion. Socrates, as we shall see later, fell a victim to this conservative feeling. Religion consisted chiefly in certain rites, and these rites were a special object of veneration to the Athenian citizen. Hence the people resented outspoken attacks on the gods and their worship; and Anaxagoras, charged with impiety, had to leave his adopted country and depart into exile. But when attempts were made to spiritualize and purify religion, and when a tendency towards monotheism, such as we see in the plays of Aeschylus, began to develop, the popular reception of these changes was attentive and respectful. There is no doubt indeed that the drama raised the religious conceptions of the people to a much higher level. The Eleusinian Mysteries, also, rose higher and higher in reputation and just at this period became closely connected with Orphic rites.

Such were the surroundings of those marvellous achievements in intellect and art which permeated Athenian life of the fifth century B.C. and at once became standards of perfection for all Greeks. Tragedy ranks among the highest creations of Greek genius in this age. Aeschylus, as I have said already, was its creator. In the dialogue between the chorus and the narrator he introduced a second narrator, and this apparently trifling change in the mechanism of the drama, this introduction of a second actor, made it possible to convert the ritual acting at the festival of Dionysus into real drama and real tragedy, the same, in its essential features, as the tragedy of our own stage. The dialogue between the actors, divided up by songs from the chorus, enabled Aeschylus to thrill the spectator with pictures of the intense passions that fill the heart of man, while he supplemented these in the choric songs with his own feelings and reflections. The plots of his plays were almost all taken from
Plate XXIV  GREAT MEN OF 5TH-CENTURY ATHENS

1. and 2. Sophocles and Euripides. Bronze statues of three great tragedians were erected in the theatre of Athens, built about 330 B.C. Roman marble copies of statues or busts of Sophocles and Euripides (but not of Aeschylus as yet) have been identified. Made three generations after the death of both poets (in 406 B.C.), the statues in the theatre were not portraits in our sense, but ideal images of the authors of two different kinds of tragedy. The statue of Sophocles, now in the Lateran Museum, Rome, was unfortunately modified by a modern restoration. The bust of Euripides (nose restored) is in the Naples Museum.
3. Bust of Thucydides, the first scholar-historian, who wrote the history of the Peloponnesian war. The bust may be a copy of a contemporary portrait of Thucydides. The face is individual, not typical. Holkham Hall, England.

4. A charming statuette of the great philosopher Socrates. The long beard, the nose and the square head are typical of the portraits of Socrates. The statuette is probably a work of the early Hellenistic period, inspired, of course, by earlier portraits. British Museum.
mythology and not from actual life. But mythology offered such an endless variety of vivid stories in the lives of gods and heroes, that it was not difficult to get from these stories material for human drama. His plays, and those of his successors, were arranged in trilogies: that is, he produced three plays together on one subject, and also a satyr-play, a parody of tragedy, to end up with; but each of the three had to be complete in itself, while the connexion between them was maintained by the identity of the dramatis personae. Aeschylus wrote a great number of tragedies, perhaps as many as ninety. Seven have been preserved, and they include one trilogy, the *Oresteia*—the tremendous story of a son’s vengeance on his mother for the murder of his father, and of the son’s tortured conscience and final purification. The *Persians* is an exception to the rule: the subject was taken from recent history—from the Persian war, in which Aeschylus himself had taken an active part and fought in the ranks at Marathon. In the general opinion of antiquity, with which modern criticism entirely agrees, Aeschylus, from the artistic point of view, not merely created the tragic drama but also wrote tragedies whose perfection has never been surpassed either in ancient or in modern times.

Sophocles was a younger contemporary. The number of his plays was even greater—the titles of 111 are known to us—but only seven, with half of one satyr-drama, have been preserved. Three are connected by a common subject, being taken from the story of the royal house at Thebes—*Oedipus the King, Oedipus at Colonus*, and *Antigone*; but each of these is complete in itself and describes a separate series of events. Last comes Euripides, a younger contemporary and rival of Sophocles, and the author of 75 tragedies, of which 19 have survived. Though not enjoying much success in his lifetime, he became the idol of later generations and of Roman readers.

Athenian drama is astonishing for its literary perfection: the language is copious and richly coloured; the imagery is infinitely various, sublime, and beautiful; the metrical skill
and the power of construction are altogether exceptional. But its chief importance is distinct from these excellences, and lies in this—that in it for the first time men saw their own hearts held up before them by the poet, and saw the process of conflict in that heart—conflict with itself, with circumstance, with society and government, with the laws of God and man. For all that, Athenian tragedy is practical and draws its inspiration from contemporary life and circumstances; it does not eschew politics, it takes a side in the settlement of many social problems. It is hard to convey in a few words all the wealth contained in Greek tragedy of the fifth century B.C., and no less hard to indicate the difference between the three equally great tragedians. For the historian of Athenian culture it is sufficient to point out that the appearance of this form of art gave rise to an entire revolution in the minds of those who first witnessed it: they carried with them from the theatre a whole world of new conceptions and ideas; they learned to look deeper into their own hearts and to bear themselves differently towards the inner life of their neighbours.

Comedy also exercised a strong influence upon the Athenians. Later in development than tragedy, and owing much to tragedy, it was the work mainly of Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes. The last alone is known to us; he lived during the Peloponnesian war and wrote forty-four comedies, of which eleven are preserved. Comedy did not touch mythological subjects, but drew its matter from the medley of passing events. It pays no attention to the experiences of the human heart. It passes judgement on topics of the day, or even of the hour, in a fanciful and highly comic spirit. The emancipation of women and their position, the teaching of Socrates and the Sophists, the question of war or peace, the personality of this or that statesman, theatrical innovations—such are the topics brought upon the stage for discussion and for mockery of the most merciless and outspoken nature. Comedy was a kind of chair for political and social deliverances, from which the author chats with the citi-
zens and holds up to ridicule whatever seems to him to deserve laughter—laughter which is sometimes gay, sometimes sharp and even cruel, but always outspoken.

These same questions of morals, politics, and social life, which were raised by tragedy and comedy in a poetical and artistic form, were also forced upon the Athenians in their daily life. They passed laws in the popular assembly, they prepared bills in the council, they judged suits in the law-courts. On the vote of any individual might hang the life or death of the foremost and best of his fellow-citizens. Each individual had to vote on complicated political issues—issues that often affected the very existence of the state. Each decision evoked criticism and ridicule, and often hatred and ill-feeling; and no citizen could escape his share of responsibility. It is clear that the majority, in the assembly and the law-court, wished to vote according to their conscience. Often they were required to justify their opinion before an audience. But there was no preparatory training for these responsible duties. The professional politician was still unknown. Hence the average citizen sought guidance and felt the necessity of political education; he was often conscious of his own helplessness. He began to demand teachers who should instruct him how to reason, to think, and to speak. And such teachers were forthcoming.

Some of these were themselves seekers after truth and gave light to others merely by the way, while others made a profession of their teaching. The name of 'sophists' was given to both classes by the Athenians. The sophists were willing to teach all comers how to think and reason, how to speak and write. The most original thinkers, the most powerful reasoners, the most lucid and eloquent speakers, got the greatest reputation and attracted the largest classes. In natural sciences they took little interest: they concentrated their study on man, society, and the state; and they approached these topics with an open mind and with no ready-made solution of difficulties. 'Man', they said, 'is the measure of all things', meaning by 'man', hu-
man reason. That which seems to us to be truth and which convinces others is discovered by a process of logical reasoning; hence the most important thing is, to be able to think and argue logically, or, in a word, to convince others. Such was the general tendency of thought among the sophists; but it is hard to indicate any detailed instruction in which they all agreed. They were not a school of philosophers, though a succession of philosophic schools took rise later from their activities. One thing they had in common: they all sought plausible answers to troublesome questions. They sought these answers in different directions and by different paths; but these paths were always the paths of logic and dialectics, and the answers were never laid down as dogmas. And, lastly, their chief interest was in political and social questions; they deserve to be called the fathers of sociology and political science. We know that Protagoras, one of the most famous sophists, first discussed the origin of society and the state, and tried to settle the problem by logic. Another, Hippodamus of Miletus, was the first thinker who constructed a purely ideal state and society. He was a mathematician and engineer who invented a method of laying out a city in squares somewhat like the squares of a chessboard—a method which he put in practice when the Piraeus, the harbour of Athens, was rebuilt. Other sophists worked on similar lines: thus Thrasymachus preached that the strongest and best have a right to power, and there were also defenders of communism and anarchism. One fundamental notion pervaded all their teaching—that the part of human life determined by nature is natural and therefore indispensable, but the part created by man himself is conventional and transitory. This notion is very clearly expressed in the fragments of a treatise On Truth, by the sophist Antiphon, a contemporary of Aristophanes, and the butt for many of his bitterest sarcasms; his philosophy, founded on the atheism of Democritus, was purely materialistic.

In the second half of the fifth century a figure of extraordinary originality and power towers over the sophists. This is Socrates.
Socrates was not a professional teacher: he was a seeker after truth. Wherever Athenians gathered together, there he was to be found day after day, and there he started endless discussions on the main problems of life and conduct. He began by refuting with the edge of his logic the answers given to his questions by those present; and he prepared the ground for a reasonable and accurate solution by the way in which he raised each problem and by his preliminary objections. Thus he reached by degrees a position from which he could define the chief conceptions of the human mind: he asked, what is virtue? what is beauty? what is justice?—and so on. We do not know what his positive teaching really was; our sources are meagre and inconsistent. These sources are the Memorabilia of Xenophon and the series of Dialogues by Plato; both were pupils of Socrates. Xenophon was a man of moderate ability and slight philosophic training, Plato one of the greatest thinkers in the world's history; and it is difficult to reconcile their statements. There was much in the teaching of Socrates which Xenophon did not understand; and Plato may have attributed his own doctrines to his teacher. Still we must suppose that the immense influence of Socrates upon all later speculation, and the fact that all subsequent philosophic schools traced their descent from him, prove one thing—that he imported some new element into philosophy which caught the attention of all contemporary thinkers. It appears that this novelty was partly the predominant importance which Socrates attached to man, and the soul and conscious self of man, and partly the enthusiasm with which he called on men to 'know themselves' and so to lead better lives both as individuals and members of associations, including the chief association, i.e. the state. Socrates had no definite political views and was not an opponent of democracy; but he saw its weaknesses clearly, especially its entire failure to train the citizens for the business of government; and he urged them to increase their knowledge and develop their reasoning faculties. Nor was he an atheist: he believed in the gods and habitually made offerings to them; and
he felt the presence of a divine being, his daimon, within his own breast. His religious belief was, like that of Aeschylus, the belief in a superior being and ruler of the world. But there was something irritating and provoking in the mission of Socrates. There were few citizens to whom he had not proved how little they knew, how badly they reasoned, and how ill-founded were their most cherished opinions. It is therefore not surprising that the conservative Aristophanes attacked him fiercely in one of his comedies, and that an accuser named Anytus was found to prosecute him for 'disbelief in the gods recognized by the State, and for corrupting the young'. And we can understand how the Athenians were glad to rid themselves of this 'gadfly' and coolly condemned him to death, though he had honestly performed all the duties of a citizen.

Thirst for knowledge and pursuit of truth created also in men's minds a lively interest in the past. Every Athenian wished to know the events of the recent past and the Persian invasion, and to understand how Greece had been able to cope with that danger. We have seen that the Ionian thinkers took some interest in past history, and that some writers had already appeared in Asia Minor who collected facts about the history of the Anatolian Greeks and the Eastern nations who lived near them. No wonder then that Herodotus, one of those Asiatic Greeks and a native of Halicarnassus, a partly Carian and partly Dorian city, undertook to relate to the Athenians the history of the Persian wars. He had migrated to Athens and, as an Athenian citizen, took part with other Athenians in founding the colony of Thurii in Italy. Well read in the historical literature of the Ionians, he was himself a great traveller. He visited Egypt and Babylonia; he knew Asia Minor well; he may have paid a short visit to Olbia, at the months of the Dnieper and the Bug. In every country his unbounded curiosity led him to visit historic places with their monuments of hoary antiquity; he collected the tales told by the natives in explanation of these monuments; he had an eye for the manners and customs of the inhabitants
and the characteristics of the country. With even greater enthusiasm he questioned at Athens those who had themselves taken an active share in the Persian wars, and those whose fathers and grandfathers had been concerned in the events which led up to the Persian invasion. He studied the monuments connected with that invasion, and collected the tales and legends that had grown up around them. He had especial pleasure in conversing with priests and drew much material from the lips of the priests at Delphi. And in this way his great work, his history of the Persian wars, was composed.

He was not content with a dry narrative of events. He wished, above all, to understand the past, and therefore prefixed to his history a sketch of those countries with which the history was in some way connected. His descriptions of Asia Minor, Persia, Babylonia, Egypt, and Scythia are of fascinating interest, although many of his notions concerning the history of those countries have turned out to be incomplete and inaccurate. When he proceeds to the story itself—to the gradual development of strife between Persians and Greeks, the general course of events is accurately stated throughout, though it is stated from the Athenian point of view, because Herodotus had become at Athens an eager partisan of the Athenians. Without Herodotus, the ‘father of history’, we should know as little of the Persian war as we do of the political history of Greece before that war and in the interval that divides it from the Peloponnesian war. His history was published in 430 B.C. He was the only writer who collected information about the war when those who fought in it were still living; and all later narratives by Greek historians make use of him as their main source.

In details, however, Herodotus is often inaccurate. He paid little attention to the exact chronology of events; he had little understanding of military matters; he describes many places which he had not himself seen. While we are aware of this, we are often unable to correct his errors owing to the lack of other authorities. Often he gives us a purely personal impression.
of incidents; and here, too, it is difficult to correct him. At times he lends too ready an ear to marvels and legends. But he generally recognizes how shaky the foundations of historical knowledge sometimes are. When he meets with different versions of the same incident, he is helpless; for the methods of historical criticism were unknown to him. But we are grateful to him for this, that in such cases he hands down all the versions known to him, leaving the reader to choose among them. A place of honour belongs to Herodotus in the history of mankind and of Greek civilization. He is truly the 'father of history'. He was the first to treat history, not as a collection of interesting stories about gods and men, but as the object of scientific investigation.

That the next Greek historian, Thucydides, should approach his task from a different standpoint is natural enough. An Athenian, born and brought up in the atmosphere of the fifth century at Athens, he had seen the tragedies of the three great dramatists on the stage, had listened to the sophists and may have met Socrates himself, had taken an active part in public life, and served as one of the generals in the Peloponnesian war. He witnessed that war from beginning to end, and survived it all with its successes and failures. On him, as on all the best Athenians, the defeat of Athens left a profound impression; and he laid upon himself the task of telling to present and future times the whole truth about the war, as he saw it and as he understood it. He possessed abundant and excellent material, which his knowledge of affairs and war enabled him to turn to account. When Amphipolis was seized by the Spartans in 424 B.C., he was in command in the north of Greece, and suffered banishment in consequence of his failure. But exile enabled him to become better acquainted with the antagonists of Athens, to understand their mental attitude, and to appreciate their points of superiority. Such was the material and such the experience he possessed, when he undertook the work of an historian, and determined, not merely to describe, but also to explain the Peloponnesian war.
For this purpose he had, first of all, to collect the ascertained facts in their exact chronological sequence. That was no easy task: passion burned too fiercely on each side, and the historical facts, framed in their proper environment, came home too closely to the hearts of both peoples. But Thucydides faced the problem of representing the facts in their reality, and of stripping off the wrappings in which they were disguised. And he did this with extraordinary precision, following scientific rule and applying all those methods which we call historical criticism. If he was not the father of history in general, he was at least the father of critical history and the first of all who have written the history of their own times. But even more must be said. In his eyes the facts were only a means; the end was to throw light on them and explain them, and the explanation was not to be theological, like many of the explanations in Herodotus, but based upon rationalism and logic. To establish the causal connexion between events was the supreme object of Thucydides. His whole exposition aims at discovering causes—causes as distinct from motives—and proceeds by a strictly logical method, with no concessions to feeling or belief. While engaged in this work Thucydides realized the part played in history by personality, and also its occasional helplessness in the face of economic and social movements. He understood the ‘psychology of the herd’ and the mighty part it has played in history; and he understood much else, reaching a height to which many modern historians aspire in vain. Thucydides was in history what Aeschylus was in tragedy. Once again Athens had produced a man who was not merely a pioneer in a new and important branch of human creation, but actually approached perfection in that sphere. The ancient world never produced a second historian of equal genius and scientific insight; and he has few rivals among historians of our own day and of the recent past.

What we observe in the development of the drama, of historical inquiry and historical narrative, and in the sphere of
Fig. 17. Red-figured cup found at Vulci (Italy). The picture represents an Athenian foundry. To the left the stove, to the right smiths working on a bronze statue, on the walls various instruments and the products of the shop. Attic work of about 480 B.C. Berlin Museum. After Fürtwängler-Reichhold.

philosophy and rhetoric, is equally noticeable in the history of the plastic arts, and especially of sculpture. The history of painting is more obscure, because we possess no direct copies of the great decorative and easel paintings, and can only judge of them by the imitations on purely decorative vases, where the artist has to take account of the nature and proportions of the object decorated, and, in general, to restrict himself to two colours, red and black; and we can learn something from the influence exercised by painting upon sculpture. It follows that Polygnotus and the other great painters of the fifth century are still to us mysterious figures. About sculpture we have much fuller information: in the Parthenon sculptures we possess a number of original works by great masters; we have also a multitude of later copies, more or less exact, taken from the great statues of the fifth century, and contemporary reproductions of those statues in small bronzes, terra-cottas, and coins.

By the end of the sixth century B.C., side by side with the
Plate XXV  SCULPTURE OF THE
5TH AND 4TH CENTURIES B.C.

1. Head of bronze statue found at Delphi. The statue belonged originally to a group which, according to the inscription, was dedicated at Delphi by Polyzalos, the ruler of Cela in Sicily, brother of the rulers of Syracuse, Geron and Hieron. The dedication took place probably in 474 B.C. in memory of a victory in racing. The group represented a chariot drawn by four horses. The head is that of the charioteer. It is a magnificent piece of work, still a little archaic in its supreme simplicity. Probably a work of one of the sculptors of the Peloponnese or of Aegina. 474 B.C. Delphi Museum.

3. Marble statue of Apollo from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. The sculptures of this pediment represent the fight between men (Lapiths) directed and helped by heroes (Pirithous and Theseus) and the Centaurs, representing the elemental forces of nature. Apollo stands in the centre and dominates the pediment sculptures by his beautiful, majestic figure. He is helping the Lapiths and represents the forces of civilization and order. About 460 B.C. Museum, Olympia.

4. Hermes, by Praxiteles, the greatest Athenian sculptor of the 4th century B.C. The statue was found at Olympia in the temple of Hera, where it was seen by the writer Pausanias, who, in the time of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, compiled a description of Greece. The statue represents Hermes playing with the infant Dionysus. It is one of the few original statues by great Greek masters which have remained to us. For the art of Praxiteles see the text. Museum, Olympia.
Ionian schools of sculpture, independent schools were growing up in Greece proper and in Italy. The rapid development, technical and artistic, of sculpture is proved by many remains—from Aegina, from the temple of Zeus at Olympia, from the ornament of various treasuries of Greek states at Delphi, and from the decoration of Italian and Sicilian temples, especially at Selinus; step by step it cast off the conventionality that marks Ionian sculpture of the sixth century, and the heavy solidity of the archaic period in general. Nowhere was this development so rapid as in Athens after the Persian wars. Till then Athenian sculpture had been merely a branch of Ionian art; but now it discarded Ionian influence altogether, and the work of Athenian sculptors became free and independent. The advance went on with dizzy speed, and at the head of it stood Myron, with his statues of gods and athletes. It reached its zenith in the person of Phidias, the greatest sculptor of this century, who worked under the direction of Pericles and adorned Olympia and other centres of Greek civilization as well as Athens. His most famous statues were the Athena in the Parthenon and the Zeus at Olympia, both chryselephantine—that is, the head, hands, and feet, with the dress, were made of gold and ivory, and the remainder of wood. Polycleitus was a younger contemporary of Phidias; his statues of athletes, like the statues of gods by Phidias, set the standard at once; and his Hera at Argos was ranked with the Zeus at Olympia.

The essential features of this new Greek art are these: complete victory of the artist over his material and the technical difficulties which hampered him earlier; the endeavour to idealize the human body, not by copying nature nor by correcting it, but by searching out in nature that which is most perfect and nearest to the ideal which has formed itself in the artist’s mind; and, lastly, the skill to embody in statues ideas cherished by the artist, especially the idea of divine majesty and divine power. These sculptors are familiar with nature: they have studied it thoroughly; they have mastered the anatomy of the human body;
Fig. 18. Red-figured water-pot (hydria) found at Ruvo in South Italy. The picture represents a potter’s workshop with workmen (three boys and one girl) painting vases of various shapes. Athena is bringing a crown to the best painter. Victories are crowning the other two boys. The poor girl got no prize. Attic work of the middle of the 5th century B.C. Ruvo, Caputi Collection. After Perrot and Chipiez.

...they understand the beauty of drapery flowing down in various folds; they can harmonize the lines of the body with the lines of the drapery. But they do not copy nature slavishly. Their athletes, for example, are unsurpassed in the representation of the nude male body. The Discobolus of Myron embodies all the strength and beauty and life of the youthful frame at the moment of its most intense physical exertion. In the bronze chariot from Delphi we admire the severe stateliness of the youth who stands at his ease, wearing the long garment that falls down in straight folds. Still more perfect is the sculpture on the pediments and frieze of the Parthenon. It may not have been carved by Phidias himself, but it was certainly carved under his direction and by his pupils.

Phidias surpassed himself in his representation of the supreme deities. We possess only poor copies of these statues, and must trust the judgement of the Greeks and Romans who saw the originals. Their evidence testifies to the ineffaceable impression, both artistic and religious, produced by these masterpieces. The Zeus of Phidias was the same omnipotent father of gods and men, terrible and also gracious, the same ruler of human destiny,
Plate XXVI  GREEK ART OF THE 4TH CENTURY B.C.

1. The grave-stele of a noble Athenian lady, Hegeso. She is seated in all her Phidian beauty in a chair; before her is her maid with her jewel-box. Late 4th century B.C. Cemetery of the Ceramicus, Athens.

2. The bas-relief of Dexilaos. The burial ground before the double gate (Dipylon) which led to the potters' quarter (Ceramicus) in Athens was in use from the 8th century B.C. on. At the beginning of the 4th century, the rich obtained family plots here. High terraces were built upon which memorial monuments were placed. The tombstone of Dexilaos stood in the middle of such a terrace which belonged to the family of a certain Lysanias. As the inscription under the relief states, Dexilaos, at the age of twenty, fell in 394 B.C. at
3. FIGHT BETWEEN AMAZONS AND GREEKS

Corinth, one of the five Athenian ‘knights’ lost in this battle. However, he is represented as striking the vanquished enemy. The relief on the restored terrace still stands over his grave in the Ceramicus at Athens.

3. One of the slabs of the sculptured friezes on the monument of Mausolus of Caria. The two friezes, one representing the fight of the Amazons and the Greeks and the other the fight of the Centaurs and Lapiths, probably adorned the massive base of the monument, while a third frieze—a chariot race—ran above the columns. The sculptures were the work of the most famous Greek sculptors of the 4th century: Scopas and Leochares, Timotheus and Bryaxis. It is possible that the passionate fight of Greeks and Amazons on our slab is the work of Scopas. British Museum.
Plate XXVII  POTTERY OF THE 5TH CENTURY B.C.

1. Red-figured cup by the painter Duris. It represents an Athenian school of the 5th century B.C. The boys are being taught music (lyre and flute), Greek literature, writing. Attic work of about 480 B.C. Berlin Museum. After Furtwängler-Reichhold.
2. Red-figured cup. On one side Dionysus is represented seated on a couch watching a Satyr dancing. On the other Dionysus and Heracles, the god of ecstasy and the god of duty, are having a banquet together. Two Satyrs are acting as servants; one has just stolen a cake from the table. The picture illustrates the worship of the two great gods of the Greek religion who had originally been men. The painter has probably taken his inspiration from the so-called Satyr drama, a comic performance ridiculing divine beings. Attic work of about 470 B.C. British Museum.
Plate XXVIII GREEK PAINTING. POLYCHROME VASES OF THE 5TH AND 4TH CENTURIES

1. One of the most beautiful lekythoi (grave-vases) with polychrome painting on white ground. The picture represents the grave-stele and the grave-tumulus (behind the stele) of a young Athenian. On the
tumulus, green branches; on the stele, a 'taenia' (ribbon); on the steps of the base of the stele, offerings of wreaths and oil-flasks. Before the stele stands the deceased in the dress of an ephesia, while a girl brings grave-offerings in a basket. The style makes one think of Phidias. Attic work of about 440 B.C. National Museum, Athens. After Riezler.

2. An Athenian lekythos. The picture shows Charon, the ferryman of the nether world, receiving a dead woman from the hands of Hermes, 'the leader of the souls' (Psychopompus). The little winged beings in the air are souls. Attic work of about 450 B.C. National Museum, Athens. After Riezler.

3. A red-figured vase (lekanis). The subject of the picture is the decking of a bride. The bride is represented among her girl-friends. She is receiving various gifts and being dressed for the wedding ceremony. Various religious rites preliminary to the wedding are being performed by her friends. Little Loves flying and running among the girls give the significance of the scene. Attic work of the middle of the 4th century B.C. Gold and white are extensively used. Museum of the Hermitage, Petrograd. After Furtwängler-Reichhold.
whom we find in the poetry of Aeschylus. The head alone is poorly reproduced on coins of Elis; but even this conveys that impression of divinity which we feel also in reading the tragedies.

As in the sixth century, art was not confined to the temples and public resorts of the city; it permeated the whole life of a Greek. This fact is proved to us most distinctly for that period by Greek vases. In that century the supremacy of Athens in the manufacture of pottery was virtually undisputed: her vases are found everywhere—in Egypt, Italy, Sicily, the south of France and Spain, the Black Sea coast, and even in the capital of the Persian Empire. Black figures on a red background had now given way to red figures on a black background. These vases represent the highest point ever attained in this branch of decorative art: many of them are really great artistic productions, for the grace and variety of their shapes, and for the decoration, in which the drawing is severe, exact, and extraordinarily rich, and the grouping of figures in scenes taken from the life of gods and men quite masterly. Like contemporary drama and contemporary sculpture, the vases reflect every phase of Athenian life. Even politics are not excluded: there are many drawings by the great vase-painters of this age which can only be explained thus; for instance, the marriage of Theseus with the sea typifies the maritime imperialism of Athens, and scenes from the life of Jason refer to Athenian aspirations in the region of the Black Sea.

A special group of Attic vases was not satisfied with the combination of two colours only, black and red. These are the lekythoi, tall, slim funeral vessels, and also some vases in the shape of men, animals, and mythical creatures. In the former, the figures, in rich combinations, are painted in natural colours on a white ground; while the vases shaped like the deities and mythical beings of the next world are covered all over with soft and brilliant colouring. From these vessels we get some idea of the painter’s art in the fifth century, both in easel-pictures and in decorative work.