## $\Omega$

## THE URANIAN EROS

# $\mathcal{A}$ Defence of Uranian Love 

by
Arthur Lyon Rale
[ Edward Perry Warren ]

Part the Second
THE URANIAN EROS

PRIVATELY PRINTED
1930

JUL 1937

## PREFACE

BUT, if this is true, more must be true. The boy-lover, hitherto faithful to his own experience, and so far standing on firm ground, descries a sea on which he must venture. We cannot act on what we know, as is proved by the fact that we do not act on what we know. There is in life a necessity of allowing for much that we cannot know, 2 conjectural obedience to undiscovered truth. ${ }^{1}$ Evidence which is not tantamount to proof is often all that we have to guide us. We search; we verify ; we correct;
1 Plato, Repudlic, vii. 534 D :







we enlarge our conjecture; we submit it to others. It concerns more than ourselves. It is a theory, a "criticism of life." It cannot claim that authority which attaches to our reports of our own feelings ; it must be venturesome. But it may explain, and is most simply stated as if certain.

## CONTENT

CHAPTER PAGE
I. Tò тєтєрабرє́vov ..... I
II. The Uranian Idea. ..... 10
III. The Hero in Tragedy ..... 30
IV. The Ruling of Apollo ..... $3^{8}$
V. The Severity of Apollo ..... 52
VI. The Pardon of Apollo ..... 63
VII. Apollo versus díka ..... 67
VIII. Danger ..... 70
IX. Polytheism ..... 73
X. Zeds and Aíka ..... 76
XI. Doubt in Aeschylus and Faith in Pindar ..... 87
XII. Competition and Co-opera- TION ..... - 94XIII. Authority . . . 104
CHAPTER PAGE
XIV. The Philosophers ..... 108
XV. The Hearers ..... 117
XVI. Intermezzo ..... 122
XVII. Doubt of Philosophical Teaching ..... 125
XVIII. The Uranian Romance ..... 130
XIX. The Authority of Man ..... 135
XX. Justice ..... 141
XXI. The Masculine Pattern ..... 146
XXII. Art ..... 149
XXIII. Man and $\operatorname{six} \eta$ ..... 154
XXIV. Eirene and Ploutos ..... 161
XXV. The Hellenic Eros ..... 164

## A DEFENCE OF URANIAN LOVE

## I



WE followed the boy-lover from the earthly to the heavenly, from the real to the ideal. He found it in the spiritual likeness of the avopeios, his soul, whereof the counterfeit is - the boyish body. This soul possesses, according to him, all the characteristics of the body; it is rather bopy than $\psi v \times \chi^{\prime}$. It is not $\nu o u ̂ s$. So far as the lover loves wisdom, he loves oopia, which Pindar would understand, and which would not, like Plato's disillusioned филoбoфia, escape wholly from

 $\mu$ tvou.
the world, the flesh, and the devil into mental contemplation. How could he? He is a lover; therefore a man attached to the
 Yes, the perishable, for his motive is in himself and not dependent on teleology. He is $\boldsymbol{\ell} \nu$ ré $\lambda \in$, if he satisfies himself, and he hangs on no theory of progress for his own perfection, nor on any of the afterworld.

 alas ! perishable. His triumph remains, if at all, as a record, not as an inheritance, and the record itself may be destroyed; but he has been "rich in the simple worship of a day." This standpoint he takes, not because he disbelieves either in the afterworld or in progress (ten steps forward, nine steps backward; such is progress ${ }^{4}$ ), but because by it he reaches perfection,


 - Pindar, N. vii. 16.
' Keacs, Fragment of an Ode to Maia.
${ }^{4}$ H. F. Amiel, Foxrnal Intime, 22 zoût, 1873. "Mille choses avancent, neuf cent quatre-vingt-dix-huit reculent : c'est là le progres."
which implies an end, and manly perfection, which implies a distinct circumscription.

If we take visible beauty, either male or female, as our criterion, we find its strength "in bound and term," ${ }^{1}$ but more firmly bounded in the male, whether mentally or bodily. The lax, the diffuse, the vague, the variable, the undulatory, are restricted in proportion as he obtains possession of himself. For him want of restraint and want of strength are one thing : impotentia. Woman gives herself. Man, who is, by all rights, the giver, will give all things save himself. He can afford a voluntary durance and service, like that of Apollo under Admetus, ${ }^{2}$ but may grant no possession nor invasion, being planned to the measure of his estate. This circle he must fulfil, and with it he must be content, content to have lived as he has lived, independent of subsequent approval or justification, willing to risk the validity of his own morals, to have gained what he has gained by them and ${ }^{2}$ Francis Thompoor, "The Cloud's Swan-ong."

- Callimachus, ii. 47 :



to have lost what he has lost for them, ${ }^{1}$ since, as the wicked are punished for their sins, so is the righteous for his virtues, every rarity being bought with a price.

The end of the account is satisfaction covering the sacrifice, ${ }^{2}$ content within the finite. This, if we ask ourselves, is man's superiority to woman. ${ }^{3}$ She may sacrifice ${ }^{2}$ Sophocles, Fragment, 861 :
otepyevt te táx


- George Eliot, Mill on the Floss, Book Fourth, Chapter III. "She had not perceived . . . that renunciation remains sorrow, though a sorrnw borne willingly." ' Aristotle, Metaph. A. 5, 9862,15:

Among the ouarosylat are:
 reftetive xai daptiov (odd and even). tapper xal Orizu.

 the odd number, which is mexrepacenivov, is the male, the even the female, number, of which the sexual ressan


 the reputtov and the tapeev are accounted better than the ainetpay the diftiov and the $0 \overline{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{\lambda u}$. The references are from Diel's Vorsobrasiter, where other passage are quoted.
herself more, but she does not rest in her own limit as he. The doctrine of the endless was made for her sinuous adhesions, deflexions, and escapes ; the doctrine of an overlord for her justification and recompense, the infinite for her indefiniteness. She rests, if at all, in an ideal embodied or believed. ${ }^{1}$ But to the man who would reach perfection, the infinite is impermissible; and if St. Thomas tells us that God, though infinite, is a finis quoad nos because we reach in him the utmost of our possible development, beyond which we can have no desires, he in truth refers us to just that finitude of our
${ }^{1}$ Concerning the ideal embodied, may it not be conjectured that women need the companionship of men in order to find the world real ?-that, for instance, 2 woman who reads much may not know in what to aoquiesce till a man pronounces an opinion. Its definiteness may surprise her; she feels that behind the opinion there is a staunch judgment, a limit. And may we not add that, whereas to a man love is romance flung over reality, to a woman it is reality flung over the romance of which she is tired ? If this is so, the comparative inconstancy of man is in part explained. The woman wanted a fact and has found one; the man wanted a dream, but it turns out to be a fact. He also has wearied, not of romance, but of his circumscription, and has endeavoured an escape; he is brought back to himself, to his excellence.
several natures, or of our collective human nature, from which infinity was to enable us to escape, or, to speak less tolerantly, he provides us with an escape, from an infinite God into that human finitude which is our only hope. Perfection, indeed, is finitude ${ }^{1}$; it is the fulfilling of that measure which is ours; it is not peace, unless there can be a peace that shall bear that relation to quietude which action, the glow of the whole being in a moment of suspended exercise, may bear to activity. Peace as a relinquishment, ${ }^{2}$ as a rest in $2 n$ end (" Our heart is restless until it find rest in Thee " ${ }^{2}$ ),
${ }^{1}$ Our modern use of language tends to make us forget this. Faquet, Le Dir-Septieme Sierle, Malebranche it. " Le monde était non point parfait, il ne peut l'être temt fini," and again "imperfection necenaire du fini par rapport a l'infini," i.e etymologically " the world cannot be finished because it it finished " and "that which is finished is necesurily unfinished in comparimon with the unfinished."

- The light and happy beauty of Pindar'a praise of Ceos (Oxyrhynchus Papyri, v. 841 , iv) does not controvert the saying, for such relinquishment belongs, where it tands, in a minor poem ; there are minor occavions for such practice, when the doctrine of contentment applies to the day of amall things.
' St. Augustine, Comfessions, i. 1.
is feminine. ${ }^{1}$ The wrong restlessness is loss of that centre in each man to which all his action shall be referable. We find it in those danglers after the divine whose life is a sublime feminine cry to be set on a rock ${ }^{2}$ that is too high for them, who fancy a virtue in yearning never satisfied, in a beautiful appeal and incompleteness. This, combined with that renunciant peace which is a progressive absorption in the Incomparable, is so far the doctrine of Christianity that some ${ }^{2}$ have supposed in the male a
${ }^{1}$ Psalm lxiii. 9. Exated into fuller strength, invincible courage, and greater wisdom to command all that is below him, especially his own feminine nature.
Amiel, Fournal Intime, 17 2vril, 1867. Pour eprouver la vraie paix, il faut se eentir dirige, pardonné, soutenu par la puissance suprème. 8 Mars, 1868. C'est l'oscillation entre les deux génies, grec et romain, oriental et occidental, antique et chretien. C'cst la lutte entre deux ideraux, celui de la liberté et celui de la sainteté. La liberté nous divinise, la sainteté nous prosterne. 22 noût, 1873 Pour la saintete il faut l'union de volonté, la perfection du dévouement, 12 mort du moi, l'absolue soumission. Achillea should be tried by this test, since he was a Pagan example of eclf-sacrifice.
- Pralm Ixi. 3.
${ }^{\prime}$ Coventry Patmore in Religio Poetae, " Dieu et ma Dame": "Man . . . stands between God and woman, and, at he plesees and when he pleaser, can cake aspect as
feminine anima quoad Deum, the lover of souls: " my soul hangeth upon thee; thy right hand hath upholden me." ${ }^{1}$ But man, to be faultless and foursquare, must be blocked and cornered against this leaning
 be lost in a greater nor to find rest in a greater, else he would not himself be ré̀cios, but a stage or approximation and not a centre or culmination. His virtue must consist in a mean lest he be drawn out of himself in pursuit of extremes semper cedentia retro, ${ }^{2}$ and it must stand not 50 much in his actions considered per se as in his judgment
 ${ }^{\circ} \pi \omega \omega$, whereby he remains arbiter and stumbles against no absolute, a stone whereon he bride to Christ or Bridegroom to woman '; and ibid. The Bow set in the Claud: "The Brides of Christ . . . that which is their most sensible characteristic, namely, a marked increase of the feminine nature, which is passing humble, receptive, sensitive, and responsive; this increase, however, so far from being at the expense of their masculine nature, that this latter is exalted into fuller strength, invincible courage, and greater wisdom to command all that is below him, especially his own feminine nature."
${ }^{1}$ Psalm Ixiii. g .
- Vergil, Aeneid, iii. 496.
that falleth shall be broken. ${ }^{1}$ Himself the lover he measures excess or defect, applying that modelling and control which brings the statue within its firm outlines and planes. Here is definition that shall serve better than strength alone unto dominance, whether over the world or over woman : they are much the same. Kpáros is a monster ${ }^{2}$ and has not even a masculine name. Ares, who is Eypós unsubjugated, is subjugated by Aphrodite. Not as mere power, but as governance, implying self-rule, shall man constitute his rule and end; and it is as an end to her ceaseless aspirations and suspirations that woman looks to him; it is to his rule that the world must look, if it is to find an end of trouble-in a peace that broods over trouble.

> 1 St. Matthew rxi. 44 . : Aeschylus, Prometheus, ad init.

## II

## THE URANIAN IDEA

WHE Philosophical Eros has shot
beyond the paederastic Eros, or
rather, since he is but a division on the ground of the other, let us call both the Uranian Eros, consonant in his spiritual flights with his earthly base; for we may consider him, not, with Plato, as spurning his nativity in the flesh, but as the Greeks in general, less Puritan than Plato, knew him, so far as they knew him at all ; since that which they knew, their own like, could not be seen by themselves as in a picture, and would not be known to them as we, who are without it, can know it. We observe a general faith, radical and ramifying in their system, which they unwittingly assumed. It may lie on their lips as a truism, or under their words, as needing no statement, but more often it is
unthought, as we are unaware of the muscles by which we move. Immersed in their own life, they considered their life as life.

Philosophy is no more characteristic of a people than religion, nor even so much.
 people possesses an ideal; and the ideal of the Greek race was, as distinguished from the ideals of other races (a distinction which is the only test : a test inapplicable by themselves) more masculine. On the male hung all their hope, enais $\sigma \pi e^{\prime} \rho \mu a \pi o s ~ \sigma \omega r \eta p i o v .{ }^{2}$ It would be a mistake to separate their affection for boys from their desire for sons. In substance, and in spite of fluctuant belief in the afterworld, their vision of immortality, from which they could not isolate themselves in self-sufficiency, was the continuance of themselves and of their life in their seed. ${ }^{\text {a }}$
${ }^{1}$ Plato, Repablic, vi. 494 A.
' Aeschglus, Chespheri, 228.
' Ibid., 501 :


The wards are addressed to Agamemnon. In the previous line yovos appears to mean the power of transmitting the line which was not resident in the female : Pity thy daughter and in him thy race.

Not merely as fathers in general love their children, not merely as southern men whose houses are not their castles and whose moral standards are social and generic rather than conscientious or individual, did they conceive of life as an hereditary effort. Two streams combined, the old notion of $\kappa \lambda \dot{\epsilon} \alpha \dot{\alpha} \nu \delta \rho \hat{\omega} \nu$, of masculine achievement, which was to them nearly the sum of morals, and their pleasure in the healthy and happy breeding and training of the youths who were to perpetuate the life which they knew. To be of service to that small nodes which depended on its citizens and knew them all by name, to win credit for it in the national games or in war, these were their glories; and the preparation for them was that beautiful life in the gymnasium, or on the ridingground, ${ }^{1}$ which was to be more permanent ' The following passage has been pointed out as a curiou combination of ideas :




Pindar, Isth., ii. 35-39.
Cf. also :


than the importance of the nodes and which we find still marvellously surviving in the ruined Greece of Plutarch !
 oodois





 $\pi \epsilon \rho a i v \epsilon \downarrow \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ e ́ \sigma \chi a \tau o \nu ~ \pi \lambda o ́ o v . ~{ }^{1}$
How full of love that life was we know, and, in fact, had not the passion been so prevalent, we should more easily discover what it was. The texts speak of love (intending the love of youths) as a matter of course; the potters praise the nadol, mentioning names of nobles whom they could not have approached. The surprising thing is not its manifestation in the flesh, but its extension beyond any question of acts, its acceptance and assumption as an



${ }^{2}$ Pindar, Pyth., x 22. Pindar, Nem., ix 30-33.
ideal and motive power ; so that Xenophon ${ }^{1}$ imagines that it will survive with a full life though all sensual pabulum be denied to it. But do we not see a like assumption in Plato's belief' that, when we shall have destroyed the family, family affection will survive, and is it not for a like reason? The idea of the family was strong among the Greeks and was echoed by adoption. It was not, as in our day, because children came to cement the union of love between
${ }^{1}$ Symposium, viii.

- Plato, Repubiv, Book v., passim, eg. 463 C:






Glaucon answers that deed must correspond with words,


Lactantius, Epit. 38, quoted in Oredli, Cicera, Repubiti, v., speaking about Plato's Republic, say :
" quia esse in utrisque amor conjugalis potest in quibus non et certus aut propriun offectus i Quis erit in patrem pius ignorans unde nit natus i quia filium diliget quem putahit alienum i"
man and wife. Diodorus ${ }^{1}$ is particular to mention that it was not for love of Alcmena that caelum noctu bis sine rege fuit,' but for the sake of Heracles, ${ }^{\text {a }}$ and that Zeus did his







 [Heracles was the last child of Zeus by a mortil]






' Propertius, ii. 22, 26.
${ }^{1}$ Cf. Pindar, Paean, vii.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Tテ̄̆ ê xpátootos }
\end{aligned}
$$

For the son's feeling of. Euripides, Fr. 887.
hest to render him legitimate. It may be that the loves of the gods were not so much crotic stories as explanations of the divine character of heroes. Marriage was $d \pi i$ тaî́av y were primarily male, succession being in the male line.

Succession indeed, not marriage and home life, ${ }^{1}$ was the Greek idea of the family.



${ }^{1}$ Note that Catullus in the Atthis, Poem liiii., does not mention a wife in the lament.
59. " Parri, bonis, amicis, genitoribus ahero? abero fora, palaestra, stadis et guminasis ? miser, a miser, querendumst etiam atque etiam, enime 1
quod enim genus figuriest ego non quod obierim ? ego mulier, ego adulescens, ego ephehus, ego uir, ego guminasi fui flos, ego eram decus olei ; mihi ianuae frequentes, mihi limina tepida, mihi floridis corollis redimita domus erah, linquendum ubi esset arta mihi sole cubiculum. Ego nunc deum ministra et Cybela famula ferar $?$ 6g. ego Maenas, ego mei pars ego vir sterilis ero."
R. Ellis in his preface to the poem : "The completely Greek quite un-Roman cast of feeling of $59-67$, in which a peculiar glow is thrown over associations of home which had found little, if any, expression in poetry,

16

The masculine idea is not less dominant in paternity than in paederasty. The vengeance of Medea, the burden of Itys, the banquet of Thyestes, the suicide of Menoeceus are tragic not only by reason of the horror which attaches to violent deaths, but because by them the father is deprived of succession in his son, ${ }^{1}$ and the favour done to Amphi-
as it had comparatively little infuence on Roman life. Only in the Phaedrus, the Charmides, the Lysis, the Symposium of Plato, can we realize it. On the other hand the horror, to us so familiar, of the loss of virility, is more Roman than Greek." Ellis quotes Joseph Warton, Essay on Pope, p. 312, ed. 2, 1762 : "The whole poem being of a striin superior to anything in the Roman possy, and more passionate and sublime than any part of Virgil, and being also much above the tender and elegant genius of Catullus, whose name it bears, inclines me to think it a translation from some Grecian writer."
Atthis has lost his country, his possessions, his parents, his friends, his lovers, the agora, the palaestra, the gymnasuum, the running-ground, his manhood and his hope of children ; but there is nothing about conjugal love.




 is not necessary to suppose 2 dative absolute (Verrall on Agam., 1276-1277, app. Z) in Pindar, Olymp., ii. 42.

tryon and to Locros is the establishment of a divine succession for the one,


 and for the other, whose seed did not fail, the generation of a divine son in his own house

Hence the importance of кréava, ${ }^{2}$ to Orestes, for instance, as son and heir, the disgrace Polynices dying or dead would have an interest in the house which was continued through Thersander. Agamemnen of Aeschylus, Introduction, Moral and Religious Ideas. "The community of interat embraced not only the members of the family living at the time it extended also to the dead, between whom and the living the mere fact of dissolution made no essential rupture. The anceator who committed a crime might at any time be penalized in the person of his descendant, on whom he depended for viral nourishment and his degree of honour among the dead. If the descendanm were extinguished altogether, the tate of the ancatom would be miserable indeed."

- Pindar, Olymp. ix 60-62.
- Pindar, Nemean, x. 14.


- Important as a base above which man must rise, xreivowv广uxace t'xovisc xptaoovas tulpes (Nemean, ix).

18
among the Spartans of alienating a к入 $\hat{p} \rho o s$, which was the base of family existence ${ }^{1}$ : all feelings which are human or universal, but which reach their height only when the male idea is dominant. Then to the human reason, that a man may possess rmpoßornoi, and to the theological reason, that his descendants may perpetuate worship on the family hearth, is added the ideal reason, that thus and no otherwise could life be continued in that scheme which he had loved :



The fatherly and the loving are one, for both the father and the lover turn to the man-child. We need not search Plato for the theory which was the theory of the Greeks at large. His Philosophical Eros is not the Uranian Eros which possessed the


 BaOic xenaipoc seems to be a deep-soiled plat of land.
' Plutarch, Lifa of Lycurgus, 21. H. W. Smyth, Greek Malic Poets, "Folk-songs," xiii.
nation, and the Uranian doctrine is not primarily either philosophical or paederastic. It is a value attached to the masculine which included philosophy as masculine and paederasty when not anti-masculine, ${ }^{1}$ but was itself the idea and form of virtue.

It invaded the feminine, Пád $\lambda a \delta a \quad \pi \epsilon \rho \sigma$ émodıv $\delta$ ectáv, ${ }^{2}$ sprung from her father's head full-armed without womanly inheritance, Artemis, Atalanta, Penthesilea, Cyrene, those huntresses of men and of beasts who are counterparts of Achilles and of Hippolytus and the direct opposite of-what? The recumbent Hermaphrodite wrongly taken ${ }^{3}$ as perfection of both sexes, a beauty
${ }^{1}$ Of course there was objection to dvaloxuvila and to the withdrawal of a lad from his proper training (Oxyrhynchus Papyri, iii. 471) or from fatherhood. ${ }^{1}$ Aristophanes, Clouds, 967. Also Theba, cf. Pindar :
 ${ }^{1}$ Swinburne, Notes on Poems and Reviews: "How favourite and frequent 2 vision among the Greeks was this of the union of the sexes in one body of perfect beauty, none need be told. The sad and subtle moral of this myth is that perfection once attained on all sides is 2 thing thenceforward barren of use or fruit; whereas the divided beauty of separate woman and man-2 thing inferior and imperfect-can serve all turns of life." P. Herrmann, in Roscher's Lexikon, under "Hermaphroditos," does not apply this idea to the statue, and
hardly epicene, since it preserves but one attribute of the male, and is rather the perfection of weakness: a paradox which serves as a guide; for, as a quality shows best in that sex to which it does not belong, as resistance and courage are most dramatically effective in Antigone and $\theta \rho a \dot{\sigma} \sigma o s$ in Clytaemestra, so Alexandrine art becomes an "ardent intercessor" ${ }^{1}$ for luxury and softness, and casts a sunset light over the lost boy, loved as wolves love a lamb. It would have us for once acknowledge the beauty of this extreme dissolution and defeat, and so the feminine is shown more clearly appearing where it should not be, as ávסpeía appears in the huntresses, and a definition is given by contraries of that formula to which the Greek race adhered. The undulous and petulant lines, the relaxation and abandonment, seemed to plead: "It might be so; it would not be utterlyignoble if it should be so," and in this ultra-catholic appreciation and heresy is implied the true standard and nobleness; the deflexion refers us to the line.
cannot be said to agree with Swinburne-rather with the interpretation given in the text.
${ }^{1}$ Shelley, "Ode to Liberty," stanza xyii.

To the feminine in the feminine, the Uranian idea is not unfriendly; and, if this is a chilly saying, we must distinguish. Friendship proper unites men. Woman, to the Uranian, is a further being, we might say a negative compared to a positive electricity ; the exchange of fire is $\tau \omega \hat{\nu} \mu$ ејai $\lambda \omega \nu$ $\pi \alpha ́ \rho \in \delta \rho o s$ è $\nu \dot{\alpha} \rho \chi$ аís $\theta є \sigma \mu \omega \hat{\nu}{ }^{1}$; but, whereas the French tell us that l'amitie est l'amour sans ailes, and whereas Plato has the same argument in favour of the masculine Eros, himself a winged lad, and the origin of the notion, yet love should be ranked below friendship as the female below the male. We have here something parallel to St. Catherine's saying: " I assure you, I only love you for God," ${ }^{2}$ when urged to rejoin
${ }^{1}$ Sophocles, Antigone, 797.
${ }^{1}$ Augusta Theodosia Drane, The Histery of Saint Catherine of Siena, Part ii., Chapter xii., St. Catherine writes: "I know, my dearest daughters, that you are afflicted at my absence, but love and obedience will dissipate your grief. . . . We must do, $2 s$ the Apostles did when they had received the Holy Spirit; they separated from each other, and from their sweet mother Mary. We may well believe that their only happiness was to live all together, and yet they renounced that happiness, in order to seek the honour of God and the salvation of souls; and when Mary their mother left
her friends who needed her and desert what she thought her duty. That prime love which in them as in her should supersede and include all other love and constitute a link sufficiently close (" my grace is sufficient for thee " ${ }^{1}$ ), this passion which in a priest is to exclude " les amities particulitres," ${ }^{2}$ being
them, they did not think her love for them had diminished, or that they were forgotten by her. I know my presence is a consolation to you, but for God's honour and the salvation of souls you ought to seek your own consolation. . . . I assure you I only love you all for God; why, then, feel such unreasonable pain at what cannot be helped ? "
12 Corinthians xii. 9.
${ }^{1}$ Renan, Sowvenirs de fexnesse, vi., iv. 4. "Une des choses les plus recommandtes au seminaire était d'Eviter 'les amitiés particulières.' De telles amities etrient presentees comme un vol fait à la communauté. Cette règle m'est restée très profondément gravte dans l'esprit. ... Je me dis quelquefois . . . que, dans un monde supérieur, l'amitié disparaîtrait. . . Tout en ayant beaucoup aimé mes amis, je leur ai donc trés peu donné. Le public m'a eu autant qu'eux." As the most personal love is displaced by friendship, so friendship is displaced by the love of Christ. This love is tested by love of the brethren, but love of the brethren tends to become impersonal as in St. Catherine. Renan skips the stage of friendship and, losing belief in Christ, there remains to him what corresponds to the love of the brethren, the service of the public. The omission of friendahip inculcated by his preceptors was easy to him; cf.
set on the permanent which all share, a love not of humanity temporary and transitory but of humanity in Jesus, who includes all in his own body, as a saint covers her worshippers with her garment, this ideal love, no longer love in the ordinary sense, is distantly comparable to friendship rising above the ordinary love and resting on the spirit alone, and woman is conceived not as its minister but rather as amour sans ailes, earth-walking, not heavenly nor rapturous ; or else as mother worthy of all reverence, like the motherland, the ground of all departures, or as sister and helper of the family, like Electra, and then noble, but not and never as an associate quite equal to the task of friendship as conceived by the Greeks, that is to say, a greater friendship than ours. ${ }^{1}$ Even in modern days it is
Sourvenirs, ii., vi. "Très tôt, le goût des jeunes filles fut vif en moi. Je les preférais de beaucoup aux petits garçons." In the Greek world friendship was the last earthly stage, and remained vivid. Its start had been masculine love.
${ }^{2}$ Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, viii. and ix. "All here is broadly human; and yet the idea of 'Friendship' is purely Greek.- The Romans imitated it. But in modern times it has been much superseded by the idea of sympathetic marriage. Christianity ignores friend-
high praise to say of a wife that she has been your best friend and implies an exaltation of married love above its inevitable self.

Now the Dorian blood, defending itself in hill-fortresses, among those stony heights which cover Greece with their severity and produced its hard health, that blood, martial by birth, breeding, and necessity, which casts its masculine shadow over Attic tragedy, reclaiming within bounds the fullness of Homeric life that causes the Epic poet to be beloved for his naturalness by our moderns, elusive of rigour, that hardy race which had established its Apollo in Delphi, which had ennobled and strengthened morals, ${ }^{1}$ and ship ; and theoretically it now exists only as a temporary advantage for the young." Grant, The Ethics of Aristotle. ${ }^{1}$ J. S. Mill, "The Utility of Religion." "The greatest recorded victory which education has ever achieved over 2 whole host of natural inclinations in an entire people -the maintenance through centuries of the institutions of Lycurgus." "The most memorable example of the power of education over conduct is afforded ... by this exceptional case." Cf. Malthus, The Principle of Population, Vol. i., Book i., Chapter v.: "The preposterous system of Spartan discipline, and that unnatural absorption of every private fecling in concern for the public, which has sometimes been so absurdly admired, could never have existed but among a people exposed to perpetual hardships and privations from incessant war,
given birth to an Heraclidan order now centuries old, found its last prophet in Pindar, the " only orthodox" poet of Greece,1 and, if Greece contrasted with humanity was orthodox, the one sane guide to poetry of life. In other poets we have beginnings : in him we should have what is certain to find its place in the end.

The victorial odes have a bloom which remains from undoubting youth, a simple acceptance of what had not yet been questioned. Here, then, we find the view normal
and in $\mathbf{a}$ state under the constant fear of dreadful reverses of fortune. Instead of considering these phenomena as indicating any pecculiar tendency to fortitude and patriotism in the disposition of the Spartans, I should merely consider them as a strong indication of the miserable and almost savage state of Sparth, and of Greece in general at that time. Like the commodities in the market, those virtues will be produced in the greatest quantity, for which there is the greatest demand ; and where patience under pain and privations, and extravagant patriotic sacrifices, are the most called for, it is a melancholy indication of the misery of the people, and the ineccurity of the state."
${ }^{1}$ Gilbert Murray, Ancient Greek Literature, Chapter x., "Aeschylus." "The only orthodox Greek writer preserved to us is Pindar." Of course the statement above refers only to such poets as we possess in remains adequate to influence us.
to the ancient training and success. Observe how gentle are Pindar's words of women. There is not one harshness in his analysis of the motives of the u$\eta \lambda \dot{\eta} s ~ \gamma v v a ́ ~ C l y t a e m-~$ estra. ${ }^{1}$ 旸入̀s is only a statement of fact. ${ }^{1}$ For the rest, was she angered? Was she misled ? Coronis ${ }^{3}$ was of that vainest nature found among men (he does not say specially women, though the nature is specially feminine ${ }^{4}$ ) which sets no limit on its unfulfilled hopes, and so disregarded the holy seed which she bore ; Alcmena ${ }^{5}$ is bold to protect her children (with Greek reason, for one of them was Heracles). Only when the poet writes * of the youth in whose arms he died, leaving a consecration to those seats which we may yet see in the theatre of Argos, speaking of the eyes ${ }^{7}$ of the lad, as
${ }^{1}$ Pyth., xi 17-32.

- Cf. Homer's vinkt $\chi{ }^{a \lambda} \lambda x \bar{\psi}$.
${ }^{3}$ Pyth., iii. 15-30.


 бриоу.
${ }^{6}$ Nem., i. 48-50.
' Pindar, Fragment, 123.
'Francia Thompson, Paganism Old and New. "That Paganism had no real sense of the exquisite in female

Shakespeare speaks of music, ${ }^{1}$ does he accuse those who are not filled with a like longing of hard hearts, labouring constrainedly for riches, or else following as servitors in the track of female presumption, in either case unhonoured by Aphrodite.' The long tale of diatribes against women from Semonides of Amorgos to Euripides, hostilities congenerous to mounting ambitions and springing like Hippocrene from the kick of Pegasus, do not belong here. Antagonism to the feminine does not arise when the citadel features is evident from its statues and few extant paintings: mere regularity of form is all it sees . . . But the most surprising indication of this blindnes to the suhtler qualities of beauty is the indifference of the ancient singers to what in our estimation is the most lovely and important feature in a woman-the cye"
${ }^{1}$ Shakespeare, The Merchant of Vonice, Act v., Scene i., $83-85$.

- Otherwise Euripides, Hipp. and Phaeshon. Nauch. Tragiconam Graecorum, Fragment, $7^{81}$.
 Taiv $\Delta$ tòc aùpavion deizance


and of the bride it is said:



and hope of manhood are unattacked. They were to be attacked, and twenty ${ }^{1}$ years later Clytaemestra is shown as a vengeance worthy of vengeance. But this is not wholly due to the threat of change ; it lies in the necessities of tragedy.
${ }^{1}$ Literally sixteen. The ode Pythian xi., in which Pindar speaks of Clytaemestra, is of the year 474. The production of the Aeschylean trilogy herein called the Oresteia, though that name seems rather to have been given to the single play of the Choephori, fell in 458.


## III

## THE HERO IN TRAGEDY

TRAGEDY required a legend; the legends were concerned with heroes, and the view of life connected with them was old inheritance to be mixed with later observations. So far its matter is epic, gnomic, or lyric. But it also required pathos, and this is found in some slip of the hero which brought about his ruin. Now, since, in this tracing of the consequences of sin, there is a likeness to modern religion, we follow the resemblance rather than the difference, and do not see the greatness of the men who failed, the opposition which the Greeks felt and pitied between the noble and the allzu-menschlich ${ }^{1}$;
${ }^{1}$ Emile Faguet, Dix-septieme Siicle, quotes from St . Evremond. "Je finirii par un sentiment hardi et nouveau, c'est que l'on doit rechercher a la tragedie avant toutes choses une grandeur d'àme bien exprimé qui excite en nous une tendre admiration." . . " Je veux

Nemesis is real ; but the great national progenitors and protectors are not vivid to us as they were to those who appealed to them in their political parleys and treaties. Agamemnon is one of the best known ; yet neither Homer nor Aeschylus quite prepares us for his laud in Isocrates. ${ }^{1}$








 оралоуฑ்бєау.

 Beßou入evpévos.




qu'on plaigne l'infortune d'un héroa . . . maia ie veux que cos lime tundra et génércusea regardant ensemble seat malheurs et see vertus, et qu'avec le triste sentiment de la pities nous ayons celui dune admintion quiff face nitre en nous le désir de limiter."
${ }^{1}$ Ingrates, Panathenaicu, 72 sq.





















 rous "E入入


















 toùs ßagi入éas toùs moloûvtas èv taîs aủrầ ó tı






































 iтavaed ißpí̧ovtas.

This encomium, so far removed from modern praise of character, so distinctly accorded to the qualities of a ruler and of a Prometheus, gives us the background against which we must imagine the action of the Oresteia. To such a man the Greeks looked. To them such a hero was a necessity, his sin a $\pi$ á $\rho \in \rho \gamma y^{\prime}$ provocative of pity because of his greatness, but not annulling
the crime of his murder nor the importance of the descendant rule of his blood. To moderns the sin and its retribution are the essential. ${ }^{1}$

Yet which was more important to Vergil we see in his Aeneas, who likewise commits a fault, that will bring down the vengeance of Hannibal, but who was yet right, even according to Dante, ${ }^{2}$ in deserting Dido that he might found, non sponte, ${ }^{3}$ the ultimately
${ }^{1}$ Unlen they are all. E. D. A. Morshend, Preface to The Hawe of Atrav. "The Trilogy is Aeschylus' presentment of two problems, each of eternal import. These problema are:

- 1. The Retribution of Crime.

2. The Inheritance or Transmission of Evil."

Swinburne, Under the Micrascope. "The hinge of the Orestecia from firt to last is the sacrifice at Aulin"
' Cominitio, iv., savi. " E quanto raffrenare fu quello quando, evendo ricevuto da Dido tanto di piacere quanto di eotto nel settimo Trattato si dird, e usando con ese tanto di dilettazione, egli si parti per seguire onesta e laudabile via e fruttuoss, come nel quarto dell' Encida éacrittol"
'Vergil, Aenrid, iv., 36ı. "Italiam non sponte sequar." The speech is the justification which, as we shall see, Jamon had not Apollo and Jove are the authorities, 29 for Orestes Aeneas is like Orestes fulfilling a duty to his father, and Ascanius has the right of descent to claim it A Pindaric justification would perhapa not have
victorious Rome. The gravity in both cases is the weight of the sceptre, the necessity of a man who shall rule and whose descendants shall rule. It is not specifically Greek but, rather, ancient. Eve alone could not have handed down original sin ${ }^{1}$; Adam, parting from his right of " despotic power," ${ }^{2}$ is seduced by her to our undoing: closer is the analogy of King Arthur's fault and Mordred, which does not prevent the king represented Aeneas as reluctant and constrained by duty, pius, though Pindar would have recognized a divine intention, cf. what he syyd of Neoptolemos

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { tount for } \gamma \text { qpac. . . . }
\end{aligned}
$$

His race brought rule with it. In the end he is deatined or needed to guard Delphi.





xpaburav reminds us that two mathery of two destined rulers were named Creuss, the mother of Ion and the mother of Ascanius; they brought rule with them.
${ }^{1}$ St Thomas Aquinas, Summa, Prima Secundac lexoi. 5. He founds his view, however, on the "doctrina Philosophonum."
' Milton, Samson Agonistes, 1054.
from being a great hero. Would a modern so praise a man? Tennyson did not. ${ }^{1}$ Or, to put it more simply, could a modern praise a man ?' What are the qualities which constitute praiseworthy manhood?
${ }^{1}$ Swinburne, Under the Microscope. "Wishing to make his central figure the noble and perfect symbol of an ideal man, he has removed not merely the excuse but the explanation of the fatal and tragic loves of Launcelot and Guenevere. The hinge of the whole legend of the Round Table, from its first glory to its final fall, is the incestuous birth of Mordred from the connexion of Arthur with his half-sister, unknowing and unknown; as surely as the hinge of the Oresteia from first to last is the sacrifice of Aulis. The story as it stood of old had in it something almost of Hellenic dignity and significance; in it as in the great Greek legends we could trace from 2 seemingly small root of evil the birth and growth of a calamitous fate, not sent by mere malevolence of heaven, yet in its awful weight and mystery of darkness apparently out of all due retributive proportion to the careless sin or folly of presumptuous weakness which first incurred its infliction; so that by mere hasty resistance and return of violence for violence [the reference to Oedipus] a noble man may unwittingly bring on himself and all his house the curse denounced on parricide ; by mere casual indulgence of light love and passing wantonness a hero-king may unknowingly bring on himself and all his kingdom the doom imposed on incest." 'Austin Dobson, Fielding, Chapter v. "To our modern ideas, when no one dares, as Thackeray complained, ' to depict to his utmost power a Man,' " etc.

## IV

## THE RULING OF APOLLO

I$F$ your ideal of life is self-sacrifice, you will be subject to the constant disappointment of finding men busied with self-preservation, and so will you be disappointed whenever you deify what is not in accordance with the principles from which life proceeds and continues. If, per contra, you accept the function of man in its three phases, will (or action), feeling and thought, then, together with love, you dignify what is neither self-sacrifice nor love, namely doing and thinking. ${ }^{1}$ You ${ }^{2}$ Lord Hugh Cecil, Conservatism, Chapter v. "Skilled men get more than unskilled, and some sorts of skill are more highly paid than other worts. But there is no ethical merit in the skill that is most regarded, and no ethical defect in the lack of skill that is most lowly paid. Ethics are beside the point ; desert is irrelevant. The forces that make wealth are never ethical; even those gains that depend upon exertion do not correspond to $3^{8}$
are not at the mercy of Shelley's laments over the lovelessness of mankind. The further his ideal from the real, the more truthful his statement of the divergence, the greater was your despondency, whereas, if you recognize what seems to be soulless ${ }^{1}$ desert." Per contra G. Lowes Dickinson, "Eastern and Western Ideals", in the Christian Century Magaxine, 1906. "In a passage quoted by Mr. Bryan, I wrote that the precepts of the Gospel 'are remarkable not more for their tender and touching appeal to brotherly love than for their aversion from or indifference to all the elements of human excelience!' To that passage I adhere. The Gospels preach virtue in the Christian sense; they do not preach it in the pagan sense. They lay stress on love; they lay little stress on the qualities that deserve love. Man is a creature with 2 passion for knowledge, for power, for accomplishment, for beauty. But none of these things are represented in the teaching of Christ or his followers. There is a whole positive side of life which is emphasized by Plato and Aristote, and ignored by the Gospels."
1 William Watson to Edward Dowden: "Keats great with somewhat of a glorious soullessness." Perhaps, in the Christian sense; but in the Pagan we suspect a grandeur lost. Cf. Keats' "Sonnet on Secing the Elgin Marbles for the First Time."
" My spirit is too weak. Mortality Weighs heavily on me like unwilling sleep And each imagined pinnacle and steep Of God-like hardship tells me I must die Like a sick eagle looking on the sky."
as the riding-ground of Ganymed, ${ }^{1}$ the athletic training which gave him beauty and, by the aid of the Cyprian, turned from him shameless fate,' there is less reason to lose
Maeterlinck, Trésor des Humbles," Le Réveil de l'Ame."
" II ya des siècles parfaits ou l'intelligence et la beauté règnent très purement, mais ou l'ame ne se montre point. Ainsi, elle est tres loin de la Grèce et de Rome On ne sait pas pourquai, mais quelque chose n'est par la; des communications secrétes sont coupees, et la beaute ferme lea yeux [that is to say, you reach to летерáativov]. Il est hien difficile d'exprimer ceci par des mate et de dire pour quelles raisons l'atmosphère de divinite et de faralité qui entoure leas drames greas ne semble pas l'atmosphère véritable de l'àme. On decouvre à l'harizon de ces tragediea admirables un mystère permanent et vènérable ausi [the background of mortal uncertainty agzinst which the figures are defined]; mais ce n'est pas le mystère attendri, fraternel et si profondèment actif que nous trouvons en maintes couvres moins grandes et moins belles." That is to say, Macterlinck misses the chord of the seventh, the moral yearning and consolation, which might less accord with grandeur.
${ }^{1}$ Euripides, Orestes, $13^{89-1} 390$.
 letrociva $\Delta$ ida rivetra

- Pindar, Olymp., x. g.


 xeivov мaтé xpobvov l8tax $\tau=\times$ xas. $6 v$
hope; rather you find your element as Bellerophon, mounted on his winged steed
 mitting more qualities to our love, qualities less moral in the Christian sense, more moral perhaps in the Greek sense, and certainly more masculine (for, if feeling is feminine, doing is less so, and thinking least), we avoid making the world a spiritual prisonhouse; we are no longer friends of the impossible. The last words of Shelley's Fourth Ecloguc, if we may so call it, his. chorus on the Golden Age, ${ }^{2}$ are a lament; the last words of his Prometheus are pure



Ganymed was the only human being of mortal parentage (on both sidea) who was ever taken into heaven. Cf, Scholium on Aristophanes, Pax, 724
${ }^{1}$ Pindar, Olymp., xiii. 86.
- Lest chorus of "Hellas," last aranze
"O cease 1 must hate and death return i?
Cease ! must men kill and die ?
Cease 1 drain not to ins dregs the urn
Of bitter prophecy.
The world is weary of the past,
O might it dic or rest at last I"

Christianity. ${ }^{1}$ No doubt it is better to conceive God, or the power of good, as an under-might slowly working upward, since then our task as his helpers possesses the appeal of tragedy (to whom can the animals appeal, if not to humanity?) than 26 a supreme " not ourselves that makes for righteousness," ${ }^{2}$ whether we will or no, a view which lends itself to quietism. But the Greek Prometheus, a hero in Shelley's sense, wrestling for the right, nevertheless received, it seems, in the eventual reconciliation of the Aeschylean trilogy blame for excess in that he had disregarded a wiser than himself, and had denied him the secret which was necessary to maintain his rule,

[^0]the rule which Prometheus himself had got for him. There was more at stake than pity for man. Now the Christian doctrine sets pity, as part of the perfection of our nature in charitas, or love, so high that we are in danger of a simple solution which shall exclude much of life and degrade the nature by which we live. ${ }^{1}$ It excludes in fact that which is distinctive of the masculine, the noble, which the mere lovers of their fellowmen, the lovers only of love, behold as a Pagan wonder, with some doubt whether it is not earthly pride, the grand, whereof there is more in the Old Testament and in Aeschylus than in the New Testament, a majesty that dwells in the rents and chasms of barren Parnassus, an altitude whereto home is not kindred. ${ }^{3}$ But forasmuch as this in nature and in northern ideals tends to the savage, ${ }^{4}$ and, like the sea in
${ }^{1}$ See p. 39, note.

- Swinhurne, Pslagius.
- Wordsworth, To a Sh-lart.
" Ethereal minatrel.
True to the kindred points of Heaven and Home."
- As Samson's strength lay in his hair, no Heraclea was
 the excrilence of manhood, roic Yade dacric rès muyac

Byron, ${ }^{1}$ is beloved by reaction as an escape from man and from the home-like (our modernity delighting in changes and in extremes and never contented with an united severity and beauty), we may liken that part of the
 was thought to consist in it utmost differentiation from the feminine, a savage idea; but agzinst it we may remember that the weapon of the Homeric Heraclea is, not the club, but the bow ; or dse he wears ordinary armour. This (in spite of the bow of Ulyseses) suggest adroitnes rather than strength. Paris was a good archer, even when his arrow was not dirested by Apolla. In Pindar (Isthm., iv., Ep. y) Heracta is


Small men are considered dever, like Aesop. The Myronic Heracles, though he has the cluh, is clearly a gentleman. It was left to Glycon to clothe the Lyippan Heracles in ugly muscles. The true example of roughness are the giants, who were early subdued.
1 Childe Harold, Canto iv., Seanzay 75-84. Byron my, it is true,
"I love not Man the lea, but Nature more"
The words however, to judge by the part which man plays in the following manzas, mean no more than the lines in the preceding stanza :
"Oh 1 that the Desert were my dwelling-place With one fair Spirit for my minister That I might all forget the human race, And, hating no one, love but only her."
44
masculine which is not love to Agamemnon and its law-giver to the divine figure of Apollo whom weeping comes not nigh,

Apollo Matp\%os, who cares not for the sufferings of Creusa, but who justifies in the end that tragedy of Long Rocks which gave to Athens a leader by right of descent and by right divine, ${ }^{\text {a }}$ trained in the purity of the Delphic temple; Apollo KaÁápows, who would launch his winged snakes against the Furies, but who, despite his words of abuse, does not seem much to hate them, because, being ugly, they cannot concern him. He dwells in unapproached light, foreseeing the end-from the beginning,


${ }^{2}$ Aeschylus, Agamemnem, 1075. Cf. lines 1078-1079:


Cf. the prohibition of internent in the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin at Chartre, The Story of Chertres, by Cecil Headham, p. 198.

- The right of descent through the female would not have sufficed without the right divine and the Delphic enction.
${ }^{4}$ Scgthinus, Pomtotu, Vol. ii., p. 203.

Whatever can achieve much is his care ; the rest is better away, wherefore he is indifferently destroyer and healer, ${ }^{1}$ so he accomplish his high purpose. He cures Battus and sends him forth to be the heroic founder of Cyrene. He builds Troy bptoirs
 to none other does he owe allegiance; and by that allegiance are in fact decided the feminine, personal, and pathetic claims of Iphigenia and of Clytaemestra, the $\theta$ odioos puvaukion is set down from its seat and the verdict given by the daughter of the king of gods in favour of the son of the king of
 1065, quoter Arehilochus (Bergk. P.L.G.), 27 :

 and Euripides, Phacthon, $7^{81}$ (Nauck T.G.F.):



Healer, Mativ (cf. Pindar, Pyoh., iv. 271) :

Light is in Euripiden asocisted with destruction 1 in Pinder with healing.
' Euripides, Troades, 5 .
men. It is given with the noble support ${ }^{1}$ of Electra against her sister and on behalf of the rightful succession of her brother against her mother, and it is a strong judgment in that it does not veil the fault of the father at Aulis² nor the amour with Cassandra, nor the family curse, nor the horror of the
${ }^{1}$ The legend of the friendship of Orestes and Pylades is said to begin with Euripides; but it is hard to believe the saying when we find that Pylades speaks only once (Cheophori, 900-902) at the crucial moment of the Mother's most intimate appeal to decide Orestes, as if friendship, that high ideal of men, were the one human support of the masculine doctrine of trilogy. Orestes is eighteen or twenty years old (Höfer in Roscher's Lexikon, Art. "Orestes," pp. 956,964,955; WilamowitzMoellendorff, Orestic. Opfer am Grabe, P. 171, Note on "Erkennungsscene "); Pylades presumably older. Without any erotic intention whatever, it must have suited Aeschylus to give the duty of patrimonial redemption to a lad just able to bear it, and to place beside him 2 friend to hearten him. "At Athens the $\delta 0 x t \mu \alpha o l(\alpha$ and enrolment of ternoot took place at the age of 18, when they were received into their tribe or deme, and attained their legal majority, though they did not obtain full civic rights until the age of 21 " (Oxyrhynchus Papyri, iii. 477).





deed ${ }^{1}$ of Orestes pursued by the Furies even after Apollo's cleansing
 to the feet of Athena. The argument is, not that Agamemnon was perfect, but that man must rule.
In truth the commander had a hard decision to make. The wrath of Artemis, however occasioned, ${ }^{2}$ demanded the sacrifice.
${ }^{1}$ Hófer, "Orestes" in Roscher's Lexiken, p. 973. "Klytaimestra's Ermordung ist auf Vasen mit Bestimmtheit niche nachweishre."
' Aesch., Eummides, 237.
' The occasion is mentioned by Aeschylus in the following words :

The eaglen (we are told) are the Atridee, but the known Eitirivay was that of Acreus and Thyestes. Perhapa, then, the eagles are symbols in general of their rule; and the reference is to ancestral misdeeds. But there must have been more than the feinvov. Some woman big with child must have been killed. Was this the action of Thyestes and not the mere aeduction of Aerope? 'There is no record to prove it, but if a record has been lost all is clear. The chorus asks whether Artemis
 the slaughter of the young for the slaughter of the young

Had Iphigenia followed the virginal Menoeceus and sacrificed herself she would have done what myriads of men, hindered by her, were waiting to do at Troy. That her father should take her life was another step and no doubt a piarرa. He is punished, but by a more hideous crime,
 punished for a sin which tallies with his special glory that, in despite of difficulties, he had held the host to conquest ; but he does not die as one unworthy to have lived



```
\sigmaє\mu\nuоотццом а̀иа́ктшр,"
```

(Iphigenia for Aerope ? and the children of Thyester ?). Calchas, secing the two Atridae, understood the sinister guidance of the ancestral founders of their rule (if we
 we understand Auaiav étipav divapob tiva. There had been a Thyestean sarrifice before This bold suggestion is perhaps warranted by the weakness of other attempts to explain the meaning of Aeschylus.
'Agamemnon, 1231-1232. Eumenides, 625:




- Chorphori, 354-357.
a friend welcomed by those who died well, and welcomed as a king though as king he had decreed his daughter's death.

And behind his sin, to shadow it lies that of Helen, the true destroyer of the many, the very many lives of men, ${ }^{1}$ half-sister of the second destroyer, the famous and fatal deviser, the murderess-queen, the embodied aity. After all that dark questioning of right and wrong, those unresolved antitheses, faithful to our human life, which is a battle of counter-claims, the summary clearance is effected in the highest court, without denial of opposing arguments, by the assertion of a major right and supremacy
 8iкпク・



' Azamemnom, 1448-1457:
реї Japiturac


 to tis $\pi$ repavous 'Exiva






which verdict we may take as true to the Greek conception of nobleness, and as a deadly thrust against the modern perversion of the meaning of virtue.

[^1]
## V

## THE SEVERITY OF APOLLO

THERE is unhappiness, injustice, pain in the world. If near to us, we sympathize and help, and, if we are imaginative and careful, it is always near to our thoughts. This money that we spend, could it not be given to rescue the distressed ? This work which we do, could it not be better chosenchosen for their benefit? There are untended children crying while we work. If we have not found them, they cry none the less; we could find them and they would cry less. We hear them crying, though we do not find them. We hear them while we work, and our work is more distant than ourselves from their cry. To do it we have shut the door. There is something cruel in that shutting of the door whenever we come in for the night. It
holds fast and makes no answer, whoever passes by. It asserts property, independence, isolation, and we turn to our work and question it. Is it necessary that this ode shall be rightly understood ; that this music shall be properly played; that this point of ancient history or of Greek grammar shall be verified; that we make no mistake in the attribution of a Madonna? Every one of these occupations may increase our humanity or that of others-may be a blessing, probably not directly to the poor, though perhaps to the distressed in the end ; but the end is far off, and the distress continues unrelieved; and we might relieve it.

Or our attention is given to that which is more human, to education, to the family ; but the family begins with injustice, and training is apportioned accordingly; for we love our own flesh; we would advance our children ; it is not a matter of merit ; other children may be better worth educating; we are on the look-out for the advantage of ours. Or our training may be given to the children of others, to those whose parents can secure them advantage ; unto him that hath shall be given ; the
husband loves the wife and the wife the husband; each stands for the other ; yet the origin of that affection, now gone into the blood and bone, may be casual, or not according to the excellence; and its persistence may depend on the character of him or her who gives love and not on the merit of him or her to whom the love is given. So in marriage we have a curtained and bastioned injustice which is so strong that law builds upon it; and, to establish it, to marry, you set up a house, and settle funds for its maintenance, and close the door. The union of man and woman is doubly the reason why the children cry : else they had not existed ; else you would have had money to relieve them ; so that, if you attend to the arts, you neglect distress, and, if you attend to the human, you neglect the arts, and distress, and justice. Nor is distress likely to depart, whatever checks, preventive or positive, ${ }^{1}$ may be adopted. One cause of distress will be succeeded by another. It is like the question which vexed our grandfathers: how they should
${ }^{1}$ The Greeks had 2 positive check in the exposure of children; yet who doubts that they had distres?

54
do their daily task with the danger of eternal damnation impending over their neighbours. The submerged have fulfilled the prophecy of Jesus: they have been always with us.
The answer is usually given by necessity, the necessity of work for a living, of work to avoid distress, or to provide for children, one deep calling another in a monotonous sea. But this work itself, why does it earn our living? A consummate performer on the harp, an authority on illuminated manuscripts, an accurate type-setter, a palmary porcelain painter, have reason for the excellences, reason for their practice and for their regard of minutiae, reason for the closed door and for disregard of need : it is the sea that would otherwise overwhelm them. It is not only the rich, cultivating the refinements of life, who turn a deaf ear, but likewise every conscientious worker during the hours of work. Whatever your work, it is the same. You cannot do a good carpenter's job unless you forget, or at least permit, distress. The difference is only that the rich are not, like the others, bound by necessity to supply a demand. The demand is not sure to be wise. To be a good work-
man, to make an honest livelihood, to deliver the best handiwork may be creditable, but your responsibility ends there, and does not include a warrant that what you have done was most needed ; witness the " meditative skipper " of Plato. ${ }^{1}$

You are a master workman ; you are not master of the order which you execute. That order, imperative by reason of your necessity or your children, may have come from the caprice of fashion, or from an ill judgment pronounced by erratic circumstances and conditions of the day. If the support of your family is your end, it should be a means ${ }^{2}$; if it is a means, it is only ${ }^{1}$ W. H. Thompson's note on Plato's Gorgias, 512 A. ' C. W. Eliot, The Happy Life. "From the love of nature we turn to family love. The domestic affections are the principal source of human happiness and wellbeing. The mutual loves of husband and wife, of parents and children, of brothers and sisters, are not only the chief sources of happiness, but the chief springs of action, and the chief safeguard from evil. The young man and the young woman work and save, in order that they may be married and have a home of their own; once married, they work and save, that they may bring up well a family. The supreme object of the struggling and striving of most men is the family. One might almost say that the security and elevation of the family and of family life are the prime objects of civilization,
a means to supply demand. That choice which the rich make may be wiser and worthier, and, if it is thought that the State should make the choice, the State must have the advice of those who are in the position of the rich, that is to say, the position of those who may consider, so to speak, by experience, aided by all opportunities and bound to no conclusion, irresponsible till a reason emerges from the facts, determining because undetermined.
and the ultimate ends of all industry and trade. These supreme enjoyments of the normal, natural life-the domestic joys-are woman's more than man's ; because his function of bread-winning necessarily separates him from his home during a good part of his time." He is, then, separated by demand from what is in most cases his supreme object and is also well-nigh the prime object of civilization. We are reminded that Nietzsche considered instruction and civilization to be democratic aspirations, but Kultur, 2 strenuous discipline and culture of the man, to be aristocratic; also that speaking of marriage he said (Genealogie der Moral) "perhaps our trees do not grow so high for the ivy and vine that cling to them." St. Paul's fear of marriage springs from his desire that man and woman may "attend upon the Lord without distraction." It would be illegitimate to apply his words without reserve to modern marriage; but it can be said that, if we are to stand by them, we must make it a means and not so nearly an end as it is thought by the President of Harvard University.

Are these in their brooding to be blamed for the closed door? And, if they open it, shall it be because they, of all men, determine to avoid perfection in music, in knowledge, and, escaping demand, devote themselves to distress and so embark on the sea with the others, at the mercy of the elemental affections ? ${ }^{1}$

If so, whence is the worthy demand to come, or is there none but distress? And, if it is distress, the offspring of the family, is not the family again an end-an end of perfection? Or is that perfection to come only when there is an unreasoned demand for it-as when people crowd to hear a violinist because they like good music, whereas at home it would be frivolous for them to practise the fiddle, while distress continues unrelieved? If they could be aware, like God, of all that takes place-
${ }^{1}$ Friedrich Nietzache, Die frohliche Wissenschaft, 338. "Wie ist es nur möglich, auf seinem Wege zu bleiben! Fortwährend ruft uns irgend ein Geschrei seitwärts; unser Auge sieht da seiten Etwas, wobei ea nicht nöthig wird, augenblicklich unsre eigne Sache zu lassen und zuzuspringen. Ich weiss es : ea giebt hundert anständige und rühmliche Arten, um mich von meinem Wege zu verlieren, und wahrlich höchat ' moralische ' Arten!"
if to their imagination all were alike present, so that in immediacy there should be no urgency, but past, present, and future one to the human soul, which would then be a human soul indeed and would draw from unextinguished regret for past suffering a motive to relieve present suffering and to guard against future suffering, then every perfection would need some heartlessness, even that music which most teaches tenderness. And if there is some nobleness, whether accomplished and perpetuated by means of the family, or at the cost of the family, or subverted by the family, accomplished by injustice, or subverted by the human, if there are standards which remain as they were, indifferent to the sufferings by which they have been attained and to the sufferings of those who have failed to attain them, ${ }^{1}$ we must ask ourselves whether

[^2]attainment is or is not moral, and, if it is moral, we must regard it as in some sort a test of morals, a Greek test, an Apollonian test ; and then we may submit to the severe, unfaltering requisitions of the noble tearing us from humanity, and see why the ideal god, Apollo, to whom all imperfection is meaningless, has never the needs of the world at heart, except that one need, if it is a need, of perfection, why he lives apart " a bitter god to follow, a beautiful god
in their degree contributed, the monuments and treasurea of art, the great palaces and properties, the conquest of learning and taste, the general tabric of civilisation as we know it, based, if you wrill, upon all the derpotisms, the cruelties, the exclusions, the monopolies and the rapacities of the past."

George Gisring, by Frank Swinnerton. "Apologista in plenty have been found in the past for Gising, who have been led to suggest that we ought to deal very leniently with his work because he suffered. The importance or unimportance of his work as literature or as art is something quite apart from his sufferings The critic's business is to assay the work."

Medea would judge by suffering not by the work. Eur., Med., 248 :




to behold,' ${ }^{1}$ and we may find in his rule a loved formula of that duty of man which is not love. Finally, if we think that the noble is rather male than female; that the family is to be tested by the noble, by т̀̀ $\boldsymbol{\nu}$ movoûvr' $\epsilon \xi \omega$; that all accomplishment must begin generations before it shows, as we breed horses; and, further, that, to secure this accomplishment, it is worth while to allow the cost of the fruitless ${ }^{2}$ generations which intervene between hero and hero,to constitute a class because we need the pick of a class ; then we believe the Pindaric creed, and have in that creed a justification of the now more patent injustice of the family; we have found for a partial and human affection an impartial and noble defence; out of the eater hath come forth meat. Whatever the means, we test it by
> - Swinhurne, Hymn to Proserpine.
> - Pindar, Nem., xi. 39-43 :






the end ; we are willing to accept injustice ${ }^{1}$ and suffering, so we attain the end; and the family becomes to us, as to the Greeks, honourable because it sends forth men, as Apollo sent forth Ion.
${ }^{1}$ Plutarch, Inntituta Laconica, 239 A. rais eixacis


62

## VI

## THE PARDON OF APOLLO

THEREFORE the award of Apollo, that merciless and merciful judgment of the destroyer and healer, delivered according to success and manhood, is not a canon of general perfection, but the laud and ratification of a singular achievement and of a noble power and inheritance. The principle whereby the king who has proved himself a man is well-nigh deified despite his faults and whereby faith is placed in the heir of his blood exceeds by definition those morals which admit no more praise than an individual may merit by his own will, without drawing on his constitution, or in his own life, without drawing on his inheritance, and passes over failings which are often considered to touch morals more nearly than they are touched by his mere constitution and inheritance.

Apollo, the eternal youth, appeals to his father, Zeus, who gives no reason save his own profound determination and desire, and Athena gives as her reason that she proceeds wholly from the same father.

Humanly speaking, this is an appeal to manhood, and reliance on manhood, not on a rule of human righteousness; it is a canonization of the noble, not what is usually called a moral code. Imperfection which has done some perfect work appeals through Apollo, the patron of this perfection, to the generative and undiscoverable; the desire that nobleness, despite its sins, shall rule appeals to a personal ruler whose sinlessness is far from evident. The king of kings may do wrong, and we are not certain that the king of gods will do right ; but wrong and right are better from the masculine, the evil less evil, the good more good, because they bear the mark of kind. If God is but the apotheosis of man, and Zeus and Agamemnon one, then the measure of justice is himself. From him justice has proceeded and appeal lies from justice to him and not from him to justice. This is right ; it is the ante-natal genesis of right ; for in 64
the god-like man, or in the man-like god, is to be found (strange though it be to say) the justification of justice ; in the fatherhood is the authority. This authority is an unknown, underlying the dixa which it produces, the mystery of a nature indeterminate and whole bringing forth 2 determinate form dictated by no criterion but the resultant of his own forces which becomes a criterion. Here is room for ethical creation, for some adjudication between warring men or warring gods which may overturn Síkav tàv $\pi \rho \dot{\sigma} \sigma \theta \in \nu .^{1}$ And perfect deference to virtue, to the potency of action and thought and love, must be deference to that darkness, not a confident trust in what can be defined. This reverence must be indulgent and patient, because it can only rest on the human.

It is well for us that it is so. If we seek a stay beyond man, we lose our appreciation of man; if we will not entrust ourselves to a danger, but must court a recessive certainty, we have not known that all is danger nor fully admitted our need of man, and ${ }^{1}$ Pindar, Nom., ix. 15 . xploowv $3 k$ xamтaúct díkav $\tau d y$ $\pi p b o t e r$ divip.
we shall not make man as great as our need because of the greater on whom we rely. With this reliance there would indeed be no necessary man ; for goodness then rests with the creator ; it is not man's creation, his constant effort, his victory. To secure him strength for this victory, give him 2 shadowy sky and a doubtful end-and pardon.

## VII

## APOLLO VERSUS $\triangle I K A$

ASHADOWY sky and a doubtful end? What else had Orestes? And what but this doctrine of the origination of justice explains his defence by Apollo? When the court had been constituted, Apollo delivered a warning which has been taken as nothing less than a threat to the judges :




 тò $\mu$ èv סíxalov tov̂ $\theta^{\prime}$ ö $\sigma o \nu ~ \sigma \theta$ évet $\mu a \theta \in \hat{\nu}$,


" Reck not of your oath, but fear the vengeance of Zeus, who is mightier than the
${ }^{1}$ Aeschylus, Eumenider, 614.
god of oaths. This is the justice which I proclaim, and to him is my allegiance." Could there be a more direct contravention of an overruling Sixa ? ${ }^{1}$ And is it not confirmed by the procedure of Apollo when, to rescue the later wife of his virginal love, Admetus, he outwitted the most ancient Parcae, making them drunk? To him naught mattered but the highest. His ojpoil kávoves are those of the father of men, severe indeed, and reckless in their severity, but it is not the severity of the Moirai. Their mandates, abstract laws determining the provinces within which not only the other gods but Zeus himself must act,
 not his уо́дou. He could override opkos himself unless confirmed by the deadly adjuration of Styx. He appeals against the lesser god to the greater, from the impersonal rules to the personal ruler, to an autocracy in heaven from the earthly guardians of conscience. The same disregard of rules runs through his pleading that the son is not related to his mother. ' Unless that instanced in Jonah where God violates his oath.

Doubtless, as among the Colchians dead men were suspended in air and women laid under the ground, so dust returned unto dust and the spirit to its Uranian source, yet not for this should that ancient reverence which extolled motherhood and $\Gamma \hat{\eta}$, the mother of all, ${ }^{1}$ be held of no account. ${ }^{1}$ In substance he is right, but argument to him does not matter. His authority is not a reason but the blood of a father; he can flout justice with negligence; he can crown achievement and admit failure.
${ }^{1}$ In Aristotie only the upper heaven and the earth are fixed ( $\mathrm{D}, \mathrm{Carlo}$ ).
' Apoll. Rhod., iii. 200 :










To this the Scholiast addo the important gtatement :
offovatar iz $\mu$ 人

## VIII

## DANGER

I$\mathbf{N}$ this admission of failure there is danger. Danger is inherent in the system whereby the hero is exalted; not only in the treatment of women but at every point is $\dot{\nu} \beta \rho t s i m m i n e n t$. ©vpós is in the blood of ayquopin, ${ }^{1}$ and originates a фidoruia good or bad. At times we do not

${ }^{2}$ Aristocle, Nicemachean Ethics, iii. 8, 11, ol $\mu$ dे dubertiot


 trexa kubopela elva..

 そч̆оу.
' Liddell and Scott, s.v. quibvetxoc. In the Iphigenia at Aulis the problem first posed seems to be vaguely the justification of the demands of $\tau \delta$ ¢ $1\langle\delta \tau \tau \mu \mathrm{ov}(16-23)$. In the end it is decided that, although such a motive does not justify the acrifice of another, yet $x \lambda$ docs is a

Polynices assails his mother-land; Capaneus is driven against the lightnings of Pallas ; Salmoneus would rival Jove. Hence the perpetual warnings to reverence the gods. Manhood, unattacked, tends to attack all
 caution, if the road was not open to mad ambitions,-if the spur had not been such as to demand a curb. Lysander was to break it and, despite treachery and $\boldsymbol{v} \boldsymbol{\beta} \rho \stackrel{1}{ }$, to be acclaimed as a god in his lifetime. Lines were not sharply drawn, neither the line of morality nor the line of divinity ; and success counted too much. In a Greek town a man could acquire predominance over his fellows, and, backed by the town, he could obtain control over other towns, reach an hegemony of the small mainland of good motive for the acrifice of self, if one choown The agonistic or Uranian principle appears in brcura (1375-1401, especially 1394):

Only, since Euripides is not really interested in the problem, if indeed he intended to pose it, of to $\varphi u \lambda 6 \tau \tau \mu \mathrm{v}$, Hellas appeans in its stead. The notion of government, or of the policy of the government, is last in the notion of the country; a democratic canction coven the rulers. ${ }^{1}$ Pindar, O/ymp., v., last line.

> Hellas, lord it over the isles and threaten the barbarian. ${ }^{1}$ What else had the heroes, his ancestors, done? What else was worthy of a man?

> And if he failed-?



 тึ̄ร т



## IX <br> POLYTHEISM

S$O$ long as the ancient theology held, there was analogy to human failure in the conduct of the gods, and in the multiplicity of gods: there was in the pantheon itself a resistance to $\delta i \times \eta$. We are considering (it must be remembered) the creed of the people, not that of theorists who wrote down their ideas and had them copied on rolls.

Let us define religion somewhat rigorously, and say that its essence is an influence exerted by human beings over unseen powers. This has nothing to do with morality. At some shrine, by making certain sacrifices, or by performing certain devotions, a mortal will obtain the backing of a god. This belief, in default of much instruction scattered abroad, was bound to survive. In its lower forms it is superstition allied
to magic ; in its higher forms, religion a Europeans now know religion; in a high, and perhaps rather Protestant, acceptation, it narrows to pure religion breathing household laws. ${ }^{1}$ The difference is according to the amount and kind of morality in the religion ; but, when morality presses into it and pervades it so that it becomes a mere recognition of divine law, without influence on the divinity, then it is law and not divine, ${ }^{\text {? }}$ pure morality and not religion, though it may, in the Roman sense, be pious, involving tender reverence, loyalty, and honour.

Throughout Greek antiquity the notion of an influence that could secure the co-operation of the gods was steadily held by the people. But these gods, as Clement ${ }^{2}$ could casily show, were not perfect. They were personal ; they were almost human. We find rhetorical appeals to them as examples to justify some deed of man thought wrong. Whatever sins the great or the small might commit found their analogy on Olympus.
${ }^{1}$ Wordsworth, sonnet, "O Friend I I know not," writen in London, September 1802.

- Faguet.
- Clemens Alerandrinus, Protropticon.

To justify the Olympians was no slightit was an impossible task; and their favour would not always be denied to those who, like themselves, needed justification.

But further the fact that they were many and not one fostered such defences and excuses. For they fell out with one another. ${ }^{2}$ Devotion to Artemis, according to Euripides, could bring down the vengeance of Aphrodite. As the hero, with his failures, could be god-like (Paris was god-like), so human life, or the life of one man, could be 2 conflict of divine contraries, a battle-ground of the gods, wherein is conquest and failure. The ethics naturally resultant would be such as should justify men in their diversity and variety, and would constitute at most types, not a standard.
${ }^{2}$ For the conflict of virtues cf. Plato, Politicus, 306 b. sff.

## X

## ZEUS AND $\triangle$ IKA

 CCORDINGLY the traditional examples and incitements to virtue did not satisfy thinkers bent on discovering the one in the many. This allegiance to great men and to their patrons in heaven was found too human. The failures which had been accepted became reproofs. The quarrels became antinomies. The whole system was subjected to reform. Pindar corrects myths; Plato rejects them. Zeus was reformed, and the substance began to pass from him. There should be obedience to laws in lawgivers. A consistent theory would not contain antinomies; a righteous rule would not permit scandals.
The reform was a remove. God became more abstract, or became subject to some76
thing more abstract than himself, which was tending to dominate the gods:


тробаүорєи́oнеע

 ن̈тоupyề кaкoîs ${ }^{1}$
"The divinity is in some way overcome so as not to bring aid to evildoers."

Thus the author of Prometheus; then
 in an access of reverence ( $\mu$ tiav $\gamma$ àp airia) ${ }^{2}$


Pindar had not reached this crucial contradiction. Neither in heaven nor on earth do the antinomies which he recognizes distress him beyond measure. He is not searching for the general, for the one, nor even for a combination, and is indifferent to a disseminated interest in 2 general culture, preferring to it a preclusion or decision, and the man who puts his foot
${ }^{1}$ Choepheri, 948, 957. The reading is disputed.
${ }^{1}$ Pindar, Olymp., ix 37.

- libid., i. 35.
down. He speaks indeed in complimentary language of Heron as

Spéral корифàs áperâv d̀m̀̀ тaбâv ${ }^{1}$ but a man's action at the right moment is nevertheless the supreme test
 and of those who would by study find out all virtues he says :


 and this in the same ode and in the same strophe in which he defines justice
ätros " $\dot{\epsilon} \sigma \lambda \dot{\nu} \nu$ aivév."

The flower of justice is to praise the excellent. This theory is made plain in another place.

тнаі
סè $\beta$ ротоїбь кєкрцце́vаи $\pi a \nu \tau i ̀ \delta^{\prime}\langle\pi i ̀ \phi \theta$ óvos du $\delta \rho i$ кeîrac
 ү̣̣̂ $\mu \in \lambda$ аívq кápa кéккриттан.
${ }^{2}$ Pindar, Olymp., i. 13.

- Ibid., Myth., ix. 78.
- Ibid., Sem., iii. 41.

Here we have the aristocratical theory, the love of descent, the Apollonian disregard of the $\mu \eta \delta \dot{\varepsilon} \nu{ }^{2} x^{\alpha \nu}$ conjoined with belief in diverse offices and functions, and we may assume that, as men from gods, so the tuai are separated from each other by кeкрццéva סvvápecs, ${ }^{1}$ each $\delta$ oúvapus having its ipetá, or excellence. We hear much of these diperaí in Pindar-of a general human doerá little or more probably nothing. The кexperéva Sivapes itself was not to be assumed in humanity. He who does not possess it is, like man in comparison with gods, oùdév. There is indeed, if not a general, at least a principal virtue, iudpeia to be found in the


${ }^{1}$ Nem., vi. 2.
' In Plato's Phaedrus, 246 B, the home which representa
 Horace, Carm, iv. 4 :
Fortes creantur fortibus et bonia ; i.e bx xalüv xaliyafouv Est in iuuenci, est in equis patrum Virtus, neque imbellem feroce
Progenerane aquilae columbam.
${ }^{2}$ Pindar, Pyth., viii. 44 Cf. Nem, i. 56 :

 viou.
the whole, though it may have been in Pindar's thought three-quarters of man. He remembered always the Muses and
 Likewise does he do all honour to the oodia, but of a general rodia outstripping prudence he has doubt. ${ }^{3}$ There is no attempt to reconcile all in one, and, unreconciled, the deeá, which in general are not virtues, but efforts and deeds, will come, so far as we can see, into conflict, though from this Pindar would turn away his eyes as from the conflicts of immortal gods. ${ }^{\text {a }}$

There is in fact in the theory of excellences or functions, admirable in themselves but The divancs came to Heracles from the oxiph' ${ }^{\prime}$ deluavoov

${ }^{1}$ Olymp., i. 3I. Bury thinke that he mentions $x$ tapls in every ode.

- Fragment 61:





And Fragment 209 :


- OLymp., ix. 35.

80
unco-ordinated, a principle of disorder, which, if order, and not the admirable, is our aim, must pass under one supreme control. The contentions of the forces must be solved at the risk that the forces shall be diseolved. The extuse for failure so natural when we judge by success that covers it without annulling it, cannot hold, if our first requisition is not a succese in some separate virtue or function, but an order within which the virtues and functions must have their being. Before philosophy broke into religion the last appeal could only lie to a principal virtue or to a principal ${ }^{2}$ god and this is the process of the Orestiato Zeus as the highest judge, to Agamemnon's great enterprise and success as meriting a favourable judgment, which in this case would be vengeance on his wife and restitution of monarchy to his son. That the argument might not merely concern divine right, $\delta$ เó $\sigma \delta o \tau o s$ á $\rho \chi \dot{a}^{\prime}$, the moral value of the enterprise must be assumed, but this assumption under the old standard, the martial code of the early Greeks, and particularly of the Dorians, was axiomatic. Enterprise,

favoured by the gods with success, did not come into court to justify itself. ${ }^{\text {? }}$

How should this doctrine be discredited? By depriving the hero of that substance which should atone for accidents,-by exhibiting his faults without his virtues.

This we find in the unbelieving Euripides, whose arguments often do not hold together because he can believe in no argument or example of ancient faith. ${ }^{2}$ His Jason, the holy Jason ${ }^{2}$ of Pindar, coming, like Orestes,
' The sonction of an enterprise was the omens which were taken before it; hence Pindar'm condemation aloūvy ou xart' bputzev d8bv (Nem., ix. 18). Favourable omens meant "go forth to conquer," the prospect of success being in some sart a divine exhortation.
' Professor Gilhert Murray, History of Gresk Liferature, Chapter xii., "Euripides" "The significant fact is that, like Ibsen, Euripides refuser to idealise any man, and doe idealise women. As a thinker, Euripiden wat from the outset out of sympathy with the material in which he had to work. He did not believe in the mga, he did not quite admire or like it; but he had to make his playe out of it." ${ }^{1}$ Pindar, Pyth., iv. 102 :

Фapi didacoxalav Xer-
penvoc alaziv dvepher rde vtopae
 Optíquv è èval

82
to claim his father's inheritance, that boy ${ }^{1}$ already able, like the later Agamemnon, to lead the sons of gods against Asia, has, on his return, become a mere adventurer, plotting to establish himself by marriage in a kingdom not his own, and cannot justify himself by that relic of an ancient argument
because he is not deserting Medea for the assertion of his own nobility and rightful task. His is the old motive in collapse, or in shadow.

And how could the ethical impulse toward


 Albiẹ xal $\pi$ anol tunḱv.

 to the long hair of Homeric antiquity, and Jason was older bv a year or an than Orestes, but he was a boy for his undertaking and for his following.
' Euripides Medea, 569-570. Orestes (Aeschylus, Chorph., g05) had told Clytaemestra that a man's province being larger, his liberty must be larger: Jason contends that wornen restrict men to a smaller province.
the apıareía of valour be undonel By disparaging the motive power, the Avpos which lay behind its justification, by substituting èméiseıa for àyavopin.
 (in a good sense). He is met by Plato.



 траттєш.

The words are to be closely contidered. The $\theta u \mu o u i$ in's is moved ( 1 ) by $\phi$ ónos ; but Pindar's idea of pfóvos was not that it accompanied a high spirit but detraction of rà raià Fépya ${ }^{2}$; (2) by фdercula, ${ }^{4}$ in the bad sense : contrast, in Pindar, Cleander ${ }^{4}$ and his connexion through the «入éa außpâ with Achilles; (3) or by Bia, a word which
${ }^{1}$ Rep., 555 C.

- Pyth., vii. 19.
- Pindar use the word puotrulac only once (never the adjective) and in a bad sense, but with ${ }^{4} \gamma \mathrm{av}$ to indicate that sense : his thought is of civic strife (Fragment, 210).
tyav quotruiey


- Isthm., viii.

84
condemns the Pindaric praise of the comrade of Achilles for his Buaras voos ${ }^{1}$ (4) through фidownsia, which needs no instance from the einvixca, (5) or $\theta u \mu \delta s_{s}$, cf. Medea's address,

(6) or $\delta v \sigma \kappa 0 \lambda i ́ a$, because he is ill-natured. Ounós ${ }^{3}$ is to Plato what Heracles was to Syleus, a dreaded slave ; and his philosophy endeavours to reduce duסpeía to an intellectual perception of what is dreadful and what is not ; but the radical question before us
 (Olymp., ix. 75).

- Pyth., iv. 13.
* Rumpel's Lexicon Pindaricum gives thirty-four instances of $\theta u \mu b \bar{c}$ in Pindar :

1. Vis ac sedes sentiendi . . . 17
2. Appetitus:
(a) Animus constans, fortitudo - 6
(b) ira . . . . I
(c) voluntas • . . . 2
3. Vis cogitandi . . . . 8

34
In the instances of "Animus constans," the meaning is indicated by the context even, according to Rumpel, in Isthmian, vi. $4^{8 .}$

$$
85
$$

is greater : Is man the saviour or the peril ? or, if he is both, shall the salvation be accounted worth the peril? or the peril move us to desert our only leader? í yà $\rho$



${ }^{1}$ Plutarch, Pelopidas, niv.

## XI

## DOUBT IN AESCHYLUS AND FAITH IN PINDAR

BUT we find some doubt of it in Aeschylus, that true Uranian, yet a thinker at odds with life, whereas Pindar, at one with his age, is content to reflect its best; wherefore his common sense is accused of thoughtlessness.

Not as the foolish nurse of Euripides wished that there had never been an Argonautic expedition, till then held to be an eternal glory, ${ }^{1}$ because, save for it, her
${ }^{2}$ Odyssey, xii. 69 :




Pindar, Pyth, iv. 68 :

 nol oplotv rццal qúrevorv.
mistress Medea would never have come to grief, an all-important point, but still with some doubts that hover over the Trojan War, the desolation of it, the sacrifice of lives, excess and impiety in the pillage of foreign shrines, disorder at home, the bereaved families receiving a handful of ashes for the man departed-was all this necessary? He seems to doubt it, and not merely for its motive, so inconcluaive to a lover of men, the recapture of worthless bridd. 1 His doubt extends almost to heaven. Zeus, if this is the title by which he would be called, the second to put an end to Sixap tà mpostav, he who overset tll
${ }^{1}$ In Euripides' Troades, 864, Menclace feels the motive to be insufflcient and justifiee himsedf:
jphov ad Tpolav odx baov soxoûor $\mu e$


The Trojan elders (Iliad, iii. 155) are of a different opinion, but they are Trojan, not Greek, and perhapo their opinion is rather a sigh than an opinion. Herodotus thinks the same.

- Pindar, Nem., ix. 15 :

Cf. Aesch., Euemonides, 640 :
 88
things ${ }^{1}$ who had tortured the ally by whom he obtained his throne, was this a god on whom Aeschylus could rely? At least beside him he places a Sim which naught can overturn, whose root is sure, so firm is it planted.' Though he looks for failure in him who wes worthy of all reverence, not having failed in hit great task arpateias ovidev
 veturs: in him who was to rule even after doath, a king among the shades, yet he would find some unfailing stay, beyond man, and well-nigh beyond god, a rule righteous and absolute. In this he overleaps idolatry of the masculine; he overleaps fact. ${ }^{\text {. }}$
${ }^{2}$ Aesch., Eummider, 650 :


1 1bid., Cherph, 646 :

' Ibid., Eummider, 634, mamended by Tuckey and 640.
- Walter Headlam," Agamemnon " of Aeschylu, "Introduction, Moral and Religious Ideas." "It is the devout asertion of the second law " (that a " Power " interfere to punith the succesutul ainner) " which is the test of a truly religious mind, inesmuch wit appeara to conflict with the evident fact of life."

Pindar had told us that Heracles, the arch-saint, must temper his conquests by
 eouce ${ }^{1}$; we must suffer for our virtues : which is true. Aeschylus has also his
 sinneth it shall die," and therewith we face an absolute beyond Pindar's world and beyond Zeus, since he may not control it, an absolute which ought to exclude even that inherited curse which is the Aeschylean "Vision of Judgment." Pindar's divine morality was simple. To the Delphic precept, $\gamma \nu \omega \hat{\theta} \theta_{\mathrm{L}}$ бeauróv, he adds his interpretation, oias cipèv aíoas: We are
${ }^{2} N e m$, iv. 32.

- Cherph., 313.
- Not as a commentary on viditi acautby. The pusage (Pyth., iii. 58) runt :
甲paбiv

Ion gives a wider meaning to the maxim :


Adam, The Religious Taachers of Gract, p. 34 I: "In the mouth of Socrates the Delphic precept meant nothing more than 'Leam to cake the measure of your own 90
 no irreverence. He does, indeed, believe in future retribution, but this belief is not in all his thoughts; it is not woven into his general and personal morals, but secluded in a few poems ${ }^{1}$; since, however, he might correct myths with almost Delphic authority, he never regarded his creed as substantially diverse from that of Hellas, and so it took that character which it bears on the funeral lecythi, a shadowy faith concerning shades. ${ }^{\text {a }}$

His memento mori, ever present to him, is not a reminder of death, judgment, heaven, and hell ; it bears no proportion to the tremendous tenet which hides in the religion of salvation; it does not reach even the solemnity of an Aeschylean law ; and it is forgotten in the thought of that other immortality to which he more naturally
caparities, proclivities, and powers.'" Plato, Erastai, 1 38:



 xal fiscuacisury. Eonev.
${ }^{1}$ Specially O/gmp., ii.
' Edmand Pottier, Etude sur Les Légthes Blancs Attiques, Chapitre vi.
looked, an immortality of human days ${ }^{1}$ or of human memories. His religion is a sense of our Jimits, a knowledge of our dependence, not a reliance on heavenly powers nor a provocation of divine judgments. Without the gods we can do nothing, as the sower can do nothing without the clenency of the seasons; but the gods are variable, now bringing our labour to nought, for jealousy, it may be, now scattering a divine light on our leya кai $\eta_{\mu}{ }^{\prime} \rho a l$ We may count on them for no more than that general prevalence of sun over rain, of help over hindrence, which does in fact secure a reward to labour, and not then unless we have courage to meet more pain than pleasure.

 фе́petr

This is true to life, to our life as we know it, and therefore true to the gods who made the life: " by their works shall ye know
${ }^{1}$ Pindar, Parthencia, Frigment 104
${ }^{1}$ Inthaian, iii. (iv.) 55.
' Pyth., 220.
${ }^{4}$ /bid, $_{1}$ iii. 8 I.
them," whereas in Aeschylus we suffer from those unlimited assertions which are the pressure of religious yearning against fact. ${ }^{1}$ He is beginning to break through that polytheistic conception of war in heaven which is a faithful mythological rendering of the combat of excellences on earth and of the antinomies of man's nature. He is introducing an infinite one into the multiple diversities of our life and being.
${ }^{1}$ Note 4, p. 89.
93

## XII

## COMPETITION AND CO-OPERATION

BUT Pindar also has his approach to the new doctrine. Civilization is a process of agreement, an advance by co-operation. If morals are thought primarily social-that is to say, a surrender of personal preferences to furtherance of common good-then morals advance pari passu with civilization. Civilization is conversion of roving interests to nomic life, the life of a nólcs or state of which the rover becomes a law-abiding citizen. By virtue of acceptance of the law he is virtuous. ${ }^{1}$ It is replacement of a ruler by a constitution. The constitution, or vónor, being supreme over men appointed to rule, these are to have but derivative
${ }^{1}$ Hence Aristote's idea that a good citizen of a bad otate must be bad (Politics).
and subordinate powers. The advantage of a city is unity or order, which implies submission :

On the other hand, there is a virtue produced by competition, and, if that competition is subject to fair play, yet, within this nomic limit, it is contest and not co-operation. ${ }^{9}$
' Soph., Antigona, 370.

- This competitive virtue in ect forth by Pindar in Olymp., viii., the ode to Alcimedon (him who rule by might) and Timosthenes (in whom honours and strength unite) both of them from birth under the patronage of Zeul, but reverent of Themis, as befited the land of Aeacus, the just Alcimedon-


 aco xal ixixpupov olpov,
a homeward path such as is described in the ode (Pyth, viii.) to another victor, A ristomene (greateat in strength),









If we consider the twenty years during which manhood is attained, the labour of mothers and nurses, their mature years given that the child's mature years may be best, and if we add that the victory of the best is not a scramble for pennies, but rests on a just award which implies agreement concerning principles, and further that perfect hostility between men, each single man against the world, which would be competition undiluted by agreement, cannot have been a condition of survival itt atiy age, we shall not fancy association to be wholly nor in the main an emollient and weakener of manhood. As the sbsence of leta and hindrances ${ }^{1}$ forwards health in the body, which otherwiseneeds purgation, the negative purity passing into positive strength, so the bath of a common justice enables that worth The celobration of this victory is attended by justice, and the ode begion with the invocation of that daughter of Justice, 'Houxio, who has the spinit to throw ' ${ }^{3}$ pris overboard into the wash of waters.

The description of the victims in both odes sharply engraves in our minds the severity of competition, while justice attests an award xare a乡liay.
${ }^{1}$ St. Thomas, Summa Prima Secundac, lexcry., v., Conclusio: "Prout removens prohibens causse nomen sortitur."
which justice acclaims to grow, but not unless it allows competition, the victory of the better man, which brings defeat to the lesser, the victory of the dyaOós or valiant, in whom is this value, over the кakós or worser ${ }^{1}$ man. The righteous observance of rules which makes a good competitor; the law of the 'Eגдavoסical, which is equal to all: these are the bath of the athlete; they are not his $\mathrm{E} \theta \lambda \alpha$. Pure air is needful, but also meat, which is corruptible; fair dealing, but also great living. The contestant does not desire victory without fair play; but the notion that fair play is all would disgust him of righteousness. He would be a good man in the sense of being good in the contest and able to overcome his opponent; and rules are necessary only as an assurance that he has overcome by his valour and not by any irrelevant means or subterfuge. The struggle itself, this is the hard test of excellence. His eṽ $\delta a \mu \rho \nu i a$ is the
$\mu о \chi \theta \omega \nu$ а $\mu \pi \nu \circ$ а́
$\mu а н о \mu \hat{\nu} \omega \nu$ цеүа́̀à

' E.g. the captive, the caitiff. - Pindar, Ol., viii. 5.
and it is the reward of excellence and not of equality. Hence a graduation of worth according to particular deezai justly measured, or, as we might say, manhood seen against a background of justice.

Such competition was the basis of the traditional and heroic system of morals and is implied in any polytheistic theory ; but Pindar nearly surrenders the heroic, as if at variance with himself, when he praises Corinth.




Evivopía, $\Delta i k a, ~ a n d ~ E e ́ p u s, ~ t h o u g h ~ c o n-~$ ceptions as old as Lycurgus, seem here to

- Pinder, Olymif, xiii. 5 ; f. Obmp., iz 12




 बby re, Kartalin, rípa
- A入peoū re pitetopov

 where the sívopla heralda the victories
herald a weakening; for, if by their indwelling a módıs is $\dot{d} \sigma \phi a \lambda \eta{ }^{\prime} s$ yet this is not a great triumph ; it is the leader that has the great destiny and for him is no safety :





Thus, if we are to have a roilıs ruled by
 $\mu \bar{\eta}$ ' $\nu$ móגeı тpéфec. ${ }^{1}$ For this Aristophanic expulsion, Pindar, by a фidera.pía like that of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, seems to have reached in his maturity an Aristotelian reason. Even in a democracy there is room for the móvapXos who holds to the $\mu \epsilon \sigma \sigma \nu$, but by his dpery' reaches the highest place: Aristotle, though he hankers after the $\mu$ óvapxos,



 similarly praises the $\mu \dot{\epsilon} \sigma a$ and the $\mu \dot{\epsilon} \sigma o$, but ends with the $\chi$ dipts of aristocratic fame.
${ }^{1}$ Ar., Ranas, 1432.

 'Eג入avía $\sigma$ тparíav





а $\mu$ v́vovt' eit $^{1 / 2}$

${ }_{v} \beta_{\rho}$




Sunфéper 'Ió入aay
ùpขŋтò̀ ếvza кaì Káatopas $\beta$ íav




In this ode that consensus or unity (the $\chi^{\text {ápts }}$ which prevailed among étaîpoı) be-

1 Probably masculine.

- Pindar was abaut forty-five year old, a proper uatpde.
 Theban, may have been connected with the Themalian tamily known to Pindar in which the name occurs. Therefnre Pindar may have written attrys, i.e atac;



comes an ideal of association consonant with all that can be said against the contrarieties of gods and heroes. Like Aeschylus, Pindar bears $\delta$ irm in his heart, though characteristically rather as conciliation than as vengeance. Another step, and harmony becomes obligatory; peace and order become ineluctable; the overshots of prowess are condemned, as neither Pindar nor Aeschylus condemned them ; the particular is confined by the general and must not overstep its province within that general. Plato applies the Corinthian peace to morals,
 reducing the motive powers within bounds. There shall be no action save that which is consonant with this harmony and which is performed by a man who shall exemplify this harmony in himself. Agreement has become a canon. The blessing is guarded by an anathema. ${ }^{\text {a }}$

There is to be no chafing and fretting of polytheistic counterclaims within a man ;

[^3]there must be but one ruler, a " harmost" who keeps all motive power within bounds : Jerusalem is built as a city that is at unity with itself. When action comes in any sphere, in making of money or tending of body, in a man's own affairs or in what was to the Greeks the greatest of tasks, politics, we no longer praise, with Pindar, 2 successful throw or jump, but that which would have been incomprehensible to the hero, the preserver of a кa入ो $\boldsymbol{\epsilon} \xi \cdot 5$.

















 тav́z $\eta \nu$ 入ưp.

Thus in place of the man is set up the quality. ${ }^{1}$
${ }^{1}$ Cf. Plutarch, Prace. ger. Reip., c. 13, à at nolurixds גpLotortivecs the $\omega v$ xard Milvoapov (Fragment 57)


$$
103
$$

## XIII

## AUTHORITY

THE question is: Where does authority rest? It had been supposed to rest with Zeus, rov̂ yàp крáros éqтi $\mu$ '́yıбтov, ${ }_{1}^{1}$ or with a king,
 tinguishing from vulgar equality that equity according to desert which shall give a Pindaric precedence to the victors in his ay $\boldsymbol{\omega}^{\nu} \nu$ of $\dot{\alpha} \rho \in \tau \eta$ and maveia, finds it necessary to preserve 2 god to define the doctrine,
 posed only to see that which is not $\dot{p} q 8 i o v$ mavti iden, that is to say, the סıxawouvn кarà $\dot{d} \xi i a \nu$; it is not said to be his creation and indeed the notion of an authority ${ }^{2}$ Homer, lliad, ii. 118.

- Jbid,, ii. 279. Or at home with the father, or, in his absence, with the son, even if the mother were present, Toü Yàp xpátoc tar' Evl olxec (Od., xxi. 353). - Plato, Lowes, 757 B.
preceding law would run counter to Plato's
 For so long as a human ruler, or 2 god hardly more than human, is the final court of appeal, there will be failures or a mystery. Does authority rest here? And must we acquiesce in reverence ? We must unless we have a stay beyond man or man-like god, unless we have a revelation in ourselves. If, divining by this, we trust an infallible Sikn resident somewhere in the universe, then indeed there is no reason for submission to the generative and undiscoverable ; but, on the other hand, Zeus is then no longer supreme; he is subject to the overlordship of $\delta i \mathrm{ing}$. If he is a guide фpoveiv Beoroùs ó áross, $^{2}$ a guide implies a way-a right way which he may not choose but follow. So that, if we escape injustice at the start, we find justice and not Zeus at the start, for Zeus is ruled by justice. Here lay the mine which threatened the Arrenistic and Aristocratic theory, which was to overturn the theology and ideals of Aeschylus ; and it lay in Aeschylus.

> : Plato, Potiticus, 299 C.
> : Aeschylus, $/$ gamemnon, 176.

Pindar is content with the Uranian faith, accepting injustice like the Spartans, and looking only to the greater good that resides in the greater ruler, whereas 2 rift already cleaves the Aeschylean structure. The final control should rest with the masculine, with Agamemnon or with Zeus; the king is hedged by divinity ; yet there is $\delta i \mathrm{ky}$ to which the one, and logically the other, should be inevívvos. "Out upon it !" the reasoners could say, "where is this divine right? And why should not we perceive it? Away with the gods and the commander and the whole pack of lies, or submit them to judgment, to $\delta i=m!$ According to justice the ruler himself should stand or fall. Let him approve himself a public servant."

















${ }^{2}$ Oberve that Plato, like Pindar and Aristote, thinks of the preservation or permanence of a government. - Plato, Lowr, 715 B.

## XIV

## THE PHILOSOPHERS

THIS contravention of tradition gave us the philosophical Eros, himself marked by tradition.

It was, in fact, since Marathon a commonplace among the Greeks that they were distinguished from barbarians by einevetpia and by such irovopia as should pre-

 cù $\delta a \not \mu o ́ v \omega \nu .{ }^{1}$
${ }^{1}$ Hyperides, Epitaphios, 25 ; cf. also 20. "A












The note of Greece is a certain abstraction, a disposition to the general which in sculpture, for instance, is a suxawoviv $\eta$ or rightness (ideality, we call it) independent of the particular. Had the personal held the attention of the Greeks, we should have found a Flemish and near-sighted accuracy instead of the breadth of their memorials, and to Plato, for whom the visible world existed, ${ }^{1}$ the other world of his ideas would not have had a reality incredible by us.

That the prime and intellectual beauty loved should be masculine was a matter of course. Enthusiasm for the кa入ós passing into adoration of the калóy, heaven enveloping the beloved and justifying him, an
${ }^{\text {a }}$ Walter Pater, Plato and Platonism, iv., " The Genius of Plato": "Now Plato is one for whom the visible world thus 'really exists' because he is by nature and before all things, from first to last, unalterably $a$ lover. In that, precisely, lies the secret of the susceptible and diligent eye, the so sensitive ear. The central interest of his own youth-of his profoundly impressible youthas happens always with natures of real capacity, gives law and pattern to all that succeeds it." The words are important. "Just there, then, is the secret of Plato's intimate concern with, his power over, the sensible world, apprehensions of the sensuous faculty : he is a lover."
interpretation of justice which should reflect him, an assignment of moral values in accord with his character. This was not to the Greeks a zurechtfalschen of justice; it was a $\delta$ เxawouvin кat $\dot{d} \xi i a v$, the conception of weight and worth having been always masculine. Not equality, but respect according with degree, the degree of this worth and beauty, was the justice ${ }^{2}$ accepted, and the less called into question, because the masculine idea included those gentler qualities which have been wrenched from it by the modern formula of grace as belong-
${ }^{1}$ The doctrine of Socrates had its aristocratic elements and aristocratic followers; yet, since its appeal is to reason and not to birth and tradition we are not surprised to find Plato considered an advocate of equality.

Aelian, Var. Hirt., ii. 42 . 'H II $\lambda$ ктwwos $86 \xi \alpha \times$ xal $\delta$ т 7 s













[^4]ing to woman and strength only as belonging to men. The barbaric could not find its home in Greece. The justice of self-control and of énteikeca, allegiance to a standard, סıкaьooúm itself-could aught be more трémor' to the youth nobly bred? This coincidence of the ideal with the male, the female considered as his like but weaker, the voûs, his specialty, being his strength as well as his reasonableness, gave that proportion to the sum of human beauty which Plato endeavoured to define in qualities, in a righteousness made of wisdom, fortitude, and that temperance which is " sagesse." ${ }^{1}$
${ }^{1}$ Stewart, on Aristotle's Ethicr, iii. 10, quotes Grant : " $\Sigma \omega \varphi p o \sigma i v n$, which, in spite of the false etymology given in Plato's Cratylus, 41 I E ( $\sigma \omega$ rnpla 甲povijac $\omega \varsigma$ ), and
 ally "sound-mindedness" (in German, Besonnenheit), soon came to mean temperance with regard to pleasures. In this sense it is often popularly defined by Plato."

Stewart continues: " $\Sigma \omega \varphi$ pooivm in the Republic is good sense and good feeling, resulting in moderation in all things; and is especially viewed as a communis sensus or $\delta \mu$ óvote uniting the various classes of the state in peace and contentment under an established system of government (Rep., 432). Aeschylus has the same list of qualities save that for wisdom he substitutes piety; of Amphiaraus it is said (Seven against Thebes, 597) that


But this righteousness was no longer seen in heroes, who indeed were known to have transgressed it ; and transgression had become serious with the nomic control of cities. For this a general dं $\rho \in \mathrm{tr}^{1}{ }^{1}$ was necessary. The qualities constituting it became philosophic ideals never quite instanced on earth, potent unseen realities which manhood should follow, which the heroes should have followed. The philosophers, spurning earthly grandeurs and mounting the back of heaven, became teachers of a morality unauthenticated, or but slightly authenticated by religion and legend.

Lads were sent to them for instruction, not without misgivings, which Aristophanes


#### Abstract

${ }^{1}$ Plato, Prot., 324 D. Protagoras speaks : Пb́tepov Eort            


enforces and which Plato shares. It was believed that a well-born youth must not abide too long with them; that other training claimed him, the gymnastic, the military, the practical, that which most continued the heroic and governmental tradition. In this ideality there lurked its opposite. Reaction from the spiritual is toward the sensual, ${ }^{1}$ less dreaded by the Greeks in general than by the philosophers. But among those in whom philosophy superseded life, whose life consisted in the contemplation of beauty and in a visual relation to virtue, the reaction lay toward an aesthetic, not an athletic, sensuality, in a nature weakened by music. ${ }^{2}$ In this bodiless worship there existed a danger of loss of the virtue of the body, its health, potency, and efficiency, which demand action, if not as an end, at least as if it were an end, the pursuit of an diperi known and practicable, a valuation of manhood by deeds and not by the beauty which is a fitness for
' Francis Thompson, Tha Driad of Height.
'Plato, Republic, 411. Adam compares Pericles in Thucyd., ii. 40. фihaooøriv duvu padaxlac, the good withaut is defect.
deeds. Hence the attempt to represent morals in the likeness of palaestra, $\mu$ ézas ó ${ }^{3} \gamma{ }^{\prime} \nu$, but the state of the $\psi \| \chi \eta^{\prime}$ is the prize. So the philosophers would borrow an accredited glory.

But mark that it was this accredited glory which they desired, a nomic ideal that should also be athletic. The personal rule was to disappear in divinity-it had already disappeared in politics. But the ideal, which was no respecter of persons, was strenuous in its respect of qualities, and these qualities, despite the urbanity of Plato and the softness of the early fourth century (most conspicuous in sculpture) were yet hard to attain and were attained by few. By a combination of Spartan and Athenian elements it is, if the phrase may be admitted, a Laconian voûs ${ }^{1}$ which prevails, 2 virtue still dwelling on heights open indeed, but inaccessible unless a man have full strength of intellectual and spiritual nature. ${ }^{1}$ Adam, on Plato's Republir, iii. 410 A , speaking, it is true, only of Plato's desire to harness gymnastic with music so as to induce gentleness and strength of soul, says: "It is an ideal in which the distinctive virtues of Athens and Sparta-of Greece and Rome-are united and transfigured."

The supremacy of intelligence is at least fully guarded. We have lost the hero ; we have lost the heroic virtues and failures; we must live within the limits of the nomic


 so that order is the first commandment and accomplishment hardly even the second. But this new order, though it may sacrifice strength to reasonableness, is nevertheless exigent in the extreme and shows traces of its arrenistic and lordly ancestry. Weakened qualities are dominant instead of strong men, but they are masculine qualities and there is no doubt of their just dominance.

The test of the philosophical system of ethics was its recognition as the best by the voûs. The vov̂s is possessed by man rather than by woman; therefore the test, like the aim, is masculine. In some way, comparable to the Protestant discovery of a sure theology unauthenticated by the church, vov̂s was to ascertain the best and therein to find rest from the personal, the variable, and the transitory. The philosophical Eros
thus led to general conclusions without fear or favour. As the State had excluded the arbitrary from its polity, so the new doctrine would exclude every arbitrament save that of reason.

## XV

## THE HEARERS

BUT the Greeks were puzzled. True, they had always been accustomed to place morality far more than we in the voûs. Mupia was its opposite. The Socratic doctrine that good conduct would follow perception of truth, and the Platonic doctrine, which placed wisdom ( vous) in command of $\theta$ veós and of the
 their appeal to the mind without suspicion of the heart. ${ }^{2}$ They imply no doctrine of
${ }^{1}$ Plato, Laws, ix. 875. oü


: Adam, The Religious Teachers of Greece, p. 331. "Nothing is more noteworthy in connexion with Socrates' doctrine of virtue and vice, than the faith he exhibits in the essential goodness of human nature." P. 325 : "The prevailing conception of $\sin$ in Homer and Herodotus, in lyric poetry and in the drama, treats it as a form of mental blindness or aberration."
original sin nor of the necessity of a baptism unto repentance. Clytaemestra's first reproof of Agamemnon in Euripides is not that he is a bad man but that he has lost his head; and in the head lies the headship. The ideal commander was the ideal mind in person :

According to the thinking of the Greeks, to discredit mind would be to discredit manhood and morality.

Further, the superstitious value attached to words, as if a revelation were hidden in them, ${ }^{2}$ and the vague boundary between a quality (which we should call an allegorical virtue) and a goddess made a transition to Plato's entities easy ; Pindar had appealed to them, to Eivapin, to 'Hovxia.

Yet a certain arrogance was felt in this new divine right to dictate virtue, or to
${ }^{2}$ Euripides, Iphigmia in Aulic, 1139; of. 1125. The line has been otherwise interpreted.
Ibid., 374 :




- Plato'e Cratilus, passim.

118
dictate to a virtue known and inherited; and from this arrogance recoil lay to tradition. In Greece wisdom had been supposed to find its consummate expression in statesmen, or in those who had given the law to states, Draco, Solon, Aegimios, Hyllos, Lycurgus, Archytas, and the like, or in a hero by nature fitted to command such as Neoptolemus, үévas àcei défè tav̂ra for yépas ${ }^{1}$; and no doubt the blood of pupils would often rise against their masters, as Heracles against Linus, asserting an inherited and indefeasible virtue' which could be trained, but not taught, whose highest aim was emulation of ancestors. The people might
, Pindar, Nem., vii. 34 :






тoürco for preac.
' Plutarch, Praec. Rerip., \&or., 820 A:





well question whether, for their boys, the philosophers would give them back the men whom they wanted-whom they must have, unless, amid perpetual conflicts, the rodse was to go under-whether they would receive the old and tried stuff, the singular excellences and overshots of prowess which had been commended in their ancestors and were woven into their lives by the chthonic worship of those who " possessed " 1 the land. Ajax ${ }^{2}$ and Neoptolemos were not favoured by the new кобнiorys. The general principles now advocated did poor duty for Heracles, to whom Greece owed a

[^5]general allegiance. The far-seen stars of the philosophical firmament called human nature to withdraw from the human and to participate in a divine ${ }^{1}$ nature unconnected with the constitutional divinities who protected the state. aסıкê 之wxpárךs oùs

 ขéous $\delta \iota a \phi \theta$ eípor. ${ }^{2}$
${ }^{1}$ Aristote, Nicomochron Ethics, x. 7. où xpin bit xark

 i甲 baov ivdtyeral idanvatiterv.

- Diog., Laert., ii. 5, 40 . No doubt the divine voice was the $\delta$ aupbiviov of Socrates in particular; but the plural may be taken to indicate all divine authoritica substituted for the traditional gods by philosophers.


## XVI

## INTERMEZZO

THE fact that the abstract won the day, in theory if not in practice nor in cult, and that the theory was handed on to the ages, should not mislead us. The Greeks led the way, and we think only in the track of their thought, pursuing an unitary or philosophic synthesis detached from individualism.

The philosophical Eros, with a change in the sex of his avatars, now permeates all lands; and we may believe, if we choose, that the change does not matter and that, clinging to the permanent, we are clinging to the Greek. There is no sciolist who visits a Greck temple or reads a Greek book but fancies that, rejecting what offends and living a wholly different life, he or she acquires a right of citizenship in the ancient city, though his or her allegiance is only to
a deflected abstract from Greece. If this ideality is all that we want, it is possible to argue that the Greeks have given us an inheritance and are no longer necessary.

But, if we doubt ourselves, we search beyond our agreement for that in which they differed from us. If there is more light to break forth from texts a thousand times edited, it will be because we hark back to what we wish back, because we do not pluck the flower and wire it to our liking, careless of the plant. ${ }^{1}$ Otherwise Greek studies ${ }^{1}$ Contrast George Gissing, The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft, "Autumn," xvi. "It is idle to talk to us of 'the Greeks.' Our heritage of Greek literature and art is priceless ; the example of Greck life possesses for us not the slightest value. The Greeks had nothing alien to study-not even 2 foreign or dead language. They read hardly at all, preferring to listen. They were 2 slave-holding people, much given to social amusement, and hardly knowing what we call industry. Their ignorance was vast, their wisdom 2 grace of the gods. Together with their intelligence, they had grave moral weaknesses. If we could speak with an average Athenian of the Periclean Age, he would cause no little disappoint-ment-there would be so much more of the barbarian in him, and at the same time of the decadent, than we had anticipated. . . . Leave him in the Old World, which is precious to the imagination of a few, but to the business and bosoms of the modern multitude irrelevant as Memphis or Babylon."

## shrink to a revision of incunabula and an index expurgatorius of beauties happily lost.

Amiel, fournal Intime, 10 novembre 1852 . "Combien n'avons nous pas à apprendre des Grecs, ces immortels aieux ! et comme ils ont mieux resolu leur problème que nous. Leur homme n'ézit pas le nôtre, mais comme ils ont mieux revére (note the word), cultivé, ennobli l'homme qu'ils connaissaient. A. mille egards encore, nous sommes auprès d'eux des barbares, comme me le disait, en soupirant, Béranger en 1843. Barbares en éducation, en eloquence, en vie publique, en poesic, en fait d'art, etc. Il nous faut des millions d'hommes pour en produire quelques-uns d'elite; un millier suffisait en Grèce. Si la mesure d'une civilisation est le nombre d'hommes accomplis qu'elle produit, nous sommes encore loin de ce peuple modele. Les esclaves ne sont plus au-dessous de nous, mais ils sont parmi nous. La barbarie n'est plus aux frontières, eile vit aver nous porte à porte."

## XVII <br> DOUBT OF PHILOSOPHICAL TEACHING

FUNDAMENTALLY it was the á $\rho \in \tau a i$ against dं $\rho \in \boldsymbol{\eta}_{\dot{\prime}}-$ the achievements against the order which limited them, the man against a system. A man should play his part, should give evidence of what is in him ; he need not trouble about the rest. This was the old tenet. It required but to be turned by Plato. A man should limit himself to his
 'Avסpeia is thus assigned to its place. As the divinity becomes its attribute, the principal virtue becomes an attribute of a general a $\rho \in \tau \eta$ to be formulated by the philosophic mind. This indeed can trouble about all things and order all things, and the order is Sıкaเoovivn, righteousness. This is the new version of Agamemnon and of Zeus. Sup-
pose the order to be misconceived,-to be, in fact, a disorder ${ }^{1}$-then arises the occasion
 $\phi \rho o \nu \omega \bar{v}$ is his prophet. But, were the order perfect, it would still be insufficient without sufficiency of the matters ordered. Better the virtues, we may think (and one of them a principal virtue), though disorderly and conflicting, than an order, or general a $\rho \in \tau \bar{j}$, which should abstract men from the virtues. Better a man alive, though distracted, than the ditapakia of those who reluctantly rejoined the life of the state. ${ }^{3}$ At least to

## ${ }^{1}$ Horace, Carm., i. 34 : <br> " Parcus dearum cultor et infrequens insanientis dum sapientiae consultua erro "-

the gods abandoned for philomphy, the philcoophy distraught.
${ }^{1}$ Aristophanes, Clouds, 828, 1471 . Euripides lenda himself to the caricature, though with a difference : Fragment Pirithous, Nauck T.G.F., 579 :




'So the Epicureane Plutarch, Adversur Colotem. 3 3.

 126
the Greeks a man was more than a philosopher and progenerator of the ideal. Their admiration stretched to his will and feeling, to his body, to the amdajzva and фpeives where the $\theta$ veás held sway. They loved the etios ákiovs tupavvíos ${ }^{1}$ and were wellnigh willing to be ruled by a man of quality :











 रaveofat.
${ }^{1}$ Euripides, Dindorf, Fragment 16:





## Frigment 17:





- Euripides Tragicorum graecorum, Fragmenta, Nauck', 8.

There remained in them, handed down perhaps by the women, ${ }^{1}$ who represented a more primitive state, an allegiance to the knightly tradition. Their objection to philosophy was that it did not generate $\theta \nu \mu o ́ s$, the motive of avdoeia; and below this there may have lain a sure sense of the value of $\ell \pi t \theta \nu \mu i a t$, not as idealistic, but as indulgences and pauses, for which philosophers, though tempted by their angels of light, had less tolerance. Aupós and the $\dot{\epsilon} \pi \imath \theta u \boldsymbol{i}$ ial, those first developments of youth : the philosophers did not nourish ${ }^{2}$ the one nor guide the other to a healthy end in their pale disciples. They ordered them as presupposed possessions, data rather feared than encouraged ; and admiration was reserved for the ensuing order or rightness.

The moral parody was to represent the sages as of like parts and passions with ourselves and to attribute to them as a
${ }^{1}$ Aristophanes, Cloud, 63 :

прдся тоїтара.
Platc, Republic, 549 C.

- Plato in The Laws endeavours to provide for the development of $0 u \mu b G_{G}$ but his philosophy has rather to do with owepoainy.
specialty what, in disbelieving days, is attributed to monks, the sensuality which would have been accepted in laymen. There lay in this something better than ridicule and vulgarity. In the controlled was life; the controlling rightness was an idea. That wisdom was the prime necessity was not doubted; but there was danger that fortitude should be outvoted by wisdom, temperance, and justice, if control were handed over by natural leaders to those marshals of distinctions and principles, the入emто入оүои̂̀теs.

And to nothing less than control did the philosophers aspire. They drew up vópou for a state, laws in their own style, which, allowing more power to certain classes of citizens, should establish in the polity the same order and precedence of qualities which they recommended to individuals.

## XVIII

## THE URANIAN ROMANCE

BU'T there had always been a trend of resistance to this.

If, in the Middle Ages, the excess consequent on that doctrine of the courts of imaginative love-Matrimonium non est amoris excusatio-was adultery, such as that of Tristram of Lyonesse, the attempt to justify it, as Shelley attempted to justify Beatrice Cenci, ${ }^{1}$ was sure of sympathy. "The light that led astray was light from Heaven." ${ }^{2}$ A like romantic justification
${ }^{1}$ Shelley, Preface to The Cenci: "It is in the restlem and anatomizing casuistry with which men seck the justification of Beatrice, yet feel that she has done what needs justification, that the dramatic character of what she did and suffered consists."
${ }^{4}$ Burns, The Vision, Duan the Second. Contrast the soothing Maximus of Tyre, xavii, $\gamma^{\prime}:$ oubrev $\gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho$ xadibv
 ouvtethö̈v oüd' elc סueruxiay dyov oüs' els cuppopdy

must have followed many $\mu$ céa $\theta_{v \mu o t}$ (whose poets have perished) in their excesses, Ajax Oileus, Capaneus, ${ }^{1}$ Pyrrhus, perhaps even Salmoneus, as it follows Milton's Satan, and the Prometheus is a justification of such excess, a justification disallowed (it seems) in the end, but pleaded with the more earnestness. Of such heroes as these, the founders and protectors of cities, ${ }^{2}$ other vópoc than those of Plato were sung, ${ }^{3}$ not written, as Achilles was sung in The Wrath, with melody expressive of that character which their descendants desired to retain
to have a happy time of it-yet no, for there is hardly anything and little that is noble which we may do without taking risks and often the risk of doing wrong. ${ }^{2}$ Capaneus occurs often on Greco-Etruscan scarabaei; cf. Statius.
${ }^{3}$ So the three libations were : the first to Zeus, the second to the heroes mostly descended from Zeus, the third to Zeus Soter, the preserver of the heroic race in. its descendants.
' Laws were sung in Crete (Aelian, Var. Hist., ii. 39).







from them, and sung with reverence and fear because they might yet arise from their graves. Ajax ${ }^{1}$ rushes to battle on the Locrian coins, though his boat had been split by the thunderbolt of Athens for his violation of her temple by the rape of Cassandra, and himself cast back from a rock of refuge to drown in the sea by the anger of Poscidon. Neoptolemos lies in the Delphic shrine. He had died by the will of Apollo for a grievous crime.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \boldsymbol{\gamma \epsilon}(\rho a \grave{o}) \boldsymbol{\nu} \text { ós Прі́apo }
\end{aligned}
$$

> cv)-Өоро́vта,
> $\mu \eta^{\prime} \nu \iota \nu \epsilon ข ้ \phi \rho \circ \nu^{\prime}$ 's oiquo
${ }^{1}$ Theognis, 447. Bergk., Poetae Lyrici Gracri :




${ }^{4}$ Pindar, Paean., vi., iii.

Yet Pindar after these words is bold to write that he has passed no inexorable condemnation :
and, in stately language, gives him the place due to so great a guardian of temple and to the offspring of the noble loves of Aegina and Zeus. ${ }^{2}$







With these examples of heroism in mind, heroism unsubjected to a theory of perfection, the people listened to the philosophy of the new evióvunos dixa and its claim to overrule their Eupatrids and to disallow their патрккоі̀ עópo. They would not disparage justice ; they could not dispute it ; they
${ }^{2}$ Pindar, Nem., vii. 10.
${ }^{3}$ Nem., viii., first strophe and antistrophe.
' Nem., vii. 44-48.
would be led quo fas et gloria ducunt, but where in this doctrine was the gloria? Where the $\kappa \lambda \dot{a}^{\alpha} \dot{\alpha} \nu \delta \rho \bar{\omega} \nu$ ? The men had disappeared with the glory, only fas remaining, not only the men of old, but the men of their own place, not perfect men, but more readily liked than the perfect man with his austerities and inscrutabilities. A mind fit to rule should prove itself, they thought, by government, and not by writing a modireva; it should deal with men, and should be personal and personally influential ; it might be personal to a fault ; there were $\dot{\epsilon} \pi \iota \theta \nu \mu i a t$ which endeared.

## XIX

## THE AUTHORITY OF MAN

THE measure of knowledge, though not of truth, is the measure of recognition, and recognition is human and fleeting, though truth may be divine and eternal, so that the measure of known truth is personal and transitory. Ethically this measure is of the first importance, since our recognition of it is not abandonment of the disproved and acceptance of the proved as in science, not a progress bearing with it an assured and verifiable remainder, but a perpetual resumption of the past and an endeavour to perceive at once all that which has been seen rarely and partly and then forgotten. Each must rely on his imperfect temperament to appreciate the experiences of many lovers of life in divers places and ages. This appreciation will not be valid unless it
savours of its origin in the praecordia. The judge of ethical questions must be indoctrinated by the examples of passion and daring which he has in himself. If the higher or the more spirited or the intense, voûs, $\theta v \mu o{ }^{\prime}$, eintovpia, are non-existent in him, they are non-existent, not in fact, but in his appreciation and therefore in his knowledge. The Sixa according to which he judges is that latent in himself. His discovery of moral values, whether in old treasure-houses or in modern prophecies, whether his millennium be a second advent or a new man, is an invention of something thereto correspondent in himself; his combination is a projection of self and so informed by self that it is nearly his invention in the sense of conception and creation. His judgment is invalid save so far as that self is a chip of the block; but he may reach a human constant in the depths of his own soul, and he cannot go out of himself to others. Where he lodges there he finds truth and perceives it for a moment.

There is no ethical vision, save in such moments; and to that vision the man's nature was necessary; it would have been 136
other, had he been other ; it would not have been such had he not been such ; in his discernment lies the value of his decree concerning a better and a worse, a good attained or missed an evil. His desires and determination are then radical, rightful, and virtuous. Dıkaloovivn is one of those desires, which has been raised to predominance and has undertaken to assign to all their relative ranks; but they have these ranks by birth and no one desire can deprive its assessors of their congenital regency. The philosophers might love justice and constitute it an entity beyond man and fit to overrule God; but that which is generative and original is the root, which accordingly must be held in honour and not trampled into nothing by кaù̀ $\delta$ aunóvia. Zeus is not to be deposed by his daughter tíka.

Determination proceeds from desire, desire from below, below the vov̂s. The aristocratic presumption of the mind, that " purer" part of man, is held in check by an auto-cracy-by the blind discernment and prevenient decree of man's ambition, or embrace of an ideal. The power that makes for righteousness receives admonitions. God
was thought by the Pharisees to study the law. In truth He queries it and repents Him of the evil.

The "purer" life is lived in abstraction from the body, and Plato would free us from our emotions; but 2 dog, though symbolic of opprobrium both among the Grecks and among the Jews, ${ }^{1}$ is highspirited, and faithful in his affection. And spirit and affection are $\theta \nu \mu o ́ s$ and $\dot{e} \pi \iota \theta \nu \mu i a$; without voûs he shares some of our best virtues, courage and love, which correspond to strength and gentleness. We may remember that Achilles had both the $\theta u \mu o{ }^{\prime}$, run to $\mu \hat{\eta} \nu \tau$, and $\dot{\varepsilon} \pi \quad \theta \nu \mu i a$ shown in desire, for Briseis loved nmpotev, but also for the companionship of Patroclus, whose death arouses his $\theta u \mu$ ós and drives him to battle.

Here we have motive forces, since we cannot call them motor angels, whereat wôs,
"Cruden's Concordance under "Dog." "By the law it was declared unclean, and uras very much despised among the Jewh. Christ exclude dogs, worcerers, whoremongen, murderers, and idolaters from the kingdom of heaven (Rev. xadi. 15)." Considering the connerion, we may suppose men to be intended, but men like dogn
${ }^{3}$ Ilied ; and d. Propertius, ii. 8, 35 -
$13^{8}$
though masculine, is only a part of man, and must not be taken as the whole. It is the coldest faculty of human nature ; but " la raison et la justice supposent a l'origine l'emotion." ${ }^{1}$ All passions bring their contribution to the wise man; else he has no sense, but judges as stock or stone.

His understanding of motive desires is not an intellectual exercise. He must have experience of them, at least by sympathy ; $\pi \dot{d} \theta_{0} \mu \dot{a} \theta_{o s}$ in no Aeschylean sense. For this he needs rather temperament than voûs; and by his temperament we judge his judgment, holding that a righteous judgment distils from a various and well-developed nature, of which the body is a part. He must know the relative value of our desires ;

[^6]and knowledge of them is not deliberation ; it is the substratum of deliberation.

Thus $\theta \nu \mu o ́ s$ and émitvuia come into play, not merely as data to be controlled but as elements to be nourished, since they are to be rápe $\delta \rho o t$ of the yoûs and themselves fit to share control. In the determination of values which precedes the decrees of moralists, the weights of feeling are more important than the balance of "consideration," ${ }^{1}$ the beginning overrules the end, the genesis the revelation, some initial reaction against a human quality determining its condemnation, some involuntary admiration appearing in 2 code as precept or counsel ; and wisdom becomes a decalogue of desires.

## ${ }^{1}$ Kents.

## XX

## JUSTICE

HAD vous, then, forfeited its rights, and are we reduced to the beauty of torrents and of blind impetuosities? This could not be in a thinking country, and least of all in the land of Uranian thinkers, since as

Sínv émiotaoal

distinguished the proper man, фúret mo $\lambda_{1}$ т*кò $\nu \hat{\varphi} 0 \nu$, from the barbarian, so rationality by its degree distinguishes man from woman. The mere admission of $\theta \nu \mu$ ós $_{s}$ and the $\boldsymbol{e} \pi \iota \theta \nu \mu i a t$ to counsel is already a sufficient admission of the feminine,
though an admission which we need not

> 1 Eur., Medea, 537-538.
> $=1$ lid., go9.
regret, considering that overlapping or coincidence which we noted, the masculine including much of the feminine, so that the face of an athlete may be mistaken for a girl's, and the feminine participating in the masculine, whereby the curve of the thighs is brought within measure, and man impinges by appropriation and by governance on woman's province. This regulation appeals to the rational. It constitutes yónot кowoi. Agreement is an index of rationality ; a standard must be collective.

The mere fact that we cannot make words mean what we like is a sign that meaning must be common. He who in the closet of his heart imagines that which no one clse means or meant or could ever mean is an idiot, or else a stammerer in some divine tongue whereby he agrees with the meaning of the spirit possessing him, and implies community with another world. The champion excogitated to defend man against the philosopher, or against $\delta$ scalo $\begin{gathered}\text { vin } \\ \text {, }\end{gathered}$ or against what you will, must represent man, and has his own justice in justly representing him. You shall not escape the abstract by the theory of an inspiration

142
from below; you have found indeed a different abstract, but likewise a theory. And if a theory must be found, what theory is more masculine than that which includes Sixa, unless man is of the race of the giants and not of the gods? Then indeed the vis consili expers would characterize him along with Typhon and the megatheria.

But his mark was not the mark of the beast, not brute strength, but the strength which imposes and endures a limit, which rejoices in the maintenance of his oath; and his avסpeia is partly roфia. His mind, gathering all his faculties into a closet of unseen life, opens a spiritual combat wherein impulses act and react in debate and find their resultant in predeterminant meditation. Other is the play of inconsistent words and deeds in the àeféraotos $\beta$ ios of a woman; other her engaging simplicity which neglects half the problem; other that synthesis of ill-comprehended moral matter which she announces with Sinaitic certainty.

It is one of man's pathetic gallantries or a dire constraint of grammar to represent justice as feminine. Even so her eyes have to be bandaged, and her task is but
to hold the balance, not seeing the weights lest she look with favour on the wrong claimant and tip the beam. Her desires are known to him. They should all exist in him, for every desire brings its contribution to the good judge of ethics, all that she has and all that he has also, and hers, though pertaining to that part of nature which in the Greek estimate is lower, are not therefore the less important, since she has affection and in a measure courage and directness; but there is in man an overplus and a somewhat incommunicable reserve of motive powers, and he has the logical and classificatory voûs. Drinking his information from all sources, his in addition to hers, the lower no less than the higher, he reaches a balance and adjudication which is stamped by them, but also by him with the sign manual of 2 justice not resident in her nor obvious to a lesser and less co-ordinate nature than his. In this dixawovinn opposing motives hold each other in check ; it is built of counterthrusts seen and unseen; it is calm because it contains much whereof every particle, let loose, might flash and destroy. It is unintelligible, sometimes even
to the judge, for previous judgments have entered into his nature and give a subconscious vote. And over all there is the flush of indignation, love, indulgence, which can be found only in the right nature and in the rich, the Apollonian кáOaposs.

## XXI

## THE MASCULINE PATTERN

WE have between Pindar and Plato 2 transference of authority from the hero through the adjective which characterized him to the abstract of the adjective which expresses his quality : from Hippolytus, who was $\sigma \dot{\omega} \phi \rho \omega \nu$, to $\sigma \omega \phi \rho o \sigma v i v \eta$, from Heracles, who was
 and then from all these qualities to an unity or áperín of the mólıs or of the man which shall include them all, this latter process easier in the case of the rodts than in the man, wherefore the ruler gives place to rule, dík triumphs over Zeus.

Lysander, who stands at the beginning of this development in philosophy, had recourse to it when he wished to alter the ancient constitution of Sparta. He proposed to establish as kings, not necessarily the Eipu146
mourióa and 'Ayıádal and perhaps not even Heraclids, but those who were like Heracles,

 lemos, possessed by birth) $\dot{a} \rho \in \tau \hat{\eta} \kappa \rho \omega \nu \mu \dot{\ell} \nu \omega \nu \dot{\eta}$


The d $\rho \varepsilon \tau^{\prime \prime}$ was to be crucial, and this test is philosophical ; it was to be the d $\dot{\text { perit }}$ which made a man like Heracles, and this test is traditional. And so of all excellences. They were to be preserved and enforced under the general heading and title of an all-inclusive 'Aperj. This was not manhood seen against a background of justice nor manhood formulating justice, but it was justice formulated by manhood. The Saкaıoovivn was not ioótys; it accorded precedence to ancient values and submission to them where attainment was impossible. In this it was aristocratic. The formulae which sanctioned worth admitted superiorities and a man $\pi 0 \lambda \lambda \omega \hat{\omega} \quad \dot{\alpha} \nu \tau \alpha \xi^{\prime} \omega \nu \quad a \lambda \lambda \omega \nu$, and, so far as they did not derogate from divipcia in favour of $\sigma \omega \phi \rho o \sigma u v_{\eta}$ and of the canonical imperative, were a confirmation of manhood. Only, a man was not to rule the
${ }^{1}$ Plutarch, Lysander, 24.

State; the State itself figured as 2 great man which, drawing on all its citizens, could be perfect in all qualities and justify itself by the possession of all virtues. Now, in traditional virtue nobleness had always held its place; the qualities of the evkien's must therefore pass into the ethical system, if that system was to receive general assent.

## XXII

## ART

THEY were accepted in art and by the patrons of art. Winckelmann's formula "Eine edle Einfalt und stille Grösse " is a chiastic statement wherein the idea of stille and Einfalt pertain to a general $\delta$ osawoovim which might be ioórns, but could be any accepted order that should ensure unity and place, whereas the edle Grösse admits the dignity of what is noble, so that the whole expresses a


We thus reach a canonical interpretation of manhood, a common standard. The simplicity which we admire in the Greeks is due to its acceptance. Originality figures in their aims and judgments far less than in ours. They thought, built, and sculptured like mediaeval architects, surpassing
predecessors, but seldom by novelty. The right treatment, not a new treatment, was probably in their minds.

In this was a true theory of progress, a theory according to which you not only advance but carry with you your fardel, or of progress like the progress of a building rising on old foundations without change of place. A progress which should move and leave the past behind would prove that our ancestors had not participated in it. " Behold, I make a new heaven and a new earth'" this resigns all past progress, all inheritance. The dead generations would have laboured in vain, and would have formed but an ephemeral scheme of life. The Greeks created quietly and collectively ; and the Plato whom we love we often love for that in him which embodied his predecessors' thought anew.

But this collective unity and simplicity would not have been noble, if the noble had not been traditional,-if the inherited severities of edle Grösse had not left their mark on the stille Einfalt. The masculine, which to the Greeks represented the nobler and greater, was accepted. The notion of
"joy in widest commonalty spread" ${ }^{1}$ so far as it existed among the Greeks, that is to say, in the edeutepía of fellow-burghers, was tempered, not by a reserve which would have sophisticated their expression, but by their anterior idea of èvépyeia and of nature as never reaching its full effect in woman; for that nature might wish indeed, but was not able. Disregard, then, of that justice which we conceive as equal for all was so much a part of their system in the old times, the times in which foundations were laid, that they were not aware of it. Only by an inclination of this rational or masculine balance in favour of numerical equality could Greece be undone.

If in Plato we love that which embodied his predecessors' thought anew, the zeal and admiration for hardness which show in his gentle words, an asceticism borrowed from the training-ground, what we dislike in him is a Praxitelean, or ideal of softening of the strict fifth-century rule, a change of 'Wordsworth, "The Recluse" A frigment containing the line and beginning
"On Mar, on Nature and on Human Life" is printed in Matthew Arnold's W'ordworth.
rò кa入óv from the noble to the fair, by which he tends to obliterate the manly in favour of the androgynous spiritual. We are glad when Lysippus again takes up the wondrous tale, though no longer with the Pindaric unopposed satisfaction, but hardened to meet his day; we are refreshed when the pre-eminence passes from marble to the bronze which he used only to represent men ${ }^{3}$; we understand why his figures wear a frown. The freedom of the Uranian city had been lost by the invasion of the feminine or epicene, and with him, as with Aristotle, dreams had to be recalled to fact. Here sculpture and manuscript unite to confirm the judgment of the people. In some way manliness had been lost in the ideal. The abstract had diluted the strength of Hellas. It rises at last under the Diadochi and their successors, men who ranked as ${ }^{1}$ Save in " The Drunken Flute-player " and the Praxilla; see Kalkmann in the Rheinisches Museum, xlii. p. 489, who quotes Tatian's $A d$ Graccos, 31-41:


Cf. p. 504 of the same, note 5. "Nach Förster (Rheinisches Musewm, xl. 637) ist die Praxilla identisch mit der temulenta tibicina des Lysipp (Plin., xaxiv. 63)."

152
gods during their lifetime, and who warred with one another as the gods in heaven. It rose, sensual and rebellious-rebellious in the giants, the heroes of the Pergamene frieze, sensual in the Barberini Faun, the Cyrenaic Apollo, the Toro Farnese, not less clearly also in the heavy folds of Hellenistic drapery.

This is heroism, not in collapse or shadow, but in darkness. There is thunder in the air. It is grand, it is lovable, but it wears the beauty of protest, not of attainment, not of noble righteousness, but of a nobleness that has found no scope in righteousness. Once the noble was merged in righteousness, it served under a civilized and unheroic standard. The first and Praxitelean reaction was a movement of relief from oppression, the second and Lysippan a tension of what had been relaxed. May we say that the last was a sense that, if civilization only was to be reached, the virile preferred revolt,-the noble reappeared, like the Pagan gods in the Middle Ages, unsubjugated, but gigantic only and not god-like ?

## XXIII

## MAN AND $\triangle$ IKH

ALEXANDER stands at the beginning of this period; and the old contest is renewed, Callisthenes, 2 kinsman of Aristotle, standing for the nomic and Anaxarchos for the personal supremacy. But whereas in Aeschylus there is balance and proportion between the hostile principles which enlist our sympathy for both, Anaxarchos is already beyond the bounds of any autocracy that we can love.

Alexander had slain Cleitos through an arras by which he attempted to protect himself in a drunken brawl. Alexander repented and would have slain himself, but was held and dragged to his chamber by friends.

 ${ }^{1}$ Plutarch, Alexander, 52.
154



















 ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Plutarch, Principem Ineruditum, $7{ }^{81}$ I. 'AváधapХOs







 rèteotaros (but if God is only righteousness he is no Father). Plutarch goes on : of $\delta t \pi \alpha \lambda x{ }^{2}+($ not the oldest ; perhaps the philosophers are meant) $\lambda$ tyoual xal $\gamma$ póqouar

$$
\text { I } 55
$$







Now, concerning murder and battle and oriarts and treachery, concerning assertions of self or of a city against other men and other cities, or within self or a city of one part of the self or city against another part of the same, we may note that, however unity was preached by philosophers or advocated by Hellenic leagues against Persia, the conduct of a Hellen was often due to dissidence in himself or from another, and that Hellenic commonwealths were dissident from each other and within themselves; the development of the Greeks was conditioned by diversities and contradictions. Lysander, the first to achieve deity while alive, ${ }^{1}$ maintained oath-breaking, ${ }^{9}$
 $x \alpha \lambda \tilde{\omega} \varsigma$ (this begs the question) $\delta \mathbf{v a \alpha} \mu$ tvou. The thought is weak.





which Pythagoras forbade; that which was lawful in Thebes was $\dot{\epsilon} \pi a \nu \in i ́ \delta \iota \sigma \tau o \nu{ }^{1}$ in Athens, a day's journey by coach. Communities represented hostile political principles. Battles and the sack of cities were not infrequent; and the spoils of Greeks from Greeks were consecrated at Delphi. Plato might protest, and Euripides might appeal



The Golden Verses of Protagoras:



Pindar writes, Olymp., ii. 65 :

 siaxpuv vthovtat

Yet this is no exceptional ode; elsewhere (Fragment 213) he says:
${ }^{1}$ Xenophon, Sympos., 8 :

157
 Athenians who sang his songs in Syracusan quarries were sold into slavery by the followers of Tyrtaeus, and Athenian generals went over to the Spartans and then to the great King. Hellas hardly existed as a bond; the struggle was not for the good of Greece, but for the hegemony of Greece.

And in peace the alliance of equal freemen in that brotherhood of friends which, from the time of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, had been found a safeguard against tyranny, was the triumph of a class, aristocratic or imperfectly democratic, its participants being Freiheren or gentlemen, many of themowners of slaves ${ }^{2}$ and free from the exigencies of labour and of money-getting, many calling on the State-that is to say, on all who were
${ }^{1}$ Euripides, Dindorf, Fragment 221 :





But Euripides means no more than the accepted rules of conduct; he does not mean a bond between cities.

- Newman, in 2 note on Aristote's Politics, viii. 6: " We are often told that a Greek democracy was virtually an aristocracy, inasmuch as most, if not all, of the citizens
taxed-for their support in the dicasteries, the seats of " justice," holders of a franchise from which traffickers and metics were debarred, a marketful of men, ready to bear arms, listening to their elders, who had borne arms, ready to defend their nárpto $\nu o ́ \mu o t$, that is to say their own privilege, planning also aggression against some neighbouring state (disliked as not being likeminded), that their constitution might be forced upon it, or, within their own state, forming a $\sigma \tau \dot{\sigma} \sigma, s$ to alter its policy, or even its polity, and drive out their opponents, so few that each could hear the voice of one herald, so flexible that one man could hope to persuade and to lead all. This would be owners of one or more slaves, and there can be little doubt that in almost all democracies a majority of citizens were äropoc."

Most would not then be at leisure; but it is aristocratic to recognize poor men of good birth; to them the ougatico would be given, and they would then have leisure at least for affairs of state, and they would know one another well. The cuealtia are crucial.

Aristote, Politics, 4 (7), 10, 1330, 3. mepl बuactri(uv





was not a condition of isonomy even in a little state, far less of equal rights accorded to all states; the leader did not become a cipher in a system of nowal $\nu \dot{\mu} \mu \mathrm{ot}$ stretching from shore to shore of the mainland and to itlands and dominions beyond the sea. Rather it was a basis for all diversities and competitions, for changes, revolutions, and catastrophes, types coming to the front whether in the name of oligarchy or of equality, of one city or of another, but never remaining at the front nor establishing a succession like the orderly progress of the arts. There was the antinomy of polynomy.

What wonder that, amid wrestlings and wranglings, the justice never reached was thought fairer than aught else and that Peace with her offspring Wealth appeared to be evסaumovia, the best blessing? We yearn for that which we have not, forgetting that we should buy it at the price of what we have.

## XXIV

## EIRENE AND PLOUTOS

YET it was perhaps to war and wear, ${ }^{1}$ to Eris and not to Eros, that the Greeks owed their succinct energy. Enterprise wrested them from rest. To this independence all hero-worship, all contrarieties of principle and of ambition, all alliances of friends most adverse to tyranny, the existence of slavery, and the disenfranchisement of such workers as were not slaves, the subjection of women, the belief in a religious influence of gods who were like men, even the $\delta$ im which consigned the Eumenides to the underworld, contributed. Equity never became equality because personal values were necessary, nought being strong enough to set aside - Plutarch, sontra divitias. 'Apxealhaos tip meviary



a precedence кar' d $\xi i a y$ which, whatever its failures, gave scope to the nobler-to the masculine.

Now, if order, peace and plenty be not the perfect soil in which man can grow to his height, if a $\delta$ oxacooivn which would protect all men in comfort and quiet, taming their desires and reducing their ambitions to insignificant stature, would cast forth lions from the city, if Ares, though rightly hated by the gods, is yet a god, and combat of some kind, if only among captains of industry, necessary, not only against the forces of nature, but among the contestants for $\$ 0 \lambda a$, that the best may reach a Pindaric evidauovia, never given in full to all, but singular to achievement, if our race, reaching its Eldorado, 2 stille Einfalt, would sink into a poverty and famine of edle Grösse, then this sacrifice of the general to the particular, of co-operation to competition, may be regarded as a sacrifice on the altar of manhood and as necessary to correct an equal and solvent justice ; the harmony of philosophers would have been wisely broken by lawless nature, by those Grundtriebe which in every age and clime give the 162
lie to beliefs nominally and sincerely held. Were it not for this salutary escape into damnation, man could hardly live : he lives hardly in any case, since no creed does him justice ; and, if it did, justice may not be his deepest desire.

To the Greeks harmony might seem the only refuge, and peace and plenty the ultimate reward (this at least was the opinion of Trygaeos) ; but we, who know the mildness of order and its mildew, the softening and refining influence of women, their pathos and their bathos, the great renunciations and the insignificant accomplishments, acquiescence in limits and deliquescence of ambition, life without a philosophy, happiness without heroism, and government without respect of persons, we know Eirene and Ploutos for what they are, a woman and a child, and we remember that the son of Cephisodotos was Praxiteles, who plunged in feminism-and soul. ${ }^{1}$
${ }^{1}$ Cf. the inscription on the pedestal of an Eron :




Bergk, Portar Lyrici Grasci, ii. 323.

## XXV

## THE HELLENIC EROS

REVERENCE for man is deficient, if it is but reverence for his offshoots -justice, philosophy, the arts, government. He loses, if the abstracts of the adjectives which qualify him become dominant over him, if the oooós, the avopeios, the סíkaws, and the $\sigma \dot{\omega} \phi \rho \omega \nu$ are swallowed up in ooфía, à $\quad \delta \rho \in i ́ a$, סıкawoúvm, and $\sigma \omega \phi \rho o \sigma u v^{\prime} \eta$, if the imperfect must yield to a perfection which surpasses it by infinity. The Uranian Eros, which we affirm to have been the subconscious Greek motive, showed itself strong in this : that over what is least soft and pleasing it threw glory, resigning the sensuous or cloaking with a beauty not true to fact the virile in its highest development.

The paederastic Eros is the love of youth, the philosophic Eros the love of philosophy. The Uranian Eros is less sensual than the 164
first and less abstract than the second : it is the love of the very root and fibre of manhood, of that which appeals neither to human passion clasping the fairest of earth nor to a divine passion which would forsake earth and enter heaven, a love which, having no pabulum of permanent and perfected beauty, it is the triumph of the Greeks to have nurtured, a lost allegiance unknown to our day and never formulated by the Greeks because it lay unquestioned below their questionings. In sculpture it could take the developed form of man in its rarely pleasant manifestations and represent them as the rule ; in philosophy it could endow youth with a soul beyond the stars; in government it found its likeness in Timoleon and Epaminondas, its failures in Nicias and Agesilaos, its fallen angels in Themistocles and Alcibiades, everywherewavering between the canon and the man, and ready to praise and pardon because it must have its outlet and could find its ambition only in masculine excellence. This severe love was in the Greeks "the master light of all their seeing." ${ }^{1}$
${ }^{2}$ Wordsworth, "Ode on Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood," ix.

The paederastic Eros lost itself in the Uranian Eros, of which it held its life and its licence to live, as the Uranian love lost itself in that which is more than love, the worship of Zeus.


[^0]:    ${ }^{2}$ Last stanza of "Prometheus Unbound."
    "To nuffer woen which Hope thinks infinite?
    To forgive wrongs darker than death or might $;$
    To defy Power, which seems omnipotent
    To love, and bear ; to hope till Hope create
    From its own wreck the thing it contemplates ;
    Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;
    This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be
    Good, great and joyous, beautiful, and free;
    This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory."
    ' Matthew Arnold, God and she Bible, p. xxvii. "Our God is the eternal not ourselves that makes for righteousnem."

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ Ewnenides, 734 sq.

[^2]:    ${ }^{1}$ Henry James, The Princest Casamassima, Chapter zaco. ad fin. "Want and toil and suffering are the constant lot of the immense majority of the human race. I have found them everywhere, but I haven't minded them. Excuse the cynical confession. What has struck me is the great achievements of which man has been capable in spite of them-the splendid accumulations of the happier few, to which, doubtless, the miserable may have

[^3]:    - Plato, Republic, 5ig $^{\text {g E. }}$
    
     трд́ттеı.

[^4]:    110

[^5]:    ${ }^{1}$ Pindar, Nem., iv. 48 :
    
    
    
    
    
    Pyth., v., Avt' $\boldsymbol{\gamma}^{\prime}$ :
    
    
    Tpães 'Avtavaplăat.
    Cf. Fuller's Haly War, Book First, Chepter mi. "Nigh in the cave of Machpelah, the parriarcha were buried; whose bodies took livery and seisin in behalf of their posterity, which were to presess the whole lend."

    - The Locrian.

[^6]:    : H. F. Amiel, Fournal Intime, 7 novembre, 1878: "Comprendre les choses, c'est avoir été dans les chooes puis en étre sorti ; il y faut donc captivité, puis délivrance, illusion et désillusion, engouement et désabusement. Celui qui est encore sous le charme et celui qui n'a pas subi le charme sont incompétents. On ne connait bien que ce qu'on a cru, puis juge. Pour comprendre il faut ètre libre et ne l'avoir pas toujours été. Cela est vrai qu'il soit question de l'amour, de l'art, de la religion, du patriotisme. La sympathic est la condition première de la critique; la raison et la justice supposent à l'origine l'émotion."

