Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies Edited by James T. Shotwell

HELLENIC CIVILIZATION

BOTSFORD AND SIHLER



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HELLENIC CIVILIZATION

EDITED BY

G. W. BOTSFORD

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

AND

E. G. SIHLER

PROFESSOR OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
IN NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM

Professor William L. Westermann (University of Wisconsin) Charles J. Ogden, Ph.D., and others



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PREFACE

The aim of the series of which this volume forms a part is twofold. In the first place, its intention is to make accessible those
sources of the history of Europe and of the near East which are
of prime importance for the understanding of Western civilization.
In the second place, both by the treatment of these texts and by
special studies it covers the work of modern scholars in these
fields. It is, therefore, a guide both to the original documents
and to recent criticism. The material, furthermore, is given in
English translation, in order that it may be readily accessible to
students and readers who do not have that knowledge of classical
and other foreign languages which is essential for specialized
research.

The present volume departs slightly from the general plan of the series owing to the peculiar editorial problems which it in-While, in most other cases, documents are given in extenso, this is necessarily an anthology. The very wealth of the literary and monumental remains of Greek civilization renders any other treatment impossible. Even more important, however, is the fact that so much of the available material is of interest to the historian for other reasons than those which determined its original form. Casual references in literature, whether prose or poetry, frequently possess a distinctive value sufficient to make them by themselves, apart from their context, documents for the study of Hellenic civilization. Beside these must often be placed texts from obscure sources or fragments revealed by recent archæological research. In short, in this volume the intricacies of a very complex subject demanded an adjustment of text to topic in order to illustrate the general lines of Greek history.

In view of these difficulties, the volume as a whole was originally placed under the editorial control of Professor Botsford. As he found, however, that the labor of selecting and preparing excerpts illustrative of Hellenic civilization from the vast field of ancient Greek literature, inscriptions, and papyri exceeded the limits of time at his disposal, he was fortunate in securing the cooperation of his friend Professor Sihler in the editorial work, and contributions from other scholars. The parts severally taken by these associates are explained below, and the editors wish here to thank them for their aid and their interest in the work.

The selections have been made, not for specialists, but for those who are interested in general Hellenic culture. Nothing could be easier than to suggest the lengthening or shortening of passages and the addition or substitution of other selections. No two scholars could agree as to what is absolutely best for a volume of the kind; and those who have coöperated in its preparation can only hope that it may in some degree contribute to an understanding of the spirit of ancient Hellas and add to the interest in her culture.

For the selections from printed translations permission has been obtained from the translators or the publishers. Individual acknowledgments are made elsewhere. This permission has rendered it possible to give the volume a literary quality to which it could not otherwise have attained. The grouping of selections in chapters on society, religion, political conditions, etc., is necessarily more or less arbitrary, as the same passage often throws light on several of these aspects of life; yet this arrangement will probably be found as convenient as any that could be devised. The notes are for the general reader, and represent the minimum of information required for an understanding of the passages. Those who desire special knowledge are referred to the bibliographies, the compilation of which has extended through years. Throughout the book will be found occasional references to the closely interrelated "Hellenic History," by Professor Botsford, which will probably be ready for the printer within ten or twelve months after the appearance of the present work.

It is hoped that this volume may appeal to a wide range of users, that the student may find it an illuminating companion to his textbook or his course of lectures, and that men and women who are interested in the cultural history of mankind, even though

classically educated, may obtain through it fresh and inspiring glimpses of the wonderfully endowed people from whom these messages have come.

JAMES T. SHOTWELL.

New York, June 1, 1915.

DIVISION OF LABOR

PROFESSOR WESTERMANN has contributed Chapter XVI entire. Mr. Wallace E. Caldwell (fellow in history, Columbia University), Dr. Ogden, and Professor William C. Lawton (Hobart College) have translated the selections credited to them and have furnished the greater part of the material for the introductions and annotations of these excerpts. Professor Munroe Smith has aided in the interpretation of the Gortynian law. All have read the proofs of their respective contributions. Professor Sihler has made the translations credited to him, has revised, by a comparison with the original texts, the greater number of excerpts from published translations, and has furnished some of the material for the introductory chapter. He has also read the proofs of the whole work, with the aid of Mr. F. M. Barranco, and has prepared the index. Professor Shotwell has made suggestions at various points in the preparation of the volume and has read the proofs. Professor Botsford has chosen and arranged the selections, excepting those of Chapter XVI, has translated the passages credited to him, has prepared the introductory chapter and most of the special introductions and He has compiled the bibliographies, read the proofs, and edited the selections contributed by others. The bibliographical work has been facilitated by the courteous aid of Miss Isadore G. Mudge of the Columbia University Library.

ABBREVIATIONS MOST COMMONLY USED

Abbott = Abbott, E., History of Greece, 3 vols. (New York: Putnam, 1892-1900).

Acad. des Inscr. = Mémoires de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.

Acad. roy. de Belg. Bull. = Académie royale de Belgique: Bulletins de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, etc.

Am. Journ. Arch. = American Journal of Archæology.

Am. Journ. Philol. = American Journal of Philology.

Archiv. soc. Bull. = Archives sociologiques, Bulletin (Brussels).

Ath. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung.

B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.

Beloch, Griech. Gesch. = Beloch, J., Griechische Geschichte (I and II. 1, second ed.; the remainder, first ed.).

Berl. Philol. Woch. = Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.

Bury = Bury, J. B., History of Greece (revised ed., Macmillan, 1913).

Busolt, Griech. Gesch. = Busolt, G., Griechische Geschichte, 3 vols. (second ed., Gotha, 1893-1904).

Christ, Griech. Lit. = Christ, W. von, Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur, 2 vols. revised by Schmid, W. (fifth ed., Munich, 1908-1913).

CIA. = Corpus inscriptionum atticarum; v. Inscr. græc.

C.J.O. = Charles J. Ogden.

Class. Journ. = Classical Journal.

Class. Philol. = Classical Philology.

Class. Quart. = Classical Quarterly.

Class. Rev. = Classical Review.

Cl. Weekly = Classical Weekly.

Collitz, SGDI. = Sammlung der griechischen Dialektinschriften, 4 vols. (1884-1911).

Curtius = Curtius, E., History of Greece, 5 vols. (New York: Scribner, 1886).

Daremberg-Saglio, Dict. = Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines (beginning 1873).

Diss., Dissert. = Dissertation.

Ditt. Or. græc. inscrs. = Dittenberger, W., Orientis græci inscriptiones selectæ (Leipzig, 1903).

Ditt., Ditt. Syll. = Sylloge inscriptionum græcarum, 3 vols. (second ed., Leipzig, 1898-1901).

E.G.S. = Ernest G. Sihler.

Encycl. Brit. = Encyclopædia Britannica (eleventh ed.).

Eng. Hist. Rev. = English Historical Review.

Ergzb. = Ergänzungsband.

Gesch. u. Kult. des Alt. = Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums.

Gilbert, Const. Antiq. = Gilbert, G., Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens (Macmillan, 1895).

Griech. = Griechisch.

Gött. gelehrt. Anz. = Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.

Gött. Gesellsch. = Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.

Greenidge, Gk. Const. Hist. = Handbook of Greek Constitutional History (Macmillan, 1896).

Grote = Grote, G., History of Greece, 12 vols. (reprint from original ed., New York: Harper).

G.W.B. = George W. Botsford.

Harv. St. in Cl. Philol. = Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.

Herm. = Hermes.

Hicks and Hill = Hicks, E. L., and Hill, G. F., Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions (new ed., Oxford, 1901).

Hist. Zeitschr. = Historische Zeitschrift.

Holm = Holm, A., History of Greece, 4 vols. (Macmillan, 1895-1898).

Inscr. græc. = Inscriptiones græcæ, 14 vols. (Berlin, 1873-1890). The old edition is occasionally cited as CIA.

Jahresb. = Jahresberichte über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.

J.II.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.

Jouguet, Pap. grecs = Papyrus grecs (Paris, 1907).

Journ. Philol. = (English) Journal of Philology.

Kock, Th., Com. att. frag. = Comicorum atticorum fragmenta.

Meyer, Ed., Forsch. = Forschungen zur alten Geschichte, 2 vols. (Halle, 1892, 1899).

—— Gesch. d. Alt. = Geschichte des Altertums, 5 vols. (I. 1, third ed.; I. 2, second ed.; II-V, first ed.).

Michel = Michel, Ch., Recueil d'inscriptions grecques (Brussels, 1900).

Mitt. Vorderas. Ges. = Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.

Müller, Frag. hist. græc. = Fragmenta historicorum græcorum, 5 vols. (Paris: Didot, 1841).

Mus. belg. = Le Musée belge, revue de philologie classique.

N. Jahrb. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte, etc.

Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. = Pauly's Real-Encyclopadie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, revised by Wissowa, G. (beginning 1894); the later vols. by Kroll, W., and Witte, K. References are all to the erste Reihe. A zweite Reihe began to appear in 1914.

Philol. = Philologus.

Pöhlmann Griech. Gesch. = Pöhlmann, R. von, Grundriss der griechischen Geschichte (fourth ed., Munich, 1909).

Pol. Sci. Quart. = Political Science Quarterly.

R. Acad. d. sci. atti = Atti della reale accademia delle scienze di Torino.

Rev. des ét. gr. = Revue des études grecques.

Rev. hist. = Revue historique.

Rhein. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.

Roberts and Gardner = Roberts, E. S., and Gardner, E. A., Introduction to Greek Epigraphy, 2 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1887, 1905).

Sächs. Gesellsch. = Abhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. Philologische-historische Klasse.

Sitz. Berl. Akad. = Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.

Supplb. = Supplementband.

Supplem. = Supplementum (of the Inscr. græc.).

Trans. Am. Philol. Ass. = Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association.

Versamml. d. Philolog. = Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner. Verhandlungen.

W.C.L. = William C. Lawton.

W.E.C. = Wallace E. Caldwell.

W.L.W. = William L. Westermann.

Zeitsch. f. Ethnol. = Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,

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HELLENIC CIVILIZATION

CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES OF HELLENIC HISTORY

I. Introduction

THE sources for the history of Hellas include everything from which may be derived information of service to the historian. They comprise, accordingly, not only literature and written documents, but also products of workmanship found by exploration, and even the physical features and conditions of the country, the climate, soil, and products, the practicabilities of communication with other countries; in brief, everything that in any way throws light upon the factors that determined the historical development. The language itself is a highly important source for the origin of the Hellenes, their relations with other early peoples, their subdivision into the so-called races, which are in fact large dialect groups, and for the gradual development of their ideas on all subjects of which they thought. This volume, however, is limited to the written sources. It has to do, accordingly, with literature, with inscriptions on stone or bronze, and with documents committed to papyri, many of which have recently been discovered in Egypt.

To the scholar of a few decades ago, whose chief interest was in political and military narrative, the Greek historians were all-important sources. Recently, however, history has so expanded as to take into account all human conditions and activities, physical, mental, and emotional. In this wider view it embraces economy, society, philosophy and science, religion, poetry and art, as well as political institutions, party struggles, and warfare, and thus renders the lyric poet and the dramatist equal in importance to

the historian. In all oscillations of judgment regarding the relative importance of things there is danger of going to extremes. The culture of a people without their economy and politics is like the decorations of a dwelling without its foundation and framework. It is for the purpose of illustrating all these aspects of Greek civilization that the material of the present volume has been selected and organized.

II. THE MINOAN AGE

Our sources for the Minoan period, approximately 3000–1200 B.C., are nearly all archæological. Various Hellenic authors, however, have written of that time and have referred to it the origin of certain conditions and institutions existing in historical Greece. Some of this material has been included in this present volume, and the reasons for so doing have been given in the introduction to Chapter II. Whereas scholars have thus far taken great interest in pointing to artistic and religious survivals from the Minoan age, the present study breaks ground in calling attention also to survivals of social and political conditions.

III. HOMER

The ancients are at variance regarding the place and time of Homer. The weight of their evidence, however, connects him with Smyrna, Chios, or their neighborhood, where with an original Æolic population Ionians were afterward mingled. They are at one in placing him after the Trojan war, although they differ by centuries as to the length of time that intervened between that event and his birth (cf. Christ, Griech. Lit. I. 34 sq.). Their idea of his personality, that of a blind old minstrel who wandered about chanting his sweet lays, is best expressed in the Homeric Hymn to the Delian A pollo (165 sqq.):—

- "But come now, be gracious, Apollo, be gracious, Artemis, and ye maidens all, farewell; but remember me even in time to come, when any of earthly men, yea, any stranger that much hath seen and much endured, comes hither and asks:—
- "'Maidens, who is the sweetest to you of singers here conversant, and in whose song are ye most glad?"
 - "Then do you all with one voice make answer: -
- "'A blind man is he, and he dwells in rocky Chios; his song will ever have the mastery, ay, in all time to come." (Lang.)

The picture is that of the typical rhapsodist, the professional chanter of epic verse, rather than of a historical person. For a time all existing epics were indiscriminately assigned to Homer; but as early as Herodotus the work of sifting was under way. the ground of internal contradictions he separated in authorship the poem entitled Cypria from the Iliad and the Odyssey (ii. 117). The work of criticism thus begun resulted in the definite segregation, apart from Homer, of the group of epics known as cyclic. In this use, as in the word cyclopedia, cycle has reference merely to a definite scope or range of material. In the Alexandrian age the so-called separatists, Xenon and Hellanicus, advanced a step farther in Homeric criticism when they assumed distinct authors for the two poems. Here the work of sifting rested till near the close of the eighteenth century, when Wolf in his Prolegomena ad Homerum, on the basis of inconsistencies and other alleged defects. pronounced both poems the work of a number of poets. From his time throughout the nineteenth century scholars of all countries have devoted their lives to laborious analysis of the poems to discover earlier and later parts and to establish theories as to their process of growth.

During all this time there were conservatives who protested against such dissection; and since the beginning of the present century a strong reaction has set in in favor of unity, although there remain doughty champions of plural authorship. Meanwhile, the minute studies in Homer mentioned above have not been in vain, as they have given us a knowledge of the poet which could not otherwise have accumulated.

To the student of history the chief interest is not whether these poems were the product of one mind, but rather what historical value they have. As it is evident that they are not history pure and simple, the chief problem is, by sifting out the fiction, to discover the residuum of truth. If we are in search of light on political and social conditions and on material civilization, we may begin by rejecting the gods, their relations with men, and everything supernatural. Here it is possible to discard more than is necessary, for the Homeric Olympus is evidently a glorified reflection from a royal court; so that by a study of the gods we may gain knowledge of Homeric men and society. The individual human beings,

Agamemnon, Helen, Aretê, and the rest, are also fictions. Should any Homeric person have had a real being, there are no criteria by which we may discover the fact, or having discovered it, separate the fiction in his character from the reality. The same principle holds for the activities of persons individually and in combination. We cannot be certain even of the main event — the siege and sack of Troy by an army that had come from the Greek mainland. Some scholars are ready to affirm the truth of this event, while others as strenuously deny it. We know that the "sixth" city, the most splendid of the successive settlements at Troy, was destroyed by fire, and was followed by a poor village; we know that at about this time the Æolians colonized Asia Minor; but whether they attacked and destroyed Troy cannot as yet be proved. The migration of the Æolians, their conflict with the natives, the hardships of life in the new world, and the sight of the ruined city, burned by whatever hands, would be enough to inspire the poet to his great achievement.

The elimination of the elements thus far mentioned leaves but a small residuum. The question arises, why should we not continue the process of elimination still farther? Why could not Homer have invented his palaces, the armor of men, the dress of women, and all the products of handicraft which he mentions? Perhaps he could; but the fact is that many of these objects actually existed in the Minoan age and can now be seen in the museums by readers of Homer. The poet describes them so accurately as to force us to the conclusion that he must either have seen them or learned of them through trustworthy sources; either he lived in the splendor of the Minoan age or a literature, oral or written, descriptive of Minoan material civilization must have been preserved to his time.

Many reasons compel us to place him in a later period. On this point scholars are agreed. There is, however, the widest difference of opinion as to when, within the approximate limits, 1200-700 B.C., lived and wrought this transcendent genius. On this subject, which is still under controversy, the writer can do no more than express his own view. The weight of ancient authority, as has been said, places Homer in Chios, Smyrna, or their neighborhood — that is, after the Hellenic colonization of Asia Minor.

His dialect was an Æolizing Ionic, such in those places, and so far as we are a It has often been assumed that the Ionia, about 1000-700 B.C. (World of Homer) has offered insuwell established that the Ioniz essentially decadent Minoan, usages were distinctly Indo-J sions are acceptable. But i or 1200, as he does, it is w Thessaly, and hence of t' ropean, scarcely touched Prehistoric Thessaly, 10 Homer's habitat was

We may suppose descriptive of the Middle Age, whi guage of the H land and in t heroes, inte The great perhaps nothir of m aft

A

as must have been spoken ware, nowhere else in Hellas. culture of Homer was that of at view, however, Andrew Lang perable objections. It is in fact an civilization of this period was whereas many Homeric ideas and Luropean. Thus far Lang's concluastead of placing Homer back to 1100 ell to note the fact that the Æolians of heir colonies, were thoroughly Indo-Eu-. by Minoan culture (Wace and Thompson, A12). This fact completes the evidence that the borderland between Æolis and Ionia.

then, that songs and perhaps other literature splendors of Minoan life passed down into the ch fielhowed the Minoan period, and into the lanelleness, and that Hellenic bards on the Greek mainhe colonies continued to sing the glories of gods and rmingling their own customs and ideas with traditions. est of these bards was Homer, who lived in Asia Minor, in the nirth or in the eighth century. He incorporated g, but created his great poems afresh, making use, however, such traditional subject matter. The Odyssey was composed er the Iliad; yet both may have been the product of one genius. after their completion by Homer the poems were to some extent interpolated.

No analysis of the subject matter for historical purposes will satisfy every scholar. Much of the material civilization is clearly Minoan, and may be distinguished by archæological study, although important elements are later than that period. In the political sphere the vast pretensions of king and nobles and their contempt for the commons seem Minoan, whereas the actualities of political life are largely those of Homer's time and place. The same principle holds for society. The religion, too, is composite; earlier and contemporary elements are mingled. In a word, each detail of Homeric life requires individual consideration, and on many points, because of a lack of determinative facts, it will be impossible for scholars to agree.

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IV. THE CYCLIC EPICS, THE HOMERIC HYMNS, AND HESIOD

The cyclic epics (p. 3), which have all disappeared with the exception of a few scant fragments, once constituted a large body of Among them were the Theogonia, Œdipodeia, Thebais, Epigoni, Cypria, Æthiopis, Little Iliad, and Nosti. Younger than Homer, they belong, some to the eighth and more to the seventh century. Even the ancients did not know the authors by name; and we can only say that the bulk of this literature seems to have been Ionic. The value of the poems lies in the fact that they were the chief sources for the Attic dramatists. They were the creations of talent rather than of genius; but the customs they pictured, their ideas and general tone were better adapted to the Attic stage than were those of the true Homeric poems. Particularly the priestly lore, the oracles, the belief in ghosts, in the guilt wrought by homicide and its purification by swine's blood, in the hereditary curse that brought the family to ruin, finally the gloomy aspects of religion characteristic of Minoan civilization but foreign to Homer, were all far more appropriate to Attic tragedy than was the sunny life of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. To the student of history the important fact is that the characteristics of the cyclic epos above mentioned belong to Ionia along with other regions formerly under Minoan dominance, as distinguished from Indo-European Thessaly and Æolis. It was in fact from the conditions represented by these inferior poems, far more than from Homeric life, that the Athenian civilization developed.