

Hamburg, 1839-40), the oldest collection of Sibylline oracles appears to have been made about the time of Solon and Cyrus at Gergis on Mount Ida in the Troad; it was attributed to the Sibyl of Marpeessus and was preserved in the temple of Apollo at Gergis. Thence it passed to Erythræ, where it became famous. It was this very collection, it would appear, which found its way to Cumæ and from Cumæ to Rome.

The collection of so-called Sibylline oracles which has descended to us is obviously spurious, bearing marks of Jewish and Christian origin. Ewald assigns the oldest of them to about 124 B.C. and the latest to about 668-672 A.D. They have been edited by Friedlieb (Leipzig, 1852) and Alexandre (2d ed., Paris, 1869). For an examination of the different lists of Sibyls, see E. Maass, *De Sibyllarum Indiciis*, Berlin, 1879.

SIBYLLINE BOOKS. See APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, vol. ii. p. 177.

SICILY

PART I.—HISTORY.

SICILY, slightly surpassed by Sardinia in superficial extent, is, in its geographical and historical position, the greatest island of the Mediterranean. As such it holds among European lands a position answering to that of Great Britain, the greatest island of the Ocean, and the events of their history have at more than one period brought the two islands into a close connexion with one another. The geographical position of Sicily (see vol. xiii. pl. IV.) led almost as a matter of necessity to its historical position, as the meeting-place of the nations, the battle-field of contending races and creeds. Lying nearer to the mainland of Europe and nearer to Africa than any other of the great Mediterranean islands, Sicily is, next to Spain, the connecting link between those two quarters of the world. It stands also as a break-water between the eastern and western divisions of the Mediterranean Sea. In præ-historic times those two divisions were two vast lakes, and Sicily is a surviving fragment of the land which once parted the two united seas and united the continents which are now distinct. That Sicily and Africa were once joined we know only from modern scientific research; that Sicily and Italy were once joined is handed down in legend, unless the legend itself is not rather an obvious guess. Sicily then, comparatively near to Africa, but much nearer to Europe, has been a European land, but one specially open to invasion and settlement from Africa. Dividing the eastern and western basins of the Mediterranean, it has been a part of western Europe, but a part which has had specially close relations with eastern Europe. It has stood at various times in close connexion with Greece, with Africa, and with Spain; but its closest connexion has been with the neighbouring land of Italy. Still Italy and Sicily are thoroughly distinct lands, and the history of Sicily should never be looked on as simply part of the history of Italy. Lying thus between Europe and Africa, Sicily has been the battle-field of Europe and Africa. That is to say, it has been at two separate periods the battle-field of Aryan and Semitic man. In the later stage of the strife it has been the battle-field of Christendom and Islam. This history Sicily shares with Spain to the west of it and with Cyprus to the east. And with Spain the island has had several direct points of connexion. There was in all likelihood a near kindred between the earliest inhabitants of the two lands. In later times Sicily was ruled by Spanish kings, both alone and in union with other kingdoms. The connexion with Africa has consisted simply in the settlement of conquerors from Africa at two periods, first Phœnician, then Saracen. On the other hand Sicily has been more than once made the road to African conquest and settlement, both by Sicilian princes and by the Roman masters of Sicily. The connexion with Greece, the most memorable of all, has consisted in the settlement of many colonies from old Greece, which gave the island the most brilliant part of its history, and which made the greater part practically Greek. This Greek element was strengthened at a later time by the long connexion of Sicily with the Eastern, the Greek-speaking, division of

the Roman empire. And the influence of Greece on Sicily has been repaid in more than one shape by Sicilian rulers who have at various times held influence and dominion in Greece and elsewhere beyond the Adriatic (Adriatic). The connexion between Sicily and Italy begins with the primitive kindred between some of the oldest elements in each. Then came the contemporary Greek colonization in both lands. Then came the tendency in the dominant powers in southern Italy to make their way into Sicily also. Thus the Roman occupation of Sicily ended the struggle between Greek and Phœnician. Thus the Norman occupation ended the struggle between Greek and Saracen. Of this last came the long connexion between Sicily and southern Italy under several dynasties. Lastly comes the late absorption of Sicily in the modern kingdom of Italy. The result of these various forms of Italian influence has been that all the other tongues of the island have died out before the advance of a peculiar dialect of Italian. In religion again both Islam and the Eastern form of Christianity have given way to its Italian form. The connexion with England amounts to this, that both islands came under Norman dynasties, that under Norman rule the intercourse between the two countries was extremely close, and that the last time that Sicily was the seat of a separate power it was under British protection.

The Phœnician, whether from old Phœnicia or from Carthage, came from lands which were mere strips of sea-coast with a boundless continent behind them. The Greek of old Hellas came from a land of islands, peninsulas, and inland seas. So did the Greek of Asia, though he had, like the Phœnician, a vast continent behind him. In Sicily they all found a strip of sea-coast with an inland region behind; but the strip of sea-coast was not like the broken coast of Greece and Greek Asia, and the inland region was not a boundless continent like Africa or Asia. In Sicily therefore the Greek became more continental, and the Phœnician became more insular, than either nation had been in its own land. Neither people ever occupied the whole island: the presence of the other hindered either from occupying even the whole of the coast; nor was either people ever able to spread its dominion over the earlier inhabitants very far inland. Sicily thus remained a world of its own, with interests and disputes of its own, and divided among inhabitants of various nations. The history of the Greeks of Sicily is constantly connected with the history of old Hellas, but it runs a separate course of its own. Their position answers somewhat to that of the English people of the United States with regard to the mother-country of Great Britain. It differs in this, that the independence of the Greek cities in Sicily was not the result of warfare with the mother-country. Otherwise the analogy would have been almost exact, if France or Spain had kept its old power in North America. The Phœnician element ran an opposite course, as the independent Phœnician settlements in Sicily sank into dependencies of Carthage. The entrance of the Romans put an end to all practical independence on the part of either nation. But Roman ascendancy did not affect Greeks and Phœnicians in the same way. Phœnicians

life gradually died out. But Roman ascendancy nowhere crushed out Greek life where it already existed, and in some ways it strengthened it. Though the Greeks never spread their dominion over the island, they made a peaceful conquest of it. This process was in no way hindered by the Roman dominion; the work of assimilation went on still faster.

The question now comes, Who were the original inhabitants of Sicily? The island itself, *Σικελία*, *Sicilia*, plainly takes its name from the Sikels (*Σικελοί*, *Siculi*), a people whom we find occupying a great part of the island, chiefly east of the river Gela. They appear also in Italy, in the toe of the boot, and older history or tradition spoke of them as having in earlier days held a large place in Latium and elsewhere in central Italy. They were believed to have crossed the strait into the island about 300 years before the beginning of the Greek settlements, that is to say in the 11th century B.C. They found in the island a people called Sikans (*Σικανοί*, *Sicani*), whose name might pass for a dialectic form of their own, did not the ancient writers straitly affirm them to be a wholly distinct people, akin to the Iberians. Sikans also appear with the Ligurians among the early inhabitants of Italy (*Virg., Æn.*, vii. 795, viii. 328, xi. 317, and Servius's note). It is possible then that the likeness of name is accidental, that the Sikels belonged to the same branch of the Aryan family as the Italians, while Sikans, like Ligurians and Iberians and the surviving Basques, belonged to the earlier non-Aryan population of western Europe. But, whatever the origin of either, in the history of the island Sikans and Sikels appear as two distinct nations with a clear geographical boundary. And we may venture to set down the Sikels as undeveloped Latins, who were hindered by the coming of the Greeks from reaching the same independent national life as their kinsfolk in Italy, and, instead of so doing, were gradually Hellenized. On the other hand, some Sikel elements made their way into the Greek life of Sicily. That the Sikels spoke a tongue closely akin to Latin is plain from several Sikel words which crept into Sicilian Greek, and from the Sikeliot system of weights and measures,—utterly unlike anything in old Greece. When the Greek settlements began, the Sikans had hardly got beyond the life of villages on hill-tops (*Dion. Hal.*, v. 6), more truly perhaps villages with places of shelter on the hill-tops. The more advanced Sikels had their hill-forts also, but they had learned the advantages of the sea, and they already had settlements on the coast when the Greeks came. As we go on, we hear of both Sikel and Sikan towns; but we may suspect that any approach to true city life was owing to Greek influences. Neither people grew into any form of national unity. There was neither common king nor common confederation either of Sikels or of Sikans. They were therefore partly subdued, partly assimilated, slowly, but without much effort.

In the north-east corner of the island we find a small territory occupied by a people who seem to have made much greater advances towards civilized life. The Elymnoi were a people of uncertain origin, but they claimed a mixed descent, partly Trojan, partly Greek. Thucydides however unhesitatingly reckons them among barbarians. They had considerable towns, as Segesta (the Greek *Egesta*) and Eryx, and the whole history, as well as the remains, of Segesta, shows that Greek influences prevailed among them very early. In short, we find in the island three nations distinct from the Greeks, two of which at least easily adopted Greek culture and came in the end to pass for Greeks by adoption.

But, as we have already seen, the Greeks were not the first colonizing people who were drawn to the great island. As in Cyprus and in the islands of the *Ægean*, the Phœnicians were before them. And it is from this presence

of the highest forms of Aryan and of Semitic man that the history of Sicily draws its highest interest. Of Phœnician occupation there are two, or rather three, marked periods. We must always remember that Carthage—the new city—was one of the latest of Phœnician foundations, and that the days of the Carthaginian dominion show us only the latest form of Phœnician life. Phœnician settlement in Sicily began before Carthage became great, perhaps before Carthage came into being. A crowd of small settlements from the old Phœnicia, settlements for trade rather than for dominion, factories rather than colonies, grew up on promontories and small islands all round the Sicilian coast. These were unable to withstand the Greek settlers, and the Phœnicians of Sicily withdrew step by step to form three considerable towns in the north-west corner of the island,—Motye, Soloeis or Solunto, on a hill overhanging the sea on the north coast, and the great Panormos, the *all-haven* (see PALERMO), the city destined to be, in two different periods of the world's history, the head of Semitic power in Sicily.

Our earlier notices of Sicily, of Sikels and Sikans, in the Homeric poems and elsewhere, are vague and legendary. Both races appear as given to the buying and selling of slaves (*Od.*, xx. 383, xxiv. 30, 210). The intimate connexion between old Hellas and Sicily begins with the foundation of the Sicilian Naxos by Chalkidians of Eubœia under Theokles, which is assigned to the year 735 B.C. The site, a low promontory on the east coast, immediately below the height of Tauromenion, marks an age which had advanced beyond the hill-fortress and which thoroughly valued the sea. The next year Corinth began her system of settlement in the west: Korcyra (Corcyra), the path to Sicily, and Syracuse on the Sicilian coast were planted as parts of one enterprise. From this time, for about 150 years, Greek settlement in the island, with some intervals, goes steadily on. Both Ionian and Dorian colonies were planted, both from the older Greek lands and from the older Sicilian settlements. The east coast, nearest to Greece and richest in good harbours, was occupied first. Here, between Naxos and Syracuse, arose the Ionian cities of Leontinoi and Katana (Catina, Catania) and the Dorian Megara by Hybla. Settlement on the south-western coast began about 688 B.C. with the joint Cretan and Rhodian settlement of Gela, and went on in the foundation of Selinus (the most distant Greek city on this side), of Kamarina (Camarina), and in 588 B.C. of the Geloan settlement of Agragas (Agrigentum, Girgenti), planted on a high hill, a little way from the sea, which became the second city of Hellenic Sicily. On the north coast the Ionian Himera was the only Greek city in Sicily itself, but the Knidians founded Lipara in the *Æolian* Islands. At the north-east corner, opposite to Italy, and commanding the strait, arose Zankle, a city of uncertain date and mixed origin, better known under its later name of Messana (Messene, Messina).

Thus nearly all the east coast of Sicily, a great part of the south coast, and a much smaller part of the north, passed into the hands of Greek settlers,—Sikeliot (*Σικελιώται*), as distinguished from the native Sikels. This was one of the greatest advances ever made by the Greek people. The Greek element began to be predominant in the island. Among the earlier inhabitants the Sikels were already becoming adopted Greeks. Many of them gradually sank into a not wholly unwilling subjection as cultivators of the soil under Greek masters,—a relation embodied perhaps in the legend that a native Sikel prince led the Greek settlers to the foundation of Megara. But there were also independent Sikel towns in the interior, and there was a strong religious intercommunion between the two races. Sikel Henna (Enna, Castrogiovanni) is the special seat of the worship of Demeter and her daughter. The Sikans, on

the other hand, seem more distinct and more steadily hostile. The Phœnicians, now shut up in one corner of the island, with Selinous on one side and Himera on the other founded right in their teeth, are bitter enemies; but the time of their renewed greatness under the headship of Carthage has not yet come. The 7th century B.C. and the early part of the 6th were a time in which the Greek cities of Sicily had their full share in the general prosperity of the Greek colonies everywhere. For a while they outstripped the cities of old Greece. Their political constitutions were aristocratic; that is, the franchise was confined to the descendants of the original settlers, round whom an excluded body (*δημος* or *plebs*) was often growing up. The ancient kingship was perhaps kept on or renewed in some of the Sikeliot and Italiot towns; but it is more certain that civil dissensions led very early to the rise of tyrants. The first and most famous is Phalaris of Akragas, whose exact date is uncertain, whose letters are now cast aside, and whose brazen bull has been called in question, but who clearly rose to power very soon after the foundation of Akragas. Under his rule the city at once sprang to the first place in Sicily, and he was the first Sikeliot ruler who held dominion over two Greek cities, Akragas and Himera. This time of prosperity was also a time of intellectual progress. To say nothing of lawgivers like Charondas, the line of Sikeliot poets began early, and the circumstances of the island, the adoption of many of its local traditions and beliefs—perhaps a certain intermingling of native blood—gave the intellectual life of Sicily a character in some things distinct from that of old Hellas. Stesichoros of Himera (c. 632-556 B.C.) holds a great place among the lyric poets of Greece, and some place in the political history of Sicily as the opponent of Phalaris. The architecture and sculpture of this age have also left some of their most remarkable monuments among the Greek cities of Sicily (see SYRACUSE). The remains of the old temples of Selinous, attributed to the 7th century B.C., show us the Doric style in its earlier state, and the sculptures of their metopes (preserved at Palermo) are as distinctly grotesque as any Romanesque sculpture of the 11th or 12th century. In both ages the art of the builder was far in advance of that of the ornamental carver.

This first period of Sicilian history lasts as long as Sicily remains untouched from any non-Hellenic quarter outside, and as long as the Greek cities in Sicily remain as a rule independent of one another. A change begins in the 6th century and is accomplished early in the 5th. The Phœnician settlements in Sicily become dependent on Carthage, whose growing power begins to be dangerous to the Greeks of Sicily. Meanwhile the growth of tyrannies in the Greek cities was beginning to group several towns together under a single master, and thus to increase the greatness of particular cities at the expense of their freedom. Thus Theron of Akragas (488-472), who bears a good character there, acquired also, like Phalaris, the rule of Himera. One such power held dominion both in Italy and Sicily. Anaxilaos of Rhegion, by a long and strange tale of treachery, occupied Zankle and changed its name to Messana. But the greatest of the Sikeliot powers began at Gela in 505, and was in 485 translated by Gelon to Syracuse. That city now became the centre of a greater dominion over both Greeks and Sikels than the island had ever before seen. But Gelon, like several later tyrants of Syracuse, takes his place—and it is the redeeming point in the position of all of them—as the champion of Hellas against the barbarian. The great double invasion of 480 B.C. was planned in concert by the barbarians of the East and the West (Diod., xi. 20; schol. on Pind., *Pyth.*, i. 146; Grote, v. 294). While the Persians threatened old Greece, Carthage threatened the Greeks of Sicily. There were Sikeliots

who played the part of the Medizers in Greece: Selinous was on the side of Carthage, and the coming of Hamilkar was immediately brought about by a tyrant of Himera driven out by Theron. But the united power of Gelon and Theron crushed the invaders in the great battle of Himera, won, men said, on the same day as Salamis, and the victors of both were coupled as the joint deliverers of Hellas (Herod., vii. 165-167; Diod., xx. 20-25; Pind., *Pyth.*, i. 147-156; Simonides, fr. 42; Polyainos, i. 27). But, while the victory of Salamis was followed by a long war with Persia, the peace which was now granted to Carthage stayed in force for seventy years. Gelon was followed by his brother Hieron (478-467), the special subject of the songs of Pindar. Akragas meanwhile flourished under Theron; but a war between him and Hieron led to slaughter and new settlement at Himera. These transplantings from city to city began under Gelon and went on under Hieron. They made speakers in old Greece (Thuc., vi. 17) contrast the permanence of habitation there with the constant changes in Sicily. Hieron won the fame of a founder by peopling Katana with new citizens, and changing its name to Aitna.

None of these tyrannies were long-lived. The power of Theron fell to pieces under his son Thrasydaos. When the power of Hieron passed in 467 B.C. to his brother Thrasyboulos the freedom of Syracuse was won by a combined movement of Greeks and Sikels, and the Greek cities gradually settled down as they had been before the tyrannies, only with a change to democracy in their constitutions. The mercenaries who had received citizenship from the tyrants were settled at Messana. About fifty years of general prosperity followed. We have special pictures of almost incredible wealth and luxury at Akragas, chiefly founded on an African trade. Moreover art, science, poetry, had all been encouraged by the tyrants, and they went on flourishing in the free states. To these was now added the special growth of freedom, the art of public speaking. Epicharmos (540-450), carried as a babe to Sicily, is a link between native Sikeliots and the strangers invited by Hieron; as the founder of the local Sicilian comedy, he ranks among Sikeliots. After him Sophron of Syracuse gave the Sicilian *mimes* a place among the forms of Greek poetry. But the intellect of free Sicily struck out higher paths. Empedokles of Akragas is best known from the legends of his miracles and of his death in the fires of Ætna; but he was not the less philosopher, poet, and physician, besides his political career. It is vaguely implied (Diog. Laert., viii. 2, 9) that he refused an offer of the tyranny or of authority in some shape. Gorgias of Leontinoi (c. 480-375) had a still more direct influence on Greek culture, as father of the technical schools of rhetoric throughout Greece. Architecture too advanced, and the Doric style gradually lost somewhat of its ancient massiveness. The temple at Syracuse which is now the metropolitan church belongs to the earlier days of this time. It is followed by the later temples at Selinous, among them the temple of Zeus, which is said to have been the greatest in Sicily, and by the wonderful series at Akragas, crowned by the Olympian temple, with its many architectural singularities. This, like its fellow at Selinous, was not fully finished at the time of the Carthaginian inroad at the end of the century.

During this time of prosperity there was no dread of Carthaginian inroads. But in 454 B.C. we read of a war between Segesta and Lilybaion (Lilybæum). There was as yet no town of Lilybaion; but, if the war was waged against any Phœnician settlement, the fact is to be noticed, as hitherto Segesta has been allied with the Phœnicians against the Greeks. Far more important are our notices of the earlier inhabitants. For now comes the great Sikel

movement under Douketios, who, between force and persuasion, came nearer towards uniting his people into one body than had ever been done before. From his native hill-top of Menai, rising above the lake dedicated to the Palikoi, the native deities whom Sikels and Greeks alike honoured, he brought down his people to the new city of Palikeai in the plain. His power grew, and Akragas could withstand him only by the help of Syracuse. Alternately victorious and defeated, spared by Syracuse (451), sent to be safe at Corinth, he came back to Sicily only to form greater plans than before. War between Akragas and Syracuse enabled him to carry out his schemes, and, with the help of another Sikel prince who bore the Greek name of Archomides, he founded Kale Akte on the northern coast. But his work was cut short by his death in 440; the hope of the Sikel people now lay in assimilation to their Hellenic neighbours. Douketios's own foundation of Kale Akte lived on, and we presently hear of Sikel towns under kings and tyrants, all marking an approach to Greek life. Roughly speaking, while the Sikels of the plain country on the east coast became subject to Syracuse, most of those in other parts of the island remained independent. Of the Sikans we hear less; but Hykkara in the north-west was an independent Sikan town on bad terms with Segesta. On the whole, setting aside the impassable barrier between Greek and Phœnician, other distinctions of race within the island were breaking down through the spread of the Hellenic element. Segesta was on familiar terms with both Greek and Phœnician neighbours, and had the right of intermarriage (Thuc., vi. 6) with Hellenic Selinous. Among the Greek cities themselves the distinction between the Dorian and the Ionian or Chalkidian settlements is still keenly felt. The Ionian is decidedly the weaker element; and it was most likely owing to the rivalry between the two great Dorian cities of Syracuse and Akragas that the Chalkidian towns were able to keep any independence at all.

Up to this time the Italiot and Sikeliot Greeks have formed part of the general Greek world, while within that world they have formed a world of their own, and Sicily has again formed a world of its own within that. Wars and conquests between Greeks and Greeks, especially on the part of Syracuse, though not wanting, have been on the whole less constant than in old Greece. It is even possible to appeal to a vein of local Sicilian patriotism, to preach a kind of Monroe doctrine by which Greeks from other lands should be shut out as strangers (*ἀλλόφυλοι*, Thuc., vi. 61, 74). Presently this state of Sicilian isolation was broken in upon by the great Peloponnesian War. The Sikeliot cities were drawn into alliance with one side or the other, till the main interest of Greek history gathers for a while round the Athenian attack on Syracuse. At the very beginning of the war the Lacedæmonians looked for help from the Dorian Sikeliots. But the first active intervention came from the other side. Conquest in Sicily was a favourite dream at Athens (Thuc., vi. 1, cf. i. 48, and Diod., xii. 54), with a view to wider conquest or influence in the western Mediterranean. An opportunity for Athenian interference was found in 427 in a quarrel between Syracuse and Leontinoi and their allies. Leontinoi craved help from Athens on the ground of Ionian kindred. Her envoy was Gorgias; his peculiar style of rhetoric was now first heard in old Greece (Diod., xii. 53, 54), and his pleadings were successful. For several years from this time (427-422) Athens plays a part, chiefly unsuccessful, in Sicilian affairs. But the particular events are of little importance, except as leading the way to the greater events that follow. The steadiest ally of Athens was the Italiot Rhegion; Messana, with its mixed population, was repeatedly won and lost; the Sikel tributaries of Syracuse

give zealous help to the Athenians. But in 424 all the Sikeliot and most of the Italiot cities, under the guidance of Hermokrates of Syracuse, who powerfully set forth the doctrine of Sikeliot, perhaps of Sicilian unity, agreed on a peace. Presently an internal disturbance at Leontinoi led to annexation by Syracuse. This gave the Athenians a pretext for another attempt in 422. Little came of it, though Athens was joined by the Doric cities of Kamarina and Akragas, clearly out of jealousy towards Syracuse. For several years the island was left to itself.

The far more memorable interference of Athens in Sicilian affairs in the year 415 was partly in answer to the cry of the exiles of Leontinoi, partly to a quite distinct appeal from the Elymian Segesta. That city, an ally of Athens, asked for Athenian help against its Greek neighbour Selinous. In a dispute, partly about boundaries, partly about the right of intermarriage between the Hellenic and the Hellenizing city, Segesta was hard pressed. She vainly asked for help at Akragas—some say at Syracuse (Diod., xii. 82)—and even at Carthage. The last appeal was to Athens. But the claims of Segesta and Leontinoi are soon forgotten in the struggle for life and death between Syracuse and Athens.

The details of the great Athenian expedition (415-413) belong partly to the political history of Athens, partly to that of SYRACUSE (*q.v.*). But its results make it a marked epoch in Sicilian history, and the Athenian plans, if successful, would have changed the whole face of the West. If the later stages of the struggle were remarkable for the vast number of Greek cities engaged on both sides, and for the strange inversion of relations among them on which Thucydides (vii. 57, 58) comments, the whole war was yet more remarkable for the large entrance of the barbarian element into the Athenian reckonings. The war was undertaken on behalf of Segesta; the Sikels gave Athens valuable help; the greater barbarian powers out of Sicily also came into play. Some help actually came from Etruria. But Carthage was more far-sighted. If Syracuse was an object of jealousy, Athens, succeeding to her dominion, creating a power too nearly alike to her own, would have provoked far greater jealousy. So Athens found no active support save at Naxos and Katana, though Akragas, if she would not help the invaders, at least gave no help to her own rival. The war is instructive in many ways: it reminds us of the general conditions of Greek seamanship when we find that Korkyra was the meeting-place for the allied fleet, and that Syracuse was reached only by a coasting voyage along the shores of Greek Italy. We are struck also by the low military level of the Sicilian Greeks. The Syracusan heavy-armed are as far below those of Athens as those of Athens are below those of Sparta. The quasi-continental character of Sicily causes Syracuse, with its havens and its island, to be looked on, in comparison with Athens, as a land power (*ἡπειρώται*, Thuc., vii. 21). That is to say, the Sikeliot level represents the general Greek level as it stood before the wars in which Athens won and defended her dominion. The Greeks of Sicily had had no such military practice as the Greeks of old Greece; but an able commander could teach both Sikeliot soldiers and Sikeliot seamen to outmanœuvre Athenians. The main result of the expedition, as regards Sicily, was to bring the island more thoroughly into the thick of Greek affairs. Syracuse, threatened with destruction by Athens, was saved by the zeal of her metropolis Corinth in stirring up the Peloponnesian rivals of Athens to help her. Gylippos came; the second Athenian fleet came and perished. Syracuse was saved; all chance of Athenian dominion in Sicily or elsewhere in the West came to an end. Syracuse repaid the debt by good service to the Peloponnesian cause, and from that

413-392 B.C. time the mutual influence of Sicily and old Greece upon one another is far stronger than in earlier times.

Phoenician invasion under Hannibal

But before the war in old Greece was over, seventy years after the great victory of Gelon (410), the Greeks of Sicily had to undergo barbarian invasion on a vaster scale than ever. The disputes between Segesta and Selinous called in these enemies also. Carthage stepped in as the ally of Segesta, the enemy of her old ally Selinous. Her leader was Hannibal, grandson and avenger of the Hamilkar who had died at Himera. In 408, at the head of a vast mercenary host, he sailed to Sicily, attacked Selinous, and stormed the town after a murderous assault of nine days, while the other Sikeliot cities, summoned to help, were still lingering. The walls and temples were overthrown; the mass of the people were massacred; the few who escaped were allowed to return to the dismantled site as tributaries of Carthage; and the city never recovered its old greatness. Thence Hannibal went on to Himera, with the special mission of avenging his grandfather. By this time the other Greek cities were stirred to help, while Sikels and Sikans joined Hannibal; the strife was distinctly a strife of Greeks and barbarians. At last Himera was stormed, and 3000 of its citizens were solemnly slaughtered on the spot where Hamilkar had died. Himera ceased to exist; but the Carthaginians founded the new town of Thermai (Termini) not far off, to which the name is sometimes laxly applied. The Phoenician possessions in Sicily now stretched across the island from Himera to Selinous. The next victim was Akragas; its defenders, natives and allies, quarrelled among themselves; the mass of the people forsook the city, and found shelter at Gela and elsewhere. The few who were left were slaughtered; the town was sacked and the walls destroyed. Akragas was presently restored, and it has lived on to this day; but it never recovered its old greatness.

Dionysios I.

Meanwhile the revolutions of Syracuse affected the history of Sicily and of the whole Greek world. Dionysios the tyrant began his reign of thirty-eight years in the first months of 405. Almost at the same moment, the new Carthaginian commander, Himilkon, attacked Gela and Kamarina. Dionysios, coming to the help of Gela, was defeated, and was charged with treachery. He now made the mass of the people of both towns find shelter at Syracuse. But now the plague led Himilkon to ask for peace. Carthage was confirmed in her possession of Selinous, Himera, and Akragas, with some Sikan districts which had opposed her. The people of Gela and Kamarina were allowed to occupy their unwallied towns as tributaries of Carthage. Leontinoi, latterly a Syracusan fort, as well as Messana and all the Sikels, were declared independent, while Dionysios was acknowledged as master of Syracuse. No war was ever more grievous to freedom and civilization. More than half Sicily was now under barbarian dominion; several of its noblest cities had perished, and a tyrant was established in the greatest. The 5th century B.C., after its central years of freedom and prosperity, ended in far deeper darkness than it had begun. The minuter account of Dionysios belongs to Syracusan history; but his position, one unlike anything that had been before seen in Sicily or elsewhere in Hellas, forms an epoch in the history of Europe. His only bright side is his championship of Hellas against the Phoenician, and this is balanced by his settlements of barbarian mercenaries in several Greek cities. Towards the native races his policy varied according to momentary interests; but on the whole his reign tended to bring the Sikels more and more within the Greek pale. His dominion is Italian as well as Sicilian; his influence, as an ally of Sparta, is important in old Greece; while, as a hirer of mercenaries everywhere, he had wider relations than any earlier Greek

with the nations of western Europe. He further opened new fields for Greek settlement on both sides of the Adriatic. In short, under him Sicily became for the first time the seat of a great European power, while Syracuse, as its head, became the greatest of European cities. His reign was unusually long for a Greek tyrant, and his career furnished a model for other rulers and invaders of Sicily. With him in truth begins that wider range of Greek warfare, policy, and dominion which the Macedonian kingdoms carry on. The master of such a dominion becomes the improver of the military art. With him begins the employment of ships greater than the old triremes, of more effective engines in sieges, and that combined use of troops of various arms and nations which Alexander carried to perfection.

The reign of Dionysios (405-367) is divided into marked periods by four wars with Carthage, in 397-396, 392, 383, and 368. In the first war his home power was all but overthrown; but he lived through the storm, and extended his dominion over Naxos, Katana, and Leontinoi. All three perished as Greek cities. Katana was the first Sikeliot city to receive a settlement of Campanian mercenaries, while others settled in non-Hellenic Entella. Naxos was settled by Sikels; Leontinoi was again merged in Syracuse. Now begin the dealings of Dionysios with Italy, where the Rhegines, kinsmen of Naxos and Katana, planned a fruitless attack on him in common with Messana. He then sought a wife at Rhegion, but was refused with scorn, while Lokroi (Locri) gladly gave him Doris. The two cities afterwards fared accordingly. In the first war with Carthage, the Greek cities under Carthaginian dominion or dependence helped him; so did Sikans and Sikels, which last had among them some stirring leaders; Elymian Segesta clave to Carthage. Dionysios took the Phoenician stronghold of Motye; but Himilkon recovered it, destroyed Messana, founded the hill-town of Tauromenion (Taormina) above Naxos for Sikels who had joined him, defeated the fleet of Dionysios, and besieged Syracuse. Between invasion and home discontent, the tyrant was all but lost; but the Spartan Pharakidas stood his friend; the Carthaginians again suffered from pestilence; and Himilkon went away defeated, taking with him his Carthaginian troops and forsaking his allies. Gela, Kamarina, Himera, Selinous, Akragas itself, now passed into the dependent alliance of Dionysios. The Carthaginian dominion was cut down to what it had been before Hannibal's invasion. The lord of Syracuse had grown at the cost of Greek and barbarian alike.

He planted mercenaries at Leontinoi, conquered some Sikel towns, central Henna among them, and made alliances with others. He restored Messana, peopling it with motley settlers, among whom were some of the old Messenians from Peloponnesos. But the Spartan masters of the old Messenian land grudged this possible beginning of a new Messenian power. Dionysios therefore moved his Messenians to a point on the north coast, where they founded Tyndaris. He clearly had a special eye to that region. He took the Sikel Kephalaoidion (Cefalù), and even the old Phoenician border-fortress of Solous was betrayed to him. He beat back a Rhegine expedition; but his advance was checked by a failure to take the new Sikel settlement of Tauromenion. His enemies of all races now declared themselves. Many of the Sikels forsook him; Akragas declared herself independent; Carthage herself, stirred by the loss of Solous, again took the field.

The Punic war of 392-391 was not very memorable. Both sides failed in their chief enterprises, and the main interest of the story comes from the glimpses which we get of the Sikel states. Most of them joined the Cartha-

His war with Carthage, &c.

ginian leader Mago; but he was successfully withstood at Agrigion by Agyris, the ally of Dionysios, who is described as a tyrant second in power to Dionysios himself. This way of speaking would imply that Agyrion had so far advanced in Greek ways as to run the usual course of a Greek commonwealth. The two tyrants drove Carthage to a peace by which she abandoned all her Sikel allies to Dionysios. This time he took Tauromenion and settled it with his mercenaries. For new colonists of this kind the established communities of all races were making way. The transportations under the older tyrants had been movements of Greeks from one Greek site to another. Now all races are confounded.

Dionysios, now free from Phoenician warfare, gave his mind to enterprises which raised his power to its greatest height. In the years 390-387 he warred against the Italiot cities in alliance with their Lucanian enemies. Rhegion, Kroton (Croton), the whole toe of the boot, were conquered. Their lands were given to Lokroi; their citizens were taken to Syracuse, sometimes as slaves, sometimes as citizens. The master of barbarians fell below the lowest Hellenic level when he put the brave Rhegine general Phyton to a lingering death, and in other cases imitated the Carthaginian cruelty of crucifixion. Conqueror of southern Italy, he turned his thoughts yet further, and became the first ruler of Sicily to stretch forth his hands towards the eastern peninsula. In the Adriatic he helped Hellenic extension. He planted directly and indirectly some settlements in Apulia, while Syracusan exiles founded the more famous Ankon or Ancona. On the east coast he founded Lissos; he helped the Parians in their settlements of Issa and Pharos; he took into his pay Illyrian warriors with Greek arms, and helped the Molottian Alketas to win back part of his kingdom. He was even charged with plotting with his Epeirot ally to plunder Delphoi. This even Sparta would not endure; Dionysios had to content himself with sending a fleet along the west coast of Italy, to carry off the wealth of the great temple of Agylla or Cære.

In old Greece men now said that the Greek folk was hemmed in between the barbarian Artaxerxes on the one side and Dionysios, master and planter of barbarians, on the other. These feelings found expression when Dionysios sent his embassy to the Olympic games of 384, and when Lysias bade Greece rise against both its oppressors. Dionysios vented his wrath on those who were nearest to him, banishing many, among them his brother Leptines and his earliest friend Philistos, and putting many to death. He was also once more stirred up to play the part of a Hellenic champion: he made ready for yet another Punic war.

In this war (383-382) Dionysios seems for once to have had his head turned by a first success. His demand that Carthage should altogether withdraw from Sicily was met by a crushing defeat. Then came a treaty by which Carthage kept Selinous and part of the land of Akragas. The Halykos became the boundary. Dionysios had also to pay 1000 talents, which caused him to be spoken of as becoming tributary to the barbarians. In the last years of his reign we hear dimly of both Syracusan and Carthaginian operations in southern Italy. He also gave help to Sparta against Thebes, sending Gaulish and Iberian mercenaries to take part in Greek warfare. His last war with Carthage, which was going on at his death, was ended by a peace by which the Halykos remained the boundary.

The tyranny of Dionysios fell, as usual, in the second generation; but it was kept up for ten years after his death by the energy of Philistos, now minister of his son Dionysios the Younger. It fell with the coming back of the exile Dion in 357. The tyranny had lasted so long that it was less easy than at the overthrow of the elder tyrants to fall back on an earlier state of things. It had

been a time of frightful changes throughout Sicily, full of breaking up of old landmarks, of confusion of races, and of movements of inhabitants. But it also saw the foundation of new cities. Besides Tyndaris and Tauromenion, the foundation of Alaisa marks another step in Sikel progress towards Hellenism, while the Carthaginians founded their strong town and fortress of Lilybaion. Among these changes the most marked is the settlement of Campanian mercenaries in Greek and Sikel towns. Yet they too could be brought under Greek influences; they were distant kinsfolk of the Sikels, and they were the forerunners of Rome. They mark one stage of migration from Italy into Sicily.

The reign of Dionysios was less brilliant in the way of art and literature than that of Hieron. Yet Dionysios himself sought fame as a poet, and his success at Athens shows that his compositions did not deserve the full scorn of his enemies. The dithyrambic poet Philoxenos, by birth of Kythera, won his fame in Sicily, and other authors of lost poems are mentioned in various Sikeliot cities. One of the greatest losses in all Greek history is that of the writings of Philistos (436-356), the Syracusan who had seen the Athenian siege and who died in the warfare between Dion and the younger Dionysios. Through the time of both tyrants, he was, next to the actual rulers, the first man in Sicily; but of his record of his own times we have only what filters through the recasting of Diodoros. But the most remarkable intellectual movement in Sicily at this time was the influence of the Pythagorean philosophy, which still lived on in southern Italy. It led, through Dion, to the several visits of Plato to Sicily under both the elder and the younger Dionysios. To architecture the time was not favourable anywhere but in Syracuse.

The time following the Dionysian tyranny was at Syracuse a time full of the most stirring local and personal interest, under her two deliverers Dion and Timoleon. It is less easy to make out the exact effect on the rest of Sicily of the three years' career of Dion. But we may mark that, in driving out the younger Dionysios, he was helped by a general movement of Greeks, Sikels, and Sikans. Between the death of Dion in 354 and the coming of Timoleon in 344 we hear of a time of confusion in which Hellenic life seemed likely to die out. The cities, Greek and Sikel, were occupied by tyrants. Syracuse was parted between several, Dionysios coming back to hold Ortygia. Timoleon's work was threefold—the immediate deliverance of Syracuse, the restoration of Sicily in general to freedom and Greek life, and the defence of the Greek cities against Carthage. The victory of the Krimisos in 340 led to a peace with Carthage with the old frontier; but all Greek cities were to be free, and Carthage was to give no help to any tyrant. Timoleon drove out all the tyrants, and it specially marks the fusion of the two races that the people of the Sikel Agrigion were admitted to the citizenship of free Syracuse. From some towns he drove out the Campanians, and he largely invited Greek settlement, especially from the Italiot towns, which were hard pressed by the Bruttians. The Corinthian deliverer gave, not only Syracuse, but all Greek Sicily, a new lease of life, though a short one.

With Timoleon begins a series of leaders who came from old Greece to deliver or to conquer among the Greeks of Italy and Sicily. The enterprise of Dion most likely suggested those that followed, but Dion, as a native Syracusan, does not belong altogether to the same class. Timoleon alone was a pure republican deliverer. The Macedonian kings had established a Greek dominion in the East, and a series of princes from Sparta and Epeiros came to establish in the West a Greek dominion which should balance that of the Macedonians. Archidamos, Alexander of