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Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the
Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

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Bronze of the latter part of fifth century B. C. Now in Munich.
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ATHENIAN RELIGIOUS AND MORAL TRAINING.

(FIFTH CENTURY B. C.)*

BY FLETCHER H. SWIFT.

"There is one god, supreme among gods and men;
resembling mortals neither in form nor in mind."

—Xenophanes, *The Fragments*.

"And Paul stood in the midst of the Areopagus and
said, "Ye men of Athens, in all things I perceive that
ve are very religious."

—Acts xvii. 22.

"Beloved Pan, and all ve other gods who haunt this
place, give me beauty in the inward soul; and may the
outward and inward man be at one."

—Plato, *Socrates' Prayer*.

I. THE CONDITIONS OF RELIGIOUS AND MORAL TRAINING.

WHAT is the place of religion and morals in a purely cultural education? What place were they accorded in the educational system of the most highly cultured people the race has thus far produced, that people whose contributions to the culture of the modern world surpass those of any other race? To what extent were they factors in the production of that culture? The answer

*In the present account the authority for a statement or a quotation is indicated by placing after it in the text in parenthesis a numeral corresponding to the number of the work as listed at the close of the present article. Following such a numeral and separated from it by a colon are numerals referring to the specific volumn and page. Large Roman numerals (unless preceded by the abbreviation Chap.) refer to volumns. Small Roman numerals refer to introductory pages in a volumn. The letters a, b, c and d, following the page numeral indicate respectively the first, second, third and last quarter of the page. *Examples* (4:I., 22c-23b) means the fourth work listed in the bibliography, volumn one, from the third quarter of page 22 through the second quarter of page 23.
—Ed.

to these questions must be postponed until the next chapter for it is impossible to consider them intelligently until we have gained some understanding of the elements in Athenian life conditioning religious and moral education; namely, the nature of Greek religion and morality and the political, social and intellectual characteristics of Athenian life.

The story of Greece is the story not of a single nation but of a large number of small independent sovereign cities, i. e., cities which were states and which are therefore generally spoken of as city-states (Grk. sing. *polis*; pl. *poleis*). Owing to the fact that these independent city-states never united in a nation, no general account of Greek life or of Greek education is possible. The most that can be done is to describe certain city-states in certain periods. The present account must confine its discussion chiefly to one city-state and to one period, namely, to Athens from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the fourth century B. C.

The Athenian polis, consisted of the city of Athens and a small surrounding territory belonging to it and known as Attica. The Athenian polis, like other city-states of Greece, was the last stage in a long process of political and social evolution extending over many centuries (5:163ff.)* At the dawn of history we find the Greeks living together in village communities (5:53d). Each village community is the habitation of a *genos* or clan, i. e., a "family in a wide sense" (5:53). These communities are not, however, independent of one another, but several of them are bound together in a loose aggregation or larger community known as the *phyle* (sing. *φυλή*; pl. *φυλαί*) or tribe (5:54). Intermediate between the *genos* and the tribe stood the *phratra* (*φράτρα*) or brotherhood, essentially a religious association formed by the union of several families (5:54). Out of the union of village-communities gradually arose the polis (*πόλις*) or city-state (5:56).

It is neither necessary nor possible to trace here the process by which the character, basis, and ties of these constituent organizations changed in Athens.¹ The important thing to be noted is that the social life of the citizens of Athens of the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. centered in a number of social and political associations for the most part bearing the names, and in certain cases preserving some of the traditions and customs of earlier social and

* All accounts of the evolution of the city-state are largely hypothetical. The conclusions summarized here are those of Bury.

¹ See 5:211, 212 for an account of how religious, political and geographical ties were substituted for the earlier blood tie.

political units, out of which the polis had arisen, and of which these various constituent social and political units were survivals, or Each tribe was divided into three trittys (Grk. sing. *τριττύς*; pl. same). The entire area of Attica was divided into between one and two hundred demes, or townships. Every citizen born in Athens in the fifth century was born into membership in a phyle or tribe, a trittys, a deme, a genos or clan, a phratra or brotherhood, and a which they had supplanted. The entire citizen population of Athens was divided for political and military purposes into ten tribes. household, as well as into the city-state itself. His relation to each of these groups carried with it a wide range of duties and activities, military, religious, administrative and judicial. Let us now try to picture to ourselves the life of this city-state at the close of the fifth century B. C.

The total population of the city-state of Athens, including the city proper and its surrounding territory, is estimated to have numbered approximately 250,000. Of this number not more than 35,000 were voters. The remaining population included the wives and children of the citizens, 10,000 alien residents, and about 100,000 slaves.² The alien residents were largely engaged in commerce and business enterprises. Many of them were exceedingly wealthy, but however great their wealth it was difficult for them to secure citizenship, as no alien could become a citizen of Athens unless made so by special vote of the people.

The government is a pure democracy. All male citizens over twenty years of age are members of the Ecclesia, or popular assembly, which elects and tries the most important public officers and settles all important questions relating to war, commerce, taxation, and foreign relations. Approximately one-third of the voters are organized into popular law courts, which settle all ordinary law suits and often act as courts of appeal. Every male citizen is also a member of the army, since one small city-state in the midst of a multitude of jealous sister states, must at all times be prepared for war. As a result of these conditions the life of each citizen is largely devoted to public affairs. It has been estimated that Athens demanded fully half the time of all her citizens. We to-day speak of men "going into politics"; every Athenian citizen was in politics, it was his life.

Athens, as has been said, was only one of many *poleis*, among

² Various estimates are given. The data given here are the estimates of Clinton, Julius Beloch for the year 431 B. C. as given in *Die Bevölkerung der Griechisch-Römischen Welt*, p. 99.

which the land and rule of Greece was divided. None, however, of all this multitude was destined to equal her in intellectual, social, artistic, and scientific achievements. Only the immediate events which made Athens the center of the intellectual life of Greece and the eternal source of art, philosophy, and culture for succeeding ages can be told here.

The apparent weakness of the land divided among a large number of small ununited, jealous city-states made Greece an inviting field for conquest to any strong outside people. In 490 B. C. Darius, king of the mighty Persian Empire, sent an army numbering perhaps 30,000³ against Athens. Upon the plains of Marathan 9,000 Athenians, aided by 1,000 Plataeans, defeated a Persian force from two to five times larger than their own. Ten years later the Persians again attempted to subjugate Greece and were victorious in the world renowned encounter at Thermopylae. However, in the two years following this defeat the Greeks overcame the Persians on sea and on land.

The victory over Persia resulted in greatly increasing the prestige of Athens among her sister city-states. A considerable number of *poleis* organized a league for future protection against Persia. Athens was given the leadership of this league which she gradually transformed into what was practically an empire, thereby gaining a position of great influence throughout Greece. The taxes of tribute cities filled her coffers, her navies swarmed the seas, the commerce of the world came to her ports. Architects and sculptors of immortal fame were employed to adorn her streets and her holy hill with temples and statues such as the world has never again produced. In her public places, rhapsodists chanted to the accompaniment of the lyre the sublime epics of Homer.

At the opening of the fifth century B. C. opportunities for intellectual education at Athens did not go beyond the elementary school. Before the close of this period, the Periclean Age (461-429 B. C.), the most brilliant period in the history of Athens, had come and gone. In public porticos and groves teachers come from afar and known as Sophists, in addition to offering training in oratory and logic, lectured to groups of eager youth and grown men upon the deepest problems of ethics, politics, and religion. Schools of philosophy and of oratory had become established and new and revolutionizing tendencies had penetrated the entire educational system. This era of commercial and intellectual achievement was attended by the

³ Estimates vary from 20,000 to 50,000.

rise of rationalism, a growing skepticism in religion, a decline of patriotism, and an increasing moral laxness.

Earlier generations had not ventured to question either the state religion or the traditional social and moral standards. By them "What Homer hath written," "What the state demands," "What law and custom ordains," had been regarded as final authorities. But the Sophists, coming from alien lands, entertained no respect for these time-honored authorities. Over against the state, its laws, its demands, its religion, they set the personal opinion and happiness of the individual as the final authority. They taught that neither in science nor in conduct is it possible to discover principles universally valid, but that what is right and what is true in science, religion, and morals are merely matters of individual opinion. Agnosticism, atheism, and moral chaos were the inevitable results of their teaching.

Athens was rescued from the spiritual chaos of the Sophists' superficial rationalism by a number of constructive teachers, the most important of whom are Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Nevertheless the old conditions could never be completely restored, personal happiness as the end of existence and personal development as the aim of education were destined to represent the life aims of many.

In the field of religion men become grouped into three main divisions: (1) the intellectuals, a small group of honest doubters, monotheists, skeptics, agnostics, and free thinkers—men whose vigorous minds forced them to question or absolutely discard the accepted religious beliefs; (2) the mass of intelligent and cultured citizens, who, though discarding the immoralities and absurdities attached to the gods by mythology, continued to believe in the gods themselves; (3) a third group composed of the constitutionally superstitious, who accepted without question all that was taught in legend and myth.

These changes in religion and morals had their due effect upon family life, and upon the training of children. Among the most important of the changes in education were a weakening of discipline at home and at school, an increasing antagonism to the sacred but myth-permeated Homer and Hesiod, decreasing respect for parents and teachers, the introduction of many new studies which had as their aim to prepare for a personal career rather than merely for serving the state.

Greek religion was primarily a religion of joyousness. It had

⁴ Chthonic, pron. *thonic*.

its somber side, to be sure, represented by the chthonic⁴ gods (gods of the underworld). The pitiless chthonic deities must be appeased from time to time with sacrifices, and offerings of appeasement must also be made even to the gods of the upper air when some special circumstance seemed to indicate they had been angered, but the "normal form of worship" was the sacrifice, a joyous banquet, at which the gods were unseen guests (9:98). Whereas the religion of the Hebrews was dominated by lawgivers and moralists such as Moses and the prophets, that of the Greeks was dominated by poet, artist, and sculptor.

Greek religion was a gradual growth which paralleled and indeed formed a part of the social and political evolution. It claimed no divine founder such as Buddha or Jesus of Nazareth. It developed no priestly class with exclusive rights. Throughout its history the common people, as well as rulers and state officials, sacrificed at its altars.

With the exception of certain private cults it was a state religion,—supervised, supported, and protected by the state (9:315-321). Yet although its temples were state buildings, and its priests state officials, there was no state creed, no state religious dogmas, which must be accepted by all. "For one and only one period, (i. e., the fifth century B. C. in Greek history thinking men were brought into court on the charge of impiety." (9:262). The nearest approach to dogma was to be found in the myths of Hesiod and Homer, but no one was obliged to believe the myths for they were not religion, they were merely stories about the gods, which one might modify or reject entirely.⁵

What then was religion and in what did piety consist? Religion was essentially a matter of worship and piety consisted in observing with scrupulous care at home and in public the rites, sacrifices and festivals which law or custom prescribed. As long as one did this and did not openly proclaim any disbelief in the reality of the gods, or ridicule their rites, he might believe about what he chose.

The Greeks peopled the universe with a vast multitude of divine beings resembling mortals in characteristics and in form, hence called anthropomorphic. Every human instinct, every activity from horse racing and wrestling to writing poetry and painting was conceived to be under the protection of some guardian deity. Of this vast number of deities certain ones had gained positions of surpass-

⁵ In some instances, as in the Eleusinian mysteries, myths become incorporated with rites.



PRAYING BOY.

Bronze of the latter part of fourth century B. C. Now in Berlin.
(From Sauerlandt, *Griechische Bildwerke.*)

ing eminence during the seventh century. These were said to dwell on Mount Olympus, and were therefore called Olympian deities.

A striking characteristic of the Olympian gods is the variety of functions, spheres, and names assigned to each of them. Thus Zeus is the god of the storm, of battle, of the sky, and of agriculture, and Athene the goddess of wisdom, war and horsemanship. Not one but many temples were erected to the same deity, each honoring some different aspect or sphere of the deity. The local shrine was the fundamental unit of Greek worship: "Each shrine (temple or altar) is independent of any other religious authority, and the god of each shrine is ordinarily treated as if he were independent of the gods worshipped elsewhere," (9:22) whether in the same or in different cities. "At Athens Apollo Pythios, Apollo Patroos, Apollo Agieus, Apollo Thargelios, are practically independent beings for worship." (9:22).

"Each cult center in Athens is theoretically separate from every other; its forms and worship, its times of worship, its priests, are peculiar to itself. . . . (each deity) was treated in worship much as if no other gods existed." (9:23). This meant that all over Greece and in Athens itself there were in effect "as many religions as there were individual shrines." (9:23).

Every Greek worshipped his family gods, including his ancestors; local deities, including departed heroes; the patron deities of his deme, his phratra, his tribe, and his *polis*. He might in addition belong to some private religious society, organized for the avowed purpose of worshipping some foreign deity, and also to one or more of the many special, private societies, literary, athletic, or commercial, each of which had its patron deity, worshipped by its members, (9:126-128).

The Greek's gods were not separated from him by any impassable gulf. On the contrary, they were his ancestors and his comrades. He prayed to them, not kneeling as a slave or a subject, but standing erect with out-stretched hands, (9:89). His pleasures, his sins, as well as his struggles and aspirations were theirs. It was for their delight that he danced, wrestled, engaged in musical contests and took part in the chorus at the theatrical performance. The following table shows the names and chief province or characteristic of the more important Greek gods. As has been explained above, these divinities were not limited to one field, each presided over several departments or spheres.

I. OLYMPIAN DEITIES.

(Names arranged in alphabetical order.)

MALE		FEMALE	
NAME	PROVINCE OR CHARACTERISTICS	NAME	PROVINCE OR CHARACTERISTICS
Apollo	Light (the sun) Poetry, Healing Prophecy	Aphrodite	Love and Beauty
Ares	War (not strategic war)	Artemis	Moon, Hunting
Hephaestus	Fire	Athene	Great thunder storm goddess, Wisdom, Domestic Arts, War
Hermes (Messenger of the gods)	Wind, Eloquence, Athletics, Commerce, Thieves, Invention, Adroitness	Demeter (Earth-mother)	Agriculture, Harvest
Poseidon	Sea	Hera	Queen of Heaven Wife of Zeus Sky
Zeus	Father of the Shining Sky, Supreme god of gods and men. Chief god of Thunder Storm	Hestia	Hearth and Home

II. LESSER DEITIES.

1. Earth Deities.

MALE		FEMALE	
NAME	PROVINCE OR CHARACTERISTICS	NAME	PROVINCE OR CHARACTERISTICS
Dionysus	Wine, and the Vine Joyousness of Life		
Pan	Pastures Forests and Flocks		

2. Underworld Deities.

Hades (Pluto)	Departed Spirits Ruler over Hades God of the Earth's Wealth	Persephone	Daughter of Demeter— Wife of Hades
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III. MISCELLANEOUS.
Deities, Monsters and Heroes.

MALE		FEMALE	
NAME	PROVINCE OR CHARACTERISTICS	NAME	PROVINCE OR CHARACTERISTICS
Aeolus	Winds	Three Fates	{ Clotho Alotters of Lachesis life and Atropos death
Centaur	Probably Represent Rivers	Erinyes	
	Ungovernable Forces of Nature	Three Furies	Avengers of Crime— Especially Murder
Cerberus	Watch Dog of Hades	Three Gorgons	Sea Stofms, Serpent-haired sisters
Cyclops	A Race of One-eyed Giants		
Eros	Friendship, Love	Nine Muses ⁶	Art, Music, Poetry, Drama, History
Heracles	Strength and Courage	Nemesis	Divine Retribution, Alotter of Good and Evil
		Principle of Balance or Distri- bution	Fortune
		Scylla	A Whirlpool Monster with twelve feet and six heads
		Charybdis	A Sea Monster who sucks in the sea three times a day and discharges it again in a whirlpool.

The state religion, rich in rites and pageants, but destitute of any positive teachings, offered little either to those desiring a sense of spiritual union with deity or to those seeking assurance of a happy continuance of individual consciousness after death. It was inevitable that as the established religion became more and more a state affair and so more and more separated from the individual, men should look elsewhere for the satisfaction of their personal religious longings. A few found this in the worship of various foreign cults, introduced into Attica, but by far the greatest number obtained it through cults known as mysteries.

⁶ For a table showing the names and spheres of the nine muses see Fair banks, Arthur, *The Mythology of Greece and Rome*, p. 106.

A mystery may be defined as "a secret worship to which only specially prepared people (*δὲ μὴ θένετες*) were admitted after a special period of purification or other preliminary probation and of which the ritual was so important and perilous that the 'catechumen' needed a hierophant or expounder to guide him," (11:117c). Many mysteries were cultivated in Greece but by far the most important both for Greece and for Athens were the Eleusinia.

The limits of the present account permit only a most meagre reference to these rites.⁷ The Eleusinia included two festivals, the "lesser mysteries" celebrated at Agrae in March, and the "greater mysteries" celebrated at Athens and Eleusis in September.

The "greater Eleusinia" lasted nine days. They began on the thirteenth of Boedromion (September) on which day a body of epheboi, (youths, ages 18-20), marched out from Athens to Eleusis (11:119) a distance of about thirteen miles, to act as an escort to certain holy things to be brought to Athens the next day. On the fourth day, two Eleusinian priests by public proclamation invited all who were eligible to join in the mysteries at the same time warning away all others. Rites of purification followed. The next two days were spent in Athens, sacrificing and continuing the fast begun on the first day. Presumably all of the 19th of Boedromion was spent in marching from Athens to Eleusis chanting hymns, and sacrificing at the many shrines en route. Arrived at Eleusis, days and nights of fasting, sacrifices, revels, and dances followed. The night of the twenty-second "was spent in the torch dances, and visits to the spots made sacred by the Demeter legend. The fast of the previous nine days was broken by taken a peculiar drink." The hierophant delivered a discourse, a mystic sacrament was performed, and a pageant or passion play was presented, in which were shown scenes representing the underworld, (9:134) and designed to take away the fear of death and to leave with those initiated the assurance of a hospitable reception by the deities, with whom through the rites of Eleusis they had been mystically united.

The significance of the Eleusinia from the standpoint of the history of Athenian religious education is manifold: (1) in them the personal religion of the Greeks reached its highest expression; (2) initiation into them came in time to be the supreme religious desire of every Greek, and they counted their adherents by the thousands;

⁷ Excellent brief accounts of the Eleusinia so far as their character is known will be found in the works of Davis, Fairbanks and Farnell listed at the end of this chapter. Of these Farnell's is the most scholarly; Davis' the most vivid, being written in his delightful and intimate style. Fairbanks gives also a brief account of the Orphic rites.

(3) they were open to children (15:267d) as well as men and women;⁸ (4) they were the most important representative of the almost sole species of Greek worship (the mystery) in connection with which definite formal instruction was given.

It is probable that the instruction given in connection with the Eleusinia dealt almost exclusively with the meaning of the symbols. Attempts to prove that it included exalted ethical teaching have aroused vigorous criticism. Farnell writes: "That the Eleusinia preached a higher morality than that of the current standard is not proved. . . . But on general grounds it is reasonable to believe that such powerful religious experience as they afforded would produce moral fruits in many minds. . . . Andocides (*De Myster*, p. 36, par. 31; p. 44, par. 125) assumed that those who have been initiated will take a juster and sterner view of moral innocence and guilt, and that foul conduct was a greater sin when committed by a man who was in the official service of Demeter and Persephone." (11:121d).

There was no phase of Athenian life, no activity, public or private, with which religion was not associated. Of this there are many evidences. Of all social and political bonds, religion was the strongest and the most enduring. The *polis* and all its constituent units, family, *demos*, *phratra*, and tribe were knit together individually and collectively by religious ties. Each of these associations had its own patron deity, and its own forms of worship. The earliest unions between separate city-states were amphictyonies,⁹ leagues formed to protect some sacred shrine, and the most genuinely national gatherings were the great national festivals held from time to time in honor of the national gods. It was largely out of religious feeling that Greek poetical literature arose. It was religion that furnished the themes for the sublimest of the Greek dramas. It was on religious holidays and only then that plays were presented. It was religious gratitude and devotion that erected on the Acropolis of Athens, as temples for her gods, those buildings which have immortalized her name.

It must not, however, be inferred that religion in any sense dominated Greek life. As Farnell has well said, religion "penetrated the whole life of the people but rather as a servant than as a master." (13:530c).

The moral standards of the Greeks were the outgrowth of social conditions and communal experience,—the man who fulfilled his duties to the state, and displayed the qualities necessary for the

⁸ Only the "lesser mysteries" were open to children.

⁹ Pron. am-fik-ti-on-iz..

preservation of the city-state and its constituent institutions, was considered the moral man. In morals as in religion, the state took little cognizance of the individual's private life. He might act much as he chose, so long as his conduct or example threatened no public institutions nor conflicted openly with social standards or ideals.

Athens was distinctly a man's state. The women of Athens had no voice in its affairs, and no opportunities outside the home for education. They were treated in every respect, intellectually, morally, politically and socially as man's inferiors. Almost the only women of independence, education and accomplishments were the *hetairai* (sing. *hetaira*) (3: 247, 465) women who had sacrificed their virtue in order to become the intimate associates of the men of Athens. Amid such conditions the moral code was distinctly double—chastity being demanded of wives and daughters but little emphasized in the case of men. "The men of Athens were only too prone to disregard the marriage vow, and their evil practices were usually regarded by the community with indifference, and looked upon as inevitable." (21; 44b.)

The evils growing out of this attitude toward wife and mother were many, ranging all the way from simple infidelity to vices so degrading as to be left unnamed in all ordinary treatments. Again in a state where the labor was largely carried on by slaves and where at least in the period under consideration, self development and personal happiness became the ends of life and of education, such virtues as compassion, humility, meekness, renunciation received little emphasis and were indeed by many considered servile.

The difficulty, however, of generalizing concerning Greek morals is apparent to the moment one compares the statements of scholars or attempts to grasp the Greek point of view. Such an incident as the putting to death, at the vote of the people, prisoners of war, the father's right, sanctioned by law, of casting into the street unwelcome new-born infants, are indescribably abhorrent to all Christian standards. Nevertheless, there is scarcely a brutal custom or incident of Greek life which is not offset by some counter-custom or incident. Thus against the story of Alcibiades wantonly cutting off his dog's tail, must be placed the protests of his friends, and the death sentence passed by the court of Areopagus upon a boy who had gouged out the eyes of his pet pigeons. As to war, Mahaffy asserts that thruout the history of Greek wars, there is no record of the massacres and outrages of women and children that have characterized the warfare of Christian nations for centuries.

Greek religion exercised little direct moral restraint. It pro-

claimed no Ten Commandments, it taught no Beatitudes. It offered no god of righteousness inspiring and demanding righteousness of his worshippers. On the contrary, the Greeks created their gods in the moral as well as in the physical image of man, and from the sixth century on it was the constant effort of the few advanced thinkers to elevate these gods, created by earlier generations, to the best moral standards of later, and ethically more advanced, generations.

Moreover the practices and customs of certain Greek cults, dealing with generation and the growth of vegetation, were marked by intemperateness and licentiousness.¹⁰ Symbols to the modern mind vile and revolting, were carried in religious processions¹¹ and occupied a conspicuous place in home¹² and temple.¹³ No doubt the circumstances and traditions surrounding such symbols made their influence less degrading than might at first appear.

A comparison of the relationship between religion and morality in Christianity with their relationship in Greek life makes evident at once the weakness and ineffectiveness in the latter case. Christianity offers, in terms intelligible to the masses, as fundamentals of religion, divinely illumined and divinely endorsed rules and principles of conduct. It boldly asserts that none but the pure of heart and those of upright conduct are acceptable worshippers to the all-righteous Father. In Greece, on the contrary, any sense of vital relation between religion and morality, any conception that perfect righteousness was an indispensable attribute of deity was reached only by the few.

The thought of rewards, and punishment in a future life played but a small part in Greek conduct. The life to come was vague, shadowy, joyless, dreaded. To be sure, Minos, Rhadamanthus, Aeacus passed judgment upon the souls of the departed. But for

¹⁰ For a brief but exceedingly vivid account of the Dionysic Orgies, see Fairbanks, Arthur, *A Handbook of Greek Religion*, p. 241. Such cults are common to most primitive peoples and were inherited by the Greeks of later centuries from primitive stages.

¹¹ For a significant passage indicating the general character of these celebrations, see Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, Berg. edition, lines 241-279.

¹² See the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, articles on Dionysus, Hermes, Phallicism.

¹³ Rogers (20: p. XXIX) writes: "the pure and honorable maiden who coveted the distinction of bearing the Holy Basket in the procession of Dionysus, walked through the admiring crowds, accompanied by symbols of and songs of what we would consider the most appalling immodesty. Yet to themselves the question of decency or indecency would not even occur. It was their traditional religion, it was the very orthodoxy of the myriads who had lived and died in the city."



HEAD OF YOUTH.

Bronze of the fourth century B. C. Naples.
(From Sauerlandt, *Griechische Bildwerke.*)

the most part the rewards and punishments of the gods were thought of as meted out here and now. Moreover, such rewards and punishments were bestowed chiefly not upon a moral basis but upon the basis of ritualistic punctiliousness. It must not be forgotten, however, that with respect to certain crimes, it was the wrath of the Erinyes (furies) and the vengeance of the gods that the evil-doer most feared. But as Fairbanks points out, the very fact that the Greek mind found it necessary to create specific divinities as punishers of wrong doing, shows how little place such an element occupied in their conception of the gods at large, (9: 309d-310a). For the masses religion and morality remained for the most part distinct. Their gods were the gods of the myths of Homer and Hesiod, not the gods of the philosophers.

It would be difficult to indicate further than has been done in preceding paragraphs the final effects of Greek religion; with reference to Greek morality, however, a few concluding sentences may well be added. Many writers have called attention to the looseness of Greek morals even when judged by Greek standards. We are told that most of the lives of the greatest Greeks are stained by deceit and treachery and that such characters as Socrates and Plato must be regarded as rare exceptions. While giving full heed to the darker side of Greek life it must not be forgotten that the modern world owes much to the Greeks in the field of moral ideals as well as in the field of political and aesthetic ideals. The medical profession still turns to the Oath of Hippocrates¹⁴ for the expression of its ethical ideals. In like manner the Ephebic Oath embodies an ethical conception of citizenship far surpassing that of the masses of our citizens to-day. Moreover the care with which the Greeks provided religious and moral training, the standards espoused in the latter field, and the continuous supervision of the conduct of children and youth furnish abundant testimony to the importance they attached to morality and moral training.

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¹⁴ Hippocrates (fl. c. 460-370 B. C.) a Greek philosopher and physician. A translation of the Hippocratic oath will be found in *Monroe's Cyclopaedia of Education*, III, 281 c.

written, vivid in its picturing and the most popular in style of any work here listed. Number 18, long accepted as an excellent work for the general reader, is somewhat idealistic, and at many points presents a picture of Greek life which critical scholarship will not support.

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