



希腊史 (上)

(英文影印版)

A HISTORY OF GREECE:
To the Death of Alexander the Great

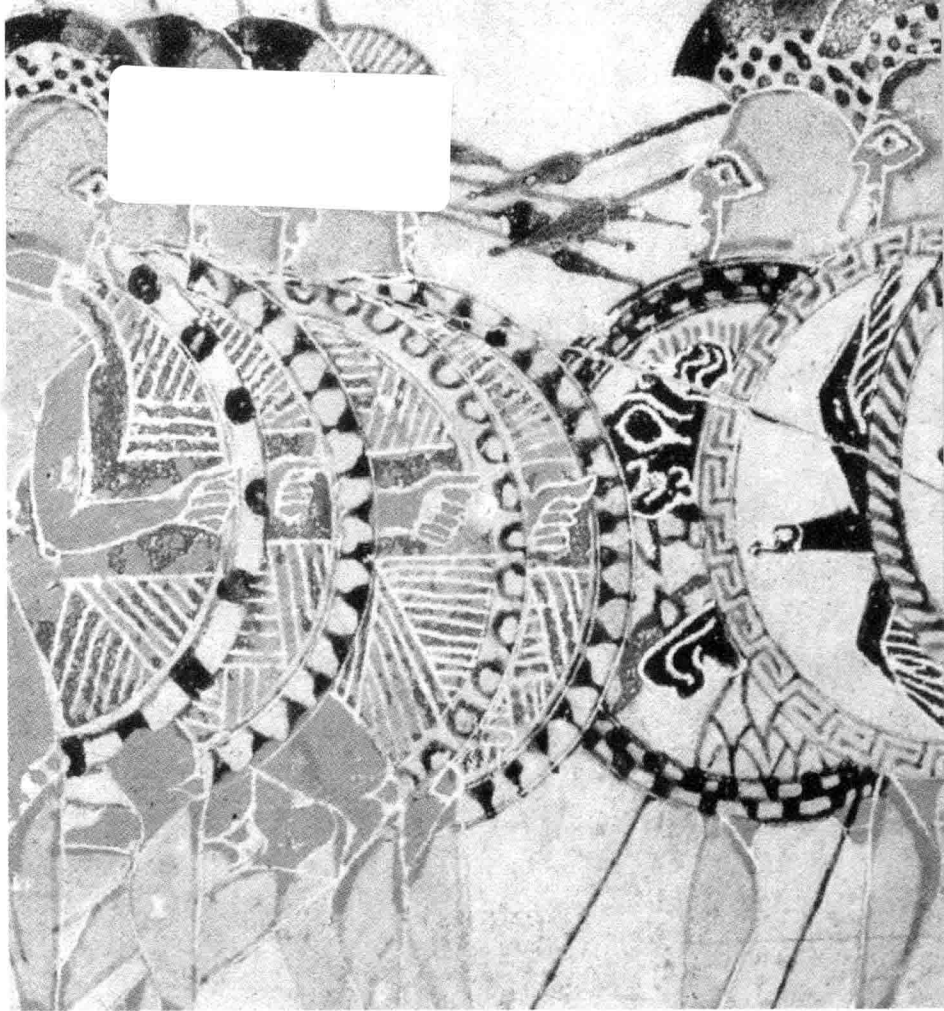
[英] J.B.伯里 (J.B. Bury) 著

晏绍祥 导读

北京大学西学影印丛书
历史学系列



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西方人撰写希腊史的尝试,最远也许可追溯到历史之父希罗多德。他的《历史》既是当时希腊人所知道的那个世界的历史,也是希腊世界的通史,其笔触上及传说中的米诺斯王,下到他自己所处的时代(公元前 478 年)。那些居住在黑海、小亚细亚、爱琴海北岸、西西里和大希腊,以及北非地区的希腊人的历史,与巴尔干半岛上的希腊人的历史得到了同等的对待。在他之后,虽然修昔底德的断代史传统一度受到青睐,续篇不断,但在埃弗鲁斯(Ephorus)和西西里的狄奥多罗斯(Diodorus Siculus)的著作中,我们仍能看到通史传统的延续。可惜他们的著作都没有完整地流传到今天,埃弗鲁斯的著作仅有少数残篇,连轮廓都难以恢复。狄奥多罗斯的著作大多失传,只能看出个大概框架,其叙述上起希腊传说中的远古,下到自己所处的时代,于西部希腊人的历史述之尤详。

近代西方撰写希腊通史的努力,似乎始自 18 世纪的英国。苏格兰王室历史学家格利斯(John Gillies)1786 年出版了两卷本的《古代希腊史》(*History of Ancient Greece*)。在此之前两年,米特福德(William Mitford)已经出版了其《希腊史》(*History of Greece*)的第一卷,但到 1810 年该书八卷才出齐。因米特福德之书具有相当的学识,特别是其对民主政治的批评,颇合害怕法国革命的英国人的口味,一度广受欢迎。19 世纪历史学的专业化、资料的积累和专题性研究的拓展,让希腊史研究越来越成为一种职业。反映到通史著述上,一个重要的表现是有关著作的篇幅呈现稳步增长的趋势。桑沃尔(Connop Thirlwall)的《希腊史》为八卷;格罗特(George Grote)的鸿篇巨著《希腊史》为十二卷;在欧洲大陆上,杜里伊(Victor Duruy)的《希腊史》为四卷;科修斯(Ernst Curtius)、布佐尔特(Georg Busolt)和贝洛赫(J. Beloch)的同名著作也是四卷。这些著作多附

有大量注释,包含众多资料批判和学术史探讨的内容,是地道的研究性专著,其篇幅一般都在 2000 页以上。阅读这样的著作,不仅耗时,对一个人的忍耐力有考验,而且需要有比较扎实的古典文献学和历史学基础。可是,大量的社会读者、包括学校中学习古典的大学生们,显然无此能力和条件。因此,社会需要一部篇幅适中、能够反映学术进展的单卷本希腊史。

有意思的是,完成该任务的居然是伯里。之所以用“居然”,是因为伯里当时并不以希腊史研究见长。伯里确实聪慧早熟。他生于 1861 年,4 岁开始学习拉丁文,10 岁开始学习古希腊语,后来还学了包括俄语、希伯来语和叙利亚语在内的多种东方语言。他大学时的专业是古典文献学和道德哲学,对诗歌有浓厚的兴趣,尤其喜欢勃朗宁。1882 年,他以优异成绩从都柏林大学获得古典学和道德哲学学位,1885 年成为该校教师,1893 年年仅 32 岁时晋升为教授,1902 年荣任剑桥大学钦定近代史讲座教授,直到 1927 年去世。他虽然校勘和编辑过优里庇德斯和品达的作品,但他的兴趣并不在希腊史领域。确立他在史学界声誉的,是他的晚期罗马帝国史研究。1889 年,他出版了两卷的《晚期罗马帝国:从阿卡狄乌斯到爱里尼》(*History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*),后来还陆续出版了《东罗马帝国史:从爱里尼垮台到巴塞尔一世登基》(*History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I*)、《晚期罗马帝国史:从提奥多西一世之死到查士丁尼之死》(*History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian*),把东罗马的历史从罗马帝国分裂一直写到 9 世纪中期。此外,他校勘和注释了吉本的《罗马帝国衰亡史》,为这部名作锦上添花。除晚期罗马帝国外,他还涉足西方思想史,写有《思想自由史》(宋桂煌译,吉林人民出版社,1999 年)、《进步的观念》(范祥涛译,上海三联书店,2005 年)和《圣帕特里克传》。他主编了《剑桥古代史》,参与了《剑桥中世纪史》和《剑桥近代史》的写作与规划。在希腊史领域,他最主要的著作是 1909 年出版的《希腊历史学家》(*The Ancient Greek Historians*)。^[1]因此,在《希腊史》之前,他不曾写过有关古希腊史的任何专著。

但是,正是这本看似出自外行之手的单卷本《希腊史》,成为迄今为止西方最为成功的学术著作之一。该书 1900 年 7 月由麦克米兰公司初版,当

年10月即重印。1913年该书第二版出版之前,先后重印了8次。第二版推出后,该书仍广受欢迎,到1951年第三版推出之前,12次重印。哪怕是在第一次世界大战和1929—1933年间的世界经济危机期间,它也平均每两年重印一次。1927年作者去世,而爱琴文明研究的进展需要对该书进行重大修订。1951年,该书经罗素·梅格斯(Russell Meiggs)修订推出了第三版,仍然畅销不衰。1975年,该书出了第四版。新版主要根据考古新进展改写了其中的第一章和第二章,即关于爱琴文明和早期希腊的两章,并增补了参考文献。其他正文基本一仍其旧,只是在注释中对最近的发展做了说明。第四版似乎更受欢迎,截至1980年,每年重印一次。时至今日,该书仍是西方大学历史和古典学本科教学的基本教材。笔者曾就希腊史教材的版本问题先后与原美国宾夕法尼亚大学格拉哈姆(A. J. Graham)教授和英国牛津大学劳逊(Elizabeth Rawson)交流,他们都不约而同地表示,虽然哈蒙德(N. G. L. Hammond)和西利(R. Sealey)^[2]都各自出版了他们的希腊史,但在教学时,他们仍选用伯里之书作为教材。笔者当年初入希腊史之门时,导师胡鍾达先生要求我们阅读的,也是这本书。在学术界,伯里此书也得到相当高的评价。古奇认为:“伯里是唯一企图利用大量新资料的人,这部比较简明的总结之作既有科学性,又有通俗性,是一部出色的导论。”^[3]汤普逊评价道:“这位拜占庭学者站得高看得远,写了一本最好的古希腊史教程。”^[4]由此可见,该书已成为希腊史领域的经典之作。

总体框架设计合理、篇幅适中,是该书的第一大优点。众所周知,古代希腊世界包括从西班牙到黑海东岸、从黑海北岸到北非的广大地区,希腊大陆不过是其中的一个部分,虽然是非常重要的一个部分。其历史的开端,即使从文明时代算起,也在公元前2千纪初年。要描写地区如此广大、时间跨度如此之长的历史,内容的取舍非常关键。古代希腊的历史应从何时开始,到何时结束,在学术界至今没有定论。对伯里来说,最让他头痛的可能是开端问题,因为在他写作希腊史之时,迈锡尼文明虽然已经被发现了20多年,但一些重要的遗址如派罗斯等仍深埋地下,线形文字B尚未发现,克里特文明还等待着伊文斯去发掘,有关的研究尚未充分开展。但作为一个历史学家,伯里敏锐地意识到,随着考古发掘的进展,史前希腊的面貌将发生巨大变化,因此他在《序言》中告诫读者,他所说的一切都只能是

暂时的。有关的描述,只能是一些主要的特征。尽管如此,他仍力所能及地对史前希腊的历史发展进行了描述和归纳。至于下限,同样让人挠头。有人写到公元前 338 年的克罗尼亚战役,有人则写到希腊被罗马征服,后来还有人一直写到拜占庭时期。伯里大体遵从 19 世纪以来的习惯,将其确定在马其顿亚历山大大帝去世之时。选定这个时间作为下限的理由,很大程度上是因为随着希腊城邦独立的丧失,西方人所欣赏的自由与民主,逐渐从希腊历史中隐退。希腊化时代各君主国相互混战及其被罗马征服的历史,无论是对格罗特,还是对伯里这样的自由主义者来说,都不免让人沮丧。

地域上的取舍也不容易确定。希腊史当然是希腊为中心,但希腊世界的广大,让以巴尔干半岛为中心的希腊史带有严重的偏见。伯里显然意识到了这一点。他明确指出,因为文献的缺失,古风时代以雅典和斯巴达为中心的希腊历史显然不能充分反映当时的实际,读者必须注意此时小亚细亚、西西里和大希腊的希腊人所扮演的重要角色。因此,虽然在有关古风时代的四章中,雅典和斯巴达占了三章,但第二章大体交代了古风希腊历史发展的一般趋势,在有关雅典和斯巴达的三章中,除叙述两邦早期的历史外,分别涉及立法运动、僭主政治、泛希腊性质的赛会、小亚细亚的理性主义等内容。到古典时代,撇开有关希波战争的两章不论,雅典占据了公元前 5—前 4 世纪即一般所说的古典时代的中心。关于公元前 5 世纪的四章,基本都与雅典有关。但在有关公元前 4 世纪的各章中,斯巴达、雅典、底比斯、叙拉古和马其顿轮番占据舞台中心。这样的安排,应当说大体符合历史的实际,既反映了雅典在公元前 5 世纪作为政治、经济和文化中心的特征,也照顾到公元前 4 世纪希腊历史多中心的现实。

在今人看来,一部综合性的古代希腊史,当然应包含政治、经济、社会与文化等多个方面。伯里也承认,经济和文化发展是古代希腊历史最为重要的内容之一,但限于篇幅,他只是偶尔涉及,而以政治和军事史为主。这里有 19 世纪史学传统的影响,也有篇幅上的考虑。如果把希腊人在文化上的成就纳入,有关哲学、文学和艺术的讨论不免占去大量篇幅,反会冲淡政治史的主题。所以在其《序言》中,伯里宣布,他只会触及那些与政治史联系特别密切的宗教与文化现象。从全书的布局看,伯里大体遵守了他给

自己确定的原则,但有关宗教和文化的发展,特别是一些关键的阶段,如奥尔菲斯主义,爱奥尼亚的理性主义,伯里克利时代的智者运动,亚里士多德等,仍然出现在了本书中,有些是作为政治变迁的原因,有些是作为政治变迁的结果,是政治史的一个有机组成部分。这样的处理,虽然可能对希腊人不够公正,更不能让今人感到完全满意,但强化了该书的核心框架,让它具有了修昔底德的风格:集中在自己的主题上,其他所有内容,无论多么有趣,一律舍弃。该书一直受到推崇,这也许是重要原因之一。

尊重文献、叙事平实,可能是该书最显著的特点。伯里可能是兰克主义的信徒,对历史的科学特征笃信不疑,认为“历史是一门科学,不多也不少”,并在研究中努力实践。科学性的保证,来自对文献的批判和解读。古奇也认为,《希腊史》的优点之一,是对原始文献的利用。文献的充实与否,直接影响到篇幅的分配。文献相对较少的古风时代只有四章,以大体交代历史线索为主。公元前5世纪,雅典的文献相对充分,不可避免地成为叙述的中心。到公元前4世纪,非雅典的文献逐渐增加,同时也因为历史中心在不断转移,其他地区得到的篇幅相应放大。不过伯里对于文献并不是一味轻信,他有自己的立场和原则。这里以第三章关于早期斯巴达历史的论述为例略做说明。

有关早期斯巴达的古代文献稀少,同时代的文献几乎没有,后代的记载因为所谓的“斯巴达奇迹”的干扰,存在严重的理想化倾向,但关于其政治制度和社会结构的论述,传世文献颇多。因此,该章的论述以斯巴达的政治和社会结构为中心,他首先概述了斯巴达的政治制度,接着是美塞尼亚的征服及其影响,以及斯巴达政体与克里特政体的比较。在这里,我们能清楚地看到柏拉图、亚里士多德、希罗多德、修昔底德以及色诺芬等人的影子。像柏拉图和亚里士多德一样,伯里认为斯巴达政体具有混合性质,其中包含着君主制、贵族制和民主制的因素,并且把它与克里特政体进行了比较。准此而论,他的观点与古代文献没有本质冲突。但对这些现象的解释,体现了伯里的洞察力。关于监察官的权力,他认为有一个发展过程,他们最初本为国王指定的、分担司法职能的官员,在平民与王权和贵族的冲突中,他们的权力逐渐增强,到公元前7世纪才赢得了政治上的重要性,其典型表现是监察官与国王之间誓言的交换。所以,监察官具有民主特

征,是人民的代表。至于此种政体形成的原因,伯里承认是斯巴达保守的结果,但觉得斯巴达与其他希腊城邦的差异,在于当其他城邦废止王政时,斯巴达保留了君主政体的形式,但削减了国王的权力;在其他城邦走向民主时,斯巴达确实授予了人民代表巨大权威,但保留了世袭王权和贵族议事会。关于斯巴达和克里特政体,他认为两者之间固然存在不少相似之处,但两者的立国精神有着明显的区别:克里特政体中没有任何民主色彩。他看到斯巴达的制度与风俗与其社会结构之间存在密切联系,但又认为不仅如此,因为在古代希腊人看来,斯巴达那种政体最具简朴而完善的美感。斯巴达政体所以得到希腊人无限的景仰,正在于此。

持论平稳、注重实证,是伯里一贯的风格,《希腊史》也不例外。作为一部面向社会和大学生的教科书,将希腊历史的轮廓用平实的语言叙述出来,当然是最重要的。全书的主体是叙事,将古代希腊人的历史,从史前按部就班地一直叙述到亚历山大大帝之死,其中包含大量具体的史实。他更愿意用希腊人的资料来叙述希腊史。关于希波战争和伯罗奔尼撒战争的叙述,他基本遵从希罗多德、修昔底德和色诺芬。关于伯罗奔尼撒战争的叙述,他几乎亦步亦趋地追随了修昔底德。不过希腊历史上的许多问题并无定论,有些问题的争论还相当激烈。对一些问题,例如雅典民主的评价,伯罗奔尼撒战争的责任与战略等,不免涉及价值判断。在这些地方,伯里从他一个自由主义者和理性主义者的立场出发,做出了自己的分析。在伯罗奔尼撒战争问题上,他指出仅战争名称本身,就显示了历史学家对雅典的同情,因为修昔底德从未使用过这个名称。在伯罗奔尼撒人看来,这场战争也许更应该称为“阿提卡战争”。对于战争责任,他指出,雅典决心不顾希腊的反对维持自己的海上帝国,在这个意义上应当对战争的爆发负责。但仅此而已。雅典根本没有征服和统治全希腊的意图和野心,更不能说雅典政治领袖为摆脱国内危机,蓄意发动战争。至于伯罗奔尼撒方面,他认为科林斯是主要的煽动者,斯巴达不过是个三心二意的领袖,被盟友的鞭子赶着前行。这种各打五十板的看法,在某种意义上是修昔底德说法的伯里版本,今天的不少学者可能不会太赞成,他相当推崇的贝洛赫大概更会暴跳如雷。但支持者,根据笔者的了解,可能也不会太少,当代研究伯罗奔尼撒战争史的权威卡甘(Donald Kagan)至少是他的同情者。在其他

众多问题上,伯里的看法大体相类,表现得似乎不偏不倚。相对平稳但不乏精彩的论证,可能是该书受到欢迎的另一个重要原因。

《希腊史》出版至今已 100 多年。在此期间,希腊史的许多领域都取得了新进展^[5],其中最明显的是在早期希腊史领域。爱琴文明研究有了长足发展。1900 年,伊文斯发现了克里特的克诺索斯王宫,此后,英国考古队与其他国家的考古学者先后在克里特和爱琴海中的岛屿上,发现了大量的宫殿遗址和文物,揭示出一个全新的文明。伊文斯还根据克里特文物与埃及和西亚文物的对应关系,对克里特文明做了开创性的研究,确立了它的年代学框架。在希腊大陆上,1939 年布列根在派罗斯的发现具有决定性意义,大量线形文字 B 泥版文书被公诸于世,为学术界的研究提供了大量第一手资料。1952 年,英国年轻的建筑工程师文特里斯(M. Ventris)与剑桥大学的柴德威克(J. Chadwick)合作,成功解读了迈锡尼的线形文字 B,从而把爱琴文明研究置于牢固的文献和考古基础之上。关于荷马与迈锡尼世界的关系,如今的人们已经有了全新的认识。荷马的描写,更多地与古典而不是爱琴文明相关。关于古风时代的希腊,如今人们关注的是希腊城邦的形成。东方文明对希腊的影响,近 20 年来得到越来越多的强调。在阿尔明那和塞浦路斯等地的发掘,表明希腊与东方的联系,可能早在公元前 9 世纪就已开始,远早于伯里设想的公元前 7 世纪,其影响的路径,也不仅仅是吕底亚,还应包括西亚和埃及。关于希腊铸币产生的年代,因为新的定年方法的采用,被下移到公元前 6 世纪。亚里士多德有关梭伦币制改革的记载,为考古证据所否定。在古典希腊史领域,20 世纪上半期麦瑞特(B. D. Meritt)等人有关雅典帝国贡金的研究,让我们对雅典帝国的认识有了很大的提升。琼斯、芬利等人有关古代经济和政治的新看法,很大程度上改变了雅典民主政治一贯的恶劣形象。20 世纪后期有关伯罗奔尼撒战争以及城邦危机的研究,也部分改变了公元前 4 世纪希腊黯淡无光的历史图景。但总体上看,伯里有关古风和古典时代希腊历史的总体框架,仍然是合理而且有说服力的。哈蒙德《公元前 322 年以前的希腊史》并未能取代伯里,西利的《希腊城邦史:公元前 700—前 338 年》更无此可能。最近出版的波麦罗伊(Sarah Pomeroy)等撰写的希腊史^[6],确实汲取了 20 世纪以来的新成果,也更具综合性,把经济、妇女和家庭等内容纳入历史之中,

并把古代希腊的历史叙述到了希腊化时代末期。在编写方法上,也借鉴了伯里的某些做法。但伯里对政治史和希腊历史总体进程的把握,对中国的读者来说,仍具有重要的意义。

注 释

- [1] 有关伯里生平和著述情况,主要参考了下述论著:古奇:《十九世纪历史学与历史学家》,下册,商务印书馆,1989年,第747、760页;汤普逊:《历史著作史》,下卷第四分册,商务印书馆,1992年,第721—725页;晏绍祥:《古典历史研究发展史》,华中师范大学出版社,1999年,第86—87页;John Cannon, et al. eds. *The Blackwell Dictionary of Historians*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988, pp. 59-60。
- [2] 分别是 *A History of Greece to 322 B. C.*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959, 2nd ed. 1967 和 *A History of Greek City-States 700-338 B. C.*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979。
- [3] 古奇:《十九世纪历史学与历史学家》,下册,第747页。
- [4] 汤普逊:《历史著作史》,下卷第四分册,第724页。
- [5] 有关20世纪以来希腊史研究的进展,请参看拙著《古典历史研究发展史》以及黄洋与笔者合著的《希腊史研究入门》(即将由北京大学出版社出版)第3章。
- [6] Sarah Pomeroy, et al., *Ancient Greece: Political, Social and Cultural History*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

JOHN BAGNELL BURY

(1861-1927)

A NOTE ON THE AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF GREECE"

As a student at Foyle College, in Derry, Ireland, J. B. Bury's first interest in antiquity was awakened by Freeman's *History of Federal Government in Greece and Italy*. After winning a fellowship at Trinity College, Dublin, he wrote, when he was but twenty-seven, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadia to Irene*. This work was acclaimed by scholars and became widely popular. His love of Pindar's poetry led him to edit the *Nemean and Isthmian Odes*. In 1893, he was made Professor of History at Trinity College and wrote *A History of the Roman Empire from Its Foundation to the Death of Marcus Aurelius*. Seven years later he issued his major work, *A History of Greece*, and was appointed Regius Professor at Cambridge. In addition to his monumental classical research and translations, he found time to write a *Life of Saint Patrick*. In 1908, he lectured at Harvard University, and thereafter continued to add to his stature as a teacher and scholar. His last work, published in 1923, carried forward his Roman historical chronicle to the death of Justinian. Ill health forced him to abandon his labors and go to Rome, where he died on June 1, 1927.

PREFACE TO THE 1913 EDITION

THE excavations of Sir Arthur Evans at Cnossus began in the year in which the first edition of this History of Greece appeared (1900). His amazing discoveries there, followed and supplemented by the work of other explorers on many other prehistoric sites in Crete, have transformed our knowledge of the Aegean civilisation of the second millennium, and placed in a new focus the problems of early Greece. In consequence of these discoveries, and of other researchs (among which I may mention especially Professor Ridgeway's *Early Age of Greece* and Mr. Leaf's *Troy*), it has been necessary to rewrite the greater part of Chapter I. An account of Cretan civilisation is included; the view that the pre-Achaean inhabitants of Greece were not Greeks, which it seems to me no longer possible to maintain, is abandoned; and the Trojan War is recognised to be an historical event.

Outside Chapter I, a few minor changes have been made. I need only mention that the accounts of the battles of Salamis and Plataea have been partly rewritten.

J. B. B.

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

IN determining the form and character of this book, I have been prompted by two convictions. One is that while, in writing a history based on the original authorities and from one's own personal point of view, it is natural and certainly easier to allow it to range into several volumes, its compression into a single volume often produces a more useful book. In the case of a new history of Greece, it seemed worth while to undertake the more laborious task. The other opinion which I venture to hold is this. So far as history is concerned, those books which are capable of enlisting the interest of mature readers seem to me to be best also for informing younger students. Therefore, while my aim is to help education, this book has in view a wider circle than those merely who are going through a course of school or university discipline.

It was a necessary consequence of the limitations of space which I imposed upon myself, that literature and art, philosophy and religion, should be touched upon only when they directly illustrate, or come into some specially intimate connexion with, the political history. It will be found that I have sometimes interpreted this rule liberally; but it is a rule which could be the more readily adopted as so many excellent works dealing with art, literature, and philosophy are now easily accessible. The interspersions, in a short political history, of a few unconnected chapters dealing, as they must deal, inadequately with art and literature seems useless and inartistic.

The existence of valuable handbooks, within the reach of all, on constitutional antiquities has enabled me, in tracing the development of the Athenian state or touching on the institutions of other cities, to omit minor details. The reader must also seek elsewhere for the sagas of Hellas, for a geographical description of the country, for the topography of Athens. On the topography of Athens, and on the geography of Greece, he will find excellent works to his hand.

There are two cautions which I must convey to the reader, and it will be most convenient to state them here. The first concerns the prehistoric age, which is the subject of the first chapter of this work. The evidence gathered by the researches

of archaeologists on the coasts and islands of the Aegean during the last twenty years, as to the civilisation of prehistoric Greece, brought historians face to face with a set of new problems, for which no solutions that can be regarded as certain have yet been discovered. The ablest investigators differ widely in their views. Fresh evidence may at any hour upset tentative conclusions and force us to seek new interpretations of the data. The excavations which are now to be undertaken in Crete, at last restored to its own Greek world, may lead to unexpected results that may transform the whole question. Thus prehistoric Greece cannot be treated satisfactorily except by the method of discussion, and in a work like this, since discussion lies outside its scope, a writer can only describe the main features of the culture which excavation has revealed, and state with implied reserve the chief general conclusions, which he considers probable, as to the correlation of the archaeological evidence with the literary traditions of the Greeks. He must leave much vague and indefinite. The difficulty of the problems is increased by the circumstance that the literary evidence concerning the doings and goings of the early Greek folks is largely embedded in myth and harder to extract from its bed than buried walls or tombs from their coverings of earth. The importance of the pre-Greek inhabitants of Greece, the mixed ethnical character of the historical Greeks, the comparatively early date of the "Ionian" migration, the continuity of Aegean civilisation, the relation of the so-called "Mycenaen" culture to the culture described by Homer—these are the main points which I have been content to emphasise.¹

The second caution applies to all histories of Greece that have been written since the days of Ephorus. The early portion of Greek history, which corresponds to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., is inevitably distorted and placed in a false perspective through the strange limitations of our knowledge. For at that time (as well as in the centuries immediately preceding, which are almost quite withdrawn from our vision) the cities of the western coast of Asia Minor formed the most important and enlightened part of the Hellenic world, and of those cities in the days of their greatness we have only some disconnected glimpses. Our knowledge of them hardly begins till Persia advances to the Aegean and they sink to a lower place in Greece. Thus the pages in which the Greeks of Asia should have the supreme

¹ It has been a disappointment to me that Professor Ridgeway's promised work on the "Mycenaean" age has not yet appeared.

place are monopolised by the development of elder Greece; and the false impression is produced that the history of Hellas in the seventh and sixth centuries consisted merely or mainly of the histories of Sparta and Athens and their immediate neighbours. Darkness also envelops the growth of the young Greek communities of Italy and Sicily during the same period. The wrong, unfortunately, cannot be righted by a recognition of it. Athens and Sparta and their fellows abide in possession. *Les absents ont toujours tort.*

In the Notes and References at the end of the volume I have indicated obligations to modern research on special points. Here I must acknowledge my more general obligations to the histories of Grote, Freeman (*History of Sicily*), Busolt, Beloch, E. Meyer (*Geschichte des Altertums*), and Droysen. Though other histories of high reputation, both English and foreign, have been respectfully consulted, it is to those mentioned that I am chiefly indebted. But I owe perhaps a deeper debt to the writings of one who, though he has never written a formal history of Greece, has made countless invaluable contributions to its study—Professor U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff. With some of his conclusions I do not agree, but I would express here deep sympathy with his methods and admiration for the stimulating virtue of his writings.

Several friends have been good enough to help me. The book has had the advantage of the criticisms of a master of the subject, Mr. Mahaffy, who most kindly read through the proof-sheets. The first chapter is enriched by a small map of the "Mycenaen" sites of Crete, marked for me by Mr. J. L. Myres. Mr. Cecil Smith assisted me in the matter of illustrations taken from antiquities in the British Museum; and Professor Percy Gardner superintended the preparation of some photographs from busts in the Oxford Galleries.

All the plans and many of the maps (including Bactria and North-Western India) were roughly sketched by myself and then properly drawn by the skilful cartographers Messrs. Walker and Boutall. In the case of a plan or map that is not current, I have stated in the List of Illustrations to what work I am indebted. Nearly all the reproductions of coins are from coins in the British Museum.

My obligations to Messrs. R. and R. Clark will be understood by those who have had the good fortune to have had works printed at their press.

J. B. BURY.