

The Open Court

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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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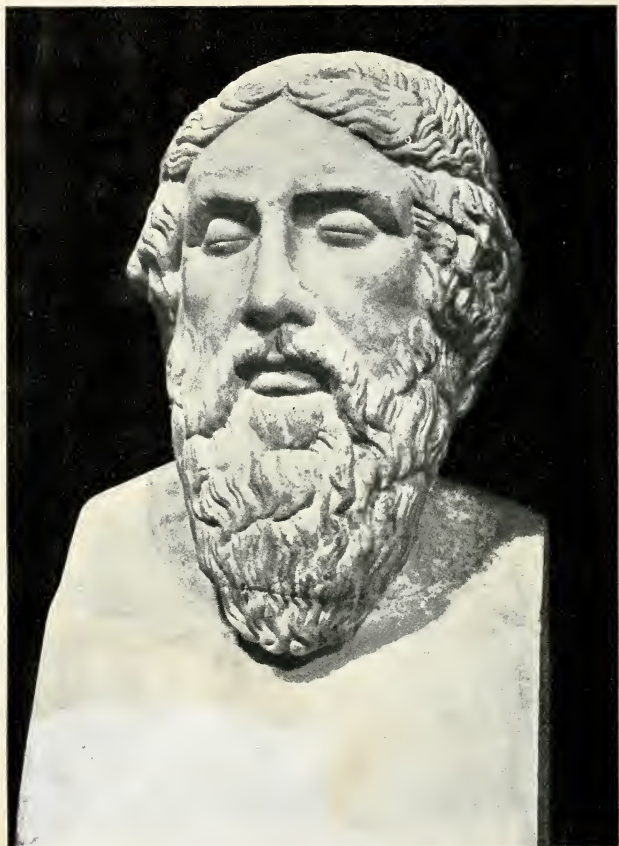
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ATHENIAN RELIGIOUS AND MORAL TRAINING.

(Fifth Century B. C.)

BY FLETCHER H. SWIFT.

II. THE PROCESS OF RELIGIOUS AND MORAL TRAINING. EDUCATION IN HOME, SCHOOL AND SOCIETY.

"Till Greece can be reproduced, fit educational environment for youth will not be complete." G. Stanley Hall. (18:II, 257.)

"I maintain that our citizens and our youth ought to learn about the nature of the gods in heaven so far as to be able to offer sacrifices and pray to them in pious language." Plato, *The Laws*, Book VII, 821. (33:205a.)

GREEK education was never controlled by religion, and if by religious education we mean instruction in religion dis-associated from other studies and activities, there was little or no religious education in Athens, for of schools or classes for religious instruction the Athenians knew nothing. Viewed, however, from the larger standpoint of the unity of Greek life, and from the manner in which religious rites and moral standards and ideals were associated with all activities, both within and without the school, it may be asserted with equal truth that all activities and institutions were sources of religious and moral stimuli and consequently fundamentally educative in these two fields. Forms of worship and moral ideals were interwoven so harmoniously with all that went on in home, school or public life, that no special provision for training in either religion or morals was felt to be necessary.

How important the Athenians regarded morality and moral education is shown by provisions contained in their laws and by their appointments of various officials and teachers to supervise the morals of the children and of the youth of the city. The laws

made definite provisions to keep the children off the streets. The schools, like the courts, theater and other institutions, opened at dawn and continued until sunset. An ancient law, by tradition ascribed to Solon, (fl. about 594 B. C.) forbade the schools to open before sunrise and ordered them closed before sunset (1:Sections 9-11). To guard boys against contact with older men of uncertain morals, the traditional "laws of Solon"² provided further that no one over the age of boyhood except the schoolmaster, his brother, his son or son-in-law might enter while the boys were in school. The penalty for infringing upon this law was death. These same laws contained other important provisions concerning school age, the number of pupils per school, pedagogues, school festivals, and the supervision of boys training for contests in public festivals.

The public supervision of the conduct of boys and youth rested with the Areopagus, one of the highest courts, and with various public officials, the most important of whom were ten sophronistai, (sing. sophronistes) tribal guardians or supervisors of the youth, one being elected for each of the ten tribes. The Areopagus had special supervision as a court over the morals of minors and imposed penalties upon immoral children or upon vicious adults. The sophronistai had general supervision over the conduct of all minors but immediate and special charge over the epheboi, youth between eighteen and twenty, in training for citizenship.

There were in Athens several other classes of public tribal officials, not primarily concerned with the morals of the youth, but whose functions brought them into more or less intimate association with the youth, and who may in some instances, at least, have exerted considerable influence for good or for ill.² The most important of these were the ten strategoi (sing. strategos), ten choregoi (sing. choregos), and (probably ten) gymnasiarchoi. The choregoi, as a form of public service, supported and trained at their own expense for choral contests and dramatic performances groups of boys and men. The gymnasiarchoi in like manner provided the money, meals, and training for those preparing for the athletic contests at certain religious festivals. (30: VII, 1969-2004.) The strategoi, or generals, as a part of their conduct of the state's mili-

¹ Aischines, *Against Timarchos*, Section 9-11. These laws can hardly be regarded as Solon's: nevertheless, the fact that Aischines quoted them as such is evidence of their great antiquity. Moreover the regulations they embody probably represent the actual practice of a certain period.

² "Any Athenian magistrate could interest himself in the schools, no doubt, and intervene to check abuses". (13:71.)

tary affairs, (5: Chap. 61³) probably had the general supervision of the military training of the epheboi. (13:212.)

Athenian families, living in the midst of a slave population, were unwilling to trust their sons away from home during the long school day unless supervised by someone directly responsible to the household. As soon as the boy began attending school, a slave known as the *paidagogos* (lit. child-leader) was appointed to accompany him to and from school, to carry his school books and lyre, to remain with him throughout the day, to guard him against evil influences and to see that he conducted himself virtuously and



ATHENIAN RED-FIGURED VASE PAINTING. STAMNOS,
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in a manner worthy of a gentleman's son. The influence of such a constant associate can scarcely be overestimated. Though a slave, he was privileged upon occasion to flog his young master.

Athens was distinctly a man's state and her system of education was for the fortunate few, born into citizenship. Probably not more than one-fifth or one-sixth of her five hundred and twenty-seven thousand⁴ inhabitants were citizens. But not even to all of this small fraction of the population was education offered. For

³ Mitchel, J. M., considers this chapter probably a forgery. See his article *Strategus*, *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XXV, 985c-986d.

⁴ It should be understood that these numbers are merely approximate. For a more complete statement with sources of data, see above Chapter III.

to the wives and daughters of Athenian citizens, the schools, both private and public, were closed. Nor must it be inferred that every boy eligible from the standpoint of birth would complete the system of education to be described in the following paragraphs. Many a citizen's son would be obliged to leave school and go to work:—"At Athens a large proportion of free burgesses were compelled to accept hard and even menial work for their portion". (37:77). Plutarch asserts that one of Pericles' motives in his policy of erecting great public buildings was to supply work for the citizens. (34:I, 305-306.)

"Nowhere in the works of Greek authors do we read of educational institutions for girls or even of private teachers at home." (36:25d; 6:465.) The education of girls was confined almost entirely to domestic duties, morals and religion, the last of which included training in music and dancing sufficient to enable them to take part in religious festivals. The leader of the women's chorus in Aristophanes *Lysistrata*, describing her own childhood says: "When I was seven years of age, I at once took part in carrying the peplos (the robe carried in a religious procession to the temple of Athene); and then when I was ten years of age I prepared the sacred meal in honor of Artemis, and later, wearing the saffron colored robe, I took the part of a bear at the festival of Brauronia (in honor of Artemis.)" (3 (3): 641-645.) The home, theatrical performances, and public festivals were the chief channels through which girls received their meager education. Something of the character of their religious and moral education can be inferred from the following account of the education of boys.⁵

Preparation to fulfill efficiently, nobly, and beautifully the tasks and pleasures of citizenship in peace and in war is a brief but accurate description of the aim of this one-sex education. The wide range of the activities of an Athenian citizen has already been suggested. These activities made severe and continuous demands upon all the powers and capacities of the individual. As a result, a harmoniously unified development of personality came to be the ideal of life and of education. The Athenians recognized, both in theory and practice, that to achieve this ideal, it was necessary to provide in every stage of the educative process abundant stimuli and abundant opportunity for expressing every aspect of personality, physical, social, political, aesthetic, moral and religious.

⁵ For a fuller statement see Savage, A. C., *The Athenian Family*, pp. 25d-27.

The first seven years of a boy's life were spent in the home. The next seven years he divided his time between an elementary game school (Grk. palaistra) and a language or lyre school (Grk. didaskaleion). Following the completion of his elementary education, came a period which can be described best by the German expression "free years". This period lasted until the boy was eighteen, when he entered upon his Ephebia, a period of special civic and military training under the immediate charge of the state in preparation for citizenship. At the age of twenty, he became a citizen.

IV. RELIGIOUS AND MORAL EDUCATION IN THE HOME.



GREEK MUSIC SCHOOL, FROM VASE PAINTING, ABOUT 450 B.C.

Religious influences surrounded the child from his earliest years. On the fifth, or according to some authorities, on the seventh day, after birth (14:297) by a ceremony known as the Amphidromia (17:72-73; 11:122) he was placed under the protection of the household gods. A father had the right to refuse to rear a newborn child, in which case the infant would be "exposed", i. e., secretly left in some public place within the city to starve unless rescued by some passerby, or carried outside the city to some desert spot to die of exposure or to become the prey of wild beasts.⁶ If accepted by the

⁶ For an excellent discussion of this topic see Savage, C. A., *The Athenian Family*, pp. 89-91. Needless to say, exposure was by no means general, nevertheless the father "often, and more frequently if it was a girl, . . . caused it to be exposed in the streets in a chytra, a large earthen vessel . . . or even ordered it to be put to death." Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, p. 298. On the other hand, Becker states that though authorized by law, exposure was "not as frequent as has been usually supposed." (6:218).

father, the child was presented to nearest relatives and intimate friends on the tenth day after birth. At this time it was given a name, a sacrifice was offered to the household gods and a festive banquet followed. (17:72-73; 12:122.) It still remained for the child to be accepted by the father's phratra in the next October at the Apaturia, a three day annual festival. On the last day of the Apaturia, all children born during the preceding year belonging to the phratra were presented. One member, acting as priest, sacrificed a sheep on behalf of the father or guardian of the child. (17:74.)

During the first seven years of his life the child learned much of the gods, their names and their histories, from the myths told him by mother, nurse and slave. No doubt, he learned some prayers and some religious and some patriotic songs. In play with his doll-gods, imitating the doings of his elders, he copied many religious rites and ceremonies.

Fear was regarded as a wholesome incentive to good conduct and many of the stories of infancy were designed to frighten children into being good. "When the child grew to some understanding, the nurse told stories out of the great wealth of mythology and Aesopian beast fables; also ghost stories, chiefly to frighten and subdue, about the horrible bugaboo called Mormo, about Acco, who carried off bad children in a huge sack, or Lamia, once a princess, who ate children, or Empusa, a hobgoblin that took any shape it pleased." (17:75.)

Every home was a house of worship and consequently a center of religious training. Just in front of the main door stood a pedestal surmounted by a head of Hermes. In the main court of the house was an altar to Zeus Herkios. Here the head of the household offered daily sacrifice for himself and family. In side rooms off the main room were the family gods (11:120d.) In the andron (dining hall) the hearth itself was an altar to Hestia, goddess of hearth and home. (17:262-264a.) A continuous sense of reverence for, gratitude to, and dependence upon divine powers pervaded all home life. There was scarcely a room unadorned with the image of its appropriate divinity. (17:264.) Occasions for family worship were frequent and constantly recurring. Neither the most frugal repast nor the most sumptuous banquet was ever eaten without invoking divine blessing; acts of worship were performed on every occasion which emphasized the home,—“departing on a journey, or returning home. . . birth, death, the coming of new slaves”.

Perhaps the strongest element in the religious life of the family, as well as the strongest family bond, was ancestor worship. "All men who are about to die take forethought for themselves. . . . that there may be someone who shall offer sacrifices to them and perform all the customary rites." (22:Orat. 7, Sec. 30.) In these words Isaios reveals to us both the anxiety of Greek parents for children and the cause of this anxiety. The deceased person, according to Greek view "became immediately a protecting or an avenging spirit capable of giving or of withholding favors." (36:11a). Funeral rites were insufficient "to insure the welfare and tranquility of the departed. The graves must also be regularly visited, offerings to the deceased must be made at appointed intervals, and the tomb must be scrupulously cared for." (36:8).

The Athenian regarded filial piety as the cardinal family virtue, the cornerstone of the household. The family, public opinion and the law united in fostering this virtue and insisting upon its practice. During childhood the son must show reverence and unquestioning obedience to his parents, at all times. In adult life he must treat them with consideration, and not only shelter them and support them, but, so far as his means allowed, he must bestow upon them not only the necessities but the comforts of life. (36:96). After their death his duties did not cease, but were continued in regular visits to the family tomb, and in offerings to their spirits.⁷ Aristotle states that among the questions put to each archon-elect in the public examination which preceded entrance upon office are "whether he possesses an ancestral Apollo and a household Zeus, and where their sanctuaries are; next if he possesses a family tomb, and where; then if he treats his parents well?" (5:Sec. 55). "A person convicted of maltreatment of parents was considered '*atimos to soma*', i. e., disfranchised. In other words, he was excluded from the agora, (Dem. 24, 63.) and was prohibited from speaking in the assembly (Aeschines, I, 28)" (36:96d-97a).

Socrates, upbraiding his son for filial ingratitude, says (39: III, 53): "Whilst the state does not concern itself with ordinary ingratitude or pass judicial sentence on it . . . it reserves its pains and penalties for the special case. If a man render not the service and allegiance due his parents, on him the finger of the law is laid; his name is struck off the roll; he is forbidden to hold the archonship,—which is as much as to say, 'Sacrifices in behalf of the

⁷ Cf. above page 10.

state offered by such a man would be no offering, being tainted with impiety, nor could ought else be *well and justly* performed of which he is the doer.' ” “If a man fail to adorn the sepulchre of his dead parents the state takes cognizance of the matter and inquisition is made in the scrutiny of the magistrates.” “If once the notion be entertained that there is a man ungrateful to his parents, no one would believe that any kindness shown you would be other than thrown away.”

Since, as was pointed out in the previous chapter, Greek religion was almost entirely destitute of dogma and was essentially a matter of worship, it follows that religious education consisted almost entirely of learning the deity or deities to be worshipped with respect to the various situations and circumstances of life, the necessary rites and acts of worship to be performed, and the proper method of performing them. The following passage from the oration of Isaios⁸ “On the Estate of Kiron” is of great significance for the light it throws upon the religious training of boys. In this passage the claimants to an estate present as proof of their sonship the fact that they were associated with the deceased during his life time in the performance of the religious rites, a privilege open only to sons or grandsons.

“We, therefore, may mention other proofs also in addition to these in order that you may understand that we are the grandsons of Kiron: For how natural it was that since we were his grandsons he never offered any sacrifice without us, but whether he was offering sacrifices small or great, everywhere we were present, and participated in the sacrifice. And not only were we summoned to such sacrifice but also he always took us to the rural Dionysia.”

“And along with him we observed the spectacles, seated beside him and we celebrated with him all the festivals, and when sacrificing to Zeus Ktesios, in regard to which sacrifice he was especially zealous and to which he admitted neither slaves nor freedmen outside the family, but performed all rites himself in person, in this sacrifice we participated, and with him we performed with our own hands the sacred rites and aided him in placing the sacrifice (upon the altar). And we performed with him the other things (incident to the rites). And he prayed that there might be granted to us health and valuable possessions, as it was fitting he should do, since he was our grandfather.” (21:Orat. 8, Sec. 15-16.)⁹

⁸ Fl. first half of the fourth century B. C.

⁹ Translation of Mr. C. A. Savage, University of Minnesota: Cf. Sir. Wm. Jones (22:Orat. IX, 193-194.)

V. RELIGIOUS AND MORAL EDUCATION IN THE DIDASKALEION AND PALAISTRA.

Between the ages of seven and fourteen the boy spent presumably the first half of the long school day in the didaskaleion or lyre school. Here, in addition to learning to play the seven stringed lyre and flute, he was taught to do easy sums in arithmetic, to read, spell and write. His chief task, however, was to commit to memory the poems of Hesiod, Theognis, Homer, and other Greek classical poets, set to music, and to learn to chant them to his own improvised accompaniment.

The afternoon presumably found the boy in the palaistra or game school, where running, jumping, hurling the spear, throwing the discus and wrestling were the chief activities. Through these



A GREEK YOUTH ACCOMPANIED TO SCHOOL BY HIS PEDAGOGUE. FROM A VASE PAINTING.

physical contests and games, he was trained in courtesy, self-control, courage and temperance.

The Greeks placed great emphasis upon the moral influence of music and for professedly moral reasons, as well as for aesthetic reasons, gave it a prominent place in both elementary schools. In the didaskaleion, the boy learned to play the seven stringed lyre. In the palaistra, most of the physical exercises were performed to the accompaniment of music for the sake (13:128d), in part at least, of introducing into them a quality of temperance and self-re-

straint. Gymnastics to develop courage and other warlike virtues, music to temper, soften, beautify and harmonize the soul,—this was a pedagogical commonplace of the Greeks.

All that a boy studied at school was inevitably destined to impress upon him his closeness to his country's gods. Were not lyre playing and poetry favorite pastimes of Apollo and the Muses and were not the games of the palaistra the delight of all the gods? Both elementary schools were decorated with the images of their patron gods: the palaistra with images of Hermes, symbolizing adroitness; Eros, symbolizing friendship; and Heracles, symbolizing strength; the didaskaleion with statues of Apollo and the Muses. Each school had its own religious festival in honor of its patron gods, when sacrifices and prayer mingled with athletic or literary contests.

The school festival of the didaskaleion was the Museia in honor of the muses. At this festival "parents in the name of their sons contributed offerings for sacrifices". (17:282). The school festival of the palaistra was the Hermea in honor of Hermes. "The boys were dressed in their best clothes, offered sacrifices, and were permitted unrestrained liberty in games and sports." (17:282). Plato in a few lines presents us with a charming picture of a palaistra festival:

"Upon entering (the palaistra) we found the boys had just been sacrificing and this part of the festival was nearly come to an end. They were all in white array, and games and dice were going on among them. Most of them were in the outer court amusing themselves, but some were in the corner of the Apodyterium playing at odd and even with a number of dice which they took out of little wicker baskets. There was also a circle of lookers-on, one of whom was Lysis. He was standing among the other boys and youths having a crown upon his head, like a fair vision, and not less worthy of praise for his goodness than for his beauty." (31:53.)¹¹

The chief texts for centuries in the didaskaleion were works permeated with religious and moral ideas. Hesiod's *Theogony* from one point of view might almost be called a primer of Greek religion. By the time a boy had memorized it, he knew the names, origin, and characteristics of approximately three hundred deities. Hesiod's *Works and Days* was devoted to myths, instruction concerning agriculture, navigation, vintage and other "works", and to the proper seasons, "days", for undertaking the same. All this was interspersed with religious and moral precepts. A quotation will make more clear the moral character and purpose of this work.

Hesiod on Industry.

"Labor industriously if you would succeed ;
 "That men should labor have the gods decreed ;
 "That with our wives and children we may live,
 "Without the assistance that our neighbors give,
 "That we may never know the pain of mind,
 "To ask for succor and no succor find." (20:Bk. II, 26-31.)

Another favorite text in the didaskaleion was a collection of Theognis' elegaic poems addressed to his young friend Kurnos, to whom the poet gives much moral advice, such as to be true to the good cause, to shun the company of evil men,¹⁰ to be loyal to his comrades and to wreak cruel vengeance upon his foes.

The most influential, the most inspiring, the most loved of all the earlier school texts was Homer. It was no uncommon thing for a boy to know all of the Iliad and the Odyssey by heart. Although there were certain valid objections to calling Homer the Bible of the Greeks, no other term expresses so clearly and forcibly the place occupied by this marvelous classic in Greek life and its influence as a national text book in religion and morals. The reasons characterizing Homer as the Bible of the Greeks cannot be discussed here.¹¹ They may, however, be summarized.

The Greeks regarded Homer

(1) as divinely inspired (26:357 ff.; 13:228)

(2) as written with a conscious purpose of teaching religion and morals (26:354)

(3) as containing the elements of all knowledge worth knowing (32:608E; 3 (2) : 1034-36)

(4) because divinely inspired, as a final authority whose texts might be used to settle disputes both public and private.¹² (13:228)

The gods of Homer were far from ideals of morality. Zeus had murdered his own father in order to become the supreme ruler over gods and men; lived in constant discord with Hera, his jealous

¹⁰ Used in a political not a moral sense; by "evil men" Hesiod meant those representing democratic tendencies.

¹¹ These following positions, some of which may seem extreme, are presented almost without reservation by Freeman and Mahaffy in the sections referred to. Mahaffy is regarded by many scholars as idealizing Greek life. Freeman on the other hand, is generally cautious and accurate.

¹² "At the beginning of the sixth century an interpolated line in the Iliad was made the main support of the Athenian claim to the island of Salamis". (4).

wife, and was unfaithful to her as often as whim and opportunity coincided. The god Hermes, when only a few hours old, stole his brother Apollo's oxen and was worshipped in one aspect as the patron of thieves. Mahaffy claims that such immoralities were not in the original text. Were this true, the fact remains that they were in the text memorized by generations of Greek school boys and were an important cause of the opposition to Homer as a school text, an opposition which began in the sixth century with the criticism of Xenophanes,¹³ and which finally resulted in largely excluding Homer from the schools.¹⁴

The positive religious and moral influence of Homer undoubtedly greatly outweighed the negative influence just referred to. From Homer the boy learned the conduct which the gods approved and the punishments which overtook evil-doers. From Homer were drawn lessons in piety, hospitality, courage, temperance, and self-control. For example, from the story of Circe was taught the sinfulness of self-indulgence; Circe made the companions of Odysseus swine through their gluttony. Odysseus, through his own restraint and through following Hermes' advice, escaped the fate of his companions. Despite individual crimes, the conduct of the gods was, on the whole, noble,—they stand forth as the guardians of justice, hospitality, and domestic purity.

The Greeks were firm believers in corporal punishment. It was used vigorously, in fact, brutally, in home and in school and was thoroughly approved. Even the paidagogue, slave as he was, was privileged to thrash his young master.

VI. EDUCATION DURING THE FREE YEARS.

At about fourteen, the boy completed his elementary education. At eighteen, his public education would begin. Meanwhile, he might spend his "free years" much as he chose. He would devote such time as interest dictated and purse permitted to the private schools of philosophy and public speaking (rhetoric) where he might study (1) public speaking, (2) debate, (3) argumentation, (4) philosophy, (5) economics and other branches valuable to a man eager for a career in the Ecclesia and dicasteries. He would go to one of the public gymnasa for physical training. Under choregos or gymnasiarchos, he would prepare for festival contests. He might,

¹³ Pron. ze-nof-a-nez; fl. c. 570-480 B. C.

¹⁴ For an excellent summary of this opposition see 13:229-231.

in company with his father, also attend the Assembly, the dicasteries and other public bodies thereby gaining a knowledge of the customs and methods of procedure of these bodies.

This contact with various institutions of his state impressed upon the youth the moral standards of his state and its people, nor was there any more potent or subtle channel or religious influence than that which came through the city life. Athens was decorated from end to end, in the market place, in the theater, at the street crossings, with images and shrines of its gods. Sacred rites attended all public occasions and public meetings of every sort opened with some act of public worship.

Approximately every sixth day was given up to some religious festival.¹⁵ For many of these festivals, groups of men and boys must be trained to take part in pageant, in the contests in poetry and sports and in the religious dance. An impressive feature of every such festival was the private as well as public recognition accorded to the guardian deities of state and home.

That the influences of city life were by no means universally uplifting must be evident already from what has been said regarding the laxness of morals, the dual standard of morals, the hetairai and other topics.¹⁶ Of equal significance, however, is the vigorous effort made to shield the boy from evil influence during his childhood, and continuous though indirect manner in which the religious ideas and moral standards of his state were presented to him during adolescent and adult years.

To the Greek, dancing was a religious and patriotic exercise. "It may be doubted whether free Athenians ever danced except before the gods". (8:85). According to Lucian no religious rite was ever performed without dancing. (23: Sec. 15, 277 ff.) "There was a perpetual demand for boys from each of the ten (Athenian) tribes to compete in the great festivals in war dances and dithyramps". (13:147d). "The choregos . . . who collected the boys from the tribe to dance these dithyramps, could use compulsion if fathers refused to allow their sons to join his chorus." (13:145; 23: Sec. 11.) Learning to dance was a preparation for participation in religious exercises. Modern dancing would have been denounced by the ancient Greeks as vulgar, senseless and immoral. To him, dancing was essentially an expression and interpretation of religious feel-

¹⁵ For a table of the more important festivals, see Fairbanks, Arthur, *A Handbook of Greek Religion*, pp. 364-365.

¹⁶ See above Chapter III, 15-17.

ing. Through it, he portrayed religious and historic incidents, emotions, and ideas.¹⁷ "The boy who danced in honor of Dionusos¹⁸ was trying to assimilate to himself the god . . . He could act the sorrows of Dionusos, his persecution from city to city and his final conquest. Thus his dancing came to be a keenly religious observance." (13:144.)

Toward the end of the fifth century a new school of realistic poets and musicians arose in whose hands dancing became at times vulgar and even immoral. (13:145.)

The theater at Athens was state supported and state controlled. In origin it was, from one point of view, largely a religious institution, being erected to honor the god Dionysus, as well as to satisfy the aesthetic, literary and social instincts of the people. Dramatic performances were presented only during religious festivals. The performances were in themselves a species of offering, being performed for the delight of the gods believed to be present, as well as for the pleasure and edification of men. (37:221-241.) In the center of the space where the chorus danced stood the god's altar. The tragedies, founded largely upon the stories drawn from the sacred Homer, were written and acted to inculcate lessons in religion and morals. A severe censorship was exercised over the drama. No murder or deed of violence could be enacted on the Greek stage. (28:25.)

The Olympia, the Pythia, the Isthmia, and the Memea, the four great national festivals of Greece, reveal clearly and forcibly the unified manner in which the Greeks expressed their many-sided life. At these festivals, contests in poetry, oratory, drama, music and athletics were interspersed with rich sacrifices and resplendent pageants. Each of these festivals and all its activities and contests, like the dramatic performances, were for the pleasure of the gods as well as for the pleasure of man. He who entered a foot-race, chariot race or musical contest was happy in the thought that among his unseen onlookers were Zeus, Apollo, Athene and many other equally revered guests. "Men offered to the gods the exhibition of their strength and skill as an expression of the worship of all Greece." (11:119d.) The religious character of the games was kept in evidence by sacrifices, religious processions and the character of the prizes. (11:97.) At Olympia, the first day was marked by a

¹⁷ For vivid descriptions of Greek dancing, see 8:82-83; 14:144.

¹⁸ The spelling here is Freeman's.

great sacrifice to Zeus. On the fifth, the last day, after the victors had been proclaimed and had sacrificed to Zeus, "the embassies from the different states joined in a magnificent procession from one altar to another." (11:117-119.) Thus the great festival opened and closed with distinct recognition of the gods. The fact that all Greece¹⁹ assembled at these festivals made them in effect revivals of national religious feeling.

VII. ADOLESCENT EDUCATION—THE EPHEBIA.²⁰

The period between eighteen and twenty was known as the Ephebia. Every youth looking forward to citizenship must give up these two years of his life to a state military and civil course in preparation for citizenship. He now became a ward of the state, lived in state institutions at public expense under the charge of public officials and teachers selected by the Athenian Assembly. The most important of these included (1) a kosmetes, or director, having the general control of all the epheboi; (2) ten sophronistai or guardians, one sophronistes for each tribe; (3) two paidotribai, public teachers of gymnastics; (4) a number of instructors subordinate to the paidotribai, who taught the epheboi "to fight in heavy armour, to use the bow and javelin and to discharge a catapult." (4: chap. 42, 18-20, 22-24; 5:78.)

The sacredness of citizenship and the citizen's responsibility to his fellow citizens and to the gods of his nation were impressed upon the youth by a series of preliminary examinations, religious rites and by his ephebic or citizen's oath taken at the close of his first year. In order to be allowed to enter the group of youths preparing for citizenship, he must be accepted in turn (1) by his father's phratra (17-282), (2) by his father's demos (4: Chap. 42; Sec. 4-14), (3) by the Athenian Boule (the city-state council of 500) (Ibid). Each of these bodies must be satisfied that the youth was the legitimate son of Athenian parents and at least eighteen years of age. Religious rites and sacrifices were interspersed with these examinations.

Having passed the examinations of these three bodies and having been enrolled upon the registers of the phratra and demos, the youth became, in the eyes of the law, an ephebos. The examinations and enrollment completed, the epheboi were gathered together by

¹⁹ "No women were allowed at Olympia". (17:101d.)

²⁰ Aristotle's Athenian Constitution, Chapter 42, is entirely devoted to the Epheboi.

the officials elected to take charge of them. Under the conduct of these officers they, first of all, made a tour of the temples, then they divided into two groups, to go to the two state garrisons where they lived during the ensuing year. (4: Chap. 42:19-22; 5:78.)

During the first year the epheboi received special training in military tactics and drill, and in the use of arms. They, no doubt, spent much time in Athens continuing many of the pursuits and activities of their free years, such as attending gymnasia, the Assembly, the courts, the schools of philosophy and rhetoric. They preserved order at or took part in certain religious festivals, e. g., the Panathenea and the Eleusinia the epheboi were sent to Eleusis to bring to Athens the sacred objects. (12:119d.) They also escorted the image of Iacchus back to Eleusis from Athens. (12:119d.) At the end of their first year at the festival of the Greater Dionysia they gave a public display before all the people assembled in the theater of the military tactics and drill they had learned. After the review, each ephebos was presented by the state with a spear and a shield. (4: Chap. 42, 29-33; 5:79.) These state-given arms were regarded as sacred and to throw them away in battle-flight almost an act of sacrilege. (14:214, note 4.) After receiving these sacred arms, the epheboi took the following citizens oath:²¹

Ephebic Oath.

²² Text of oath and foot-notes all taken from 27:33.

(Required of all Candidates for Citizenship.)²²

I will never disgrace these sacred arms
Nor desert my companion in the ranks.

²¹ The entire subject of the ephebic training is replete with disputed questions. The footnotes on Chapter 42 of Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia* present many of these and should be consulted. It is unfortunate that Aristotle makes no mention of the administration of the oath. Many English writers, Freeman, Monroe, and others put the taking of the oath at the opening of the ephebic training. I am indebted to Professor W. L. Westermann of the University of Wisconsin for the position taken here. Professor Westermann (in a personal letter dated November 23, 1915) writes:

"The Ephebic oath was unquestionably taken at the *end* of the first year of the ephebic service. Compare the opening sentence of the oath, 'I will never disgrace these sacred arms' with Aristotle's statement 'The following year when the Ecclesia has met in the theater—they receive a shield and spear from the state'. I regard this proof as absolute. It is so accepted by the best authorities."

See also J. Oehler *Ephebia*, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopadie* V. 2738:

I will fight for temples and public property,
Both alone and with many.

I will transmit my fatherland
Not only not less, but greater and better
Than it was transmitted to me.

I will obey the magistrates
Who may at any time be in power.

I will observe both the existing laws
And those which the people may unanimously hereafter make :

And, if any person seek
To annul the laws or to set them at nought,
I will do my best to prevent him,
And will defend them both alone and with many.

I will honor the religion of my fathers.

And I call to witness Agraulos²³ Enyalios²⁴
Ares,²⁵ Zeus, Thallo,²⁶ and Auxof and Hegemone.²⁷

(27:33)

During his second year, the youth had abundant opportunity to exercise all the moral virtues in which he had been trained and instructed from his early childhood. Above all, he learned patriotism through serving his country, and honor for its laws and its gods by guarding and protecting their shrines. All Attica was studded with patrol stations. During this year, the epheboi acted as a state patrol force and were shifted from one station to another under the charge of the tribal sophronistes and other officials. The following transcript of a vote passed by the Athenians is an interesting and valuable record of the public honor bestowed upon a sophronistes and upon a group of epheboi who has acquitted themselves worthily :

Vote of the Athenian People.

“Hegemachos, son of Chairemon, proposed:—

Whereas the Epheboi of the Kekropid tribe stationed at Eleusis

²³ “Daughter of Cecrops and Angraulos. She threw herself from the Acropolis because an oracle had declared the Athenians would conquer if someone would sacrifice himself for his country”. (27:33).

²⁴ “A surname frequently given to Mars in the Iliad, and corresponding with the name Enyo, given to Bellona”. (27:33).

²⁵ God of war.

²⁶ Protector of the order of nature in the springtime.

²⁷ Auxo (increase) and Hegemone (queen) two graces worshipped at Athens. When the Athenian youth received his weapons of war, he swore by them.

do well and diligently pay heed to the orders of the Boule and Demos, and do behave themselves orderly, we pass a vote of thanks to them for their good discipline and behavior and enact that each of them be crowned with an olive crown.

"We also pass a vote of thanks to their Sophronites, Adeistros, and decree to him a crown of olive, when he has passed his scrutiny, this vote to be recorded on the offering which the Epheboi of the Kekropid tribe offered." (13:222).

With the close of the youth's nineteenth year, his formal education ceased. From his earliest years, state, school and home had united in holding before his eyes definite ideals of character and conduct and in providing him with abundant vital opportunities for giving expression in conduct to the feelings and standards pervading the community in which he lived. Eleven years of training and personal development followed by two years of devoted service to his state, this was his preparation for life. He had been trained and instructed to bless and reverence life and the divine powers which ruled over it. There was no aspect of life in which religion did not have a place and no aspect of his education into which it did not enter.

The persistence of the religious and moral elements in life and education is indicated by the place they occupied in the works of the Greek schools of philosophy. The first qualities which Plato demanded of his ideal rulers were moral qualities. His abiding interest in religious questions is everywhere evident. The noblest ideal of education which any people has ever developed is the Greek conception of the liberal education. This was not a philosophical theoretical ideal. On the contrary, it was a direct outgrowth of the many-sidedness of Greek life. The philosophers merely formulated and idealized what they beheld in the life about them. Throughout this education, most perfect and most complete, in practice, in theory and ideal, the religious and moral elements appeared as ever present factors, not because that these elements were a real and vital part of life and of education, and that to have ignored them would have been not only to have ignored two of the most important aspects of life, but to have given the child a defective, one-sided preparation for life. Religion and morals were included in the child's education upon the same basis that the physical and aesthetic were included, because they constituted a real part of the life of the child and the community and because they were indispensable to complete living.

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